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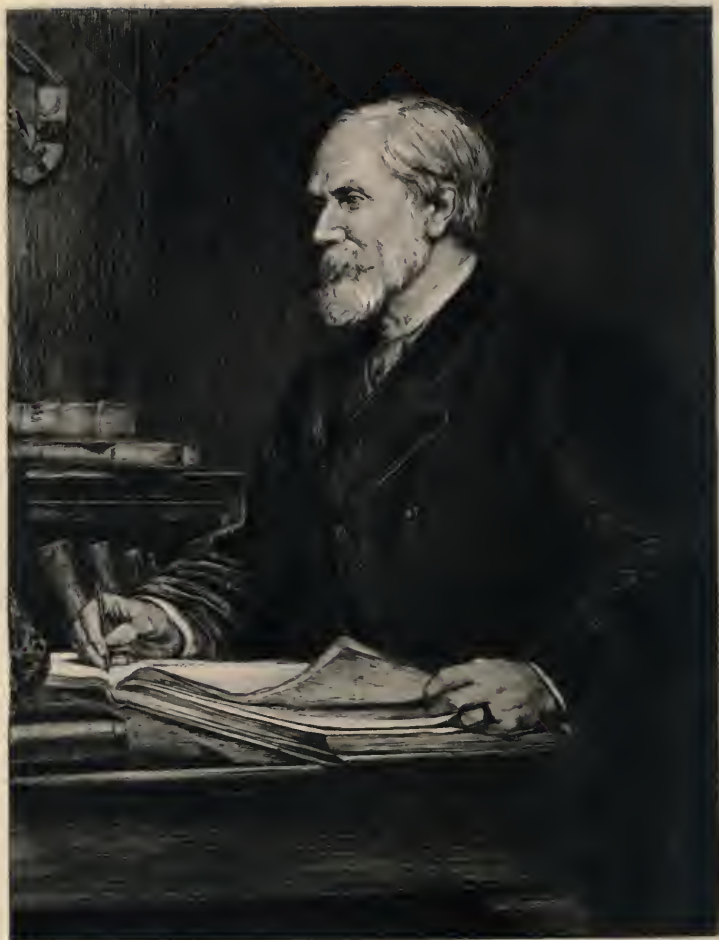
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J. B. Weyman del. et sc.

Walker & Rockwell, ph. sc.

H. Yale

THE BOOK OF
SER MARCO POLO
THE VENETIAN CONCERNING THE
KINGDOMS AND MARVELS OF
THE EAST

TRANSLATED AND EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY
COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I.,
CORR. INST. FRANCE

THIRD EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT IN THE LIGHT OF
RECENT DISCOVERIES BY HENRI CORDIER (OF PARIS)

PROFESSOR OF CHINESE HISTORY AT THE ECOLE DES LANGUES ORIENTALES VIVANTES; VICE-PRESIDENT
OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PARIS; MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE; HON.
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY AND OF THE REGIA DEPUTAZIONE VENETA DI STORIA PATRIA

WITH A MEMOIR OF HENRY YULE BY HIS DAUGHTER
AMY FRANCES YULE, L.A.SOC. ANT. SCOT., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.
WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1903



"Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
Πλάγχθη
Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

Odyssey, I.

———"I AM BECOME A NAME ;
FOR ALWAYS ROAMING WITH A HUNGRY HEART
MUCH HAVE I SEEN AND KNOWN ; CITIES OF MEN,
AND MANNERS, CLIMATES, COUNCILS, GOVERNMENTS,
MYSELF NOT LEAST, BUT HONOURED OF THEM ALL."

TENNYSON.

"A SEDER CI PONEMMO IVI AMBODUI
VÔLTI A LEVANTE, OND' ERAVAM SALITI ;
CHÈ SUOLE A RIGUARDAR GIOVARE ALTRUI."

DANTE, *Purgatory, IV.*



Messer Marco Polo, with Messer Nicolo and Messer Maffeo, returned from xxvi years' sojourn in the Orient, is denied entrance to the Ca' Polo. (See *Int.* p. 4.)

11

DEDICATION.

TO THE MEMORY OF

SIR RODERICK I. MURCHISON, BART., K.C.B., G.C.St.A., G.C.St.S.

ETC.

THE PERFECT FRIEND

WHO FIRST BROUGHT HENRY YULE AND JOHN MURRAY TOGETHER

(HE ENTERED INTO REST, OCTOBER 22ND, 1871.)

AND TO THAT OF HIS MUCH LOVED NIECE,

HARRIET ISABELLA MURCHISON,

WIFE OF KENNETH ROBERT MURCHISON, D.L., J.P.,

(SHE ENTERED INTO REST, AUGUST 9TH, 1902.)

UNDER WHOSE EVER HOSPITABLE ROOF MANY OF THE PROOF

SHEETS OF THIS EDITION WERE READ BY ME,

I DEDICATE THESE VOLUMES FROM

THE OLD MURCHISON HOME,

IN THANKFUL REMEMBRANCE OF ALL I OWE TO

THE ABIDING AFFECTION, SYMPATHY, AND EXAMPLE OF BOTH.

TARADALE,
ROSS-SHIRE,
SCOTLAND.

AMY FRANCES YULE.
SEPTEMBER 11th, 1902.

* * * *

Ed è da noi sì strano,
Che quando ne ragiono
I' non trovo nessuno,
Che l'abbia navicato,

* * * *

Le parti del Levante,
Là dove sono tante
Gemme di gran valute
E di molta salute :
E sono in quello giro
Balsamo, e ambra, e tiro,
E lo pepe, e lo legno
Aloe, ch' è sì degno,
E spigo, e cardamomo,
Giengiovo, e cennamomo ;
E altre molte spezie,
Ciascuna in sua spezie,
E migliore, e più fina,
E sana in medicina.
Appresso in questo loco
Mise in assetto loco
Li tigri, e li grifoni,
Leofanti, e leoni
Cammelli, e dragomene,
Badalischì, e gene,
E' pantere, e castoro,
Le formiche dell' oro,
E tanti altri animali,
Ch' io non so ben dir quali,
Che son sì divisati,
E sì dissomigliati
Di corpo e di fazione,
Di sì fera ragione,
E di sì strana taglia,
Ch'io non credo san faglia,
Ch' alcun uomo vivente
Potesse veramente
Per lingua, o per scritte
Recitar le figure
Delle bestie, e gli uccelli

—From *Il Tesoretto di Ser Brunetto Latini* (circa MDCCLX.).
(Florence, 1824, pp. 83 seqq.)

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

	PAGE
DEDICATION	iii
NOTE BY MISS YULE	v
PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION	vii
PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION	xi
ORIGINAL PREFACE	xxi
ORIGINAL DEDICATION	xxv
MEMOIR OF SIR HENRY YULE BY AMY FRANCES YULE, L.A.SOC. ANT. SCOT.	xxvii
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIR HENRY YULE'S WRITINGS	lxxv
SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS	lxxxiii
EXPLANATORY LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. I.	xcvii
INTRODUCTORY NOTICES	I-144
THE BOOK OF MARCO POLO.	

NOTE BY MISS YULE

I DESIRE to take this opportunity of recording my grateful sense of the unsparing labour, learning, and devotion, with which my father's valued friend, Professor Henri Cordier, has performed the difficult and delicate task which I entrusted to his loyal friendship.

Apart from Professor Cordier's very special qualifications for the work, I feel sure that no other Editor could have been more entirely acceptable to my father. I can give him no higher praise than to say that he has laboured in Yule's own spirit.

The slight Memoir which I have contributed (for which I accept all responsibility), attempts no more than a rough sketch of my father's character and career, but it will, I hope, serve to recall pleasantly his remarkable individuality to the few remaining who knew him in his prime, whilst it may also afford some idea of the man, and his work and environment, to those who had not that advantage.

No one can be more conscious than myself of its many shortcomings, which I will not attempt to excuse. I can, however, honestly say that these have not been due to negligence, but are rather the blemishes almost inseparable from the fulfilment under the gloom of bereavement and amidst the pressure of other duties, of a task undertaken in more favourable circumstances.

Nevertheless, in spite of all defects, I believe this sketch to be such a record as my father would himself have approved, and I know also that he would have chosen my hand to write it.

In conclusion, I may note that the first edition of this work was dedicated to that very noble lady, the Queen (then Crown Princess) Margherita of Italy. In the second edition the Dedication was reproduced within brackets (as also the original preface), but not renewed. That precedent is again followed.

I have, therefore, felt at liberty to associate the present edition of my father's work with the Name MURCHISON, which for more than a generation was the name most generally representative of British Science in Foreign Lands, as of Foreign Science in Britain.

A. F. YULE.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

LITTLE did I think, some thirty years ago, when I received a copy of the first edition of this grand work, that I should be one day entrusted with the difficult but glorious task of supervising the third edition. When the first edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo* reached "Far Cathay," it created quite a stir in the small circle of the learned foreigners, who then resided there, and became a starting-point for many researches, of which the results have been made use of partly in the second edition, and partly in the present. The Archimandrite PALLADIUS and Dr. E. BRETSCHNEIDER, at Peking, ALEX. WYLIE, at Shang-hai—friends of mine who have, alas! passed away, with the exception of the Right Rev. Bishop G. E. MOULE, of Hang-chau, the only survivor of this little group of hard-working scholars,—were the first to explore the Chinese sources of information which were to yield a rich harvest into their hands.

When I returned home from China in 1876, I was introduced to Colonel HENRY YULE, at the India Office, by our common friend, Dr. REINHOLD ROST, and from that time we met frequently and kept up a correspondence which terminated only with the life of the great geographer, whose friend I had become. A new edition of the travels of Friar Odoric of Pordenone,

our "mutual friend," in which Yule had taken the greatest interest, was dedicated by me to his memory. I knew that Yule contemplated a third edition of his *Marco Polo*, and all will regret that time was not allowed to him to complete this labour of love, to see it published. If the duty of bringing out the new edition of *Marco Polo* has fallen on one who considers himself but an unworthy successor of the first illustrious commentator, it is fair to add that the work could not have been entrusted to a more respectful disciple. Many of our tastes were similar; we had the same desire to seek the truth, the same earnest wish to be exact, perhaps the same sense of humour, and, what is necessary when writing on Marco Polo, certainly the same love for Venice and its history. Not only am I, with the late CHARLES SCHEFER, the founder and the editor of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie depuis le XIII^e jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, but I am also the successor, at the Ecole des langues Orientales Vivantes, of G. PAUTHIER, whose book on the Venetian Traveller is still valuable, so the mantle of the last two editors fell upon my shoulders.

I therefore, gladly and thankfully, accepted Miss AMY FRANCES YULE'S kind proposal to undertake the editorship of the third edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, and I wish to express here my gratitude to her for the great honour she has thus done me.*

Unfortunately for his successor, Sir Henry Yule, evidently trusting to his own good memory, left but few notes. These are contained in an interleaved copy obligingly placed at my disposal by Miss Yule, but I luckily found assistance from various other

* Miss Yule has written the Memoir of her father and the new Dedication.

quarters. The following works have proved of the greatest assistance to me:—The articles of General HOUTUM-SCHINDLER in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and the excellent books of Lord CURZON and of Major P. MOLESWORTH SYKES on Persia, M. GRENARD'S account of DUTREUIL de RHINS' Mission to Central Asia, BRETSCHNEIDER'S and PALLADIUS' remarkable papers on Mediæval Travellers and Geography, and above all, the valuable books of the Hon. W. W. ROCKHILL on Tibet and Rubruck, to which the distinguished diplomatist, traveller, and scholar kindly added a list of notes of the greatest importance to me, for which I offer him my hearty thanks.

My thanks are also due to H.H. Prince ROLAND BONAPARTE, who kindly gave me permission to reproduce some of the plates of his *Recueil de Documents de l'Époque Mongole*, to M. LÉOPOLD DELISLE, the learned Principal Librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale, who gave me the opportunity to study the inventory made after the death of the Doge Marino Faliero, to the Count de SEMALLÉ, formerly French Chargé d'Affaires at Peking, who gave me for reproduction a number of photographs from his valuable personal collection, and last, not least, my old friend Comm. NICOLÒ BAROZZI, who continued to lend me the assistance which he had formerly rendered to Sir Henry Yule at Venice.

Since the last edition was published, more than twenty-five years ago, Persia has been more thoroughly studied; new routes have been explored in Central Asia, Karakorum has been fully described, and Western and South-Western China have been opened up to our knowledge in many directions. The results of these investigations form the main features of this new edition of *Marco Polo*. I have suppressed hardly any of Sir

Henry Yule's notes and altered but few, doing so only when the light of recent information has proved him to be in error, but I have supplemented them by what, I hope, will be found useful, new information.*

Before I take leave of the kind reader, I wish to thank sincerely Mr. JOHN MURRAY for the courtesy and the care he has displayed while this edition was going through the press.

HENRI CORDIER.

PARIS, 1st of October, 1902.

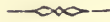
* Paragraphs which have been altered are marked thus + ; my own additions are placed between brackets [].—H. C.



“Now strike your Sailes yee jolly Mariners,
For we be come into a quiet Rode”

—THE FAERIE QUEENE, I. xii. 42.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.



THE unexpected amount of favour bestowed on the former edition of this Work has been a great encouragement to the Editor in preparing this second one.

Not a few of the kind friends and correspondents who lent their aid before have continued it to the present revision. The contributions of Mr. A. WYLIE of Shang-hai, whether as regards the amount of labour which they must have cost him, or the value of the result, demand above all others a grateful record here. Nor can I omit to name again with hearty acknowledgment Signor Comm. G. BERCHET of Venice, the Rev. Dr. CALDWELL, Colonel (now Major-General) R. MACLAGAN, R.E., Mr. D. HANBURY, F.R.S., Mr. EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S. (Corresponding Member of the Institute), and Mr. R. H. MAJOR.

But besides these old names, not a few new ones claim my thanks.

The Baron F. VON RICHTHOFEN, now President of the Geographical Society of Berlin, a traveller who not only has trodden many hundreds of miles in the footsteps of our Marco, but has perhaps travelled over more of the Interior of China than Marco ever did, and who carried to that survey high scientific accomplish-

ments of which the Venetian had not even a rudimentary conception, has spontaneously opened his bountiful stores of new knowledge in my behalf. Mr. NEY ELIAS, who in 1872 traversed and mapped a line of upwards of 2000 miles through the almost unknown tracts of Western Mongolia, from the Gate in the Great Wall at Kalghan to the Russian frontier in the Altai, has done likewise.* To the Rev. G. MOULE, of the Church Mission at Hang-chau, I owe a mass of interesting matter regarding that once great and splendid city, the KINSAY of our Traveller, which has enabled me, I trust, to effect great improvement both in the Notes and in the Map, which illustrate that subject. And to the Rev. CARSTAIRS DOUGLAS, LL.D., of the English Presbyterian Mission at Amoy, I am scarcely less indebted. The learned Professor BRUUN, of Odessa, whom I never have seen, and have little likelihood of ever seeing in this world, has aided me with zeal and cordiality like that of old friendship. To Mr. ARTHUR BURNELL, Ph.D., of the Madras Civil Service, I am grateful for many valuable notes bearing on these and other geographical studies, and particularly for his generous communication of the drawing and photograph of the ancient Cross at St. Thomas's Mount, long before any publication of that subject was made

* It would be ingratitude if this Preface contained no acknowledgment of the medals awarded to the writer, mainly for this work, by the Royal Geographical Society, and by the Geographical Society of Italy, the former under the Presidency of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the latter under that of the Commendatore C. Negri. Strongly as I feel the too generous appreciation of these labours implied in such awards, I confess to have been yet more deeply touched and gratified by practical evidence of the approval of the two distinguished Travellers mentioned above; as shown by Baron von Richthofen in his spontaneous proposal to publish a German version of the book under his own immediate supervision (a project in abeyance, owing to circumstances beyond his or my control); by Mr. Ney Elias in the fact of his having carried these ponderous volumes with him on his solitary journey across the Mongolian wilds!

on his own account. My brother officer, Major OLIVER ST. JOHN, R.E., has favoured me with a variety of interesting remarks regarding the Persian chapters, and has assisted me with new data, very materially correcting the Itinerary Map in Kerman.

Mr. BLOCHMANN of the Calcutta Madrasa, Sir DOUGLAS FORSYTH, C.B., lately Envoy to Kashgar, M. de MAS LATRIE, the Historian of Cyprus, Mr. ARTHUR GROTE, Mr. EUGENE SCHUYLER of the U.S. Legation at St. Petersburg, Dr. BUSHELL and Mr. W. F. MAYERS, of H.M.'s Legation at Peking, Mr. G. PHILLIPS of Fuchau, Madame OLGA FEDTCHENKO, the widow of a great traveller too early lost to the world, Colonel KEATINGE, V.C., C.S.I., Major-General KEYES, C.B., Dr. GEORGE BIRDWOOD, Mr. BURGESS, of Bombay, my old and valued friend Colonel W. H. GREATHED, C.B., and the Master of Mediæval Geography, M. D'AVEZAC himself, with others besides, have kindly lent assistance of one kind or another, several of them spontaneously, and the rest in prompt answer to my requests.

Having always attached much importance to the matter of illustrations,* I feel greatly indebted to the liberal action of Mr. Murray in enabling me largely to increase their number in this edition. Though many are original, we have also borrowed a good many;† a proceeding which seems to me entirely unobjectionable when the engravings are truly illustrative of the text, and not hackneyed.

I regret the augmented bulk of the volumes. There

* I am grateful to Mr. de Khanikoff for his especial recognition of these in a kindly review of the first edition in the *Academy*.

† Especially from Lieutenant Garnier's book, mentioned further on; the only existing source of illustration for many chapters of Polo.

has been some excision, but the additions visibly and palpably preponderate. The truth is that since the completion of the first edition, just four years ago, large additions have been made to the stock of our knowledge bearing on the subjects of this Book; and how these additions have continued to come in up to the last moment, may be seen in Appendix L,* which has had to undergo repeated interpolation after being put in type. KARAKORUM, for a brief space the seat of the widest empire the world has known, has been visited; the ruins of SHANG-TU, the "Xanadu of Cublay Khan," have been explored; PAMIR and TANGUT have been penetrated from side to side; the famous mountain Road of SHEN-SI has been traversed and described; the mysterious CAINDU has been unveiled; the publication of my lamented friend Lieutenant Garnier's great work on the French Exploration of Indo-China has provided a mass of illustration of that YUN-NAN for which but the other day Marco Polo was well-nigh the most recent authority. Nay, the last two years have thrown a promise of light even on what seemed the wildest of Marco's stories, and the bones of a veritable RUC from New Zealand lie on the table of Professor Owen's Cabinet!

M. VIVIEN de St. MARTIN, during the interval of which we have been speaking, has published a History of Geography. In treating of Marco Polo, he alludes to the first edition of this work, most evidently with no intention of disparagement, but speaks of it as merely a revision of Marsden's Book. The last thing I should allow myself to do would be to apply to a

* [Merged into the notes of the present edition.—H. C.]

Geographer, whose works I hold in so much esteem, the disrespectful definition which the adage quoted in my former Preface* gives of the *vir qui docet quod non sapit*; but I feel bound to say that on this occasion M. Vivien de St. Martin has permitted himself to pronounce on a matter with which he had not made himself acquainted; for the perusal of the very first lines of the Preface (I will say nothing of the Book) would have shown him that such a notion was utterly unfounded.

In concluding these "forewords" I am probably taking leave of Marco Polo,† the companion of many pleasant and some laborious hours, whilst I have been contemplating with him ("*vôlti a levante*") that Orient in which I also had spent years not a few.

* * * * *

And as the writer lingered over this conclusion, his thoughts wandered back in reverie to those many venerable libraries in which he had formerly made search for mediæval copies of the Traveller's story; and it seemed to him as if he sate in a recess of one of these with a manuscript before him which had never till then been examined with any care, and which he found with delight to contain passages that appear in no version of the Book hitherto known. It was written in clear Gothic text, and in the Old French tongue of the early 14th century. Was it possible that he had lighted on the long-

* See page xxix.

† Writing in Italy, perhaps I ought to write, according to too prevalent modern Italian custom, *Polo Marco*. I have already *seen*, and in the work of a writer of reputation, the Alexandrian geographer styled *Tolomeo Claudio!* and if this preposterous fashion should continue to spread, we shall in time have *Tasso Torquato*, *Jonson Ben*, Africa explored by *Park Mungo*, Asia conquered by *Lane Tamer*, Copperfield David by *Dickens Charles*, Homer Englished by *Pope Alexander*, and the Roman history done into French from the original of *Ivive Tite!*

lost original of Ramusio's Version? No; it proved to be different. Instead of the tedious story of the northern wars, which occupies much of our Fourth Book, there were passages occurring in the later history of Ser Marco, some years after his release from the Genoese captivity. They appeared to contain strange anachronisms certainly; but we have often had occasion to remark on puzzles in the chronology of Marco's story!* And in some respects they tended to justify our intimated suspicion that he was a man of deeper feelings and wider sympathies than the book of Rusticiano had allowed to appear.† Perhaps this time the Traveller had found an amanuensis whose faculties had not been stiffened by fifteen years of Malapaga?‡ One of the most important passages ran thus:—

“ Bien est voirs que, après ce que Messires Marc Pol avoit pris fame et si estoit demouré plusours ans de sa vie a Venysse, il avint que mourut Messires Mafés qui oncles Monseigneur Marc estoit: (et mourut ausi ses granz chiens mastins qu'avoit amenei dou Catai,§ et qui avoit non Bayan pour l'amour au bon chievetaïn Bayan Cent-iex); adonc n'avoit oncques puis Messires Marc nullui, fors son esclave Piere le Tartar, avecques lequel pouvoit penre soulas à s'entretenir de ses voïages et des choses dou Levant. Car la gent de Venysse si avoit de grant piëce moult anuy pris des loncs contes Monseigneur Marc; et quand ledit Messires Marc issoit de l'uy sa meson ou Sain Grisostome, souloient li petit marmot es voies dariere-li courir en cryant Messer Marco Milïon! cont' a nu un busiön! que veult dire en François ‘Messires Marcs des millions di-nous un de vos gros mensonges.’ En oultre, la Dame Donate fame anuyouse estoit, et de trop estroit esprit, et plainne de couvoitise.¶ Ansi avint que Messires Marc desiroit es voïages rantrer durement.

“ Si se partist de Venisse et chevaucha aux parties d'occident. Et demoura mainz jours es contrées de Provence et de France et puy fist passage aux Ysles de la tremontaingne et s'en retourna par la Magne, si comme vous orrez cy-aprés. Et fist-il escripre son voiage atout les devisements les contrées; mes de la France n'y parloit mie grantment pour ce que maintes genz la scevent apertement. Et pour ce en laïrons utant, et commencerons d'autres choses, assavoir, de BRETAINGNE LA GRANT.

* Introduction p. 24, and *passim* in the notes.

† *Ibid.*, p. 112.

‡ See Introduction, pp. 51, 57.

§ See Title of present volume.

¶ Which quite agrees with the story of the document quoted at p. 77 of Introduction.

Cy debyste dou roiaume de Bretaingne la grant.

“Et sachiés que quand l'en se part de Calés, et l'en nage xx ou xxx milles à trop grant mesaise, si treuve l'en une grandisme Ysle qui s'apelle Bretaingne la Grant. Elle est à une grant royne et n'en fait treuage à nulluy. Et ensevelissent lor mors, et ont monnoye de chartres et d'or et d'argent, et ardent pierres noyres, et vivent de marchandises et d'ars, et ont toutes choses de vivre en grant habondance mais non pas à bon marchié. Et c'est une Ysle de trop grant richesce, et li marinier de celle partie dient que c'est li plus riches royaumes qui soit ou monde, et qu'il y a li mieudre marinier dou monde et li mieudre coursier et li mieudre chevalier (ains ne chevauchent mais lonc com François). Ausi ont-il trop bons homes d'armes et vaillans durement (bien que maint n'y ait), et les dames et damoseles bonnes et loialles, et belles com lys souef florant. Et quoi vous en diroie-je? Il y a citez et chasteau assez, et tant de marchéanz et si riches qui font venir tant d'avoir-depoiz et de toute espece de marchandise qu'il n'est hons qui la verité en sceust dire. Font venir d'Ynde et d'autres parties coton a grant planté, et font venir soye de Manzi et de Bangala, et font venir laine des ysles de la Mer Océane et de toutes parties. Et si labourent maintz bouquerans et touailles et autres draps de coton et de laine et de soye. Encores sachiés que ont vaines d'acier assez, et si en labourent trop soubtivement de tous hernois de chevalier, et de toutes choses besoignables à ost; ce sont espées et glaive et esperon et heaume et haches, et toute espèce d'artillerie et de coutellerie, et en font grant gaigne et grant marchandise. Et en font si grant habondance que tout li mondes en y puet avoir et à bon marchié.

Encores cy debise dou dyt roiaume, et de ce qu'en dist Messires Marc.

“Et sachiés que tient icelle Royne la seigneurie de l'Ynde majeure et de Mutfli et de Bangala, et d'une moitié de Mien. Et moult est saige et noble dame et pourvéans, si que est elle amée de chascun. Et avoit jadis mari; et depuys qu'il mourut bien xiv ans avoit; adonc la royne sa fame l'ama tant que oncques puis ne se vout marier a nullui, pour l'amour le prince son baron, ançois moult maine quoye vie. Et tient son royaume ausi bien ou miex que oncques le tindrent li roy si aioul. Mes ores en ce royaume li roy n'ont guieres pooir, ains la poissance commence a trespasser à la menue gent. Et distrent aucun marinier de celes parties à Monseignour Marc que lui-et-le jour li royaumes soit auques abastardi come je vous diroy. Car bien est voirs que ci-arrières estoit ciz pueple de Bretaingne la Grant bonne et grantz et loialle gent qui servoit Diex moult volontiers selonc lor usaige; et tuit li labour qu'il labouroient et portoient a vendre estoient honnestement labouré, et dou greigneur vaillance, et chose pardurable; et se vendoient à jousté pris sanz barguignier. En tant que se aucuns labours portoit Pestanpille Bretaingne la Grant c'estoit regardei com pleges de bonne estoffe. Mes orendroit li labours n'est mie tousjourz si bons; et quand l'en achate pour un quintal pesant de toiles de coton, adonc, par trop souvent, si treuve l'en de chascun C pois de coton, bien xxx ou xl pois de plastre de gifs, ou de blanc

d'Espagne, ou de choses semblables. Et se l'en achate de cammeloz ou de tireteinne ou d'autre dras de laine, cist ne durent mie, ains sont plain d'empoise, ou de glu et de balieures.

"Et bien qu'il est voirs que chascuns hons egaleement doit de son cors servir son seigneur ou sa commune, pour aler en ost en tens de besoingne; et bien que trestuit li autre royaume d'occident tieingnent ce pour ordenance, ciz pueple de Bretaingne la Grant n'en veult nullement, ains si dient: 'Veez-là: n'avons nous pas la Manche pour fossé de nostre pourpris, et pourquoy nous penerons-nous pour nous faire homes d'armes, en lessiant nos gaaignes et nos soulaz? Cela lairons aus soudaiers.' Or li preudhorne entre eulx moult scevent bien com tiex paroles sont nyaises; mes si ont paour de lour en dire la verité pour ce que cuident desplaire as bourgeois et à la menue gent.

"Or je vous di sanz faille que, quand Messires Marcs Pols sceust ces choses, moult en ot pitié de cestui pueple, et il li vint à remembrance ce que avenu estoit, ou tens Monseignour Nicolas et Monseignour Mafé, à l'ore quand Alau, frère charnel dou Grant Sire Cublay, ala en ost seur Baudas, et print le Calife et sa maistre cité, atout son vaste tresor d'or et d'argent, et l'amère parolle que dist ledit Alau au Calife, com l'a escripte li Maistres Rusticiens ou chief de cestui livre.*

"Car sachiés tout voirement que Messires Marc moult se deleitoit à faire appert combien sont pareilles au font les condicions des diverses regions dou monde, et soloit-il clorre son discours si disant en son langage de Venisse: 'Sto mondo xe fato tondo, com uzoit dire mes oncles Mafés.'

"Ore vous lairons à conter de ceste matière et retournerons à parler de la Loy des genz de Bretaingne la Grant.

Cy devise des diverses créances de la gent Bretaingne la Grant et de ce qu'en cuidoit Messires Marcs.

"Il est voirs que li pueples est Crestiens, mes non pour le plus selonc la foy de l'Apostoilte Rommain, ains tiennent le en mautalent assez. Seulement il y en a aucun qui sont féoil du dit Apostoilte et encore plus forment que li nostre prudhorne de Venisse. Car quand dit li Papes: 'Telle ou telle chose est noyre,' toute ladite gent si en jure: 'Noyre est com poivre.' Et puis se dira li Papes de la dite chose: 'Elle est blanche,' si en jurera toute ladite gent: 'Il est voirs qu'elle est blanche; blanche est com noifs.' Et dist Messires Marc Pol: 'Nous n'avons nullement tant de foy à Venyse, ne li prudhorne de Florence non plus, com ven puet savoir bien apertement dou livre Monseignour Dantès Aldiguere, que j'ay congneu a Padoe le meisme an que Messires Thibault de Cepoy à Venisse estoit.† Mes c'est joustement ce que j'ay veu autre foiz près le Grant Bacsi qui est com li Papes des Ydres.'

"Encore y a une autre manière de gent; ce sont de celz qui s'appellent filsoufes;‡ et si il disent: 'S'il y a Diex n'en scavons nul, mes il est voirs

* Vol. i. p. 64, and p. 67.

† *I.e.* 1306; see Introduction, pp. 68-69.

‡ The form which Marco gives to this word was probably a reminiscence of the Oriental corruption *faïlsûf*. It recalls to my mind a Hindu who was very fond of the word, and especially of applying it to certain of his fellow-servants. But as he used it, *bara faïlsûf*—"great philosopher"—meant exactly the same as the modern slang "*Artful Dodger*"!

qu'il est une certaine courance des choses laquex court devers le bien.' Et fist Messires Marc : 'Encore la créance des Bacsî qui dysent que n'y a ne Diex Eternel ne Juge des homes, ains il est une certaine chose laquex s'appelle Kerma.'*

"Une autre foiz avint que disoit un des filsoufes à Monseignour Marc : 'Diex n'existe mie jesusqu'ores, ainçois il se fait desorendroit.' Et fist encore Messires Marc : 'Veez-là une autre foiz la créance des ydres, car dient que li seuz Diex est icil hons qui par force de ses vertuz et de son savoir tant pourchace que d'home il se face Diex presentement. Et li Tartar l'appellent Borcan. Tiex Diex Sagamoni Borcan estoit, dou quel parle li livres Maistre Rusticien.'†

"Encore ont une autre manière de filsoufes, et dient-il : 'Il n'est mie ne Diex ne Kerma ne courance vers le bien, ne Providence, ne Créerres, ne Sauvours, ne sainteté ne pechiés ne conscience de pechié, ne proÿère ne responce à proÿère, il n'est nulle riens fors que trop minime grain ou paillettes qui ont à nom atosmes, et de tiex grains devient chose qui vive, et chose qui vive devient une certaine creature qui demoure au rivaige de la Mer : et ceste creature devient poissons, et poissons devient lezars, et lezars devient blayriaus, et blayriaus devient gat-maimons, et gat-maimons devient hons sauvaiges qui menjue char d'homes, et hons sauvaiges devient hons crestien.'

"Et dist Messires Marc : 'Encore une foiz, biaux sires, li Bacsî de Tebet et de Kescemir et li prestre de Seilan, qui si dient que l'arme vivant doie trespasser par tous cez changes de vestemens ; si com se treuve escript ou livre Maistre Rusticien que Sagamoni Borcan mourut iiij vint et iiij foiz et tousjourz resuscita, et à chascune foiz d'une diverse manière de beste, et à la derreniere foiz mourut hons et devint diex, selonc ce qu'il dient.'‡ Et fist encore Messires Marc : 'A moy pert-il trop estrange chose se juesques à toutes les créances des ydolastres deust decheoir ceste grantz et saige nation. Ainsî peuvent jouer Misire li filsoufe atout lour propre perte, mes à l'ore quand tiex fantaisies se respanderont es joenes bacheliers et parmy la menue gent, celz averont pour toute Loy manducemus et bibamus, eras enim moriemur ; et trop isnellement l'en raccomencera la descente de l'eschiele, et d'home crestien deviendra hons sauvaiges, et d'home sauvaige gat-maimons, et de gat-maimon blayriaus.' Et fist encores Messires Marc : 'Maintes contrées et provinces et ysles et citéz je Marc Pol ay veues et de maintes genz de maintes manières ay les condicionz congneues, et je croy bien que il est plus assez dedens l'univers que ce que li nostre prestre n'y songent. Et puet bien estre, biaux sires, que li mondes n'a esté créés à tous poinz com nous creiens, ains d'une sorte encore plus merveillouse. Mes cil n'amenuise nullement nostre pensée de Diex et de sa majesté, ains la fuit greingnour. Et contrée n'ay veue ou Dame Diex ne manifeste apertement les grantz euvres de sa tout-poisante saigesse ; gent n'ay congneue esquiex ne se fait sentir li fardels de pechié, et la besoingne de Phisicien des maladies de l'arme tiex com est nostre Scignours Ihesus Crist, Beni soyt son Non. Pensez doncques à cel qu'a dit uns de ses

* See for the explanation of *Karma*, "the power that controls the universe," in the doctrine of atheistic Buddhism, HARDY'S *Eastern Monachism*, p. 5.

† Vol. ii. p. 316 (see also i. 348).

‡ Vol. ii. pp. 318-319.

Apostres : Nolite esse prudentes apud vosmet ipsos ; et uns autres : Quoniam multi pseudo-prophetæ exierint ; et uns autres : Quod venient in nobissimis diebus illusores . . . dicentes, Ubi est promissio ? et encores aus parolles que dist li Signours meismes : Vide ergo ne lumen quod in te est tenebræ sint.)

Comment Messires Marc se partist de l'ysle de Bretaingne et de la prôpre que fist.

“ Et pourquoy vous en feroie-je lonc conte ? Si print nef Messires Marc et se partist en nageant vers la terre ferme. Or Messires Marc Pol moult ama cel roiaume de Bretaingne la grant pour son viex renon et s'ancienne franchise, et pour sa saige et bonne Royne (que Diex gart), et pour les mainz homes de vaillance et bons chaceours et les maintes bonnes et honnestes dames qui y estoient. Et sachiés tout voirement que en estant delez le bort la nef, et en esgardant aus roches blanches que l'en par dariere-li lessoit, Messires Marc prioit Diex, et disoit-il : ‘ Ha Sires Diex ay merci de cestuy vieix et noble royaume ; fay-en pardurable forteresse de liberté et de joustice, et garde-le de tout meschief de dedens et de dehors ; donne à sa gent droit esprit pour ne pas Diex guerroyer de ses dons, ne de richesce ne de savoir ; et conforte-les fermement en ta foy’ . . . ”

A loud *Amen* seemed to peal from without, and the awakened reader started to his feet. And lo! it was the thunder of the winter-storm crashing among the many-tinted crags of Monte Pellegrino,—with the wind raging as it knows how to rage here in sight of the Isles of Æolus, and the rain dashing on the glass as ruthlessly as it well could have done, if, instead of Æolic Isles and many-tinted crags, the window had fronted a dearer shore beneath a northern sky, and looked across the grey Firth to the rain-blurred outline of the Lomond Hills.

But I end, saying to Messer Marco's prayer, Amen.

PALERMO, 31st December, 1874.

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

THE amount of appropriate material, and of acquaintance with the mediæval geography of some parts of Asia, which was acquired during the compilation of a work of kindred character for the Hakluyt Society,* could hardly fail to suggest as a fresh labour in the same field the preparation of a new English edition of Marco Polo. Indeed one kindly critic (in the *Examiner*) laid it upon the writer as a duty to undertake that task.

Though at least one respectable English edition has appeared since Marsden's,† the latter has continued to be the standard edition, and maintains not only its reputation but its market value. It is indeed the work of a sagacious, learned, and right-minded man, which can never be spoken of otherwise than with respect. But since Marsden published his quarto (1818) vast stores of new knowledge have become available in elucidation both of the contents of Marco Polo's book and of its literary history. The works of writers such as Klaproth, Abel Rémusat, D'Avezac, Reinaud, Quatremère, Julien, I. J. Schmidt, Gildemeister, Ritter, Hammer-Purgstall, Erdmann, D'Ohsson, Defrémery, Elliot, Erskine, and many more, which throw light directly or incidentally on Marco Polo, have, for the most part, appeared since then. Nor, as regards the literary history of the book, were any just views possible at a time when what may be called the *Fontal MSS.* (in French) were unpublished and unexamined.

Besides the works which have thus occasionally or inci-

* *Cathay and The Way Thither, being a Collection of Minor Mediæval Notices of China.* London, 1866. The necessities of the case have required the repetition in the present work of the substance of some notes already printed (but hardly published) in the other.

† Viz. Mr. Hugh Murray's. I mean no disrespect to Mr. T. Wright's edition, but it is, and professes to be, scarcely other than a reproduction of Marsden's, with abridgment of his notes.

dentally thrown light upon the Traveller's book, various editions of the book itself have since Marsden's time been published in foreign countries, accompanied by comments of more or less value. All have contributed something to the illustration of the book or its history; the last and most learned of the editors, M. Pauthier, has so contributed in large measure. I had occasion some years ago* to speak freely my opinion of the merits and demerits of M. Pauthier's work; and to the latter at least I have no desire to recur here.

Another of his critics, a much more accomplished as well as more favourable one,† seems to intimate the opinion that there would scarcely be room in future for new commentaries. Something of the kind was said of Marsden's at the time of its publication. I imagine, however, that whilst our libraries endure the *Iliad* will continue to find new translators, and Marco Polo—though one hopes not so plentifully—new editors.

The justification of the book's existence must however be looked for, and it is hoped may be found, in the book itself, and not in the Preface. The work claims to be judged as a whole, but it may be allowable, in these days of scanty leisure, to indicate below a few instances of what is believed to be new matter in an edition of Marco Polo; by which however it is by no means intended that all such matter is claimed by the editor as his own.‡

* In the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1868.

† M. Nicolas Khanikoff.

‡ In the Preliminary Notices will be found new matter on the Personal and Family History of the Traveller, illustrated by Documents; and a more elaborate attempt than I have seen elsewhere to classify and account for the different texts of the work, and to trace their mutual relation.

As regards geographical elucidations, I may point to the explanation of the name *Gheluchelan* (i. p. 58), to the discussion of the route from Kerman to Hormuz, and the identification of the sites of Old Hormuz, of *Cobinan* and *Dogana*, the establishment of the position and continued existence of *Keshm*, the note on *Pein* and *Charchan*, on *Gog* and *Magog*, on the geography of the route from *Sindafu* to *Carajan*, on *Anin* and *Coloman*, on *Mutafili*, *Cail*, and *Ely*.

As regards historical illustrations, I would cite the notes regarding the Queens

From the commencement of the work it was felt that the task was one which no man, though he were far better equipped and much more conveniently situated than the present writer, could satisfactorily accomplish from his own resources, and help was sought on special points wherever it seemed likely to be found. In scarcely any quarter was the application made in vain. Some who have aided most materially are indeed very old and valued friends; but to many others who have done the same the applicant was unknown; and some of these again, with whom the editor began correspondence on this subject as a stranger, he is happy to think that he may now call friends.

To none am I more indebted than to the Comm. GUGLIELMO BERCHET, of Venice, for his ample, accurate, and generous assistance in furnishing me with Venetian documents, and in many other ways. Especial thanks are also due to Dr. WILLIAM LOCKHART, who has supplied the materials for some of the most valuable illustrations; to Lieutenant FRANCIS GARNIER, of the French Navy, the gallant and accomplished leader (after the death of Captain Doudart de la Grée) of the memorable expedi-

Bolgana and *Cocachin*, on the *Karaunahs*, etc., on the title of King of *Bengal* applied to the K. of Burma, and those bearing upon the Malay and Abyssinian chronologies.

In the interpretation of outlandish phrases, I may refer to the notes on *Ondanique*, *Nono*, *Barguerlac*, *Argon*, *Sensin*, *Keshican*, *Toscaol*, *Bularguchi*, *Gat-paul*, etc.

Among miscellaneous elucidations, to the disquisition on the *Arbre Sol* or *Sec* in vol. i., and to that on Mediæval Military Engines in vol. ii.

In a variety of cases it has been necessary to refer to Eastern languages for pertinent elucidations or etymologies. The editor would, however, be sorry to fall under the ban of the mediæval adage:

*"Vir qui docet quod non sapit
Definitur Bestia!"*

and may as well reprint here what was written in the Preface to *Cathay*:

"I am painfully sensible that in regard to many subjects dealt with in the following pages, nothing can make up for the want of genuine Oriental learning. A fair familiarity with Hindustani for many years, and some reminiscences of elementary Persian, have been useful in their degree; but it is probable that they may sometimes also have led me astray, as such slender lights are apt to do."

tion up the Mekong to Yun-nan; to the Rev. Dr. CALDWELL, of the S. P. G. Mission in Tinnevely, for copious and valuable notes on Southern India; to my friends Colonel ROBERT MACLAGAN, R.E., Sir ARTHUR PHAYRE, and Colonel HENRY MAN, for very valuable notes and other aid; to Professor A. SCHIEFNER, of St. Petersburg, for his courteous communication of very interesting illustrations not otherwise accessible; to Major-General ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, of my own corps, for several valuable letters; to my friends Dr. THOMAS OLDHAM, Director of the Geological Survey of India, Mr. DANIEL HANBURY, F.R.S., Mr. EDWARD THOMAS, Mr. JAMES FERGUSSON, F.R.S., Sir BARTLE FRERE, and Dr. HUGH CLEGHORN, for constant interest in the work and readiness to assist its progress; to Mr. A. WYLIE, the learned Agent of the B. and F. Bible Society at Shang-hai, for valuable help; to the Hon. G. P. MARSH, U.S. Minister at the Court of Italy, for untiring kindness in the communication of his ample stores of knowledge, and of books. I have also to express my obligations to Comm. NICOLÒ BAROZZI, Director of the City Museum at Venice, and to Professor A. S. MINOTTO, of the same city; to Professor ARMINIUS VÁMBÉRY, the eminent traveller; to Professor FLÜCKIGER of Bern; to the Rev. H. A. JAESCHKE, of the Moravian Mission in British Tibet; to Colonel LEWIS PELLY, British Resident in the Persian Gulf; to Pandit MANPHUL, C.S.I. (for a most interesting communication on Badakhshan); to my brother officer, Major T. G. MONTGOMERIE, R.E., of the Indian Trigonometrical Survey; to Commendatore NEGRI, the indefatigable President of the Italian Geographical Society; to Dr. ZOTENBERG, of the Great Paris Library, and to M. CH. MAUNOIR, Secretary-General of the Société de Géographie; to Professor HENRY

GIGLIOLI, at Florence ; to my old friend Major-General ALBERT FYTCHE, Chief Commissioner of British Burma ; to Dr. ROST and Dr. FORBES-WATSON, of the India Office Library and Museum ; to Mr. R. H. MAJOR, and Mr. R. K. DOUGLAS, of the British Museum ; to Mr. N. B. DENNYS, of Hong-kong ; and to Mr. C. GARDNER, of the Consular Establishment in China. There are not a few others to whom my thanks are equally due ; but it is feared that the number of names already mentioned may seem ridiculous, compared with the result, to those who do not appreciate from how many quarters the facts needful for a work which in its course intersects so many fields required to be collected, one by one. I must not, however, omit acknowledgments to the present Earl of DERBY for his courteous permission, when at the head of the Foreign Office, to inspect Mr. Abbott's valuable unpublished Report upon some of the Interior Provinces of Persia ; and to Mr. T. T. COOPER, one of the most adventurous travellers of modern times, for leave to quote some passages from his unpublished diary.

PALERMO, 31st December, 1870.

[Original Dedication.]

TO

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS,

M A R G H E R I T A,

Princess of Piedmont,

THIS ENDEAVOUR TO ILLUSTRATE THE LIFE AND WORK
OF A RENOWNED ITALIAN

IS

BY HER ROYAL HIGHNESS'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION

Dedicated

WITH THE DEEPEST RESPECT

BY

H. YULE.



TO
HENRY YULE.

UNTIL you raised dead monarchs from the mould
And built again the domes of Xanadu,
I lay in evil case, and never knew
The glamour of that ancient story told
By good Ser Marco in his prison-hold.
But now I sit upon a throne and view
The Orient at my feet, and take of you
And Marco tribute from the realms of old.

If I am joyous, deem me not o'er bold ;
If I am grateful, deem me not untrue ;
For you have given me beauties to behold,
Delight to win, and fancies to pursue,
Fairer than all the jewelry and gold
Of Kublaï on his throne in Cambalu.

E. C. BABER.

20th July, 1884.

MEMOIR OF SIR HENRY YULE.

HENRY YULE was the youngest son of Major William Yule, by his first wife, Elizabeth Paterson, and was born at Inveresk, in Midlothian, on 1st May, 1820. He was named after an *aunt* who, like Miss Ferrier's immortal heroine, owned a man's name.

On his father's side he came of a hardy agricultural stock,¹ improved by a graft from that highly-cultured tree, Rose of Kilravock.² Through his mother, a somewhat prosaic person herself, he inherited strains from Huguenot and Highland ancestry. There were recognisable traces of all these elements

¹ There is a vague tradition that these Yules descend from the same stock as the Scandinavian family of the same name, which gave Denmark several men of note, including the great naval hero Niels Juel. The portraits of these old Danes offer a certain resemblance of type to those of their Scots namesakes, and Henry Yule liked to play with the idea, much in the same way that he took humorous pleasure in his reputed descent from Michael Scott, the Wizard! (This tradition was more historical, however, and stood thus: Yule's great grandmother was a Scott of Ancrum, and the Scotts of Ancrum had established their descent from Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie, reputed to be the Wizard.) Be their origin what it may, Yule's forefathers had been already settled on the Border hills for many generations, when in the time of James VI. they migrated to the lower lands of East Lothian, where in the following reign they held the old fortalice of Fentoun Tower of Nisbet of Dirleton. When Charles II. empowered his Lord Lyon to issue certificates of arms (in place of the Lyon records removed and lost at sea by the Cromwellian Government), these Yules were among those who took out confirmation of arms, and the original document is still in the possession of the head of the family.

Though Yules of sorts are still to be found in Scotland, the present writer is the only member of the Fentoun Tower family now left in the country, and of the few remaining out of it most are to be found in the Army List.

² The literary taste which marked William Yule probably came to him from his grandfather, the Rev. James Rose, Episcopal Minister of Udny, in Aberdeenshire. James Rose, a non-jurant (*i.e.* one who refused to acknowledge allegiance to the Hanoverian King), was a man of devout, large, and tolerant mind, as shown by writings still extant. His father, John Rose, was the younger son of the 14th Hugh of Kilravock. He married Margaret Udny of Udny, and was induced by her to sell his pleasant Ross-shire property and invest the proceeds in her own bleak Buchan. When George Yule (about 1759) brought home Elizabeth Rose as his wife, the popular feeling against the Episcopal Church was so strong and bitter in Lothian, that all the men of the family—themselves Presbyterians—accompanied Mrs. Yule as a bodyguard on the occasion of her first attendance at the Episcopal place of worship. Years after, when dissensions had arisen in the Church of Scotland, Elizabeth Yule succoured and protected some of the dissident Presbyterian ministers from their persecutors.

in Henry Yule, and as was well said by one of his oldest friends : "He was one of those curious racial compounds one finds on the east side of Scotland, in whom the hard Teutonic grit is sweetened by the artistic spirit of the more genial Celt."³ His father, an officer of the Bengal army (born 1764, died 1839), was a man of cultivated tastes and enlightened mind, a good Persian and Arabic scholar, and possessed of much miscellaneous Oriental learning. During the latter years of his career in India, he served successively as Assistant Resident at the (then independent) courts of Lucknow⁴ and Delhi. In the latter office his chief was the noble Ouchterlony. William Yule, together with his younger brother Udny,⁵ returned home in 1806. "A recollection of their voyage was that they hailed an outward bound ship, somewhere off the Cape, through the trumpet: 'What news?' Answer: 'The King's mad, and Humfrey's beat Mendoza' (two celebrated prize-fighters and often matched). 'Nothing more?' 'Yes, Bonaparty's made his *Mother* King of Holland!"

"Before his retirement, William Yule was offered the Lieut.-Governorship of St. Helena. Two of the detailed privileges of the office were residence at Longwood (afterwards the house of Napoleon), and the use of a certain number of the Company's slaves. Major Yule, who was a strong supporter of the anti-slavery cause till its triumph in 1834, often recalled both of these offers with amusement."⁶

³ General Collinson in *Royal Engineers' Journal*, 1st Feb. 1890. The gifted author of this excellent sketch himself passed away on 22nd April 1902.

⁴ The grave thoughtful face of William Yule was conspicuous in the picture of a Durbar (by an Italian artist, but *not* Zoffany), which long hung on the walls of the Nawab's palace at Lucknow. This picture disappeared during the Mutiny of 1857.

⁵ Colonel Udny Yule, C.B. "When he joined, his usual *nomen* and *cognomen* puzzled the staff-sergeant at Fort-William, and after much boggling on the cadet parade, the name was called out *Whirly Wheel*, which produced no reply, till some one at a venture shouted, 'sick in hospital.'" (*Athenæum*, 24th Sept. 1881.) The ship which took Udny Yule to India was burnt at sea. After keeping himself afloat for several hours in the water, he was rescued by a passing ship and taken back to the Mauritius, whence, having lost everything but his cadetship, he made a fresh start for India, where he and William for many years had a common purse. Colonel Udny Yule commanded a brigade at the Siege of Cornelis (1811), which gave us Java, and afterwards acted as Resident under Sir Stamford Raffles. Forty-five years after the retrocession of Java, Henry Yule found the memory of his uncle still cherished there.

⁶ Article on the Oriental Section of the British Museum Library in *Athenæum*, 24th Sept. 1881. Major Yule's Oriental Library was presented by his sons to the British Museum a few years after his death.

William Yule was a man of generous chivalrous nature, who took large views of life, apt to be unfairly stigmatised as Radical in the narrow Tory reaction that prevailed in Scotland during the early years of the 19th century.⁷ Devoid of literary ambition, he wrote much for his private pleasure, and his knowledge and library (rich in Persian and Arabic MSS.) were always placed freely at the service of his friends and correspondents, some of whom, such as Major C. Stewart and Mr. William Erskine, were more given to publication than himself. He never travelled without a little 8vo MS. of Hafiz, which often lay under his pillow. Major Yule's only printed work was a lithographed edition of the *Apothegms* of 'Alī, the son of Abu Talib, in the Arabic, with an old Persian version and an English translation interpolated by himself. "This was privately issued in 1832, when the Duchesse d'Angoulême was living at Edinburgh, and the little work was inscribed to her, with whom an accident of neighbourhood and her kindness to the Major's youngest child had brought him into relations of goodwill."⁸

Henry Yule's childhood was mainly spent at Inveresk. He used to say that his earliest recollection was sitting with the little cousin, who long after became his wife, on the doorstep of her father's house in George Street, Edinburgh (now the Northern Club), listening to the performance of a passing piper. There was another episode which he recalled with humorous satisfaction. Fired by his father's tales of the jungle, Yule (then about six years old) proceeded to improvise an elephant pit in the back garden, only too successfully, for soon, with mingled terror and delight, he saw his uncle John⁹ fall headlong into the snare. He lost his mother before he was eight, and almost his only remembrance of her was the circumstance of her having given him a little lantern to light him home on winter nights from his first school. On Sundays it was the Major's custom

⁷ It may be amusing to note that he was considered an almost dangerous person because he read the *Scotsman* newspaper!

⁸ *Athenæum*, 24th Sept. 1881. A gold chain given by the last Dauphiness is in the writer's possession.

⁹ Dr. John Yule (b. 176- d. 1827), a kindly old *savant*. He was one of the earliest corresponding members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the author of some botanical tracts.

to lend his children, as a picture-book, a folio Arabic translation of the Four Gospels, printed at Rome in 1591, which contained excellent illustrations from Italian originals.¹⁰ Of the pictures in this volume Yule seems never to have tired. The last page bore a MS. note in Latin to the effect that the volume had been read in the Chaldæan Desert by *Georgius Strachanus, Milnensis, Scotus*, who long remained unidentified, not to say mythical, in Yule's mind. But George Strachan never passed from his memory, and having ultimately run him to earth, Yule, sixty years later, published the results in an interesting article.¹¹

Two or three years after his wife's death, Major Yule removed to Edinburgh, and established himself in Regent's Terrace, on the face of the Calton Hill.¹² This continued to be Yule's home until his father's death, shortly before he went to India. "Here he learned to love the wide scenes of sea and land spread out around that hill—a love he never lost, at home or far away. And long years after, with beautiful Sicilian hills before him and a lovely sea, he writes words of fond recollection of the bleak Fife hills, and the grey Firth of Forth."¹³

Yule now followed his elder brother, Robert, to the famous High School, and in the summer holidays the two made ex-

¹⁰ According to Brunet, by Lucas Pennis after Antonio Tempesta.

¹¹ *Concerning some little-known Travellers in the East.* ASIATIC QUARTERLY, vol. v. (1888).

¹² William Yule died in 1839, and rests with his parents, brothers, and many others of his kindred, in the ruined chancel of the ancient Norman Church of St. Andrew, at Gulane, which had been granted to the Yule family as a place of burial by the Nisbets of Dirleton, in remembrance of the old kindly feeling subsisting for generations between them and their tacksmen in Fentoun Tower. Though few know its history, a fragrant memorial of this wise and kindly scholar is still conspicuous in Edinburgh. The magnificent wall-flower that has, for seventy summers, been a glory of the Castle rock, was originally all sown by the patient hand of Major Yule, the self-sowing of each subsequent year, of course, increasing the extent of bloom. Lest the extraordinarily severe spring of 1895 should have killed off much of the old stock, another (but much more limited) sowing on the northern face of the rock was in that year made by his grand-daughter, the present writer, with the sanction and active personal help of the lamented General (then Colonel) Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie Marischal. In Scotland, where the memory of this noble soldier is so greatly revered, some may like to know this little fact. May the wall-flower of the Castle rock long flourish a fragrant memorial of two faithful soldiers and true-hearted Scots.

¹³ Obituary notice of Yule, by Gen. R. Maclagan, R.E. *Proceedings, R.G.S.* 1890.

peditions to the West Highlands, the Lakes of Cumberland, and elsewhere. Major Yule chose his boys to have every reasonable indulgence and advantage, and when the British Association, in 1834, held its first Edinburgh meeting, Henry received a member's ticket. So, too, when the passing of the Reform Bill was celebrated in the same year by a great banquet, at which Lord Grey and other prominent politicians were present, Henry was sent to the dinner, probably the youngest guest there.¹⁴

At this time the intention was that Henry should go to Cambridge (where his name was, indeed, entered), and after taking his degree study for the Bar. With this view he was, in 1833, sent to Waith, near Ripon, to be coached by the Rev. H. P. Hamilton, author of a well-known treatise, *On Conic Sections*, and afterwards Dean of Salisbury. At his tutor's hospitable rectory Yule met many notabilities of the day. One of them was Professor Sedgwick.

There was rumoured at this time the discovery of the first known (?) fossil monkey, but its tail was missing. "Depend upon it, Daniel O'Connell's got hold of it!" said 'Adam' briskly.¹⁵ Yule was very happy with Mr. Hamilton and his kind wife, but on his tutor's removal to Cambridge other arrangements became necessary, and in 1835 he was transferred to the care of the Rev. James Challis, rector of Papworth St. Everard, a place which "had little to recommend it except a dulness which made reading almost a necessity."¹⁶ Mr. Challis had at this time two other resident pupils, who both, in most diverse ways, attained distinction in the Church. These were John Mason Neale, the future eminent ecclesiologist and founder of the devoted Anglican Sisterhood of St. Margaret, and Harvey Goodwin, long afterwards the studious and large-minded Bishop of Carlisle. With the latter, Yule remained on terms of cordial friendship to the end of his life. Looking back through more than fifty years to these boyish days, Bishop Goodwin wrote that Yule then "showed much more liking for Greek plays and for German than for mathematics, though he had considerable geometrical

¹⁴ This was the famous "Grey Dinner," of which The Shepherd made grim fun in the *Noctes*.

¹⁵ Probably the specimen from South America, of which an account was published in 1833.

¹⁶ Rawnsley, *Memoir of Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle*.

ingenuity.”¹⁷ On one occasion, having solved a problem that puzzled Goodwin, Yule thus discriminated the attainments of the three pupils: “The difference between you and me is this: You like it and can’t do it; I don’t like it and can do it. Neale neither likes it nor can do it.” Not bad criticism for a boy of fifteen.¹⁸

On Mr. Challis being appointed Plumerian Professor at Cambridge, in the spring of 1836, Yule had to leave him, owing to want of room at the Observatory, and he became for a time, a most dreary time, he said, a student at University College, London.

By this time Yule had made up his mind that not London and the Law, but India and the Army should be his choice, and accordingly in Feb. 1837 he joined the East India Company’s Military College at Addiscombe. From Addiscombe he passed out, in December 1838, at the head of the cadets of his term (taking the prize sword¹⁹), and having been duly appointed to the Bengal Engineers, proceeded early in 1839 to the Headquarters of the Royal Engineers at Chatham, where, according to custom, he was enrolled as a “local and temporary Ensign.” For such was then the invidious designation at Chatham of the young Engineer officers of the Indian army, who ranked as full lieutenants in their own Service, from the time of leaving Addiscombe.²⁰ Yule once audaciously tackled the formidable Pasley on this very grievance. The venerable Director, after a minute’s pondering, replied: “Well, I don’t remember what the reason was, but I have *no* doubt (*staccato*) it . . . was . . . a very . . . *good* reason.”²¹

“When Yule appeared among us at Chatham in 1839,” said his friend Collinson, “he at once took a prominent place in our little Society by his slightly advanced age [he was then 18½], but more by his strong character. . . . His earlier education . . . gave him a better classical knowledge than most of us possessed;

¹⁷ ¹⁸ Biog. Sketch of Yule, by C. Trotter, *Proceedings, R.S.E.* vol. xvii.

¹⁹ After leaving the army, Yule always used this sword when wearing uniform.

²⁰ The Engineer cadets remained at Addiscombe a term (=6 months) longer than the Artillery cadets, and as the latter were ordinarily gazetted full lieutenants six months after passing out, unfair seniority was obviated by the Engineers receiving the same rank on passing out of Addiscombe.

²¹ Yule, in *Memoir of General Becker*.

then he had the reserve and self-possession characteristic of his race; but though he took small part in the games and other recreations of our time, his knowledge, his native humour, and his good comradeship, and especially his strong sense of right and wrong, made him both admired and respected. . . . Yule was not a scientific engineer, though he had a good general knowledge of the different branches of his profession; his natural capacity lay rather in varied knowledge, combined with a strong understanding and an excellent memory, and also a peculiar power as a draughtsman, which proved of great value in after life. . . . Those were nearly the last days of the old *régime*, of the orthodox double sap and cylindrical pontoons, when Pasley's genius had been leading to new ideas, and when Lintorn Simmons' power, G. Leach's energy, W. Jervois' skill, and R. Tylden's talent were developing under the wise example of Henry Harness."²²

In the Royal Engineer mess of those days (the present anteroom), the portrait of Henry Yule now faces that of his first chief, Sir Henry Harness. General Collinson said that the pictures appeared to eye each other as if the subjects were continuing one of those friendly disputes in which they so often engaged.²³

It was in this room that Yule, Becher, Collinson, and other young R.E.'s, profiting by the temporary absence of the austere Colonel Pasley, acted some plays, including *Pizarro*. Yule bore the humble part of one of the Peruvian Mob in this performance, of which he has left a droll account.²⁴

On the completion of his year at Chatham, Yule prepared to sail for India, but first went to take leave of his relative, General White. An accident prolonged his stay, and before he left he had proposed to and been refused by his cousin Annie. This occurrence, his first check, seems to have cast rather a gloom over his start for India. He went by the then newly-opened Overland Route, visiting Portugal, stopping at Gibraltar to see

²² Collinson's *Memoir of Yule* in *R.E. Journal*.

²³ The picture was subscribed for by his brother officers in the corps, and painted in 1880 by T. B. Wirgman. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1881. A reproduction of the artist's etching from it forms the frontispiece of this volume.

²⁴ In *Memoir of Gen. John Becher*.

his cousin, Major (afterwards General) Patrick Yule, R.E.²⁵ He was under orders "to stop at Aden (then recently acquired), to report on the water supply, and to deliver a set of meteorological and magnetic instruments for starting an observatory there. The overland journey then really meant so; tramping across the desert to Suez with camels and Arabs, a proceeding not conducive to the preservation of delicate instruments; and on arriving at Aden he found that the intended observer was dead, the observatory not commenced, and the instruments all broken. There was thus nothing left for him but to go on at once" to Calcutta,²⁶ where he arrived at the end of 1840.

His first service lay in the then wild Khasia Hills, whither he was detached for the purpose of devising means for the transport of the local coal to the plains. In spite of the depressing character of the climate (Cherrapunjee boasts the highest rainfall on record), Yule thoroughly enjoyed himself, and always looked back with special pleasure on the time he spent here. He was unsuccessful in the object of his mission, the obstacles to cheap transport offered by the dense forests and mighty precipices proving insurmountable, but he gathered a wealth of interesting observations on the country and people, a very primitive Mongolian race, which he subsequently embodied in two excellent and most interesting papers (the first he ever published).²⁷

In the following year, 1842, Yule was transferred to the

²⁵ General Patrick Yule (b. 1795, d. 1873) was a thorough soldier, with the repute of being a rigid disciplinarian. He was a man of distinguished presence, and great charm of manner to those whom he liked, which were by no means all. The present writer holds him in affectionate remembrance, and owes to early correspondence with him much of the information embodied in preceding notes. He served on the Canadian Boundary Commission of 1817, and on the Commission of National Defence of 1859, was prominent in the Ordnance Survey, and successively Commanding R.E. in Malta and Scotland. He was Engineer to Sir C. Fellows' Expedition, which gave the nation the Lycian Marbles, and while Commanding R.E. in Edinburgh, was largely instrumental in rescuing St. Margaret's Chapel in the Castle from desecration and oblivion. He was a thorough Scot, and never willingly tolerated the designation N.B. on even a letter. He had cultivated tastes, and under a somewhat austere exterior he had a most tender heart. When already past sixty, he made a singularly happy marriage to a truly good woman, who thoroughly appreciated him. He was the author of several Memoirs on professional subjects. He rests in St. Andrew's, Gulane.

²⁶ Collinson's *Memoir of Yule*.

²⁷ Notes on the Iron of the Khasia Hills and Notes on the Khasia Hills and People, both in Journal of the R. Asiatic Society of Bengal, vols. xi. and xiii.

irrigation canals of the north-west with head-quarters at Kurnaul. Here he had for chief Captain (afterwards General Sir William) Baker, who became his dearest and most steadfast friend. Early in 1843 Yule had his first experience of field service. The death without heir of the Khytul Rajah, followed by the refusal of his family to surrender the place to the native troops sent to receive it, obliged Government to send a larger force against it, and the canal officers were ordered to join this. Yule was detailed to serve under Captain Robert Napier (afterwards F.-M. Lord Napier of Magdala). Their immediate duty was to mark out the route for a night march of the troops, barring access to all side roads, and neither officer having then had any experience of war, they performed the duty "with all the elaborate care of novices." Suddenly there was an alarm, a light detected, and a night attack awaited, when the danger resolved itself into Clerk Sahib's *khansamah* with welcome hot coffee!²⁸ Their hopes were disappointed, there was no fighting, and the Fort of Khytul was found deserted by the enemy. It "was a strange scene of confusion—all the paraphernalia and accumulation of odds and ends of a wealthy native family lying about and inviting loot. I remember one beautiful crutch-stick of ebony with two rams' heads in jade. I took it and sent it in to the political authority, intending to buy it when sold. There was a sale, but my stick never appeared. Somebody had a more developed taste in jade. . . . Amid the general rummage that was going on, an officer of British Infantry had been put over a part of the palace supposed to contain treasure, and they—officers and all—were helping themselves. Henry Lawrence was one of the politicals under George Clerk. When the news of this affair came to him I was present. It was in a white marble loggia in the palace, where was a white marble chair or throne on a basement. Lawrence was sitting on this throne in great excitement. He wore an Afghan *choga*, a sort of dressing-gown garment, and this, and his thin locks, and thin beard were

²⁸ Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Clerk, Political Officer with the expedition. Was twice Governor of Bombay and once Governor of the Cape: "A diplomatist of the true English stamp—undaunted in difficulties and resolute to maintain the honour of his country." (Sir H. B. Edwardes, *Life of Henry Lawrence*, i. 267). He died in 1889.

streaming in the wind. He always dwells in my memory as a sort of pythoness on her tripod under the afflatus."²⁹

During his Indian service, Yule had renewed and continued by letters his suit to Miss White, and persistency prevailing at last, he soon after the conclusion of the Khytul affair applied for leave to go home to be married. He sailed from Bombay in May, 1843, and in September of the same year was married, at Bath, to the gifted and large-hearted woman who, to the end, remained the strongest and happiest influence in his life.³⁰

Yule sailed for India with his wife in November 1843. The next two years were employed chiefly in irrigation work, and do not call for special note. They were very happy years, except in the one circumstance that the climate having seriously affected his wife's health, and she having been brought to death's door, partly by illness, but still more by the drastic medical treatment of those days, she was imperatively ordered back to England by the doctors, who forbade her return to India.

Having seen her on board ship, Yule returned to duty on the canals. The close of that year, December, 1845, brought some variety to his work, as the outbreak of the first Sikh War called nearly all the canal officers into the field. "They went up to the front by long marches, passing through no stations, and quite unable to obtain any news of what had occurred, though on the 21st December the guns of Ferozshah were distinctly heard in their camp at Pehoa, at a distance of 115 miles south-east from the field, and some days later they came successively on the fields of Moodkee and of Ferozshah itself, with all the recent traces of battle. When the party of irrigation officers reached head-quarters, the arrangements for attacking the Sikh army in its entrenchments at Sobraon were beginning (though suspended till weeks later for the arrival of the tardy siege guns), and the opposed forces were lying in sight of each other."³¹

Yule's share in this campaign was limited to the sufficiently arduous task of bridging the Sutlej for the advance of the British army. It is characteristic of the man that for this

²⁹ Note by Yule, communicated by him to Mr R. B. Smith and printed by the latter in *Life of Lord Lawrence*.

³⁰ And when nearing his own end, it was to her that his thoughts turned most constantly.

³¹ Yule and Maclagan's *Memoir of Sir W. Baker*,

reason he always abstained from wearing his medal for the Sutlej campaign.

His elder brother, Robert Yule, then in the 16th Lancers, took part in that magnificent charge of his regiment at the battle of Aliwal (Jan. 28, 1846) which the Great Duke is said to have pronounced unsurpassed in history. From particulars gleaned from his brother and others present in the action, Henry Yule prepared a spirited sketch of the episode, which was afterwards published as a coloured lithograph by M'Lean (Haymarket).

At the close of the war, Yule succeeded his friend Strachey as Executive Engineer of the northern division of the Ganges Canal, with his head-quarters at Roorkee, "the division which, being nearest the hills and crossed by intermittent torrents of great breadth and great volume when in flood, includes the most important and interesting engineering works."³²

At Roorkee were the extensive engineering workshops connected with the canal. Yule soon became so accustomed to the din as to be undisturbed by the noise, but the unpunctuality and carelessness of the native workmen sorely tried his patience, of which Nature had endowed him with but a small reserve. Vexed with himself for letting temper so often get the better of him, Yule's conscientious mind devised a characteristic remedy. Each time that he lost his temper, he transferred a fine of two rupees (then about five shillings) from his right to his left pocket. When about to leave Roorkee, he devoted this accumulation of self-imposed fines to the erection of a sun-dial, to teach the natives the value of time. The late Sir James Caird, who told this legend of Roorkee as he heard it there in 1880, used to add, with a humorous twinkle of his kindly eyes, "It was a *very* handsome dial."³³

From September, 1845, to March, 1847, Yule was much occupied intermittently, in addition to his professional work, by service on a Committee appointed by Government "to investigate the causes of the unhealthiness which has existed at Kurnal, and other portions of the country along the line of the Delhi Canal," and further, to report "whether an injurious

³² Maclagan's *Memoir of Yule*, P.R.G.S., Feb. 1890.

³³ On hearing this, Yule said to him, "Your story is quite correct except in one particular; you understated the *amount* of the fine."

effect on the health of the people of the Doab is, or is not, likely to be produced by the contemplated Ganges Canal."

"A very elaborate investigation was made by the Committee, directed principally to ascertaining what relation subsisted between certain physical conditions of the different districts, and the liability of their inhabitants to miasmatic fevers." The principal conclusion of the Committee was, "that in the extensive epidemic of 1843, when Kurnaul suffered so seriously . . . the greater part of the evils observed had not been the necessary and unavoidable results of canal irrigation, but were due to interference with the natural drainage of the country, to the saturation of stiff and retentive soils, and to natural disadvantages of site, enhanced by excess of moisture. As regarded the Ganges Canal, they were of opinion that, with due attention to drainage, improvement rather than injury to the general health might be expected to follow the introduction of canal irrigation."³⁴ In an unpublished note written about 1889, Yule records his ultimate opinion as follows: "At this day, and after the large experience afforded by the Ganges Canal, I feel sure that a verdict so favourable to the sanitary results of canal irrigation would not be given." Still the fact remains that the Ganges Canal has been the source of unspeakable blessings to an immense population.

The Second Sikh War saw Yule again with the army in the field, and on 13th Jan. 1849, he was present at the dismal 'Victory' of Chillianwallah, of which his most vivid recollection seemed to be the sudden apparition of Henry Lawrence, fresh from London, but still clad in the legendary Afghan cloak.

On the conclusion of the Punjab campaign, Yule, whose health had suffered, took furlough and went home to his wife. For the next three years they resided chiefly in Scotland, though paying occasional visits to the Continent, and about 1850 Yule bought a house in Edinburgh. There he wrote "The African Squadron vindicated" (a pamphlet which was afterwards re-published in French), translated Schiller's *Kampf mit dem Drachen* into English verse, delivered Lectures on Fortification at the, now long defunct, Scottish Naval and Military Academy, wrote on Tibet for his friend Blackwood's

³⁴ Yule and Maclagan's *Memoir of Baker*.

Magazine, attended the 1850 Edinburgh Meeting of the British Association, wrote his excellent lines, "On the Loss of the *Birkenhead*," and commenced his first serious study of Marco Polo (by whose wondrous tale, however, he had already been captivated as a boy in his father's library—in Marsden's edition probably). But the most noteworthy literary result of these happy years was that really fascinating volume, entitled *Fortification for Officers of the Army and Students of Military History*, a work that has remained unique of its kind. This was published by Blackwood in 1851, and seven years later received the honour of (unauthorised) translation into French. Yule also occupied himself a good deal at this time with the practice of photography, a pursuit to which he never after reverted.

In the spring of 1852, Yule made an interesting little semi-professional tour in company with a brother officer, his accomplished friend, Major R. B. Smith. Beginning with Kelso, "the only one of the Teviotdale Abbeys which I had not as yet seen," they made their way leisurely through the north of England, examining with impartial care abbeys and cathedrals, factories, brick-yards, foundries, timber-yards, docks, and railway works. On this occasion Yule, contrary to his custom, kept a journal, and a few excerpts may be given here, as affording some notion of his casual talk to those who did not know him.

At Berwick-on-Tweed he notes the old ramparts of the town: "These, erected in Elizabeth's time, are interesting as being, I believe, the only existing sample in England of the bastioned system of the 16th century. . . . The outline of the works seems perfect enough, though both earth and stone work are in great disrepair. The bastions are large with obtuse angles, square orillons, and double flanks originally casemated, and most of them crowned with cavaliers." On the way to Durham, "much amused by the discussions of two passengers, one a smooth-spoken, semi-clerical looking person; the other a brusque well-to-do attorney with a Northumbrian burr. Subject, among others, Protection. The Attorney all for 'cheap bread'—'You wouldn't rob the poor man of his loaf,' and so forth. 'You must go with the *stgheam*, sir, you must go with the *stgheam*.' 'I never did, Mr Thompson, and I never will,' said the other in an oily manner, singularly inconsistent with the

sentiment." At Durham they dined with a dignitary of the Church, and Yule was roasted by being placed with his back to an enormous fire. "Coals are cheap at Durham," he notes feelingly, adding, "The party we found as heavy as any Edinburgh one. Smith, indeed, evidently has had little experience of really stupid Edinburgh parties, for he had never met with anything approaching to this before." (Happy Smith!) But thanks to the kindness and hospitality of the astronomer, Mr. Chevalier, and his gifted daughter, they had a delightful visit to beautiful Durham, and came away full of admiration for the (then newly established) University, and its grand *locale*. They went on to stay with an uncle by marriage of Yule's, in Yorkshire. At dinner he was asked by his host to explain Foucault's pendulum experiment. "I endeavoured to explain it somewhat, I hope, to the satisfaction of his doubts, but not at all to that of Mr G. M., who most resolutely declined to take in *any* elucidation, coming at last to the conclusion that he entirely differed with me as to what North meant, and that it was useless to argue until we could agree about that!" They went next to Leeds, to visit Kirkstall Abbey, "a mediæval fossil, curiously embedded among the squalid brickwork and chimney stalks of a manufacturing suburb. Having established ourselves at the hotel, we went to deliver a letter to Mr. Hope, the official assignee, a very handsome, aristocratic-looking gentleman, who seemed as much out of place at Leeds as the Abbey." At Leeds they visited the flax mills of Messrs. Marshall, "a firm noted for the conscientious care they take of their workpeople . . . We mounted on the roof of the building, which is covered with grass, and formerly was actually grazed by a few sheep, until the repeated inconvenience of their tumbling through the glass domes put a stop to this." They next visited some tile and brickworks on land belonging to a friend. "The owner of the tile works, a well-to-do burgher, and the apparent model of a West Riding Radical, received us in rather a dubious way: 'There are a many people has come and brought introductions, and looked at all my works, and then gone and set up for themselves close by. Now des you mean to say that you be really come all the way from Bengul?' 'Yes, indeed we have, and we are going all the way back again, though we didn't exactly come from there to look at your brickworks.' 'Then you're not in

the brick-making line, are you?' 'Why we've had a good deal to do with making bricks, and may have again; but we'll engage that if we set up for ourselves, it shall be ten thousand miles from you.' This seemed in some degree to set his mind at rest. . . ."

"A dismal day, with occasional showers, prevented our seeing Sheffield to advantage. On the whole, however, it is more cheerful and has more of a country-town look than Leeds—a place utterly without beauty of aspect. At Leeds you have vast barrack-like factories, with their usual suburbs of squalid rows of brick cottages, and everywhere the tall spiracles of the steam, which seems the pervading power of the place. Everything there is machinery—the machine is the intelligent agent, it would seem, the man its slave, standing by to tend it and pick up a broken thread now and then. At Sheffield . . . you might go through most of the streets without knowing anything of the kind was going on. And steam here, instead of being a ruler, is a drudge, turning a grindstone or rolling out a bar of steel, but all the accuracy and skill of hand is the Man's. And consequently there was, we thought, a healthier aspect about the men engaged. None of the Rodgers remain who founded the firm in my father's time. I saw some pairs of his scissors in the show-room still kept under the name of *Persian* scissors."³⁵

From Sheffield Yule and his friend proceeded to Boston, "where there is the most exquisite church tower I have ever seen," and thence to Lincoln, Peterborough, and Ely, ending their tour at Cambridge, where Yule spent a few delightful days.

In the autumn the great Duke of Wellington died, and Yule witnessed the historic pageant of his funeral. His furlough was now nearly expired, and early in December he again embarked for India, leaving his wife and only child, of a few

³⁵ It would appear that Major Yule had presented the Rodgers with some specimens of Indian scissors, probably as suggestions in developing that field of export. Scissors of elaborate design, usually damascened or gilt, used to form a most important item in every set of Oriental writing implements. Even long after adhesive envelopes had become common in European Turkey, their use was considered over familiar, if not actually disrespectful, for formal letters, and there was a particular traditional knack in cutting and folding the special envelope for each missive, which was included in the instruction given by every competent *Khoja*, as the present writer well remembers in the quiet years that ended with the disasters of 1877.

weeks old, behind him. Some verses dated "Christmas Day near the Equator," show how much he felt the separation.

Shortly after his return to Bengal, Yule received orders to proceed to Aracan, and to examine and report upon the passes between Aracan and Burma, as also to improve communications and select suitable sites for fortified posts to hold the same. These orders came to Yule quite unexpectedly late one Saturday evening, but he completed all preparations and started at day-break on the following Monday, 24th Jan. 1853.

From Calcutta to Khyook Phyo, Yule proceeded by steamer, and thence up the river in the *Tickler* gunboat to Krenggyuen. "Our course lay through a wilderness of wooded islands (50 to 200 feet high) and bays, sailing when we could, anchoring when neither wind nor tide served . . . slow progress up the river. More and more like the creeks and lagoons of the Niger or a Guiana river rather than anything I looked for in India. The densest tree jungle covers the shore down into the water. For miles no sign of human habitation, but now and then at rare intervals one sees a patch of hillside rudely cleared, with the bare stems of the burnt trees still standing. . . . Sometimes, too, a dark tunnel-like creek runs back beneath the thick vault of jungle, and from it silently steals out a slim canoe, manned by two or three wild-looking Mugs or Kyens (people of the Hills), driving it rapidly along with their short paddles held vertically, exactly like those of the Red men on the American rivers."

At the military post of Bokhyong, near Krenggyuen, he notes (5th Feb.) that "Captain Munro, the adjutant, can scarcely believe that I was present at the Duke of Wellington's funeral, of which he read but a few days ago in the newspapers, and here am I, one of the spectators, a guest in this wild spot among the mountains—2½ months since I left England."

Yule's journal of his arduous wanderings in these border wilds is full of interest, but want of space forbids further quotation. From a note on the fly-leaf it appears that from the time of quitting the gun-boat at Krenggyuen to his arrival at Toungoop he covered about 240 miles on foot, and that under immense difficulties, even as to food. He commemorated his tribulations in some cheery humorous verse, but ultimately fell seriously ill of the local fever, aided doubtless by previous exposure and privation. His servants successively fell ill,

some died and others had to be sent back, food supplies failed, and the route through those dense forests was uncertain; yet under all difficulties he seems never to have grumbled or lost heart. And when things were nearly at the worst, Yule restored the spirits of his local escort by improvising a wappenshaw, with a Sheffield gardener's knife, which he happened to have with him, for prize! When at last Yule emerged from the wilds and on 25th March marched into Prome, he was taken for his own ghost! "Found Fraser (of the Engineers) in a rambling phoongyee house, just under the great gilt pagoda. I went up to him announcing myself, and his astonishment was so great that he would scarcely shake hands!" It was on this occasion at Prome that Yule first met his future chief Captain Phayre—"a very young-looking man—very cordial," a description no less applicable to General Sir Arthur Phayre at the age of seventy!

After some further wanderings, Yule embarked at Sandong, and returned by water, touching at Kyook Phyoo and Akyab, to Calcutta, which he reached on 1st May—his birthday.

The next four months were spent in hard work at Calcutta. In August, Yule received orders to proceed to Singapore, and embarked on the 29th. His duty was to report on the defences of the Straits Settlements, with a view to their improvement. Yule's recommendations were sanctioned by Government, but his journal bears witness to the prevalence then, as since, of the penny-wise-pound-foolish system in our administration. On all sides he was met by difficulties in obtaining sites for batteries, etc., for which heavy compensation was demanded, when by the exercise of reasonable foresight, the same might have been secured earlier at a nominal price.

Yule's journal contains a very bright and pleasing picture of Singapore, where he found that the majority of the European population "were evidently, from their tongues, from beneath the Tweed, a circumstance which seems to be true of four-fifths of the Singaporeans. Indeed, if I taught geography, I should be inclined to class Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Singapore together as the four chief towns of Scotland."

Work on the defences kept Yule in Singapore and its neighbourhood until the end of November, when he embarked for Bengal. On his return to Calcutta, Yule was appointed

Deputy Consulting Engineer for Railways at Head-quarters. In this post he had for chief his old friend Baker, who had in 1851 been appointed by the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, Consulting Engineer for Railways to Government. The office owed its existence to the recently initiated great experiment of railway construction under Government guarantee.

The subject was new to Yule, "and therefore called for hard and anxious labour. He, however, turned his strong sense and unbiased view to the general question of railway communication in India, with the result that he became a vigorous supporter of the idea of narrow gauge and cheap lines in the parts of that country outside of the main trunk lines of traffic."³⁶

The influence of Yule, and that of his intimate friends and ultimate successors in office, Colonels R. Strachey and Dickens, led to the adoption of the narrow (metre) gauge over a great part of India. Of this matter more will be said further on; it is sufficient at this stage to note that it was occupying Yule's thoughts, and that he had already taken up the position in this question that he thereafter maintained through life. The office of Consulting Engineer to Government for Railways ultimately developed into the great Department of Public Works.

As related by Yule, whilst Baker "held this appointment, Lord Dalhousie was in the habit of making use of his advice in a great variety of matters connected with Public Works projects and questions, but which had nothing to do with guaranteed railways, there being at that time no officer attached to the Government of India, whose proper duty it was to deal with such questions. In August, 1854, the Government of India sent home to the Court of Directors a despatch and a series of minutes by the Governor-General and his Council, in which the constitution of the Public Works Department as a separate branch of administration, both in the local governments and the government of India itself, was urged on a detailed plan."

In this communication Lord Dalhousie stated his desire to appoint Major Baker to the projected office of Secretary for the Department of Public Works. In the spring of 1855 these recommendations were carried out by the creation of the Depart-

³⁶ Collinson's *Memoir of Yule*, *Royal Engineer Journal*.

ment, with Baker as Secretary and Yule as Under Secretary for Public Works.

Meanwhile Yule's services were called to a very different field, but without his vacating his new appointment, which he was allowed to retain. Not long after the conclusion of the second Burmese War, the King of Burma sent a friendly mission to the Governor-General, and in 1855 a return Embassy was despatched to the Court of Ava, under Colonel Arthur Phayre, with Henry Yule as Secretary, an appointment the latter owed as much to Lord Dalhousie's personal wish as to Phayre's good-will. The result of this employment was Yule's first geographical book, a large volume entitled *Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855*, originally printed in India, but subsequently re-issued in an embellished form at home (see over leaf). To the end of his life, Yule looked back to this "social progress up the Irawady, with its many quaint and pleasant memories, as to a bright and joyous holiday."³⁷ It was a delight to him to work under Phayre, whose noble and lovable character he had already learned to appreciate two years before in Pegu. Then, too, Yule has spoken of the intense relief it was to escape from the monotonous scenery and depressing conditions of official life in Bengal (Resort to Simla was the exception, not the rule, in these days!) to the cheerfulness and unconstraint of Burma, with its fine landscapes and merry-hearted population. "It was such a relief to find natives who would laugh at a joke," he once remarked in the writer's presence to the lamented E. C. Baber, who replied that he had experienced exactly the same sense of relief in passing from India to China.

Yule's work on Burma was largely illustrated by his own sketches. One of these represents the King's reception of the Embassy, and another, the King on his throne. The originals were executed by Yule's ready pencil, surreptitiously within his cocked hat, during the audience.

From the latter sketch Yule had a small oil-painting executed under his direction by a German artist, then resident in Calcutta, which he gave to Lord Dalhousie.³⁸

³⁷ Extract from Preface to *Ava*, edition of 1858.

³⁸ The present whereabouts of this picture is unknown to the writer. It was lent to Yule in 1889 by Lord Dalhousie's surviving daughter (for whom he had strong

The Government of India marked their approval of the Embassy by an unusual concession. Each of the members of the mission received a souvenir of the expedition. To Yule was given a very beautiful and elaborately chased small bowl, of nearly pure gold, bearing the signs of the Zodiac in relief.³⁹

On his return to Calcutta, Yule threw himself heart and soul into the work of his new appointment in the Public Works Department. The nature of his work, the novelty and variety of the projects and problems with which this new branch of the service had to deal, brought Yule into constant, and eventually very intimate association with Lord Dalhousie, whom he accompanied on some of his tours of inspection. The two men thoroughly appreciated each other, and, from first to last, Yule experienced the greatest kindness from Lord Dalhousie. In this intimacy, no doubt the fact of being what French soldiers call *pays* added something to the warmth of their mutual regard: their forefathers came from the same *airt*, and neither was unmindful of the circumstance. It is much to be regretted that Yule preserved no sketch of Lord Dalhousie, nor written record of his intercourse with him, but the following lines show some part of what he thought:

At this time [1849] there appears upon the scene that vigorous and masterful spirit, whose arrival to take up the government of India had been greeted by events so inauspicious. No doubt from the beginning the Governor-General was desirous to let it be understood that although new to India he was, and meant to be, master; . . . Lord Dalhousie was by no means averse to frank dissent, provided *in the manner* it was never forgotten that he was Governor-General. Like his great predecessor Lord Wellesley, he was jealous of all familiarity and resented it. . . . The general sentiment of those who worked under that ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν was one of strong and admiring affection . . . and we doubt if a Governor-General ever embarked on the Hoogly amid deeper feeling than attended him who, shattered by sorrow and

regard and much sympathy), and was returned to her early in 1890, but is not named in the catalogue of Lady Susan's effects, sold at Edinburgh in 1898 after her death. At that sale the present writer had the satisfaction of securing for reverent preservation the watch used throughout his career by the great Marquess.

³⁹ Now in the writer's possession. It was for many years on exhibition in the Edinburgh and South Kensington Museums.

physical suffering, but erect and undaunted, quitted Calcutta on the 6th March 1856."⁴⁰

His successor was Lord Canning, whose confidence in Yule and personal regard for him became as marked as his predecessor's.

In the autumn of 1856, Yule took leave and came home. Much of his time while in England was occupied with making arrangements for the production of an improved edition of his book on Burma, which so far had been a mere government report. These were completed to his satisfaction, and on the eve of returning to India, he wrote to his publishers⁴¹ that the correction of the proof sheets and general supervision of the publication had been undertaken by his friend the Rev. W. D. Maclagan, formerly an officer of the Madras army (and now Archbishop of York).

Whilst in England, Yule had renewed his intimacy with his old friend Colonel Robert Napier, then also on furlough, a visitor whose kindly sympathetic presence always brought special pleasure also to Yule's wife and child. One result of this intercourse was that the friends decided to return together to India. Accordingly they sailed from Marseilles towards the end of April, and at Aden were met by the astounding news of the outbreak of the Mutiny.

On his arrival in Calcutta Yule, who retained his appointment of Under Secretary to Government, found his work indefinitely increased. Every available officer was called into the field, and Yule's principal centre of activity was shifted to the great fortress of Allahabad, forming the principal base of operations against the rebels. Not only had he to strengthen or create defences at Allahabad and elsewhere, but on Yule devolved the principal burden of improvising accommodation for the European troops then pouring into India, which ultimately meant providing for an army of 100,000 men. His task was made the more difficult by the long-standing chronic friction, then and long after, existing between the officers of the Queen's and the Company's services. But in a far more important matter he was always fortunate. As he subsequently recorded in a Note for Government: "Through all consciousness of mistakes and short-

⁴⁰ Article by Yule on Lord Lawrence, *Quarterly Review* for April, 1883.

⁴¹ Messrs. Smith & Elder.

comings, I have felt that I had the confidence of those whom I served, a feeling which has lightened many a weight."

It was at Allahabad that Yule, in the intervals of more serious work, put the last touches to his Burma book. The preface of the English edition is dated, "Fortress of Allahabad, Oct. 3, 1857," and contains a passage instinct with the emotions of the time. After recalling the "joyous holiday" on the Irawady, he goes on: "But for ourselves, standing here on the margin of these rivers, which a few weeks ago were red with the blood of our murdered brothers and sisters, and straining the ear to catch the echo of our avenging artillery, it is difficult to turn the mind to what seem dreams of past days of peace and security; and memory itself grows dim in the attempt to repass the gulf which the last few months has interposed between the present and the time to which this narrative refers."⁴²

When he wrote these lines, the first relief had just taken place, and the second defence of Lucknow was beginning. The end of the month saw Sir Colin Campbell's advance to the second—the real—relief of Lucknow. Of Sir Colin, Yule wrote and spoke with warm regard: "Sir Colin was delightful, and when in a good humour and at his best, always reminded me very much, both in manner and talk, of the General (*i.e.* General White, his wife's father). The voice was just the same and the

⁴² Preface to *Narrative of a Mission to the Court of Ava*. Before these words were written, Yule had had the sorrow of losing his elder brother Robert, who had fallen in action before Delhi (19th June, 1857), whilst in command of his regiment, the 9th Lancers. Robert Abercromby Yule (born 1817) was a very noble character and a fine soldier. He had served with distinction in the campaigns in Afghanistan and the Sikh Wars, and was the author of an excellent brief treatise on Cavalry Tactics. He had a ready pencil and a happy turn for graceful verse. In prose his charming little allegorical tale for children, entitled *The White Rhododendron*, is as pure and graceful as the flower whose name it bears. Like both his brothers, he was at once chivalrous and devout, modest, impulsive, and impetuous. No officer was more beloved by his men than Robert Yule, and when some one met them carrying back his covered body from the field and enquired of the sergeant: "Who have you got there?" the reply was: "Colonel Yule, and better have lost half the regiment, sir." It was in the chivalrous effort to extricate some exposed guns that he fell. Some one told afterwards that when asked to go to the rescue, he turned in the saddle, looked back wistfully on his regiment, well knowing the cost of such an enterprise, then gave the order to advance and charge. "No stone marks the spot where Yule went down, but no stone is needed to commemorate his valour" (Archibald Forbes, in *Daily News*, 8th Feb. 1876). At the time of his death Colonel R. A. Yule had been recommended for the C.B. His eldest son, Colonel J. H. Yule, C.B., distinguished himself in several recent campaigns (on the Burma-Chinese frontier, in Tirah, and South Africa).

quiet gentle manner, with its underlying keen dry humour. But then if you did happen to offend Sir Colin, it was like treading on crackers, which was not our General's way."

When Lucknow had been relieved, besieged, reduced, and finally remodelled by the grand Roads and Demolitions Scheme of his friend Napier, the latter came down to Allahabad, and he and Yule sought diversion in playing quoits and skittles, the only occasion on which either of them is known to have evinced any liking for games.

Before this time Yule had succeeded his friend Baker as *de facto* Secretary to Government for Public Works, and on Baker's retirement in 1858, Yule was formally appointed his successor.⁴³ Baker and Yule had, throughout their association, worked in perfect unison, and the very differences in their characters enhanced the value of their co-operation; the special qualities of each friend mutually strengthened and completed each other. Yule's was by far the more original and creative mind, Baker's the more precise and, at least in a professional sense, the more highly-trained organ. In chivalrous sense of honour, devotion to duty, and natural generosity, the men stood equal; but while Yule was by nature impatient and irritable, and liable, until long past middle age, to occasional sudden bursts of uncontrollable anger, generally followed by periods of black depression and almost absolute silence,⁴⁴ Baker was the very reverse. Partly by natural temperament, but also certainly by severe self-discipline, his manner was invincibly placid and his temper imperturbable.⁴⁵ Yet none was more tenacious in maintaining whatever he judged right.

Baker, whilst large-minded in great matters, was extremely conventional in small ones, and Yule must sometimes have tried his feelings in this respect. The particulars of one such tragic occurrence have survived. Yule, who was colour-blind,⁴⁶ and in

⁴³ Baker went home in November, 1857, but did not retire until the following year.

⁴⁴ Nothing was more worthy of respect in Yule's fine character than the energy and success with which he mastered his natural temperament in the last ten years of his life, when few would have guessed his original fiery disposition.

⁴⁵ Not without cause did Sir J. P. Grant officially record that "to his imperturbable temper the Government of India owed much."

⁴⁶ Yule's colour-blindness was one of the cases in which Dalton, the original investigator of this optical defect, took special interest. At a later date (1859) he sent Yule, through Professor Wilson, skeins of coloured silks to name. Yule's elder brother Robert had the same peculiarity of sight, and it was also present in two earlier

early life whimsically obstinate in maintaining his own view of colours, had selected some cloth for trousers undeterred by his tailor's timid remonstrance of "Not *quite* your usual taste, sir." The result was that the Under-Secretary to Government startled official Calcutta by appearing in brilliant claret - coloured raiment. Baker remonstrated: "Claret-colour! Nonsense, my trousers are silver grey," said Yule, and entirely declined to be convinced. "I think I *did* convince him at last," said Baker with some pride, when long after telling the story to the present writer. "And *then* he gave them up?" "Oh, no," said Sir William ruefully, "he wore those claret - coloured trousers to the very end." That episode probably belonged to the Dalhousie period.

When Yule resumed work in the Secretariat at Calcutta at the close of the Mutiny, the inevitable arrears of work were enormous. This may be the proper place to notice more fully his action with respect to the choice of gauge for Indian railways already adverted to in brief. As we have seen, his own convictions led to the adoption of the metre gauge over a great part of India. This policy had great disadvantages not at first foreseen, and has since been greatly modified. In justice to Yule, however, it should be remembered that the conditions and requirements of India have largely altered, alike through the extraordinary growth of the Indian export, especially the grain, trade, and the development of new necessities for Imperial defence. These new features, however, did but accentuate defects inherent in the system, but which only prolonged practical experience made fully apparent.

At the outset the supporters of the narrow gauge seemed to have the stronger position, as they were able to show that the cost was much less, the rails employed being only about $\frac{2}{3}$ rds the weight of those required by the broad gauge, and many other subsidiary expenses also proportionally less. On the other

and two later generations of their mother's family—making five generations in all. But in no case did it pass from parent to child, always passing in these examples, by a sort of Knight's move, from uncle to nephew. Another peculiarity of Yule's more difficult to describe was the instinctive association of certain architectural forms or images with the days of the week. He once, and once only (in 1843), met another person, a lady who was a perfect stranger, with the same peculiarity. About 1878-79 he contributed some notes on this obscure subject to one of the newspapers, in connection with the researches of Mr. Francis Galton, on Visualisation, but the particulars are not now accessible.

hand, as time passed and practical experience was gained, its opponents were able to make an even stronger case against the narrow gauge. The initial expenses were undoubtedly less, but the durability was also less. Thus much of the original saving was lost in the greater cost of maintenance, whilst the small carrying capacity of the rolling stock and loss of time and labour in shifting goods at every break of gauge, were further serious causes of waste, which the internal commercial development of India daily made more apparent. Strategic needs also were clamant against the dangers of the narrow gauge in any general scheme of Indian defence. Yule's connection with the Public Works Department had long ceased ere the question of the gauges reached its most acute stage, but his interest and indirect participation in the conflict survived. In this matter a certain parental tenderness for a scheme which he had helped to originate, combined with his warm friendship for some of the principal supporters of the narrow gauge, seem to have influenced his views more than he himself was aware. Certainly his judgment in this matter was not impartial, although, as always in his case, it was absolutely sincere and not consciously biased.

In reference to Yule's services in the period following the Mutiny, Lord Canning's subsequent Minute of 1862 may here be fitly quoted. In this the Governor-General writes: "I have long ago recorded my opinion of the value of his services in 1858 and 1859, when with a crippled and overtaxed staff of Engineer officers, many of them young and inexperienced, the G.-G. had to provide rapidly for the accommodation of a vast English army, often in districts hitherto little known, and in which the authority of the Government was barely established, and always under circumstances of difficulty and urgency. I desire to repeat that the Queen's army in India was then greatly indebted to Lieut.-Colonel Yule's judgment, earnestness, and ability; and this to an extent very imperfectly understood by many of the officers who held commands in that army.

"Of the manner in which the more usual duties of his office have been discharged it is unnecessary for me to speak. It is, I believe, known and appreciated as well by the Home Government as by the Governor-General in Council."

In the spring of 1859 Yule felt the urgent need of a rest, and

took the, at that time, most unusual step of coming home on three months' leave, which as the voyage then occupied a month each way, left him only one month at home. He was accompanied by his elder brother George, who had not been out of India for thirty years. The visit home of the two brothers was as bright and pleasant as it was brief, but does not call for further notice.

In 1860, Yule's health having again suffered, he took short leave to Java. His journal of this tour is very interesting, but space does not admit of quotation here. He embodied some of the results of his observations in a lecture he delivered on his return to Calcutta.

During these latter years of his service in India, Yule owed much happiness to the appreciative friendship of Lord Canning and the ready sympathy of Lady Canning. If he shared their tours in an official capacity, the intercourse was much more than official. The noble character of Lady Canning won from Yule such whole-hearted chivalrous devotion as, probably, he felt for no other friend save, perhaps in after days, Sir Bartle Frere. And when her health failed, it was to Yule's special care that Lord Canning entrusted his wife during a tour in the Hills. Lady Canning was known to be very homesick, and one day as the party came in sight of some *ilexes* (the evergreen oak), Yule sought to cheer her by calling out pleasantly: "Look, Lady Canning! There are *oaks*!" "No, no, Yule, *not* oaks," cried Sir C. B. "They are (solemnly) *IBEXES*." "No, *not* Ibexes, Sir C., you mean *SILEXES*," cried Capt. —, the A.D.C.; Lady Canning and Yule the while almost choking with laughter.

On another and later occasion, when the Governor-General's camp was peculiarly dull and stagnant, every one yawning and grumbling, Yule effected a temporary diversion by pretending to tap the telegraph wires, and circulating through camp, what purported to be, the usual telegraphic abstract of news brought to Bombay by the latest English mail. The news was of the most astounding character, with just enough air of probability, in minor details, to pass muster with a dull reader. The effect was all he could wish—or rather more—and there was a general flutter in the camp. Of course the Governor-General and one or two others were in the secret, and mightily relished the diversion. But this pleasant and cheering intercourse was drawing to its

mournful close. On her way back from Darjeeling, in November, 1861, Lady Canning (not then in Yule's care) was unavoidably exposed to the malaria of a specially unhealthy season. A few days' illness followed, and on 18th November, 1861, she passed calmly to

“That remaining rest where night and tears are o'er.”⁴⁷

It was to Yule that Lord Canning turned in the first anguish of his loss, and on this faithful friend devolved the sad privilege of preparing her last resting-place. This may be told in the touching words of Lord Canning's letter to his only sister, written on the day of Lady Canning's burial, in the private garden at Barrackpoor⁴⁸ :—

“The funeral is over, and my own darling lies buried in a spot which I am sure she would have chosen of all others. . . . From the grave can be seen the embanked walk leading from the house to the river's edge, which she made as a landing-place three years ago, and from within 3 or 4 paces of the grave there is a glimpse of the terrace-garden and its balustrades, which she made near the house, and of the part of the grounds with which she most occupied herself. . . . I left Calcutta yesterday . . . and on arriving here, went to look at the precise spot chosen for the grave. I could see by the clear full moon . . . that it was exactly right. Yule was there superintending the workmen, and before daylight this morning a solid masonry vault had been completely finished.

“Bowie [Military Secretary] and Yule have done all this for me. It has all been settled since my poor darling died. She liked Yule. They used to discuss together her projects of improvement for this place, architecture, gardening, the Cawnpore monument, etc., and they generally agreed. He knew her tastes well. . . .”

The coffin, brought on a gun-carriage from Calcutta, “was carried by twelve soldiers of the 6th Regiment (Queen's), the A.D.C.'s bearing the pall. There were no hired men or ordinary funeral attendants of any kind at any part of the ceremony, and no lookers-on. . . . Yule was the only person not of the house-

⁴⁷ From Yule's verses on her grave.

⁴⁸ Lord Canning to Lady Clanricarde: Letter dated Barrackpoor, 19th Nov. 1861, 7 A.M., printed in *Two Noble Lives*, by A. J. C. Hare, and here reproduced by Mr. Hare's permission.

hold staff. Had others who had asked "to attend" been allowed to do so, the numbers would have been far too large.

"On coming near the end of the terrace walk I saw that the turf between the walk and the grave, and for several yards all round the grave, was strewed thick with palm branches and bright fresh-gathered flowers—quite a thick carpet. It was a little matter, but so exactly what she would have thought of."⁴⁹

And, therefore, Yule thought of this for her! He also recorded the scene two days later in some graceful and touching lines, privately printed, from which the following may be quoted :

"When night lowered black, and the circling shroud
Of storm rolled near, and stout hearts learned dismay ;
Not Hers ! To her tried Lord a Light and Stay
Even in the Earthquake and the palpable cloud
Of those dark months ; and when a fickle crowd
Panted for blood and pelted wrath and scorn
On him she loved, her courage never stooped :
But when the clouds were driven, and the day
Poured Hope and glorious Sunshine, she who had borne,
The night with such strong Heart, withered and drooped,
Our queenly lily, and smiling passed away.
Now ! let no fouling touch profane her clay,
Nor odious pomps and funeral tinsels mar
Our grief. But from our England's cannon car
Let England's soldiers bear her to the tomb
Prepared by loving hands. Before her bier
Scatter victorious palms ; let Rose's bloom
Carpet its passage"

Yule's deep sympathy in this time of sorrow strengthened the friendship Lord Canning had long felt for him, and when the time approached for the Governor-General to vacate his high office, he invited Yule, who was very weary of India, to accompany him home, where his influence would secure Yule congenial employment. Yule's weariness of India at this time was extreme. Moreover, after serving under such leaders as Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning, and winning their full confidence and friendship, it was almost repugnant to him to begin afresh with new men and probably new measures, with which he might

⁴⁹ Lord Canning's letter to Lady Clanricarde. He gave to Yule Lady Canning's own silver drinking-cup, which she had constantly used. It is carefully treasured, with other Canning and Dalhousie relics, by the present writer.

not be in accord. Indeed, some little clouds were already visible on the horizon. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that Yule, under an impulse of lassitude and impatience, when accepting Lord Canning's offer, also 'burnt his boats' by sending in his resignation of the service. This decision Yule took against the earnest advice of his anxious and devoted wife, and for a time the results justified all her misgivings. She knew well, from past experience, how soon Yule wearied in the absence of compulsory employment. And in the event of the life in England not suiting him, for even Lord Canning's good-will might not secure perfectly congenial employment for his talents, she knew well that his health and spirits would be seriously affected. She, therefore, with affectionate solicitude, urged that he should adopt the course previously followed by his friend Baker, that is, come home on furlough, and only send in his resignation after he saw clearly what his prospects of home employment were, and what he himself wished in the matter.

Lord Canning and Yule left Calcutta late in March, 1862; at Malta they parted never to meet again in this world. Lord Canning proceeded to England, and Yule joined his wife and child in Rome. Only a few weeks later, at Florence, came as a thunderclap the announcement of Lord Canning's unexpected death in London, on 17th June. Well does the present writer remember the day that fatal news came, and Yule's deep anguish, not assuredly for the loss of his prospects, but for the loss of a most noble and magnanimous friend, a statesman whose true greatness was, both then and since, most imperfectly realised by the country for which he had worn himself out.⁵⁰ Shortly after Yule went to England,⁵¹ where he was cordially received by Lord Canning's representatives, who gave him a touching re-

⁵⁰ Many years later Yule wrote of Lord Canning as follows: "He had his defects, no doubt. He had not at first that entire grasp of the situation that was wanted at such a time of crisis. But there is a virtue which in these days seems unknown to Parliamentary statesmen in England—Magnanimity. Lord Canning was an English statesman, and he was surpassingly magnanimous. There is another virtue which in Holy Writ is taken as the type and sum of all righteousness—Justice—and he was eminently just. The misuse of special powers granted early in the Mutiny called for Lord Canning's interference, and the consequence was a flood of savage abuse; the violence and bitterness of which it is now hard to realise." (*Quarterly Review*, April, 1883, p. 306.)

⁵¹ During the next ten years Yule continued to visit London annually for two or three months in the spring or early summer.

membrance of his lost friend, in the shape of the silver travelling candlesticks, which had habitually stood on Lord Canning's writing-table.⁵² But his offer to write Lord Canning's *Life* had no result, as the relatives, following the then recent example of the Hastings family, in the case of another great Governor-General, refused to revive discussion by the publication of any Memoir.

Nor did Yule find any suitable opening for employment in England, so after two or three months spent in visiting old friends, he rejoined his family in the Black Forest, where he sought occupation in renewing his knowledge of German. But it must be confessed that his mood both then and for long after was neither happy nor wholesome. The winter of 1862 was spent somewhat listlessly, partly in Germany and partly at the Hôtel des Bergues, Geneva, where his old acquaintance Colonel Tronchin was hospitably ready to open all doors. The picturesque figure of John Ruskin also flits across the scene at this time. But Yule was unoccupied and restless, and could neither enjoy Mr. Ruskin's criticism of his sketches nor the kindly hospitality of his Genevan hosts. Early in 1863 he made another fruitless visit to London, where he remained four or five months, but found no opening. Though unproductive of work, this year brought Yule official recognition of his services in the shape of the C.B., for which Lord Canning had long before recommended him.⁵³

On rejoining his wife and child at Mornex in Savoy, Yule found the health of the former seriously impaired. During his absence, the kind and able English Doctor at Geneva had felt obliged to inform Mrs. Yule that she was suffering from disease of the heart, and that her life might end suddenly at any moment. Unwilling to add to Yule's anxieties, she made all necessary arrangements, but did not communicate this intelligence until he had done all he wished and returned, when she broke it to him very gently. Up to this year Mrs. Yule, though not strong and often ailing, had not allowed herself to be considered

⁵² Now in the writer's possession. They appear in the well-known portrait of Lord Canning reading a despatch.

⁵³ Lord Canning's recommendation had been mislaid, and the India Office was disposed to ignore it. It was Lord Canning's old friend and Eton chum, Lord Granville, who obtained this tardy justice for Yule, instigated thereto by that most faithful friend, Sir Roderick Murchison.

an invalid, but from this date doctor's orders left her no choice in the matter.⁵⁴

About this time, Yule took in hand the first of his studies of mediæval travellers. His translation of the *Travels of Friar Jordanus* was probably commenced earlier; it was completed during the leisurely journey by carriage between Chambéry and Turin, and the Dedication to Sir Bartle Frere written during a brief halt at Genoa, from which place it is dated. Travelling slowly and pleasantly by *vetturino* along the Riviera di Levante, the family came to Spezzia, then little more than a quiet village. A chance encounter with agreeable residents disposed Yule favourably towards the place, and a few days later he opened negotiations for land to build a house! Most fortunately for himself and all concerned these fell through, and the family continued their journey to Tuscany, and settled for the winter in a long rambling house, with pleasant garden, at Pisa, where Yule was able to continue with advantage his researches into mediæval travel in the East. He paid frequent visits to Florence, where he had many pleasant acquaintances, not least among them Charles Lever ("Harry Lorrequer"), with whom acquaintance ripened into warm and enduring friendship. At Florence he also made the acquaintance of the celebrated Marchese Gino Capponi, and of many other Italian men of letters. To this winter of 1863-64 belongs also the commencement of a lasting friendship with the illustrious Italian historian, Villari, at that time holding an appointment at Pisa. Another agreeable acquaintance, though less intimate, was formed with John Ball, the well-known President of the Alpine Club, then resident at Pisa, and with many others, among whom the name of a very cultivated German scholar, H. Meyer, specially recurs to memory.

⁵⁴ I cannot let the mention of this time of lonely sickness and trial pass without recording here my deep gratitude to our dear and honoured friend, John Ruskin. As my dear mother stood on the threshold between life and death at Mornex that sad spring, he was untiring in all kindly offices of friendship. It was her old friend, Principal A. J. Scott (then eminent, now forgotten), who sent him to call. He came to see us daily when possible, sometimes bringing MSS. of Rossetti and others to read aloud (and who could equal his reading?), and when she was too ill for this, or himself absent, he would send not only books and flowers to brighten the bare rooms of the hillside inn (then very primitive), but his own best treasures of Turner and W. Hunt, drawings and illuminated missals. It was an anxious solace; and though most gratefully enjoyed, these treasures were never long retained.

In the spring of 1864, Yule took a spacious and delightful old villa, situated in the highest part of the Bagni di Lucca,⁵⁵ and commanding lovely views over the surrounding chestnut-clad hills and winding river.

Here he wrote much of what ultimately took form in *Cathay, and the Way Thither*. It was this summer, too, that Yule commenced his investigations among the Venetian archives, and also visited the province of Friuli in pursuit of materials for the history of one of his old travellers, the *Beato Odorico*. At Verona—then still Austrian—he had the amusing experience of being arrested for sketching too near the fortifications. However, his captors had all the usual Austrian *bonhomie* and courtesy, and Yule experienced no real inconvenience. He was much more disturbed when, a day or two later, the old mother of one of his Venetian acquaintances insisted on embracing him on account of his supposed likeness to Garibaldi!

As winter approached, a warmer climate became necessary for Mrs. Yule, and the family proceeded to Sicily, landing at Messina in October, 1864. From this point, Yule made a very interesting excursion to the then little known group of the Lipari Islands, in the company of that eminent geologist, the late Robert Mallet, F.R.S., a most agreeable companion.

On Martinmas Day, the Yules reached the beautiful capital of Sicily, Palermo, which, though they knew it not, was to be their home—a very happy one—for nearly eleven years.

During the ensuing winter and spring, Yule continued the preparation of *Cathay*, but his appetite for work not being satisfied by this, he, when in London in 1865, volunteered to make an Index to the third decade of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, in exchange for a set of such volumes as he did not possess. That was long before any Index Society existed; but Yule had special and very strong views of his own as to what an Index should be, and he spared no labour to realise his ideal.⁵⁶ This proved a heavier task than he had anticipated, and he got very weary before the Index was completed.

⁵⁵ Villa Mansi, nearly opposite the old Ducal Palace. With its private chapel, it formed three sides of a small *place* or court.

⁵⁶ He also at all times spared no pains to enforce that ideal on other index-makers, who were not always grateful for his sound doctrine!

In the spring of 1866, *Cathay and the Way Thither* appeared, and at once took the high place which it has ever since retained. In the autumn of the same year Yule's attention was momentarily turned in a very different direction by a local insurrection, followed by severe reprisals, and the bombardment of Palermo by the Italian Fleet. His sick wife was for some time under rifle as well as shell fire; but cheerfully remarking that "every bullet has its billet," she remained perfectly serene and undisturbed. It was the year of the last war with Austria, and also of the suppression of the Monastic Orders in Sicily; two events which probably helped to produce the outbreak, of which Yule contributed an account to *The Times*, and subsequently a more detailed one to the *Quarterly Review*.⁵⁷

Yule had no more predilection for the Monastic Orders than most of his countrymen, but his sense of justice was shocked by the cruel incidence of the measure in many cases, and also by the harshness with which both it and the punishment of suspected insurgents was carried out. Cholera was prevalent in Italy that year, but Sicily, which had maintained stringent quarantine, entirely escaped until large bodies of troops were landed to quell the insurrection, when a devastating epidemic immediately ensued, and re-appeared in 1867. In after years, when serving on the Army Sanitary Committee at the India Office, Yule more than once quoted this experience as indicating that quarantine restrictions may, in some cases, have more value than British medical authority is usually willing to admit.

In 1867, on his return from London, Yule commenced systematic work on his long projected new edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo*. It was apparently in this year that the scheme first took definite form, but it had long been latent in his mind. The Public Libraries of Palermo afforded him much good material, whilst occasional visits to the Libraries of Venice, Florence, Paris, and London, opened other sources. But his most important channel of supply came from his very extensive private correspondence, extending to nearly all parts of Europe and many centres in Asia. His work brought him many new and valued friends, indeed too many to mention, but amongst whom, as

⁵⁷ He saw a good deal of the outbreak when taking small comforts to a friend, the Commandant of the Military School, who was captured and imprisoned by the insurgents.

belonging specially to this period, three honoured names must be recalled here: Commendatore (afterwards Baron) CRISTOFORO NEGRI, the large-hearted Founder and First President of the Geographical Society of Italy, from whom Yule received his first public recognition as a geographer, Commendatore GUGLIELMO BERCHET (affectionately nicknamed *il Bello e Buono*), ever generous in learned help, who became a most dear and honoured friend, and the Hon. GEORGE P. MARSH, U.S. Envoy to the Court of Italy, a man, both as scholar and friend, unequalled in his nation, perhaps almost unique anywhere.

Those who only knew Yule in later years, may like some account of his daily life at this time. It was his custom to rise fairly early; in summer he sometimes went to bathe in the sea,⁵⁸ or for a walk before breakfast; more usually he would write until breakfast, which he preferred to have alone. After breakfast he looked through his notebooks, and before ten o'clock was usually walking rapidly to the library where his work lay. He would work there until two or three o'clock, when he returned home, read the *Times*, answered letters, received or paid visits, and then resumed work on his book, which he often continued long after the rest of the household were sleeping. Of course his family saw but little of him under these circumstances, but when he had got a chapter of *Marco* into shape, or struck out some new discovery of interest, he would carry it to his wife to read. She always took great interest in his work, and he had great faith in her literary instinct as a sound as well as sympathetic critic.

The first fruits of Yule's Polo studies took the form of a review of Pauthier's edition of *Marco Polo*, contributed to the *Quarterly Review* in 1868.

In 1870 the great work itself appeared, and received prompt generous recognition by the grant of the very beautiful gold medal of the Geographical Society of Italy,⁵⁹ followed in 1872 by the award of the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, while the Geographical and Asiatic Societies of Paris, the Geographical Societies of Italy and Berlin, the Academy of Bologna, and other learned bodies, enrolled him as an Honorary Member.

⁵⁸ After 1869 he discontinued sea-bathing.

⁵⁹ This was Yule's first geographical honour, but he had been elected into the Athenæum Club, under "Rule II.," in January, 1867.

Reverting to 1869, we may note that Yule, when passing through Paris early in the spring, became acquainted, through his friend M. Charles Maunoir, with the admirable work of exploration lately performed by Lieut. Francis Garnier of the French Navy. It was a time of much political excitement in France, the eve of the famous *Plébiscite*, and the importance of Garnier's work was not then recognised by his countrymen. Yule saw its value, and on arrival in London went straight to Sir Roderick Murchison, laid the facts before him, and suggested that no other traveller of the year had so good a claim to one of the two gold medals of the R.G.S. as this French naval Lieutenant. Sir Roderick was propitious, and accordingly in May the Patron's medal was assigned to Garnier, who was touchingly grateful to Yule; whilst the French Minister of Marine marked his appreciation of Yule's good offices by presenting him with the magnificent volumes commemorating the expedition.⁶⁰

Yule was in Paris in 1871, immediately after the suppression of the Commune, and his letters gave interesting accounts of the extraordinary state of affairs then prevailing. In August, he served as President of the Geographical Section of the British Association at its Edinburgh meeting.

On his return to Palermo, he devoted himself specially to the geography of the Oxus region, and the result appeared next year in his introduction and notes to Wood's *Journey*. Soon after his return to Palermo, he became greatly interested in the plans, about which he was consulted, of an English church, the gift to the English community of two of its oldest members, Messrs Ingham and Whitaker. Yule's share in the enterprise gradually expanded, until he became a sort of volunteer clerk of the works, to the great benefit of his health, as this occupation during the next three years, whilst adding to his interests, also kept him longer in the open air than would otherwise have been the case. It was a real misfortune to Yule (and one of which he was himself at times conscious) that he had no taste for any out-of-door pursuits, neither for any form of natural science, nor for gardening, nor for

⁶⁰ Garnier took a distinguished part in the Defence of Paris in 1870-71, after which he resumed his naval service in the East, where he was killed in action. His last letter to Yule contained the simple announcement "*J'ai pris Hanoï*," a modest terseness of statement worthy of the best naval traditions.

any kind of sport nor games. Nor did he willingly ride.⁶¹ He was always restless away from his books. There can be no doubt that want of sufficient air and exercise, reacting on an impaired liver, had much to do with Yule's unsatisfactory state of health and frequent extreme depression. There was no lack of agreeable and intelligent society at Palermo (society that the present writer recalls with cordial regard), to which every winter brought pleasant temporary additions, both English and foreign, the best of whom generally sought Yule's acquaintance. Old friends too were not wanting; many found their way to Palermo, and when such came, he was willing to show them hospitality and to take them excursions, and occasionally enjoyed these. But though the beautiful city and surrounding country were full of charm and interest, Yule was too much pre-occupied by his own special engrossing pursuits ever really to get the good of his surroundings, of which indeed he often seemed only half conscious.

By this time Yule had obtained, without ever having sought it, a distinct and, in some respects, quite unique position in geographical science. Although his *Essay on the Geography of the Oxus Region* (1872) received comparatively little public attention at home, it had yet made its mark once for all,⁶² and from this time, if not earlier, Yule's high authority in all questions of Central Asian geography was generally recognised. He had long ere this, almost unconsciously, laid the broad foundations of that "Yule method," of which Baron von Richthofen has written so eloquently, declaring that not only in his own land, "but also in the literatures of France, Italy, Germany, and other countries, the powerful stimulating influence of the Yule method is visible."⁶³ More than one writer has indeed boldly com-

⁶¹ One year the present writer, at her mother's desire, induced him to take walks of 10 to 12 miles with her, but interesting and lovely as the scenery was, he soon wearied for his writing-table (even bringing his work with him), and thus little permanent good was effected. And it was just the same afterwards in Scotland, where an old Highland gillie, describing his experience of the Yule brothers, said: "I was liking to take out Sir George, for he takes the time to enjoy the hills, but (plaintively), the Kornel is no good, for he's just as restless as a water-wagtail!" If there be any *mal de l'écrivain* corresponding to *mal du pays*, Yule certainly had it.

⁶² The Russian Government in 1873 paid the same work the very practical compliment of circulating it largely amongst their officers in Central Asia.

⁶³ "Auch in den Literaturen von Frankreich, Italien, Deutschland und andere Ländern ist der mächtig treibende Einfluss der Yuleschen Methode, welche

pared Central Asia before Yule to Central Africa before Livingstone!

Yule had wrought from sheer love of the work and without expectation of public recognition, and it was therefore a great surprise as well as gratification to him, to find that the demand for his *Marco Polo* was such as to justify the appearance of a second edition only a few years after the first. The preparation of this enlarged edition, with much other miscellaneous work (see subjoined bibliography), and the superintendence of the building of the church already named, kept him fully occupied for the next three years.

Amongst the parerga and miscellaneous occupations of Yule's leisure hours in the period 1869-74, may be mentioned an interesting correspondence with Professor W. W. Skeat on the subject of *William of Palerne* and Sicilian examples of the Werwolf; the skilful analysis and exposure of Klaproth's false geography;⁶⁴ the purchase and despatch of Sicilian seeds and young trees for use in the Punjab, at the request of the Indian Forestry Department; translations (prepared for friends) of tracts on the cultivation of Sumach and the collection of Manna as practised in Sicily; also a number of small services rendered to the South Kensington Museum, at the request of the late Sir Henry Cole. These latter included obtaining Italian and Sicilian bibliographic contributions to the Science and Art Department's *Catalogue of Books on Art*, selecting architectural subjects to be photographed;⁶⁵ negotiating the purchase of the original drawings illustrative of Padre B. Gravina's great work on the Cathedral of Monreale; and superintending the execution of a copy in mosaic of the large mosaic picture (in the Norman Palatine Chapel, Palermo,) of the Entry of our Lord into Jerusalem.

In the spring of 1875, just after the publication of the second

wissenschaftliche Gründlichkeit mit anmuthender Form verbindet, bemerkbar." (*Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, Band XVII. No. 2.)

⁶⁴ This subject is too lengthy for more than cursory allusion here, but the patient analytic skill and keen venatic instinct with which Yule not only proved the forgery of the alleged *Travels of Georg Ludwig von* ——— (that had been already established by Lord Strangford, whose last effort it was, and Sir Henry Rawlinson), but step by step traced it home to the arch-culprit Klaproth, was nothing less than masterly.

⁶⁵ This is probably the origin of the odd misstatement as to Yule occupying himself at Palermo with photography, made in the delightful *Reminiscences* of the late Colonel Balcarres Ramsay. Yule never attempted photography after 1852.

edition of *Marco Polo*, Yule had to mourn the loss of his noble wife. He was absent from Sicily at the time, but returned a few hours after her death on 30th April. She had suffered for many years from a severe form of heart disease, but her end was perfect peace. She was laid to rest, amid touching tokens of both public and private sympathy, in the beautiful camposanto on Monte Pellegrino. What her loss was to Yule only his oldest and closest friends were in a position to realise. Long years of suffering had impaired neither the soundness of her judgment nor the sweetness, and even gaiety, of her happy, unselfish disposition. And in spirit, as even in appearance, she retained to the very last much of the radiance of her youth. Nor were her intellectual gifts less remarkable. Few who had once conversed with her ever forgot her, and certainly no one who had once known her intimately ever ceased to love her.⁶⁶

Shortly after this calamity, Yule removed to London, and on the retirement of his old friend, Sir William Baker, from the India Council early that autumn, Lord Salisbury at once selected him for the vacant seat. Nothing would ever have made him a party-man, but he always followed Lord Salisbury with conviction, and worked under him with steady confidence.

In 1877 Yule married, as his second wife, the daughter of an old friend,⁶⁷ a very amiable woman twenty years his junior, who made him very happy until her untimely death in 1881. From the time of his joining the India Council, his duties at the India Office of course occupied a great part of his time, but he also continued to do an immense amount of miscellaneous literary work, as may be seen by reference to the subjoined bibliography,

⁶⁶ She was a woman of fine intellect and wide reading ; a skilful musician, who also sang well, and a good amateur artist in the style of Aug. Delacroix (of whom she was a favourite pupil). Of French and Italian she had a thorough and literary mastery, and how well she knew her own language is shown by the sound and pure English of a story she published in early life, under the pseudonym of Max Lyle (*Fair Oaks, or The Experiences of Arnold Osborne, M.D.*, 2 vols., 1856). My mother was partly of Highland descent on both sides, and many of her fine qualities were very characteristic of that race. Before her marriage she took an active part in many good works, and herself originated the useful School for the Blind at Bath, in a room which she hired with her pocket-money, where she and her friend Miss Elwin taught such of the blind poor as they could gather together.

In the tablet which he erected to her memory in the family burial-place of St. Andrew's, Gulane, her husband described her thus :—"A woman singular in endowments, in suffering, and in faith ; to whom to live was Christ, to die was gain."

⁶⁷ Mary Wilhelmina, daughter of F. Skipwith, Esq., B.C.S.

(itself probably incomplete). In Council he invariably "showed his strong determination to endeavour to deal with questions on their own merits and not only by custom and precedent."⁶⁸ Amongst subjects in which he took a strong line of his own in the discussions of the Council, may be specially instanced his action in the matter of the cotton duties (in which he defended native Indian manufactures as against hostile Manchester interests); the Vernacular Press Act, the necessity for which he fully recognised; and the retention of Kandahar, for which he recorded his vote in a strong minute. In all these three cases, which are typical of many others, his opinion was overruled, but having been carefully and deliberately formed, it remained unaffected by defeat.

In all matters connected with Central Asian affairs, Yule's opinion always carried great weight; some of his most competent colleagues indeed preferred his authority in this field to that of even Sir Henry Rawlinson, possibly for the reason given by Sir M. Grant Duff, who has epigrammatically described the latter as good in Council but dangerous in counsel.⁶⁹

Yule's courageous independence and habit of looking at all public questions by the simple light of what appeared to him right, yet without fads or doctrinairism, earned for him the respect of the successive Secretaries of State under whom he served, and the warm regard and confidence of his other colleagues. The value attached to his services in Council was sufficiently shown by the fact that when the period of ten years (for which members are usually appointed), was about to expire, Lord Hartington (now Duke of Devonshire), caused Yule's appointment to be renewed for life, under a special Act of Parliament passed for this purpose in 1885.

His work as a member of the Army Sanitary Committee, brought him into communication with Miss Florence Nightingale, a privilege which he greatly valued and enjoyed, though he used to say: "She is worse than a Royal Commission to answer, and, in the most gracious charming manner possible, immediately finds out all I don't know!" Indeed his devotion to the "Lady-in-Chief" was scarcely less complete than Kinglake's.

⁶⁸ Collinson's *Memoir of Yule*.

⁶⁹ See *Notes from a Diary*, 1888-91.

In 1880, Yule was appointed to the Board of Visitors of the Government Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, a post which added to his sphere of interests without materially increasing his work. In 1882, he was much gratified by being named an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, more especially as it was to fill one of the two vacancies created by the deaths of Thomas Carlyle and Dean Stanley.

Yule had been President of the Hakluyt Society from 1877, and in 1885 was elected President also of the Royal Asiatic Society. He would probably also have been President of the Royal Geographical Society, but for an untoward incident. Mention has already been made of his constant determination to judge all questions by the simple touchstone of what he believed to be right, irrespective of personal considerations. It was in pursuance of these principles that, at the cost of great pain to himself and some misrepresentation, he in 1878 sundered his long connection with the Royal Geographical Society, by resigning his seat on their Council, solely in consequence of their adoption of what he considered a wrong policy. This severance occurred just when it was intended to propose him as President. Some years later, at the personal request of the late Lord Aberdare, a President in all respects worthy of the best traditions of that great Society, Yule consented to rejoin the Council, which he re-entered as a Vice-President.

In 1883, the University of Edinburgh celebrated its Tercentenary, when Yule was selected as one of the recipients of the honorary degree of LL.D. His letters from Edinburgh, on this occasion, give a very pleasant and amusing account of the festivity and of the celebrities he met. Nor did he omit to chronicle the envious glances cast, as he alleged, by some British men of science on the splendours of foreign Academic attire, on the yellow robes of the Sorbonne, and the Palms of the Institute of France! Pasteur was, he wrote, the one most enthusiastically acclaimed of all who received degrees.

I think it was about the same time that M. Renan was in England, and called upon Sir Henry Maine, Yule, and others at the India Office. On meeting just after, the colleagues compared notes as to their distinguished but unwieldy visitor. "It seems that *le style n'est pas l'homme même* in this instance,"

quoth "Ancient Law" to "Marco Polo." And here it may be remarked that Yule so completely identified himself with his favourite traveller that he frequently signed contributions to the public press as *MARCUS PAULUS VENETUS* or *M.P.V.* His more intimate friends also gave him the same *sobriquet*, and once, when calling on his old friend, Dr. John Brown (the beloved chronicler of *Rab and his Friends*), he was introduced by Dr. John to some lion-hunting American visitors as "our Marco Polo." The visitors evidently took the statement in a literal sense, and scrutinised Yule closely.⁷⁰

In 1886 Yule published his delightful *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, with the whimsical but felicitous sub-title of *Hobson-Jobson* (the name given by the rank and file of the British Army in India to the religious festival in celebration of Hassan and Husaïn).

This *Glossary* was an abiding interest to both Yule and the present writer. Contributions of illustrative quotations came from most diverse and unexpected sources, and the arrival of each new word or happy quotation was quite an event, and gave such pleasure to the recipients as can only be fully understood by those who have shared in such pursuits. The volume was dedicated in affecting terms to his elder brother, Sir George Yule, who, unhappily, did not survive to see it completed.

In July 1885, the two brothers had taken the last of many happy journeys together, proceeding to Cornwall and the Scilly Isles. A few months later, on 13th January 1886, the end came suddenly to the elder, from the effects of an accident at his own door.⁷¹

It may be doubted if Yule ever really got over the shock of this loss, though he went on with his work as usual, and served that year as a Royal Commissioner on the occasion of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886.

From 1878, when an accidental chill laid the foundations of an exhausting, though happily quite painless, malady, Yule's strength had gradually failed, although for several years longer his general health and energies still appeared unimpaired to a casual observer. The condition of public affairs also, in some

⁷⁰ The identification was not limited to Yule, for when travelling in Russia many years ago, the present writer was introduced by an absent-minded Russian *savant* to his colleagues as *Mademoiselle Marco Paulovna!*

⁷¹ See Note on Sir George Yule's career at the end of this Memoir.

degree, affected his health injuriously. The general trend of political events from 1880 to 1886 caused him deep anxiety and distress, and his righteous wrath at what he considered the betrayal of his country's honour in the cases of Frere, of Gordon, and of Ireland, found strong, and, in a noble sense, passionate expression in both prose and verse. He was never in any sense a party man, but he often called himself "one of Mr. Gladstone's converts," *i.e.* one whom Gladstonian methods had compelled to break with liberal tradition and prepossessions.

Nothing better expresses Yule's feeling in the period referred to than the following letter, written in reference to the R. E. Gordon Memorial,⁷² but of much wider application: "Will you allow me an inch or two of space to say to my brother officers, 'Have nothing to do with the proposed Gordon Memorial.'

"That glorious memory is in no danger of perishing and needs no memorial. Sackcloth and silence are what it suggests to those who have guided the action of England; and Englishmen must bear the responsibility for that action and share its shame. It is too early for atoning memorials; nor is it possible for those who take part in them to dissociate themselves from a repulsive hypocrisy.

"Let every one who would fain bestow something in honour of the great victim, do, in silence, some act of help to our soldiers or their families, or to others who are poor and suffering.

"In later days our survivors or successors may look back with softened sorrow and pride to the part which men of our corps have played in these passing events, and Charles Gordon far in the front of all; and then they may set up our little tablets, or what not—not to preserve the memory of our heroes, but to maintain the integrity of our own record of the illustrious dead."

Happily Yule lived to see the beginning of better times for his country. One of the first indications of that national awakening was the right spirit in which the public, for the most part, received Lord Wolseley's stirring appeal at the close of 1888, and Yule was so much struck by the parallelism between Lord Wolseley's warning and some words of his own contained

⁷² Addressed to the Editor, *Royal Engineers' Journal*, who did not, however, publish it.

in the pseudo-Polo fragment (see above, end of Preface), that he sent Lord Wolseley the very last copy of the 1875 edition of *Marco Polo*, with a vigorous expression of his sentiments.

That was probably Yule's last utterance on a public question. The sands of life were now running low, and in the spring of 1889, he felt it right to resign his seat on the India Council, to which he had been appointed for life. On this occasion Lord Cross, then Secretary of State for India, successfully urged his acceptance of the K.C.S.I., which Yule had refused several years before.

In the House of Lords, Viscount Cross subsequently referred to his resignation in the following terms. He said: "A vacancy on the Council had unfortunately occurred through the resignation from ill-health of Sir Henry Yule, whose presence on the Council had been of enormous advantage to the natives of the country. A man of more kindly disposition, thorough intelligence, high-minded, upright, honourable character, he believed did not exist; and he would like to bear testimony to the estimation in which he was held, and to the services which he had rendered in the office he had so long filled."⁷³

This year the Hakluyt Society published the concluding volume of Yule's last work of importance, the *Diary of Sir William Hedges*. He had for several years been collecting materials for a full memoir of his great predecessor in the domain of historical geography, the illustrious Rennell.⁷⁴ This work was well advanced as to preliminaries, but was not sufficiently developed for early publication at the time of Yule's death, and ere it could be completed its place had been taken by a later enterprise.

During the summer of 1889, Yule occupied much of his leisure by collecting and revising for re-issue many of his miscellaneous writings. Although not able to do much at a time, this desultory work kept him occupied and interested, and gave him much pleasure during many months. It was, however, never completed. Yule went to the seaside for a few weeks

⁷³ Debate of 27th August, 1889, as reported in *The Times* of 28th August.

⁷⁴ Yule had published a brief but very interesting Memoir of Major Rennell in the *R. E. Journal* in 1881. He was extremely proud of the circumstance that Rennell's surviving grand-daughter presented to him a beautiful wax medallion portrait of the great geographer. This wonderfully life-like presentment was bequeathed by Yule to his friend Sir Joseph Hooker, who presented it to the Royal Society.

in the early summer, and subsequently many pleasant days were spent by him among the Surrey hills, as the guest of his old friends Sir Joseph and Lady Hooker. Of their constant and unwearied kindness, he always spoke with most affectionate gratitude. That autumn he took a great dislike to the English climate; he hankered after sunshine, and formed many plans, eager though indefinite, for wintering at Cintra, a place whose perfect beauty had fascinated him in early youth. But increasing weakness made a journey to Portugal, or even the South of France, an alternative of which he also spoke, very inexpedient, if not absolutely impracticable. Moreover, he would certainly have missed abroad the many friends and multifarious interests which still surrounded him at home. He continued to take drives, and occasionally called on friends, up to the end of November, and it was not until the middle of December that increasing weakness obliged him to take to his bed. He was still, however, able to enjoy seeing his friends—some to the very end, and he had a constant stream of visitors, mostly old friends, but also a few newer ones, who were scarcely less welcome. He also kept up his correspondence to the last, three attached brother R.E.'s, General Collinson, General Maclagan, and Major W. Broadfoot, taking it in turn with the present writer to act as his amanuensis.

On Friday, 27th December, Yule received a telegram from Paris, announcing his nomination that day as Corresponding Member of the Institute of France (*Académie des Inscriptions*), one of the few distinctions of any kind of which it can still be said that it has at no time lost any of its exalted dignity.

An honour of a different kind that came about the same time, and was scarcely less prized by him, was a very beautiful letter of farewell and benediction from Miss Florence Nightingale,⁷⁵ which he kept under his pillow and read many times. On the 28th, he dictated to the present writer his acknowledgment, also by telegraph, of the great honour done him by the Institute. The message was in the following words: "Reddo gratias,

⁷⁵ Knowing his veneration for that noble lady, I had written to tell her of his condition, and to ask her to give him this last pleasure of a few words. The response was such as few but herself could write. This letter was not to be found after my father's death, and I can only conjecture that it must either have been given away by himself (which is most improbable), or was appropriated by some unauthorised outsider.

Illustrissimi Domini, ob honores tanto nimios quanto immeritos! Mihi robor deficiunt, vita collabitur, accipiatis voluntatem pro facto. Cum corde pleno et gratissimo moriturus vos, Illustrissimi Domini, saluto.

YULE."

Sunday, 29th December, was a day of the most dense black fog, and he felt its oppression, but was much cheered by a visit from his ever faithful friend, Collinson, who, with his usual unselfishness, came to him that day at very great personal inconvenience.

On Monday, 30th December, the day was clearer, and Henry Yule awoke much refreshed, and in a peculiarly happy and even cheerful frame of mind. He said he felt so comfortable. He spoke of his intended book, and bade his daughter write about the inevitable delay to his publisher: "Go and write to John Murray," were indeed his last words to her. During the morning he saw some friends and relations, but as noon approached his strength flagged, and after a period of unconsciousness, he passed peacefully away in the presence of his daughter and of an old friend, who had come from Edinburgh to see him, but arrived too late for recognition. Almost at the same time that Yule fell asleep, his "stately message,"⁷⁶ was being read under the great Dome in Paris. Some two hours after Yule had passed away, F.-M. Lord Napier of Magdala, called on an errand of friendship, and at his desire was admitted to see the last of his early friend. When Lord Napier came out, he said to the present writer, in his own reflective way: "He looks as if he had just settled to some great work." With these suggestive words of the great soldier, who was so soon, alas, to follow his old friend to the work of another world, this sketch may fitly close.

The following excellent verses (of unknown authorship) on Yule's death, subsequently appeared in the *Academy*:⁷⁷

"'Moriturus vos saluto'
Breathes his last the dying scholar—
Tireless student, brilliant writer;
He 'salutes his age' and journeys
To the Undiscovered Country.

⁷⁶ So Sir M. E. Grant Duff well calls it.

⁷⁷ *Academy*, 29th March, 1890.

"There await him with warm welcome
 All the heroes of old Story—
 The Venetians, the Cà Polo,
 Marco, Nicolo, Maffeo,
 Odoric of Pordenone,
 Ibn Batuta, Marignolli,
 Benedict de Goës—' Seeking
 Lost Cathay and finding Heaven.'
 Many more whose lives he cherished
 With the piety of learning ;
 Fading records, buried pages,
 Failing lights and fires forgotten,
 By his energy recovered,
 By his eloquence re-kindled.
 ' Moriturus vos saluto '
 Breathes his last the dying scholar,
 And the far off ages answer :
Immortales te salutant.

D. M."

The same idea had been previously embodied, in very felicitous language, by the late General Sir William Lockhart, in a letter which that noble soldier addressed to the present writer a few days after Yule's death. And Yule himself would have taken pleasure in the idea of those meetings with his old travellers, which seemed so certain to his surviving friends.⁷⁸

He rests in the old cemetery at Tunbridge Wells, with his second wife, as he had directed. A great gathering of friends attended the first part of the burial service which was held in London on 3rd January, 1890. Amongst those present were witnesses of every stage of his career, from his boyish days at the High School of Edinburgh downwards. His daughter, of course, was there, led by the faithful, peerless friend who was so soon to follow him into the Undiscovered Country.⁷⁹ She and his youngest nephew, with two cousins and a few old friends, followed his remains over the snow to the graveside. The epitaph subsequently inscribed on the tomb was penned by Yule himself, but is by no means representative of his powers in a kind of composition in which he had so often excelled in the service of others. As a composer of epitaphs and other monumental inscriptions few of our time have surpassed, if any have equalled him, in his best efforts.

⁷⁸ He was much pleased, I remember, by a letter he once received from a kindly Franciscan friar, who wrote: "You may rest assured that the Beato Odorico will not forget all you have done for him."

⁷⁹ F.-M. Lord Napier of Magdala, died 14th January, 1890.

SIR GEORGE UDNY YULE, C.B., K.C.S.I.*

GEORGE UDNY YULE, born at Inveresk in 1813, passed through Haileybury into the Bengal Civil Service, which he entered at the age of 18 years. For twenty-five years his work lay in Eastern Bengal. He gradually became known to the Government for his activity and good sense, but won a far wider reputation as a mighty hunter, alike with hog-spear and double barrel. By 1856 the roll of his slain tigers exceeded four hundred, some of them of special fame; after that he continued slaying his tigers, but ceased to count them. For some years he and a few friends used annually to visit the plains of the Brahmaputra, near the Garrow Hills—an entirely virgin country then, and swarming with large game. Yule used to describe his once seeing seven rhinoceroses at once on the great plain, besides herds of wild buffalo and deer of several kinds. One of the party started the theory that Noah's Ark had been shipwrecked there! In those days George Yule was the only man to whom the Maharajah of Nepaul, Sir Jung Bahadur, conceded leave to shoot within his frontier.

Yule was first called from his useful obscurity in 1856. The year before, the Sonthals in insurrection disturbed the long unbroken peace of the Delta. These were a numerous non-Aryan, uncivilised, but industrious race, driven wild by local mismanagement, and the oppressions of Hindoo usurers acting through the regulation courts. After the suppression of their rising, Yule was selected by Sir F. Halliday, who knew his man, to be Commissioner of the Bhagulpoor Division, containing some six million souls, and embracing the hill country of the Sonthals. He obtained sanction to a code for the latter, which removed these people entirely from the Court system, and its tribe of leeches, and abolished all intermediaries between the Sahib and the Sonthal peasant. Through these measures, and his personal influence, aided by picked assistants, he was able to effect, with extraordinary rapidity, not only their entire pacification, but such a beneficial change in their material condition, that they have risen from a state of barbarous penury to comparative prosperity and comfort.

George Yule was thus engaged when the Mutiny broke out, and it soon made itself felt in the districts under him. To its suppression within his limits, he addressed himself with characteristic vigour. Thoroughly trusted by every class—by his Government, by those under him, by planters and by Zemindars—he organised a little force, comprising a small detachment of the 5th Regiment, a party of British sailors, mounted volunteers from the districts, etc., and of this he became practically the captain. Elephants were collected from all quarters to spare the legs of his infantry and sailors; while dog-carts were turned into limbers for the small three-pounders of the seamen. And with this little army George Yule scoured the Trans-Gangetic districts, leading it against bodies of the Mutineers, routing them upon more than one occasion, and out-manceuvring them by

* This notice includes the greater part of an article written by my father, and published in the *St. James' Gazette* of 18th January, 1886, but I have added other details from personal recollection and other sources.—A. F. Y.

his astonishing marches, till he succeeded in driving them across the Nepal frontier. No part of Bengal was at any time in such danger, and nowhere was the danger more speedily and completely averted.

After this Yule served for two or three years as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, where in 1862 he married Miss Pemberton, the daughter of a very able father, and the niece of Sir Donald MacLeod, of honoured and beloved memory. Then for four or five years he was Resident at Hyderabad, where he won the enduring friendship of Sir Salar Jung. "Everywhere he showed the same characteristic firm but benignant justice. Everywhere he gained the lasting attachment of all with whom he had intimate dealings—except tigers and scoundrels."

Many years later, indignant at the then apparently supine attitude of the British Government in the matter of the Abyssinian captives, George Yule wrote a letter (necessarily published without his name, as he was then on the Governor-General's Council), to the editor of an influential Indian paper, proposing a private expedition should be organised for their delivery from King Theodore, and inviting the editor (Dr. George Smith) to open a list of subscriptions in his paper for this purpose, to which Yule offered to contribute £2000 by way of beginning. Although impracticable in itself, it is probable that, as in other cases, the existence of such a project may have helped to force the Government into action. The particulars of the above incident were printed by Dr. Smith in his *Memoir of the Rev. John Wilson*, but are given here from memory.

From Hyderabad he was promoted in 1867 to the Governor-General's Council, but his health broke down under the sedentary life, and he retired and came home in 1869.

After some years of country life in Scotland, where he bought a small property, he settled near his brother in London, where he was a principal instrument in enabling Sir George Birdwood to establish the celebration of Primrose Day (for he also was "one of Mr. Gladstone's converts"). Sir George Yule never sought 'London Society' or public employment, but in 1877 he was offered and refused the post of Financial Adviser to the Khedive under the Dual control. When his feelings were stirred he made useful contributions to the public press, which, after his escape from official trammels, were always signed. The very last of these (*St. James' Gazette*, 24th February 1885) was a spirited protest against the snub administered by the late Lord Derby, as Secretary of State, to the Colonies, when they had generously offered assistance in the Soudan campaign. He lived a quiet, happy, and useful life in London, where he was the friend and unwearied helper of all who needed help. He found his chief interests in books and flowers, and in giving others pleasure. Of rare unselfishness and sweet nature, single in mind and motive, fearing God and knowing no other fear, he was regarded by a large number of people with admiring affection. He met his death by a fall on the frosty pavement at his door, in the very act of doing a kindness. An interesting sketch of Sir George Yule's Indian career, by one who knew him thoroughly, is to be found in Sir Edward Braddon's *Thirty Years of Shikar*. An account of his share in the origin of Primrose Day appeared in the *St. James' Gazette* during 1891.

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SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

MARCO POLO AND HIS BOOK.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

	PAGE
I. OBSCURITIES IN THE HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND BOOK. RAMUSIO'S STATEMENTS	1
§ 1. Obscurities, etc. 2. Ramusio his earliest Biographer; his Account of Polo. 3. He vindicates Polo's Geography. 4. Compares him with Columbus. 5. Recounts a Tradition of the Traveller's Return to Venice. 6. Recounts Marco's Capture by the Genoese. 7. His statements about Marco's liberation and marriage. 8. His account of the Family Polo and its termination.	
II. SKETCH OF THE STATE OF THE EAST AT THE TIME OF THE JOURNEYS OF THE POLO FAMILY	8
§ 9. State of the Levant. 10. The various Mongol Sovereignities in Asia and Eastern Europe. 11. China. 12. India and Indo-China.	
III. THE POLO FAMILY. PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE TRAVELLERS TILL THEIR FINAL RETURN FROM THE EAST	13
§ 13. Alleged origin of the Polos. 14. Claims to Nobility. 15. The Elder Marco Polo. 16. Nicolò and Maffeo Polo commence their Travels. 17. Their intercourse with Kúblái Kaan. 18. Their return home, and Marco's appearance on the scene. 19. Second Journey of the Polo Brothers, accompanied by Marco. (See App. L. 1.) 20. Marco's Employment by Kúblái Kaan; and his Journeys. 21. Circumstances of the departure of the Polos from the Kaan's Court. 22. They pass by Persia to Venice. Their relations there.	

	PAGE
IV. DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE MANSION OF THE POLO FAMILY AT S. GIOVANNI GRISOSTOMO	26
§ 23. Probable period of their establishment at S. Giovanni Grisostomo.	
24. Relics of the Casa Polo in the Corte Sabbionera. 24a. Recent corroboration as to traditional site of the Casa Polo.	
V. DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE WAR-GALLEYS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN STATES IN THE MIDDLE AGES	31
§ 25. Arrangement of the Rowers in Mediæval Gallies; a separate Oar to every Man. 26. Change of System in 16th Century. 27. Some details of 13th-Century Gallies. 28. Fighting Arrangements. 29. Crew of a Galley and Staff of a Fleet. 30. Music and miscellaneous particulars.	
VI. THE JEALOUSIES AND NAVAL WARS OF VENICE AND GENOA. LAMBA DORIA'S EXPEDITION TO THE ADRIATIC; BATTLE OF CURZOLA; AND IMPRISONMENT OF MARCO POLO BY THE GENOESE	41
§ 31. Growing Jealousies and Outbreaks between the Republics.	
32. Battle in Bay of Ayas in 1294. 33. Lamba Doria's Expedition to the Adriatic. 34. The Fleets come in sight of each other at Curzola. 35. The Venetians defeated, and Marco Polo a Prisoner. 36. Marco Polo in Prison dictates his Book to Rusticiano of Pisa. Release of Venetian Prisoners. 37. Grounds on which the story of Marco Polo's capture at Curzola rests.	
VII. RUSTICIANO OR RUSTICHELLO OF PISA, MARCO POLO'S FELLOW-PRISONER AT GENOA, THE SCRIBE WHO WROTE DOWN THE TRAVELS	55
§ 38. Rusticiano, perhaps a Prisoner from Meloria. 39. A Person known from other sources. 40. Character of his Romance Compilations. 41. Identity of the Romance Compiler with Polo's Fellow-Prisoner. 42. Further particulars regarding Rusticiano.	
VIII. NOTICES OF MARCO POLO'S HISTORY AFTER THE TERMINATION OF HIS IMPRISONMENT AT GENOA	64
§ 43. Death of Marco's Father before 1300. Will of his Brother Maffeo.	
44. Documentary Notices of Polo at this time. The Sobriquet of <i>Milione</i> . 45. Polo's relations with Thibault de Cepoy. 46. His Marriage, and his Daughters. Marco as a Merchant. 47. His Last Will; and Death. 48. Place of Sepulture. Professed Portraits of Polo. 49. Further History of the Polo Family. 49 <i>bis</i> . Reliques of Marco Polo.	
IX. MARCO POLO'S BOOK; AND THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH IT WAS FIRST WRITTEN	80
§ 50. General Statement of what the Book contains. 51. Language of the original Work. 52. Old French Text of the Société de Géographie. 53. Conclusive proof that the Old French Text is the source of all the others. 54. Greatly diffused employment of French in that age.	

X. VARIOUS TYPES OF TEXT OF MARCO POLO'S BOOK	90
§ 55. Four Principal Types of Text. <i>First</i> , that of the Geographic or Oldest French. 56. <i>Second</i> , the Remodelled French Text; followed by Pauthier. 57. The Bern MS. and two others form a sub-class of this type. 58. <i>Third</i> , Friar Pipino's Latin. 59. The Latin of Grynæus, a translation at Fifth Hand. 60. <i>Fourth</i> , Ramusio's Italian. 61. Injudicious Tamperings in Ramusio. 62. Genuine Statements peculiar to Ramusio. 63. Hypothesis of the Sources of the Ramusian Version. 64. Summary in regard to Text of Polo. 65. Notice of a curious Irish Version.	
XI. SOME ESTIMATE OF THE CHARACTER OF POLO AND HIS BOOK	104
§ 66. Grounds of Polo's Pre-eminence among Mediæval Travellers. 67. His true claims to glory. 68. His personal attributes seen but dimly. 69. Absence of scientific notions. 70. Map constructed on Polo's data. 71. Singular omissions of Polo in regard to China; historical inaccuracies. 72. Was Polo's Book materially affected by the Scribe Rusticiano? 73. Marco's reading embraced the Alexandrian Romances. Examples. 74. Injustice long done to Polo. Singular Modern Example.	
XII. CONTEMPORARY RECOGNITION OF POLO AND HIS BOOK	116
§ 75. How far was there diffusion of his Book in his own day? 76. Contemporary References to Polo. T. de Cepoy; Pipino; Jacopo d'Acqui; Giov. Villani. 77. Pietro d'Abano; Jean le Long of Ypres. 78. Curious borrowings from Polo in the Romance of Bauduin de Sebourg. 78 <i>bis</i> . Chaucer and Marco Polo.	
XIII. NATURE OF POLO'S INFLUENCE ON GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE	129
§ 79. Tardy operation, and causes thereof. 80. General characteristics of Mediæval Cosmography. 81. Roger Bacon as a Geographer. 82. Arab Geography. 83. Marino Sanudo the Elder. 84. The Catalan Map of 1375, the most complete mediæval embodiment of Polo's Geography. 85. Fra Mauro's Map. Confusions in Cartography of the 16th Century from the endeavour to combine new and old information. 86. Gradual disappearance of Polo's nomenclature. 87. Alleged introduction of Block-printed Books into Europe by Marco Polo in connexion with the fiction of the invention of Printing by Castaldi of Feltre. 88. Frequent opportunities for such introduction in the Age following Polo's.	
XIV. EXPLANATIONS REGARDING THE BASIS ADOPTED FOR THE PRESENT TRANSLATION	141
§ 89. Texts followed by Marsden and by Pauthier. 90. Eclectic Formation of the English Text of this Translation. 91. Mode of rendering Proper Names.	

THE BOOK OF MARCO POLO.

PROLOGUE.

	PAGE
PRELIMINARY ADDRESS OF RUSTICIANO OF PISA	I
CHAP.	
I.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS POLO SET FORTH FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO TRAVERSE THE WORLD	2
NOTES.—1. <i>Chronology.</i> 2. <i>“The Great Sea.” The Port of Soldaia.</i>	
II.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS WENT ON BEYOND SOLDAIA	4
NOTES.—1. <i>Site and Ruins of Sarai.</i> 2. <i>City of Bolghar.</i> 3. <i>Alau Lord of the Levant (i.e. Hulaku).</i> 4. <i>Ucaca on the Volga.</i> 5. <i>River Tigeri.</i>	
III.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS, AFTER CROSSING A DESERT, CAME TO THE CITY OF BOCARA, AND FELL IN WITH CERTAIN ENVOYS THERE	9
NOTES.—1. <i>“Bocara a City of Persia.”</i> 2. <i>The Great Kaan’s Envoys.</i>	
IV.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS TOOK THE ENVOYS’ COUNSEL, AND WENT TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAH	11
V.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS ARRIVED AT THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAH	11
VI.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH ASKED ALL ABOUT THE MANNERS OF THE CHRISTIANS, AND PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE POPE OF ROME	12
NOTE.— <i>Apostolle. The name Tartar.</i>	
VII.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH SENT THE TWO BROTHERS AS HIS ENVOYS TO THE POPE	13
NOTES.—1. <i>The Great Kaan’s Letter.</i> 2. <i>The Seven Arts.</i> 3. <i>Religious Indifference of the Mongol Princes.</i>	
VIII.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH GAVE THEM A TABLET OF GOLD, BEARING HIS ORDERS IN THEIR BEHALF	15
NOTES.—1. <i>The Tablet.</i> 2. <i>The Port of Ayas.</i>	
IX.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS CAME TO THE CITY OF ACRE; AND THENCE TO VENICE	17
NOTES.—1. <i>Names of the deceased Pope and of the Legate.</i> 2. <i>Negropont.</i> 3. <i>Mark’s age.</i>	
X.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS AGAIN DEPARTED FROM VENICE, ON THEIR WAY BACK TO THE GREAT KAAH, AND TOOK WITH THEM MARK, THE SON OF MESSER NICOLO	19
NOTE.— <i>Oil from the Holy Sepulchre.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XI.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS SET OUT FROM ACRE, AND MARK ALONG WITH THEM	20
NOTE.— <i>Pope Gregory X. and his Election.</i>	
XII.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS PRESENTED THEMSELVES BEFORE THE NEW POPE	22
NOTES.—1. <i>William of Tripoli.</i> 2. <i>Powers conceded to Missionary Friars.</i> 3. <i>Bundúkdár and his Invasion of Armenia; his character.</i> 4. <i>The Templars in Cilician Armenia.</i>	
XIII.—HOW MESSER NICOLO AND MESSER MAFFEO POLO, ACCOMPANIED BY MARK, TRAVELLED TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAAN	25
NOTE.— <i>The City of Kernenfu, Summer Residence of Kúblái.</i>	
XIV.—HOW MESSER NICOLO AND MESSER MAFFEO POLO AND MARCO PRESENTED THEMSELVES BEFORE THE GREAT KAAAN	26
NOTES.—1. <i>Verbal.</i> 2. " <i>Vostre Homme.</i> "	
XV.—HOW THE LORD SENT MARK ON AN EMBASSY OF HIS	27
NOTES.—1. <i>The four Characters learned by Marco, what?</i> 2. <i>Ramusio's addition.</i> 3. <i>Nature of Marco's employment.</i>	
XVI.—HOW MARK RETURNED FROM THE MISSION WHEREON HE HAD BEEN SENT	30
XVII.—HOW MESSER NICOLO, MESSER MAFFEO, AND MESSER MARCO, ASKED LEAVE OF THE GREAT KAAAN TO GO THEIR WAY	31
NOTES.—1. <i>Risks to Foreigners on a change of Sovereign.</i> 2. <i>The Lady Bolgana.</i> 3. <i>Passage from Ramusio.</i>	
XVIII.—HOW THE TWO BROTHERS AND MESSER MARCO TOOK LEAVE OF THE GREAT KAAAN, AND RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY	34
NOTES.—1. <i>Mongol Royal Messengers.</i> 2. <i>Mongol communication with the King of England.</i> 3. <i>Mediæval Ships of China.</i> 4. <i>Passage from China to Sumatra.</i> 5. <i>Mortality among the party.</i> 6. <i>The Lady Cocachin in Persian History.</i> 7. <i>Death of the Kaan.</i> 8. <i>The Princess of Manzi.</i>	

BOOK FIRST.

Account of Regions Visited or heard of on the Journey from the Lesser Armenia to the Court of the Great Kaan at Chandu.

I.—HERE THE BOOK BEGINS; AND FIRST IT SPEAKS OF THE LESSER HERMENIA	41
NOTES.—1. <i>Little Armenia.</i> 2. <i>Meaning of Chasteaux.</i> 3. <i>Sickness of Cilician Coast.</i> 4. <i>The phrase "fra terre."</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
II.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TURCOMANIA	43
NOTES.—1. <i>Brutality of the people.</i> 2. <i>Application of name Turco-</i> <i>mania. Turcoman Hordes.</i>	
III.—DESCRIPTION OF THE GREATER HERMENIA	45
NOTES.—1. <i>Erzingan. Buckrams, what were they?</i> 2. <i>Erzrum.</i> 3. <i>Baiburt.</i> 4. <i>Ararat.</i> 5. <i>Oil wells of Baku.</i>	
IV.—OF GEORGIANA AND THE KINGS THEREOF	50
NOTES.—1. <i>Georgian Kings.</i> 2. <i>The Georgians.</i> 3. <i>The Iron</i> <i>Gates and Wall of Alexander.</i> 4. <i>Box forests.</i> 5. <i>Gos-</i> <i>hawks.</i> 6. <i>Fish Miracle.</i> 7. <i>Sea of Ghel or Ghelan.</i> <i>Names ending in -án.</i> 8. <i>Names of the Caspian, and</i> <i>navigation thereon.</i> 9. <i>Fish in the Caspian.</i>	
V.—OF THE KINGDOM OF MAUSUL	60
NOTES.—1. <i>Atabek's of Mosul.</i> 2. <i>Nestorian and Jacobite</i> <i>Christians.</i> 3. <i>Mosolins.</i> 4. <i>The Kurds.</i> 5. <i>Mush and</i> <i>Mardin.</i>	
VI.—OF THE GREAT CITY OF BAUDAS, AND HOW IT WAS TAKEN	63
NOTES.—1. <i>Baudas, or Baghdad.</i> 2. <i>Island of Kish.</i> 3. <i>Basra.</i> 4. <i>Baldachins and other silk textures; Animal patterns.</i> 5. 6. <i>Huldkû's Expedition.</i> 7. <i>The Death of the Khalif</i> <i>Mosta'sim.</i> 8. <i>Froissart.</i>	
VII.—HOW THE CALIF OF BAUDAS TOOK COUNSEL TO SLAY ALL THE CHRISTIANS IN HIS LAND	68
NOTES.—1. <i>Chronology.</i> 2. " <i>Ses Regisles et ses Casses.</i> "	
VIII.—HOW THE CHRISTIANS WERE IN GREAT DISMAY BECAUSE OF WHAT THE CALIF HAD SAID	70
NOTE.— <i>The word "cralantur."</i>	
IX.—HOW THE ONE-EYED COBLER WAS DESIRED TO PRAY FOR THE CHRISTIANS	71
X.—HOW THE PRAYER OF THE ONE-EYED COBLER CAUSED THE MOUNTAIN TO MOVE	72
NOTE.— <i>The Mountain Miracle.</i>	
XI.—OF THE NOBLE CITY OF TAURIS	74
NOTES.—1. <i>Tabriz.</i> 2. <i>Cremesor.</i> 3. <i>Traffic at Tabriz.</i> 4. <i>The</i> <i>Torizi.</i> 5. <i>Character of City and People.</i>	
XII.—OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT BARSAMO ON THE BORDERS OF TAURIS	77
NOTE.— <i>The Monastery of Barsauma.</i>	
XIII.—OF THE GREAT COUNTRY OF PERSIA; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE THREE KINGS	78
NOTES.—1. <i>Kala' Atishparastán.</i> 2. <i>The Three Kings.</i>	
XIV.—HOW THE THREE KINGS RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY	79
NOTES.—1. <i>The three mystic Gifts.</i> 2. <i>The Worshipped Fire.</i> 3. <i>Sávah and Avah. The Legend in Mas'udi. Embellishments</i> <i>of the Story of the Magi.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XV.—OF THE EIGHT KINGDOMS OF PERSIA, AND HOW THEY ARE NAMED	83
NOTES.—1. <i>The Eight Kingdoms.</i> 2. <i>Export of Horses, and Prices.</i> 3. <i>Persian Brigands.</i> 4. <i>Persian wine.</i>	
XVI.—CONCERNING THE GREAT CITY OF YASDI	88
NOTES.—1. <i>Yezd.</i> 2. <i>Yezd to Kerman.</i> <i>The Woods spoken of.</i>	
XVII.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF KERMAN	90
NOTES.—1. <i>City and Province of Kerman.</i> 2. <i>Turquoises.</i> 3. <i>On- danique or Indian Steel.</i> 4. <i>Manufactures of Kerman.</i> 5. <i>Falcons.</i>	
XVIII.—OF THE CITY OF CAMADI AND ITS RUINS; ALSO TOUCHING THE CARAUNA ROBBERS	97
NOTES.—1. <i>Products of the warmer plains.</i> 2. <i>Humped oxen and fat-tailed sheep.</i> 3. <i>Scarani.</i> 4. <i>The Karannahs and Nigudarian Bands.</i> 5. <i>Canosalmi.</i>	
XIX.—OF THE DESCENT TO THE CITY OF HORMOS	107
NOTES.—1. <i>Site of Old Hormuz and Geography of the route from Kerman to Hormuz.</i> 2. <i>Dates and Fish Diet.</i> 3. <i>Stitched Vessels.</i> "One rudder," <i>why noticed as peculiar.</i> 4. <i>Great heat at Hormuz.</i> 5. <i>The Simúm.</i> 6. <i>History of Hormuz, and Polo's Ruomedan Acomat.</i> 7. <i>Second Route between Hormuz and Kerman.</i>	
XX.—OF THE WEARISOME AND DESERT ROAD THAT HAS NOW TO BE TRAVELLED	123
NOTES.—1. <i>Kerman to Kúbenán.</i> 2. <i>Desert of Lút.</i> 3. <i>Subter- raneous Canals.</i>	
XXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF COBINAN AND THE THINGS THAT ARE MADE THERE	125
NOTES.—1. <i>Kuh-Bandán.</i> 2. <i>Production of Túttá.</i>	
XXII.—OF A CERTAIN DESERT THAT CONTINUES FOR EIGHT DAYS' JOURNEY	127
NOTES.—1. <i>Deserts of Khorasan.</i> 2. <i>The Arbre Sol or Arbre Sec.</i>	
XXIII.—CONCERNING THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN	139
NOTE.— <i>The Assassins, Hashíshín, or Muláhidah.</i>	
XXIV.—HOW THE OLD MAN USED TO TRAIN HIS ASSASSINS	142
NOTES.—1. <i>The story widely spread. Notable murders by the Sectaries.</i> 2. <i>Their different branches.</i>	
XXV.—HOW THE OLD MAN CAME BY HIS END	145
NOTE.— <i>History of the apparent Destruction of the Sect by Huláku; its survival to the present time. Castles of Alamut and Girdkuh.</i>	
XXVI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF SAPURGAN	149
NOTE.— <i>Shibrgân, and the route followed.</i> <i>Dried Melons.</i>	
XXVII.—OF THE CITY OF BALC	151
NOTES.—1. <i>Balkh.</i> 2. <i>Country meant by Dogana.</i> 3. <i>Lions in the Oxus Valley.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XXVIII.—OF TAICAN, AND THE MOUNTAINS OF SALT. ALSO OF THE PROVINCE OF CASEM	153
<p>NOTES.—1. <i>Talikan</i>. 2. <i>Mines of Rock-salt</i>. 3. <i>Ethnological characteristics</i>. 4. <i>Kishm</i>. 5. <i>Porcupines</i>. 6. <i>Cave dwellings</i>. 7. <i>Old and New Capitals of Badakhshan</i>.</p>	
XXIX.—OF THE PROVINCE OF BADASHAN	157
<p>NOTES.—1. <i>Dialects of Badakhshan</i>. <i>Alexandrian lineage of the Princes</i>. 2. <i>Badakhshan and the Balas Ruby</i>. 3. <i>Azure Mines</i>. 4. <i>Horses of Badakhshan</i>. 5. <i>Naked Barley</i>. 6. <i>Wild sheep</i>. 7. <i>Scenery of Badakhshan</i>. 8. <i>Repeated devastation of the Country from War</i>. 9. <i>Amplitude of feminine garments</i>.</p>	
XXX.—OF THE PROVINCE OF PASHAI	164
<p>NOTE.—<i>On the country intended by this name</i>.</p>	
XXXI.—OF THE PROVINCE OF KESHIMUR	166
<p>NOTES.—1. <i>Kashmir language</i>. 2. <i>Kashmir Conjurers</i>. (See App. L. 2.) 3. <i>Importance of Kashmir in History of Buddhism</i>. 4. <i>Character of the People</i>. 5. <i>Vicissitudes of Buddhism in Kashmir</i>. 6. <i>Buddhist practice as to slaughter of animals</i>. 7. <i>Coral</i>.</p>	
XXXII.—OF THE GREAT RIVER OF BADASHAN ; AND PLAIN OF PAMIER	170
<p>NOTES.—1. <i>The Upper Oxus and Wakhan</i>. <i>The title Nono</i>. (See App. L. 3.) 2. <i>The Plateau of Pamir</i>. (See App. L. 4 and 5.) 3. <i>The Great Wild Sheep</i>. <i>Fire at great altitudes</i>. 3. <i>Bolor</i>.</p>	
XXXIII.—OF THE KINGDOM OF CASCAR	180
<p>NOTE.—<i>Kashgar</i>.</p>	
XXXIV.—OF THE GREAT CITY OF SAMARCAN	183
<p>NOTES.—1. <i>Christians in Samarkand</i>. 2. <i>Chagatai's relation to Kúblái mis-stated</i>. 3. <i>The Miracle of the Stone</i>.</p>	
XXXV.—OF THE PROVINCE OF YARCAN	187
<p>NOTE.—<i>Yarkand</i>. <i>Goître prevalent there</i>.</p>	
XXXVI.—OF A PROVINCE CALLED COTAN	188
<p>NOTES.—1. <i>Government</i>. 2. "<i>Adoration of Mahomet</i>." 3. <i>Khotan</i>.</p>	
XXXVII.—OF THE PROVINCE OF PEIN	191
<p>NOTES.—1. <i>Position of Pein</i> (App. L. 6.) 2. <i>The Yu or Jade</i>. 3. <i>Temporary marriages</i>.</p>	
XXXVIII.—OF THE PROVINCE OF CHARCHAN	194
<p>NOTE.—<i>Position of Charchan and Lop</i>.</p>	
XXXIX.—OF THE CITY OF LOP, AND THE GREAT DESERT	196
<p>NOTES.—1. <i>Geographical discrepancy</i>. 2. <i>Superstitions as to Deserts: their wide diffusion</i>. <i>The Sound of Drums on certain sandy acclivities</i>. 3. <i>Sha-chau to Lob-nor</i>.</p>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XL.—CONCERNING THE GREAT PROVINCE OF TANGUT	203
NOTES.—1. <i>Tangut</i> . 2. <i>Buddhism encountered here</i> . 3. <i>Kalmak superstition, the "Heaven's Ram."</i> 4. <i>Chinese customs described here</i> . 5. <i>Mongol disposal of the Dead</i> . 6. <i>Superstitious practice of avoiding to carry out the dead by the house-door; its wide diffusion</i> .	
XLI.—OF THE PROVINCE OF CAMUL	209
NOTES.—1. <i>Kamul</i> . 2. <i>Character of the people</i> . 3. <i>Shameless custom</i> . 4. <i>Parallel</i> .	
XLII.—OF THE PROVINCE OF CHINGINTALAS	212
NOTES.—1. <i>The Country intended</i> . 2. <i>Ondanique</i> . 3. <i>Asbestos Mountain</i> . 4. <i>The four elements</i> . 5 and 6. <i>The Story of the Salamander. Asbestos fabrics</i> .	
XLIII.—OF THE PROVINCE OF SUKCHUR	217
NOTES.—1. <i>Explanatory</i> . 2. <i>The City of Suhchau</i> . 3. <i>Rhubarb country</i> . 4. <i>Poisonous pasture</i> .	
XLIV.—OF THE CITY OF CAMPICHU	219
NOTES.—1. <i>The City of Kanchau</i> . 2. <i>Recumbent Buddhas</i> . 3. <i>Buddhist Days of Special Worship</i> . 4. <i>Matrimonial Customs</i> . 5. <i>Textual</i> .	
XLV.—OF THE CITY OF ETZINA	223
NOTES.—1. <i>Position of Yetsina</i> . 2. <i>Textual</i> . 3. <i>The Wild Ass of Mongolia</i> .	
XLVI.—OF THE CITY OF CARACORON	226
NOTES.—1. <i>Karakorum</i> . 2. <i>Tartar</i> . 3. <i>Chorcha</i> . 4. <i>Prester John</i> .	
XLVII.—OF CHINGHIS, AND HOW HE BECAME THE FIRST KAAAN OF THE TARTARS	238
NOTES.—1. <i>Chronology</i> . 2. <i>Relations between Chinghiz and Aung Khan, the Prester John of Polo</i> .	
XLVIII.—HOW CHINGHIS MUSTERED HIS PEOPLE TO MARCH AGAINST PRESTER JOHN	240
XLIX.—HOW PRESTER JOHN MARCHED TO MEET CHINGHIS	241
NOTES.—1. <i>Plain of Tanduc</i> . 2. <i>Divination by Twigs and Arrows</i> .	
L.—THE BATTLE BETWEEN CHINGHIS KAAAN AND PRESTER JOHN. DEATH OF CHINGHIS	244
NOTE.— <i>Real circumstances and date of the Death of Chinghiz</i> .	
LI.—OF THOSE WHO DID REIGN AFTER CHINGHIS KAAAN, AND OF THE CUSTOMS OF THE TARTARS	245
NOTES.—1. <i>Origin of the Cambuscan of Chaucer</i> . 2. <i>Historical Errors</i> . 3. <i>The Place of Sepulture of Chinghiz</i> . 4. <i>Barbarous Funeral Superstition</i> .	
LII.—CONCERNING THE CUSTOMS OF THE TARTARS	251
NOTES.—1. <i>Tartar Huts</i> . 2. <i>Tartar Waggons</i> . 3. <i>Pharaoh's Rat</i> . 4. <i>Chastity of the Women</i> . 5. <i>Polygamy and Marriage Customs</i> .	

CHAP.	PAGE
LIII.—CONCERNING THE GOD OF THE TARTARS	256
NOTES.—1. <i>The old Tartar idols.</i> 2. <i>Kumiz.</i>	
LIV.—CONCERNING THE TARTAR CUSTOMS OF WAR	260
NOTES.—1. <i>Tartar Arms.</i> 2. <i>The Decimal Division of their Troops.</i> 3. <i>Textual.</i> 4. <i>Blood-drinking.</i> 5. <i>Kurút, or Tartar Curd.</i> 6. <i>The Mongol military rapidity and terrorism.</i> 7. <i>Corruption of their Nomade simplicity.</i>	
LV.—CONCERNING THE ADMINISTERING OF JUSTICE AMONG THE TARTARS	266
NOTES.—1. <i>The Cudgel.</i> 2. <i>Punishment of Theft.</i> 3. <i>Marriage of the Dead.</i> 4. <i>Textual.</i>	
LVI.—SUNDRY PARTICULARS ON THE PLAIN BEYOND CARACORON	269
NOTES.—1. <i>Textual.</i> 2. <i>Bargu, the Mecrit, the Reindeer, and Chase of Water-fowl.</i> 3. <i>The bird Barguerlac, the Syrr-haptés.</i> 4. <i>Gerfalcons.</i>	
LVII.—OF THE KINGDOM OF ERGUIUL, AND PROVINCE OF SINJU	274
NOTES.—1. <i>Erguiul.</i> 2. <i>Siningfu.</i> 3. <i>The Yak.</i> 4. <i>The Musk Deer.</i> 5. <i>Reeves's Pheasant.</i>	
LVIII.—OF THE KINGDOM OF EGRIGAI	281
NOTES.—1. <i>Egrigai.</i> 2. <i>Calachan</i> 3. <i>White Camels, and Camlets: Siclatoun.</i>	
LIX.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TENDUC, AND THE DESCENDANTS OF PRESTER JOHN	284
NOTES.—1. <i>The name and place Tenduc. King George.</i> 2. <i>Standing Marriage Compact. The title Gurgán.</i> 3. <i>Azure.</i> 4. <i>The terms Argon and Guasmul. The Dungens.</i> 5. <i>The Rampart of Gog and Magog.</i> 6. <i>Tartary cloths.</i> 7. <i>Siuén-hwa fu.</i>	
LX.—CONCERNING THE KAAH'S PALACE OF CHAGANNOR	296
NOTES.—1. <i>Palace.</i> 2. <i>The word Sesnes.</i> 3. <i>Chagan-nor.</i> 4. <i>The five species of Crane described by Polo.</i> 5. <i>The word Cator.</i>	
LXI.—OF THE CITY OF CHANDU, AND THE KAAH'S PALACE THERE	298
NOTES.—1. <i>Two Roads.</i> 2. <i>Chandu, properly Shangtu.</i> 3. <i>Leopards.</i> 4. <i>The Bamboo Palace. Uses of the Bamboo.</i> 5. <i>Kíblá's Annual Migration to Shangtu.</i> 6. <i>The White Horses. The Oirad Tribe.</i> 7. <i>The Mare's Milk Festival.</i> 8. <i>Weather Con-juring.</i> 9. <i>Ascription of Cannibalism to Tibetans, etc.</i> 10. <i>The term Bacsi.</i> 11. <i>Magical Feats ascribed to the Lamas.</i> 12. <i>Lamas.</i> 13. <i>Vast extent of Lama Convents.</i> 14. <i>Married Lamas.</i> 15. <i>Bran.</i> 16. <i>Patarians.</i> 17. <i>The Ascetics called Sensin.</i> 18. <i>Textual.</i> 16. <i>Tao-sze Idols.</i>	

BOOK SECOND.

PART I.

CHAP.	PAGE
I.—OF CUBLAY KAAAN, THE GREAT KAAAN NOW REIGNING, AND OF HIS GREAT PUISSANCE.	331
NOTE.— <i>Eulogies of Kúblái.</i>	
II.—CONCERNING THE REVOLT OF NAYAN, WHO WAS UNCLE TO THE GREAT KAAAN CUBLAY	332
NOTES.—1. <i>Chronology.</i> 2. <i>Kúblái's Age.</i> 3. <i>His Wars.</i> 4. <i>Nayan and his true relationship to Kúblái.</i>	
III.—HOW THE GREAT KAAAN MARCHED AGAINST NAYAN	335
NOTE.— <i>Addition from Ramusio.</i>	
IV.—OF THE BATTLE THAT THE GREAT KAAAN FOUGHT WITH NAYAN	336
NOTES.—1. <i>The word Bretesche.</i> 2. <i>Explanatory.</i> 3. <i>The</i> <i>Nakkára.</i> 4. <i>Parallel Passages.</i> 5. <i>Verbal.</i> 6. <i>The Story</i> <i>of Nayan.</i> (See App. L. 7.)	
V.—HOW THE GREAT KAAAN CAUSED NAYAN TO BE PUT TO DEATH	343
NOTES.—1. <i>The Shedding of Royal blood avoided.</i> 2. <i>Chorcha,</i> <i>Kaoli, Barskul, Sikintinju.</i> 3. <i>Jews in China.</i>	
VI.—HOW THE GREAT KAAAN WENT BACK TO THE CITY OF CAMBALUC	348
NOTE.— <i>Passage from Ramusio respecting the Kaan's views of</i> <i>Religion. Remarks.</i>	
VII.—HOW THE KAAAN REWARDED THE VALOUR OF HIS CAPTAINS	350
NOTES.—1. <i>Parallel from Sanang Setzen.</i> 2. <i>The Golden Honorary</i> <i>Tablets or Paizah of the Mongols.</i> 3. <i>Umbrellas.</i> 4. <i>The</i> <i>Gerfalcon Tablets.</i>	
VIII.—CONCERNING THE PERSON OF THE GREAT KAAAN	356
NOTES.—1. <i>Colour of his Eyes.</i> 2. <i>His Wives.</i> 3. <i>The Kungurat</i> <i>Tribe. Competitive Examination in Beauty.</i>	
IX.—CONCERNING THE GREAT KAAAN'S SONS	359
NOTES.—1. <i>Kúblái's intended Heir.</i> 2. <i>His other Sons.</i>	
X.—CONCERNING THE PALACE OF THE GREAT KAAAN	362
NOTES.—1. <i>Palace Wall.</i> 2. <i>The word Tarcasci.</i> 3. <i>Towers.</i> 4. <i>Arsenals of the Palace.</i> 5. <i>The Gates.</i> 6. <i>Various Readings.</i> 7. <i>Barracks.</i> 8. <i>Wide diffusion of the kind of Palace here</i> <i>described.</i> 9. <i>Parallel description.</i> 10. "Divine" Park. 11. <i>Modern account of the Lake, etc.</i> 12. "Roze de l'açur." 13. <i>The Green Mount.</i> 14. <i>Textual.</i> 15. <i>Bridge.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAMBALUC	374
NOTES.—1. <i>Chronology, etc., of Peking.</i> 2. <i>The City Wall.</i> 3. <i>Changes in the Extent of the City.</i> 4. <i>Its ground plan.</i> 5. <i>Aspect.</i> 6. <i>Public Towers.</i> 7. <i>Addition from Ramusio.</i>	
XII.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH MAINTAINS A GUARD OF TWELVE THOUSAND HORSE, WHICH ARE CALLED KESHICAN	379
NOTE.— <i>The term Quescican.</i>	
XIII.—THE FASHION OF THE GREAT KAAH'S TABLE AT HIS HIGH FEASTS	381
NOTES.—1. <i>Order of the Tables.</i> 2. <i>The word Vernique.</i> 3. <i>The Buffet of Liquors.</i> 4. <i>The superstition of the Threshold.</i> 5. <i>Chinese Etiquettes.</i> 6. <i>Jugglers at the Banquet.</i>	
XIV.—CONCERNING THE GREAT FEAST HELD BY THE GRAND KAAH EVERY YEAR ON HIS BIRTHDAY	386
NOTES.—1. <i>The Chinese Year.</i> 2. <i>"Beaten Gold."</i> 3. <i>Textual.</i> 4. <i>Festal changes of costume.</i> 5. <i>Festivals.</i>	
XV.—OF THE GREAT FESTIVAL WHICH THE KAAH HOLDS ON NEW YEAR'S DAY	390
NOTES.—1. <i>The White Month.</i> 2. <i>Mystic value of the number 9.</i> 3. <i>Elephants at Peking.</i> 4. <i>Adoration of Tablets.</i> 5. <i>K'o-tow.</i>	
XVI.—CONCERNING THE TWELVE THOUSAND BARONS WHO RECEIVE ROBES OF CLOTH OF GOLD FROM THE EMPEROR ON THE GREAT FESTIVALS, THIRTEEN CHANGES A-PIECE	394
NOTES.—1. <i>Textual.</i> 2. <i>The words Camut and Borgal.</i> 3. <i>Tame Lions.</i>	
XVII.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH ENJOINETH HIS PEOPLE TO SUPPLY HIM WITH GAME	396
NOTE.— <i>Parallel Passage.</i>	
XVIII.—OF THE LIONS AND LEOPARDS AND WOLVES THAT THE KAAH KEEPS FOR THE CHASE	397
NOTES.—1. <i>The Cheeta or Hunting Leopard.</i> 2. <i>Lynxes.</i> 3. <i>The Tiger, termed Lion by Polo.</i> 4. <i>The Birgüt Eagle.</i>	
XIX.—CONCERNING THE TWO BROTHERS WHO HAVE CHARGE OF THE KAAH'S HOUNDS	400
NOTE.— <i>The Masters of the Hounds, and their title.</i>	
XX.—HOW THE EMPEROR GOES ON A HUNTING EXPEDI- TION	402
NOTES.—1. <i>Direction of the Tour.</i> 2. <i>Hawking Establishments.</i> 3. <i>The word Toskáúl.</i> 4. <i>The word Bularguchi.</i> 5. <i>Küblái's Litter.</i> 6. <i>Kachar Modun.</i> 7. <i>The Kaa's Great Tents.</i> 8. <i>The Sable and Ermine.</i> 9. <i>Pétis de la Croix.</i>	
XXI.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH, ON RETURNING FROM HIS HUNTING EXPEDITION, HOLDS A GREAT COURT AND ENTERTAINMENT	410
NOTE.— <i>This chapter peculiar to the 2nd Type of MSS.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XXII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAMBALUC, AND ITS GREAT TRAFFIC AND POPULATION	412
NOTES.—1. <i>Suburbs of Peking.</i> 2. <i>The word Fondaco.</i>	
XXIII.—[CONCERNING THE OPPRESSIONS OF ACHMATH THE BAILO, AND THE PLOT THAT WAS FORMED AGAINST HIM]	415
NOTES.—1. <i>Chapter peculiar to Ramusio.</i> 2. <i>Küblái's Administration. The Rise of Ahmad.</i> 3. <i>The term Bailo.</i> 4. <i>The Conspiracy against Ahmad as related by Gaubil from the Chinese.</i> 5. <i>Marco's presence and upright conduct commemorated in the Chinese Annals. The Kaan's prejudice against Mahomedans.</i>	
XXIV.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH CAUSETH THE BARK OF TREES, MADE INTO SOMETHING LIKE PAPER, TO PASS FOR MONEY OVER ALL HIS COUNTRY	423
NOTE.— <i>Chinese Paper Currency.</i>	
XXV.—CONCERNING THE TWELVE BARONS WHO ARE SET OVER ALL THE AFFAIRS OF THE GREAT KAAH	430
NOTE.— <i>The Ministers of the Mongol Dynasty. The term Sing.</i>	
XXVI.—HOW THE KAAH'S POSTS AND RUNNERS ARE SPED THROUGH MANY LANDS AND PROVINCES	433
NOTES.—1. <i>Textual.</i> 2. <i>The word Yam.</i> 3. <i>Government Hostelrys.</i> 4. <i>Digression from Ramusio.</i> 5. <i>Posts Extraordinary.</i> 6. <i>Discipline of the Posts.</i> 7. <i>Antiquity of Posts in China, etc.</i>	
XXVII.—HOW THE EMPEROR BESTOWS HELP ON HIS PEOPLE, WHEN THEY ARE AFFLICTED WITH DEARTH OR MURRAIN	439
NOTE.— <i>Küblái's remissions, and justice.</i>	
XXVIII.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH CAUSES TREES TO BE PLANTED BY THE HIGHWAYS	440
NOTE.— <i>Küblái's Avenues.</i>	
XXIX.—CONCERNING THE RICE-WINE DRUNK BY THE PEOPLE OF CATHAY	441
NOTE.— <i>Rice-wine.</i>	
XXX.—CONCERNING THE BLACK STONES THAT ARE DUG IN CATHAY, AND ARE BURNT FOR FUEL	442
NOTE.— <i>Distribution and Consumption of Coal in China.</i>	
XXXI.—HOW THE GREAT KAAH CAUSES STORES OF CORN TO BE MADE, TO HELP HIS PEOPLE WITHAL IN TIME OF DEARTH	443
NOTE.— <i>The Chinese Public Granaries.</i>	
XXXII.—OF THE CHARITY OF THE EMPEROR TO THE POOR	444
NOTE.— <i>Buddhist influence, and Chinese Charities.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XXXIII.—[CONCERNING THE ASTROLOGERS IN THE CITY OF CAMBALUC]	446
NOTES.—1. <i>The word Tacuin.</i> — <i>The Chinese Almanacs. The Observatory.</i> 2. <i>The Chinese and Mongol Cycle.</i>	
XXXIV.—[CONCERNING THE RELIGION OF THE CATHAYANS; THEIR VIEWS AS TO THE SOUL; AND THEIR CUSTOMS]	456
NOTES.—1. <i>Textual.</i> 2. <i>Do.</i> 3. <i>Exceptions to the general charge of Irreligion brought against the Chinese.</i> 4. <i>Politeness.</i> 5. <i>Filial Piety.</i> 6. <i>Pocket Spitoons.</i>	

EXPLANATORY LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOLUME I.



INSERTED PLATES AND MAPS.

<i>To face Title</i>	. . PORTRAIT of Sir HENRY YULE. From the Painting by Mr. T. B. Wirgman, in the Royal Engineers' Mess House at Chatham.
	Illuminated Title, with Medallion representing the POLOS ARRIVING AT VENICE after 26 years' absence, and being refused admittance to the Family Mansion; as related by Ramusio, p. 4 of Introductory Essay. Drawn by Signor QUINTO CENNI, No. 7 Via Solferino, Milan; from a Design by the Editor.
" page	1. DOORWAY of the HOUSE of MARCO POLO in the Corte Sabionera at Venice (see p. 27). Woodcut from a drawing by Signor L. Rosso, Venice.
" "	26. <i>Corte del Milione</i> , Venice.
" "	28. <i>Malibran Theatre</i> , Venice.
" "	30. Entrance to the Corte del Milione, Venice. From photographs taken for the present editor, by Signor NAYA.
" "	42. Figures from St. Sabba's, sent to Venice. From a photograph of Signor NAYA.
" "	50. Church of SAN MATTEO, at Genoa.
" "	62. <i>Palazzo di S. Giorgio</i> , at Genoa.
" "	68. <i>Miracle of S. Lorenzo</i> . From the Painting by V. CARPACCIO.
" "	70. FACSIMILE of the WILL of MARCO POLO, preserved in St. Mark's Library. Lithographed from a photograph specially taken by Bertani at Venice.
" "	74. Pavement in front of S. Lorenzo.
" "	76. Mosaic Portrait of Marco Polo, at Genoa.
" "	78. The Pseudo Marco Polo at Canton.
" "	80. Porcelain Incense-Burner, from the Louvre.
" "	82. Temple of 500 Genii, at Canton, after a drawing by FÉLIX RÉGAMEY.
" "	108. Probable view of MARCO POLO'S OWN GEOGRAPHY: a Map of the World, formed as far as possible from the Traveller's own data. Drawn by the Editor.
" "	134. Part of the <i>Catalan Map</i> of 1375.

To face page	1.	Marco Polo's Itineraries, No. I. WESTERN ASIA. This includes also "Sketch showing the chief Monarchies of Asia, in the latter part of the 13th century."
,,	,,	4. { Map illustrating the geographical position of the CITY of SARAI. Plan of part of the remains of the same city. Reduced from a Russian plan published by <i>M. Grigorieff</i> .
,,	,,	29 & 30. Reduced FACSIMILE of the BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION of the Mongol Era, on the Archway at KIU-YONG KWAN in the Pass of Nan-k'au, north-west of Peking, showing the characters in use under the Mongol Dynasty. Photogravure from the <i>Recueil des documents de l'Epoque Mongole</i> , by H.H. Prince ROLAND BONAPARTE. See an Article by Mr. Wylie in the <i>J. R. A. S.</i> for 1870, p. 14.
,,	,,	41. { Plan of AYAS, the Laias of Polo. From an Admiralty Chart. Plan of position of DILAWAR, the supposed site of the Dilavar of Polo. Ext. from a Survey by Lt.-Col. D. G. Robinson, R.E.
,,	,,	114. Marco Polo's Itineraries, No. II. Routes between KERMAN and HORMUZ.
,,	,,	178. Marco Polo's Itineraries, No. III. Regions on and near the UPPER OXUS.
,,	,,	305. Heading, in the old Chinese seal-character, of an INSCRIPTION on a Memorial raised by Kúblái Kaan to a Buddhist Ecclesiastic, in the vicinity of his summer-palace at SHANGTU in Mongolia. Reduced from a facsimile obtained on the spot by <i>Dr. S. W. Bushell</i> , 1872, and by him lent to the Editor.
,,	,,	319. The CHO-KHANG. The grand Temple of Buddha at Lhasa, from <i>The Journey to Lhasa</i> , by SARAT CHANDRA DAS, by kind permission of the Royal Geographical Society.
,,	,,	352. " <i>Table d'Or de Commandement</i> ," the PAÏZA of the MONGOLS, from a specimen found in Siberia. Reduced to one-half the scale of the original, from an engraving in a paper by I. J. Schmidt in the Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences, St.-Pétersbourg, tom. iv. No. 9.
,,	,,	355. Second Example of a Mongol Païza with superscription in the Uighúr character, found near the Dnieper River, 1845. From <i>Trans. of the Oriental Section, Imp. Soc. of Archaeology of St. Petersburg</i> , vol. v. The Inscription on this runs: " <i>By the strength of Eternal Heaven, and thanks to Its Great Power, the Man who obeys not the order of Abdullah shall be guilty, shall die.</i> "
,,	,,	376. Plan of PEKING as it is, and as it was about A.D. 1290.
,,	,,	426. BANK-NOTE of the MING Dynasty, on one-half the scale of the original. Reduced from a genuine note in the possession of the British Museum. Was brought back from Peking after the siege of the Legations in 1900.
,,	,,	448. Mongol "Compendium Instrument."
,,	,,	450. Mongol Armillary Sphere.
,,	,,	452. Observatory Terrace.
,,	,,	454. Observatory Instruments of the Jesuits. All these from photographs kindly lent to the present Editor by Count de Semallé.
,, last page	,,	Marco Polo's Itineraries. No. IV. EASTERN ASIA. This includes also Sketch Map of the Ruins of SHANGTU, after <i>Dr. BUSHELL</i> ; and Enlarged Sketch of the Passage of the Hwang-ho or Karamoran on the road to Si-ngan fu (see vol. ii. pp. 25-27) from the data of <i>Baron von Richthofen</i> .

WOODCUTS PRINTED WITH THE TEXT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

- Page x. A MEDÆVAL SHIP.
- „ xxvi. COAT OF ARMS of Sir HENRY YULE.
- „ 7. ARMS of the POLO family, according to Priuli.
- „ 8. ARMS of the POLO family, according to Marco Barbaro. (See p. 7, note.)
- „ 13. Autograph of HETHUM or HAYTON I. King of (Cicilian) Armenia; copied from *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolemitano*, I. 135. The signature is attached to a French document without date, granting the King's Daughter "Damoiselle Femie" (Euphemia) in marriage to Sire Julian, son of the Lady of Sayete (Sidon). The words run: *Thagdvor Haiwetz* ("Rex Armenorum"), followed by the King's cypher or monogram; but the initial letter is absent, probably worn off the original document.
- „ 18. The PIAZZETTA at VENICE in the 14th century. From a portion of the Frontispiece Miniature of the MS. of Marco Polo in the Bodleian. (Borrowed from the *National Miscellany*, published by J. H. Parker, Oxford, for 1853-55; and see *Street's Brick and Marble*, etc., 1855, pp. 150-151.) [See vol. ii. p. 529.]
- „ 29. Three extracts from MAPS of VENICE, showing the site of the CA' POLO at three different periods. (1) From the great woodcut Map or View of Venice, dated 1500, and commonly called Albert Dürer's. (2) From a Plan by Cav. Ludovico Ughi, 1729. (3) From the Modern Official Plan of the City.
- „ 34. Diagram of arrangement of oars in galleys.
- „ 35. Extract from a fresco by SPINELLO ARETINI, in the Municipal Palace at SIENA, representing a GALLEY-FIGHT (perhaps imaginary) between the Venetians and the fleet of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and illustrating the arrangements of mediæval galleys. Drawn from a very dim and imperfect photograph, after personal study of the original, by the Editor.
- „ 37. Extract from a picture by DOMENICO TINTORETTO in the Ducal Palace at Venice, representing the same GALLEY-FIGHT. After an engraving in the *Theatrum Venetum*.
- „ 49. MARCO POLO'S GALLEY going into action at CURZOLA. Drawn by Signor Q. CENNI, from a design by the Editor.
- „ 50. Map to illustrate the SEA-FIGHT at CURZOLA, where Marco Polo was taken prisoner.
- „ 57. SEAL of the PISAN PRISONERS in Genoa, after the battle of Meloria (1284). From *Manni, Osservazioni Storiche sopra Sigilli Antichi*, tom. xii. Engraved by T. ADENEY.
- „ 75. The Convent and CHURCH of S. LORENZO, the burial-place of Marco Polo, as it existed in the 15th century. From the Map of 1500 (see above). Engraved by the same.
- „ 78. Arms of the TREVISAN family, according to Priuli.
- „ 120. TAILED STAR near the Antarctic, as Marco Polo drew it for Pietro d'Abano. From the *Conciliator* of Pietro d'Abano.

PROLOGUE.

- Page 3. Remains of the Castle of SOLDAIA or Sudák. After *Dubois de Montpereux, Voyage autour du Caucase*, Atlas, 3d s. Pl. 64.
- „ 7. Ruins of BOLGHAR. After *Demidoff, Voyage dans la Russie Méridionale*, Pl. 75.
- „ 15. The GREAT KAAŃ delivering a GOLDEN TABLET to the two elder Polos. From a miniature in the *Livre des Merveilles du Monde* (Fr. 2810) in the Library at Paris, fol. 3 verso.
- „ 16. Castle of AYAS. After *Langlois, Voyage en Cilicie*.
- „ 18. Plan of ACRE as it was when lost (A.D. 1291). Reduced and translated from the contemporary plan in the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* of Marino Sanudo the Elder, engraved in *Bongars, Gesta Dei per Franços*, vol. ii.
- „ 21. Portrait of Pope GREGORY X. After *J. B. de Cavalieriis Pontificum Romanorum Effigies*, etc. Romæ, 1580.
- „ 37. Ancient CHINESE WAR VESSEL. From the Chinese Encyclopædia called *San-Tsai-Thou-Hoei*, in the Paris Library.

BOOK FIRST.

- Page 42. Coin of King HETUM I. and Queen ISABEL of Cilician Armenia. From an original in the British Museum. Engraved by ADENEY.
- „ 48. Castle of BAIBURT. After *Texier, L'Arménie*, Pl. 3.
- „ 51. Mediæval GEORGIAN FORTRESS. From a drawing by Padre CRISTOFORO DI CASTELLI of the Theatine Mission, made in 1634, and now in the Communal Library at Palermo. The name of the place has been eaten away, and I have not yet been able to ascertain it.
- „ 55. View of DERBEND. After a cut from a drawing by M. Moynet in the *Tour du Monde*, vol. i.
- „ 61. Coin of BADRUDDÍN LOLO of Mosul (A.H. 620). After *Marsden's Numismata Orientalia*, No. 164. By ADENEY.
- „ 76. GHÁZÁN Khan's Mosque at TABRIZ. Borrowed from *Fergusson's History of Architecture*.
- „ 95. KASHMIR SCARF with animals, etc. After photograph from the scarf in the Indian Museum.
- „ 100. Humped Oxen from the Assyrian Sculptures at Kouyunjik. From *Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies*.
- „ 102. Portrait of a Hazara. From a Photograph, kindly taken for the purpose, by M.-Gen. C. P. Keyes, C.B., Commanding the Panjáb Frontier Force.
- „ 116-118. Illustrations of the use of the DOUBLE RUDDER in the Middle Ages. 7 figures, viz., No. 1, The Navicello of Giotto in the Porch of St. Peter's. From *Eastlake's H. of Painting*; Nos. 2 and 3, from *Pertz, Scriptorum*, tom. xviii. after a Genoese Chronicle; No. 4, Sketch from fresco of Spinello Aretini at Siena; No. 5, Seal of Port of Winchelsea, from *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. i. 1848; No. 6, Sculpture on Leaning Tower at Pisa, after *Jal, Archéologie Navale*; No. 7, from the Monument of Peter Martyr, the persecutor of the Lombard *Patarini*, in the Church of St. Eustorgius at Milan, after *Le Tombe ed i Monumenti Illustri d'Italia*, Mil. 1822-23.

- Page 134. The *ARBRE SEC*, and *ARBRES DU SOLEIL ET DE LA LUNE*. From a miniature in the Prose Romance of Alexander, in the Brit. Museum MS. called the *Shrewsbury Book* (Reg. xv. e. 6).
- „ 137. The CHINÁR or Oriental Plane, viz., that called the Tree of Godfrey of Boulogne at Buyukdéré, near Constantinople. Borrowed from *Le Monde Végétal* of Fiquier.
- „ 147. Portrait of H. H. AGHA KHÁN MEHELÁTI, late representative of the OLD MAN of the MOUNTAIN. From a photograph by Messrs. SHEPHERD and BOURNE.
- „ 159. Ancient SILVER PATERA of debased Greek Art, formerly in the possession of the Princes of BADAQHSAN, now in the India Museum.
- „ 167. Ancient BUDDHIST Temple at Pandrethan in KÁSHMIR. Borrowed from *Fergusson's History of Architecture*.
- „ 176. Horns of the *OVIS POLI*, or Great Sheep of Pamir. Drawn by the Editor from the specimen belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society.
- „ 177. Figure of the *OVIS POLI*, or Great Sheep of Pamir. From a drawing by Mr. Severtsof in a Russian publication.
- „ 180. Head of a native of KASHGAR. After Verchaguine. From the *Tour du Monde*.
- „ 181. View of KASHGAR. From *Mr. R. Shaw's Tartary*.
- „ 184. View of SAMARKAND. From a Sketch by Mr. D. IVANOFF, engraved in a Russian Illustrated Paper (kindly sent by Mr. I. to the editor).
- „ 221. Colossal Figure; BUDDHA entering NIRVANA. Sketched by the Editor at Pagán in Burma.
- „ 222. Great LÁMA MONASTERY, viz., that at Jehol. After *Staunton's Narrative of Lord Macartney's Embassy*.
- „ 224. The *Kyang*, or WILD ASS of Mongolia. After a plate by Wolf in the *Journal of the Royal Zoological Society*.
- „ 229. The Situation of Karákorum.
- „ 230. Entrance to the Erdeni Tso, Great Temple. From MARCEL MONNIER'S *Tour d'Asie*, by kind permission of M. PLON.
- „ 244. Death of Chinghiz Khan. From a Miniature in the *Livre des Merveilles*.
- „ 253. Dressing up a Tent, from MARCEL MONNIER'S *Tour d'Asie*, by kind permission of M. PLON.
- „ 255. Mediæval TARTAR HUTS and WAGGONS. Drawn by Sig. QUINTO CENNI, on a design compiled by the Editor from the descriptions of mediæval and later travellers.
- „ 258. Tartar IDOLS and KUMIS Churn. Drawn by the Editor after data in *Pallas and Zaleski (Vie des Steppes Kirghiz)*.
- „ 273. The *SYRRHAPTES PALLASII*; *Bargherlac* of Marco Polo. From a plate by Wolf in the *Ibis* for April, 1860.
- „ 280. REEVES'S PHEASANT. After an engraving in *Wood's Illustrated Natural History*.
- „ 293. The RAMPART of GOG and MAGOG. From a photograph of the Great Wall of China. Borrowed from *Dr. Rennie's Peking and the Pekingese*.
- „ 307. A PAVILION at Yuen-Ming-Yuen, to illustrate the probable style of Kúblái Kaan's Summer Palace. Borrowed from *Michie's Siberian Overland Route*.
- „ 317. CHINESE CONJURING Extraordinary. Extracted from an engraving in *Edward Melton's Zeldsaame Reizen*, etc. Amsterdam, 1702.
- „ 320. A MONASTERY of LAMAS. Borrowed from the *Tour du Monde*.
- „ 326. A TIBETAN BACSI. Sketched from the life by the Editor.

BOOK SECOND.—PART FIRST.

- Page 340. NAKKARAS. From a Chinese original in the *Lois des Empereurs Mandchous (Thai-Thsing-Hoei-Tien-Thou)*, in the Paris Library.
- „ 341. NAKKARAS. After one of the illustrations in Blochmann's edition of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.
- „ 352. Seljukian Coin, with the LION and the SUN (A.H. 640). After *Marsden's Numismata Orientalia*, No. 98. Engraved by ADENEY.
- „ 355. Sculptured GERFALCON from the Gate of Iconium. Copied from *Hammer's Falknerklee*.
- „ 357. Portrait of the Great KAAŃ KÚBLÁI. From a Chinese engraving in the Encyclopædia called *San-Thsai-Thou-Hoei*; in the Paris Library.
- „ 367. Ideal Plan of the Ancient Palaces of the Mongol Emperors at Khanbaligh, according to Dr. Bretschneider.
- „ 369. Palace at Khan-baligh. From the *Livre des Merveilles*.
- „ 369. The WINTER PALACE at PEKING. Borrowed from *Fergusson's History of Architecture*.
- „ 371. View of the "GREEN MOUNT." From a photograph kindly lent to the present Editor by Count de SEMALLÉ.
- „ 373. The *Yüan ch'eng*. From a photograph kindly lent to the present Editor by Count de SEMALLÉ.
- „ 376. South GATE of the "IMPERIAL CITY" at Peking. From an original sketch belonging to the late *Dr. W. Lockhart*.
- „ 399. The BÚRGÚT EAGLE. After *Atkinson's Oriental and Western Siberia*.
- „ 409. The TENTS of the EMPEROR K'ien-lung. From a drawing in the *Staunton Collection* in the British Museum.
- „ 413. Plain of CAMBALUC; the City in the distance; from the hills on the north-west. From a photograph. Borrowed from *Dr. Rennie's Peking*.
- „ 458. The Great TEMPLE OF HEAVEN at Peking. From *Michiè's Siberian Overland Route*.
- „ 463. MARBLE ARCHWAY erected under the MONGOL DYNASTY at Kiu-Yong Kwan in the Nan-k'au Pass, N.W. of Peking. From a photograph in the possession of the present Editor.

011

MARCO POLO AND HIS BOOK.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

CIV'



Doorway of the House of Marco Polo in the Corte Sabbionera, at Venice.

(To face p. I.

MARCO POLO AND HIS BOOK.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.



I. OBSCURITIES IN THE HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND BOOK. RAMUSIO'S STATEMENTS.

1. WITH all the intrinsic interest of Marco Polo's Book it may perhaps be doubted if it would have continued to exercise such fascination on many minds through successive generations were it not for the difficult questions which it suggests. It is a great book of puzzles, whilst our confidence in the man's veracity is such that we feel certain every puzzle has a solution.

Obscurities
of Polo's
Book, and
personal
History.

And such difficulties have not attached merely to the identification of places, the interpretation of outlandish terms, or the illustration of obscure customs; for strange entanglements have perplexed also the chief circumstances of the Traveller's life and authorship. The time of the dictation of his Book and of the execution of his Last Will have been almost the only undisputed epochs in his biography. The year of his birth has been contested, and the date of his death has not been recorded; the critical occasion of his capture by the Genoese, to which we seem to owe the happy fact that he did not go down mute to the tomb of his fathers, has been made the subject of chronological difficulties; there are in the various texts of his story variations hard to account for; the very tongue in which it was written down has furnished a question, solved only in our own age, and in a most unexpected manner.

2. The first person who attempted to gather and string the facts of Marco Polo's personal history was his countryman, the celebrated John Baptist Ramusio. His essay abounds in what we now know to be errors of detail, but, prepared as it was when traditions of the Traveller were still rife in Venice, a genuine thread runs through it which could never have been spun in later days, and its presentation seems to me an essential element in any full discourse upon the subject.

Ramusio,
his earliest
biographer.
His account
of Polo.

Ramusio's preface to the Book of Marco Polo, which opens the second volume of his famous Collection of Voyages and Travels, and is addressed to his learned friend Jerome Fracastoro, after referring to some of the most noted geographers of antiquity, proceeds : *—

“Of all that I have named, Ptolemy, as the latest, possessed the greatest extent of knowledge. Thus, towards the North, his knowledge carries him beyond the Caspian, and he is aware of its being shut in all round like a lake,—a fact which was unknown in the days of Strabo and Pliny, though the Romans were already lords of the world. But though his knowledge extends so far, a tract of 15 degrees beyond that sea he can describe only as Terra Incognita ; and towards the South he is fain to apply the same character to all beyond the Equinoxial. In these unknown regions, as regards the South, the first to make discoveries have been the Portuguese captains of our own age ; but as regards the North and North-East the discoverer was the Magnifico Messer Marco Polo, an honoured nobleman of Venice, nearly 300 years since, as may be read more fully in his own Book. And in truth it makes one marvel to consider the immense extent of the journeys made, first by the Father and Uncle of the said Messer Marco, when they proceeded continually towards the East-North-East, all the way to the Court of the Great Can and the Emperor of the Tartars ; and afterwards again by the three of them when, on their return homeward, they traversed the Eastern and Indian Seas. Nor is that all, for one marvels also how the aforesaid gentleman was able to give such an orderly description of all that he had seen ; seeing that such an accomplishment was possessed by very few in his day, and he had had a large part of his nurture among those uncultivated Tartars, without any regular training in the art of composition. His Book indeed, owing to the endless errors and inaccuracies that had crept into it, had come for many years to be regarded as fabulous ; and the opinion prevailed that the names of cities and provinces contained therein were all fictitious and imaginary, without any ground in fact, or were (I might rather say) mere dreams.

* The Preface is dated Venice, 7th July, 1553. Fracastorius died in the same year, and Ramusio erected a statue of him at Padua. Ramusio himself died in July, 1557.

3. "Howbeit, during the last hundred years, persons acquainted with Persia have begun to recognise the existence of Cathay. The voyages of the Portuguese also towards the North-East, beyond the Golden Chersonese, have brought to knowledge many cities and provinces of India, and many islands likewise, with those very names which our Author applies to them; and again, on reaching the Land of China, they have ascertained from the people of that region (as we are told by Sign. John de Barros, a Portuguese gentleman, in his Geography) that Canton, one of the chief cities of that kingdom, is in $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of latitude, with the coast running N.E. and S.W.; that after a distance of 275 leagues the said coast turns towards the N.W.; and that there are three provinces along the sea-board, Mangi, Zanton, and Quinzai, the last of which is the principal city and the King's Residence, standing in 46° of latitude. And proceeding yet further the coast attains to 50° .* Seeing then how many particulars are in our day becoming known of that part of the world concerning which Messer Marco has written, I have deemed it reasonable to publish his book, with the aid of several copies written (as I judge) more than 200 years ago, in a perfectly accurate form, and one vastly more faithful than that in which it has been heretofore read. And thus the world shall not lose the fruit that may be gathered from so much diligence and industry expended upon so honourable a branch of knowledge."

Ramusio
vindicates
Polo's Geo-
graphy.

4. Ramusio, then, after a brief apologetic parallel of the marvels related by Polo with those related by the Ancients and by the modern discoverers in the West, such as Columbus and Cortes, proceeds:—

"And often in my own mind, comparing the land explorations of these our Venetian gentlemen with the sea explorations of the aforesaid Signor Don Christopher, I have asked myself which of the two were really the more marvellous. And if patriotic prejudice delude me not, methinks good reason might be adduced for setting the land journey above the sea voyage. Consider only what a height of courage was needed to undertake and carry through so difficult an enterprise, over a route of such desperate length and hardship, whereon it was sometimes necessary to carry food for the supply of man and beast, not for days only but for months together. Columbus, on the other hand, going by sea, readily carried with him all necessary provision; and after a voyage of some 30 or 40 days was conveyed by the wind whither he desired to go, whilst the Venetians again took a whole year's time to pass all those great deserts and mighty rivers. Indeed that the difficulty of travelling to Cathay was so much greater than that of reaching the New World, and the route so much longer and more perilous, may be gathered from the fact that, since those gentlemen twice made this

Ramusio
compares
Polo with
Columbus.

* The Geography of De Barros, from which this is quoted, has never been printed. I can find nothing corresponding to this passage in the Decades.

journey, no one from Europe has dared to repeat it,* whereas in the very year following the discovery of the Western Indies many ships immediately retraced the voyage thither, and up to the present day continue to do so, habitually and in countless numbers. Indeed those regions are now so well known, and so thronged by commerce, that the traffic between Italy, Spain, and England is not greater."

5. Ramusio goes on to explain the light regarding the first part or prologue of Marco Polo's book that he had derived from a recent piece of luck which had made him partially acquainted with the geography of Abulfeda, and to make a running commentary on the whole of the preliminary narrative until the final return of the travellers to Venice:—

“And when they got thither the same fate befel them as befel Ulysses, who, when he returned, after his twenty years' wanderings, to his native Ithaca, was recognized by nobody. Thus also [those three gentlemen who had been so many years absent from their native city were recognized by none of their kinsfolk, who were under the firm belief that they had all been dead for many a year past, as indeed had been reported. Through the long duration and the hardships of their journeys, and through the many worries and anxieties that they had undergone, they were quite changed in aspect, and had got a certain indescribable smack of the Tartar both in air and accent, having indeed all but forgotten their Venetian tongue. Their clothes too were coarse and shabby, and of a Tartar cut. They proceeded on their arrival to their house in this city in the confine of St. John Chrysostom, where you may see it to this day. The house, which was in those days a very lofty and handsome palazzo, is now known by the name of the *Corte del Millioni* for a reason that I will tell you presently. Going thither they found it occupied by some of their relatives, and they had the greatest difficulty in making the latter understand who they should be. For these good people, seeing them to be in countenance so unlike what they used to be, and in dress so shabby, flatly refused to believe that they were those very gentlemen of the Ca' Polo whom they had been looking upon for ever so many years as among the dead.† So these three gentlemen,—this is a story I have often heard when I was a youngster from the illustrious Messer GASPARO MALPIERO, a gentleman of very great age, and a Senator of eminent virtue and integrity, whose house was on the Canal of Santa Marina, exactly at the corner over the mouth of the Rio di S. Giovanni Chrisostomo, and just midway among the buildings of the aforesaid Corte del Millioni, and he said he had heard the story from his own father and grandfather, and from other old men among the neighbours,—the three gentlemen, I say, devised a scheme by which they should at once bring about their recog-

* A grievous error of Ramusio's.

† See the decorated title-page of this volume for an attempt to realise the scene.

dition by their relatives, and secure the honourable notice of the whole city; and this was it:—

“They invited a number of their kindred to an entertainment, which they took care to have prepared with great state and splendour in that house of theirs; and when the hour arrived for sitting down to table they came forth of their chamber all three clothed in crimson satin, fashioned in long robes reaching to the ground such as people in those days wore within doors. And when water for the hands had been served, and the guests were set, they took off those robes and put on others of crimson damask, whilst the first suits were by their orders cut up and divided among the servants. Then after partaking of some of the dishes they went out again and came back in robes of crimson velvet, and when they had again taken their seats, the second suits were divided as before. When dinner was over they did the like with the robes of velvet, after they had put on dresses of the ordinary fashion worn by the rest of the company.*

¶ These proceedings caused much wonder and amazement among the guests. But when the cloth had been drawn, and all the servants had been ordered to retire from the dining hall, Messer Marco, as the youngest of the three, rose from table, and, going into another chamber, brought forth the three shabby dresses of coarse stuff which they had worn when they first arrived. Straightway they took sharp knives and began to rip up some of the seams and welts, and to take out of them jewels of the greatest value in vast quantities, such as rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds and emeralds, which had all been stitched up in those dresses in so artful a fashion that nobody could have suspected the fact. For when they took leave of the Great Can they had changed all the wealth that he had bestowed upon them into this mass of rubies, emeralds, and other jewels, being well aware of the impossibility of carrying with them so great an amount in gold over a journey of such extreme length and difficulty. Now this exhibition of such a huge treasure of jewels and precious stones, all tumbled out upon the table, threw the guests into fresh amazement, insomuch that they seemed quite bewildered and dumbfounded. And now they recognized that in spite of all former doubts these were in truth those honoured and worthy gentlemen of the Ca' Polo that they claimed to be; and so all paid them the greatest honour and reverence. ~~And~~ when the story got wind in Venice, straightway the whole city, gentle and simple, flocked to the house to embrace them, and to make much of them, with every conceivable demonstration of affection and respect. On Messer Maffio, who was the eldest, they conferred the honours of an office that was of great dignity in those days; whilst the young men came daily to visit and converse with the ever polite and gracious Messer Marco, and to ask him questions about Cathay and the Great Can, all which he answered with such kindly courtesy that every man felt himself in a manner his debtor. And as it happened that in the story, which he was constantly called on to repeat, of the magnificence of the Great Can, he would speak of his revenues as Grand Khan

* At first sight this fantastic tradition seems to have little verisimilitude; but when we regard it in the light of genuine Mongol custom, such as is quoted from Rubruquis, at p. 389 of this volume, we shall be disposed to look on the whole story with respect.

amounting to ten or fifteen *millions* of gold; and in like manner, when recounting other instances of great wealth in those parts, would always make use of the term *millions*, so they gave him the nickname of MESSER MARCO MILLIONI: a thing which I have noted also in the Public Books of this Republic where mention is made of him.* The Court of his House, too, at S. Giovanni Chrisostomo, has always from that time been popularly known as the Court of the Millioni.]

6. "Not many months after the arrival of the travellers at Venice, news came that LAMPA DORIA, Captain of the Genoese Fleet, had advanced with 70 galleys to the Island of Curzola, upon which orders were issued by the Prince of the Most Illustrious Signory for the arming of 90 galleys with all the expedition possible, and Messer Marco Polo for his valour was put in charge of one of these. So he with the others, under the command of the Most Illustrious MESSER ANDREA DANDOLO, Procurator of St. Mark's, as Captain General, a very brave and worthy gentleman, set out in search of the Genoese Fleet. They fought on the September feast of Our Lady, and, as is the common hazard of war, our fleet was beaten, and Polo was made prisoner. For, having pressed on in the vanguard of the attack, and fighting with high and worthy courage in defence of his country and his kindred, he did not receive due support, and being wounded, he was taken, along with Dandolo, and immediately put in irons and sent to Genoa.

"When his rare qualities and marvellous travels became known there, the whole city gathered to see him and to speak with him, and he was no longer entreated as a prisoner but as a dear friend and honoured gentleman. Indeed they showed him such honour and affection that at all hours of the day he was visited by the noblest gentlemen of the city, and was continually receiving presents of every useful kind. Messer Marco finding himself in this position, and witnessing the general eagerness to hear all about Cathay and the Great Can, which indeed compelled him daily to repeat his story till he was weary, was advised to put the matter in writing. So having found means to get a letter written to his father here at Venice, in which he desired the latter to send the notes and memoranda which he had brought home with him, after the receipt of these, and assisted by a Genoese gentleman, who was a great friend of his, and who took great delight in learning about the various regions of the world, and used on that account to spend many hours daily in the prison with him, he wrote this present book (to please him) in the Latin tongue.

"To this day the Genoese for the most part write what they have to write in that language, for there is no possibility of expressing their natural dialect with the pen.† Thus then it came to pass that the Book was put forth at first by Messer Marco in Latin; but as many copies were taken, and as it was rendered into our vulgar tongue, all Italy became filled with it, so much was this story desired and run after."

* This curious statement is confirmed by a passage in the records of the Great Council, which, on a late visit to Venice, I was enabled to extract, through an obliging communication from Professor Minotto. (See below, p. 67.)

† This rather preposterous skit at the Genoese dialect naturally excites a remonstrance from the Abate Spotorno. (*Storia Letteraria della Liguria*, II. 217.)

7. "The captivity of Messer Marco greatly disturbed the minds of Messer Maffio and his father Messer Nicolo. They had decided, whilst still on their travels, that Marco should marry as soon as they should get to Venice; but now they found themselves in this unlucky pass, with so much wealth and nobody to inherit it. Fearing that Marco's imprisonment might endure for many years, or, worse still, that he might not live to quit it (for many assured them that numbers of Venetian prisoners had been kept in Genoa a score of years before obtaining liberty); seeing too no prospect of being able to ransom him,—a thing which they had attempted often and by various channels,—they took counsel together, and came to the conclusion that Messer Nicolo, who, old as he was, was still hale and vigorous, should take to himself a new wife. This he did; and at the end of four years he found himself the father of three sons, Stefano, Maffio, and Giovanni. Not many years after, Messer Marco aforesaid, through the great favour that he had acquired in the eyes of the first gentlemen of Genoa, and indeed of the whole city, was discharged from prison and set free. Returning home he found that his father had in the meantime had those three other sons. Instead of taking this amiss, wise and discreet man that he was, he agreed also to take a wife of his own. He did so accordingly, but he never had any son, only two girls, one called Moreta and the other Fantina.

Ramusio's
account of
Marco's
liberation
and mar-
riage.

"When at a later date his father died, like a good and dutiful son he caused to be erected for him a tomb of very honourable kind for those days, being a great sarcophagus cut from the solid stone, which to this day may be seen under the portico before the Church of S. Lorenzo in this city, on the right hand as you enter, with an inscription denoting it to be the tomb of Messer Nicolo Polo of the contrada of S. Gio. Chrisostomo. The arms of his family consist of a *Bend* with three birds on it, and the colours, according to certain books of old histories in which you see all the coats of the gentlemen of this city emblazoned, are the field *azure*, the bend *argent*, and the three birds *sable*. These last are birds of that kind vulgarly termed *Pole*,* or, as the Latins call them, *Graculi*.

8. "As regards the after duration of this noble and worthy family, I

* *Jackdaws*, I believe, in spite of some doubt from the imbecility of ordinary dictionaries in such matters.

They are under this name made the object of a similitude by Dante (surely a most unhappy one) in reference to the resplendent spirits fitting on the celestial stairs in the sphere of Saturn:—

"E come per lo natural costume
Le *Pole* insieme, al cominciar del giorno,
Si muovono a scaldar le fredde piume:
Poi altre vanno via senza ritorno,
Altre rivolgon sè, onde son mosse,
Ed altre roteando fan soggiorno."—*Parad. XXI. 34.*

There is some difference among authorities as to the details of the Polo blazon. According to a MS. concerning the genealogies of Venetian families written by Marco Barbaro in 1566, and of which there is a copy in the Museo Civico, the field is *gules*, the bend *or*. And this I have followed in the cut. But a note by S. Stefani



Arms of the Polo.¹

¹[This coat of arms is reproduced from the Genealogies of Priuli, Archivio di Stato, Venice.—H. C.]

find that Messer Andrea Polo of San Felice had three sons, the first of whom was Messer Marco, the second Maffio, the third Nicolo.

Ramusio's
account of
the Family
Polo and its
termination.

The two last were those who went to Constantinople first, and afterwards to Cathay, as has been seen. Messer Marco the elder being dead, the wife of Messer Nicolo who had been left at home with child, gave birth to a son, to whom she gave the name of Marco in memory of the deceased, and this is the Author of our Book. Of the brothers who were born from his father's second marriage, viz. Stephen, John, and Matthew, I do not find that any of them had children, except Matthew. He had five sons and one daughter called Maria; and she, after the death of her brothers without offspring, inherited in 1417 all the property of her father and her brothers. She was honourably married to Messer AZZO TREVISANO of the parish of Santo Stazio in this city, and from her sprung the fortunate and honoured stock of the Illustrious Messer DOMENICO TREVISANO, Procurator of St. Mark's, and valorous Captain General of the Sea Forces of the Republic, whose virtue and singular good qualities are represented with augmentation in the person of the Most Illustrious Prince Ser MARC' ANTONIO TREVISANO, his son.*

"Such has been the history of this noble family of the Ca' Polo, which lasted as we see till the year of our Redemption 1417, in which year died childless Marco Polo, the last of the five sons of Maffeo, and so it came to an end. Such be the chances and changes of human affairs!"



Arms of the Ca' Polo.

II. SKETCH OF THE STATE OF THE EAST AT THE TIME OF THE JOURNEYS OF THE POLO FAMILY.

9. The story of the travels of the Polo family opens in 1260.

Christendom had recovered from the alarm into which it had of Venice, with which I have been favoured since the cut was made, informs me that a fine 15th-century MS. in his possession gives the field as *argent*, with no *bend*, and the three birds *sable* with beaks *gules*, disposed thus * * *.

* Marco Antonio Trevisano was elected Doge, 4th June, 1553, but died on the 31st of May following. We do not here notice Ramusio's numerous errors, which will be corrected in the sequel. [See p. 78.]

been thrown some 18 years before when the Tartar cataclysm had threatened to engulf it. The Tartars themselves were already becoming an object of curiosity rather than of fear, and soon became an object of hope, as a possible help against the old Mahomedan foe. The frail Latin throne in Constantinople was still standing, but tottering to its fall. The successors of the Crusaders still held the Coast of Syria from Antioch to Jaffa, though a deadlier brood of enemies than they had yet encountered was now coming to maturity in the Dynasty of the Mamelukes, which had one foot firmly planted in Cairo, the other in Damascus. The jealousies of the commercial republics of Italy were daily waxing greater. The position of Genoese trade on the coasts of the Aegean was greatly depressed, through the predominance which Venice had acquired there by her part in the expulsion of the Greek Emperors, and which won for the Doge the lofty style of Lord of Three-Eighths of the Empire of Romania. But Genoa was biding her time for an early revenge, and year by year her naval strength and skill were increasing. Both these republics held possessions and establishments in the ports of Syria, which were often the scene of sanguinary conflicts between their citizens. Alexandria was still largely frequented in the intervals of war as the great emporium of Indian wares, but the facilities afforded by the Mongol conquerors who now held the whole tract from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Caspian and of the Black Sea, or nearly so, were beginning to give a great advantage to the caravan routes which debouched at the ports of Cilician Armenia in the Mediterranean and at Trebizond on the Euxine. Tana (or Azov) had not as yet become the outlet of a similar traffic; the Venetians had apparently frequented to some extent the coast of the Crimea for local trade, but their rivals appear to have been in great measure excluded from this commerce, and the Genoese establishments which so long flourished on that coast, are first heard of some years after a Greek dynasty was again in possession of Constantinople.*

10. In Asia and Eastern Europe scarcely, a dog might bark without Mongol leave, from the borders of Poland and the Gulf

* See Heyd, *Le Colonie Commerciali degli Italiani*, etc., passim.

of Scanderoon to the Amur and the Yellow Sea. The vast empire which Chinghiz had conquered still owned a nominally supreme head in the Great Kaan,* but practically it was splitting up into several great monarchies under the descendants of the four sons of Chinghiz, Juji, Chaghatai, Okkodai, and Tuli; and wars on a vast scale were already brewing between them. Hulaku, third son of Tuli, and brother of two Great Kaans, Mangku and Kúblái, had become practically independent as ruler of Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, though he and his sons, and his sons' sons, continued to stamp the name of the Great Kaan upon their coins, and to use the Chinese seals of state which he bestowed upon them. The Seljukian Sultans of Iconium, whose dominion bore the proud title of Rúm (Rome), were now but the struggling bondsmen of the Ilkhans. The Armenian

* We endeavour to preserve throughout the book the distinction that was made in the age of the Mongol Empire between *Khán* and *Ḳādn* (خان and قآن, as written by Arabic and Persian authors). The former may be rendered *Lord*, and was applied generally to Tartar chiefs whether sovereign or not; it has since become in Persia, and especially in Afghanistan, a sort of "Esq.," and in India is now a common affix in the names of (Musulman) Hindustanis of all classes; in Turkey alone it has been reserved for the Sultan. *Ḳādn*, again, appears to be a form of *Khádn*, the *Xarýavos* of the Byzantine historians, and was the peculiar title of the supreme sovereign of the Mongols; the Mongol princes of Persia, Chaghatai, etc., were entitled only to the former affix (*Khán*), though *Ḳādn* and *Khádn* are sometimes applied to them in adulation. Polo always writes *Kaan* as applied to the Great Khan, and does not, I think, use *Khan* in any form, styling the subordinate princes by their name only, as *Argon*, *Alau*, etc. *Ilkhan* was a special title assumed by Hulaku and his successors in Persia; it is said to be compounded from a word *Il*, signifying tribe or nation. The relation between *Khán* and *Khádn* seems to be probably that the latter signifies "*Khán of Kháns*," Lord of Lords. Chinghiz, it is said, did not take the higher title; it was first assumed by his son Okkodai. But there are doubts about this. (See *Quatremère's Rashid*, pp. 10 *seqq.*, and *Pavet de Courteille, Dict. Turk-Oriental.*) The tendency of swelling titles is always to degenerate, and when the value of Khan had sunk, a new form, *Khán-khádn*, was devised at the Court of Delhi, and applied to one of the high officers of state.

[Mr. Rockhill writes (*Rubruck*, p. 108, note): "The title *Khan*, though of very great antiquity, was only used by the Turks after A.D. 560, at which time the use of the word *Khatun* came in use for the wives of the Khan, who himself was termed *Ilkhan*. The older title of *Shan-yü* did not, however, completely disappear among them, for Albiruni says that in his time the chief of the Ghuz Turks, or Turkomans, still bore the title of *Jenuyeh*, which Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Proc. R. G. S.*, v. 15) takes to be the same word as that transcribed *Shan-yü* by the Chinese (see *Ch'ien Han shu*, Bk. 94, and *Chou shu*, Bk. 50, 2). Although the word *Khakhan* occurs in Menander's account of the embassy of Zemarchus, the earliest mention I have found of it in a Western writer is in the *Chronicon* of Albericus Trium Fontium, where (571), under the year 1239, he uses it in the form *Cacanus*."—Cf. *Terrien de Lacouperie, Khan, Khakan, and other Tartar Titles*. Lond., Dec. 1888.—H. C.]

Hayton in his Cilician Kingdom had pledged a more frank allegiance to the Tartar, the enemy of his Moslem enemies.

Barka, son of Juji, the first ruling prince of the House of Chinghiz to turn Mahomedan, reigned on the steppes of the Volga, where a standing camp, which eventually became a great city under the name of Sarai, had been established by his brother and predecessor Batu.

The House of Chaghatai had settled upon the pastures of the Ili and the valley of the Jaxartes, and ruled the wealthy cities of Sogdiana.

Kaidu, the grandson of Okkodai who had been the successor of Chinghiz in the Kaanship, refused to acknowledge the transfer of the supreme authority to the House of Tuli, and was through the long life of Kúblái a thorn in his side, perpetually keeping his north-western frontier in alarm. His immediate authority was exercised over some part of what we should now call Eastern Turkestan and Southern Central Siberia; whilst his hordes of horsemen, force of character, and close neighbourhood brought the Khans of Chaghatai under his influence, and they generally acted in concert with him.

The chief throne of the Mongol Empire had just been ascended by Kúblái, the most able of its occupants after the Founder. Before the death of his brother and predecessor Mangku, who died in 1259 before an obscure fortress of Western China, it had been intended to remove the seat of government from Kara Korum on the northern verge of the Mongolian Desert to the more populous regions that had been conquered in the further East, and this step, which in the end converted the Mongol Kaan into a Chinese Emperor,* was carried out by Kúblái.

II. For about three centuries the Northern provinces of China had been detached from native rule, and subject to foreign dynasties; first to the *Khitan*, a people from the basin of the Sungari River, and supposed (but ^{China.} doubtfully) to have been akin to the Tunguses, whose rule subsisted for 200 years, and originated the name of KHITAI, Khata, or CATHAY, by which for nearly 1000 years China has been known to the nations of Inner Asia, and to those

* "China is a sea that salts all the rivers that flow into it."—*P. Parrenin* in *Litt. Édit.* XXIV. 58.

whose acquaintance with it was got by that channel.* The Khitan, whose dynasty is known in Chinese history as the *Liao* or "Iron," had been displaced in 1123 by the Chúrché's or Niu-chen, another race of Eastern Tartary, of the same blood as the modern Manchus, whose Emperors in their brief period of prosperity were known by the Chinese name of *Tai-Kin*, by the Mongol name of the *Altun* Kaans, both signifying "Golden." Already in the lifetime of Chinghiz himself the northern Provinces of China Proper, including their capital, known as Chung-tu or Yen-King, now Peking, had been wrenched from them, and the conquest of the dynasty was completed by Chinghiz's successor Okkodai in 1234.

Southern China still remained in the hands of the native dynasty of the Sung, who had their capital at the great city now well known as Hang-chau fu. Their dominion was still substantially untouched, but its subjugation was a task to which Kúblái before many years turned his attention, and which became the most prominent event of his reign.

12. In India the most powerful sovereign was the Sultan of Delhi, Nassir-uddin Mahmud of the Turki House of Iltit-mish; † but, though both Sind and Bengal acknowledged his supremacy, no part of Peninsular India had yet been invaded, and throughout the long period of our Traveller's residence in the East the Kings of Delhi had their hands too full, owing to the incessant incursions of the Mongols across the Indus, to venture on extensive campaigning in the south. Hence the Dravidian Kingdoms of Southern India were as yet untouched by foreign conquest, and the accumulated gold of ages lay in their temples and treasuries, an easy prey for the coming invader.

In the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the Eastern Islands a variety of kingdoms and dynasties were expanding and contracting, of which we have at best but dim and shifting glimpses. That they were advanced in wealth and art, far

* *E.g.*, the Russians still call it *Khitai*. The pair of names, *Khitai* and *Machin*, or Cathay and China, is analogous to the other pair, *Seres* and *Sinae*. *Seres* was the name of the great nation in the far East as known by land, *Sinae* as known by sea; and they were often supposed to be diverse, just as Cathay and China were afterwards.

† There has been much doubt about the true form of this name. *Iltit-mish* is that sanctioned by Mr. Blochmann (see *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 181).

beyond what the present state of those regions would suggest, is attested by vast and magnificent remains of Architecture, nearly all dating, so far as dates can be ascertained, from the 12th to the 14th centuries (that epoch during which an architectural afflatus seems to have descended on the human race), and which are found at intervals over both the Indo-Chinese continent and the Islands, as at Pagán in Burma, at Ayuthia in Siam, at Angkor in Kamboja, at Borobodur and Brambánan in Java. All these remains are deeply marked by Hindu influence, and, at the same time, by strong peculiarities, both generic and individual.

Autograph of Hayton, King of Armenia, circa A.D. 1243.

“. . . e por so qui cestes lettres soient fermes e establis ci abuns escrit l'escrit de notre main hermoil e sayelè de notre ceau pendant”

III. THE POLO FAMILY. PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE TRAVELLERS DOWN TO THEIR FINAL RETURN FROM THE EAST.

13. In days when History and Genealogy were allowed to draw largely on the imagination for the *origines* of states and families, it was set down by one Venetian Antiquary that among the companions of King Venetus, or of Prince Antenor of Troy, when they settled on the northern shores of the Adriatic, there was one LUCIUS POLUS, who became the progenitor of our Traveller's Family;* whilst another deduces it from PAOLO the first Doge † (Paulus Lucas Anafestus of Heraclea, A.D. 696).

Alleged
origin of
the Polos.

* Zurla, I. 42, quoting a MS. entitled *Petrus Ciera S. R. E. Card. de Origine Venetorum et de Civitate Venetiarum*. Cicogna says he could not find this MS. as it had been carried to England; and then breaks into a diatribe against foreigners who purchase and carry away such treasures, “not to make a serious study of them, but for mere vain-glory . . . or in order to write books contradicting the very MSS. that they have bought, and with that dishonesty and untruth which are so notorious!” (IV. 227.)

† *Campidoglio Veneto* of Cappellari (MS. in St. Mark's Lib.), quoting “the Venetian Annals of Giulio Faroldi.”

More trustworthy traditions, recorded among the Family Histories of Venice; but still no more it is believed than traditions, represent the Family of Polo as having come from Sebenico in Dalmatia, in the 11th century.* Before the end of the century they had taken seats in the Great Council of the Republic; for the name of Domenico Polo is said to be subscribed to a grant of 1094, that of Pietro Polo to an act of the time of the Doge Domenico Michiele in 1122, and that of a Domenico Polo to an acquittance granted by the Doge Domenico Morosini and his Council in 1153.†

The ascertained genealogy of the Traveller, however, begins only with his grandfather, who lived in the early part of the 13th century.

Two branches of the Polo Family were then recognized, distinguished by the *confini* or Parishes in which they lived, as Polo of S. Geremia, and Polo of S. Felice. ANDREA POLO of S. Felice was the father of three sons, MARCO, NICOLO, and MAFFEO. And Nicolo was the Father of our Marco.

14. Till quite recently it had never been precisely ascertained whether the immediate family of our Traveller belonged to the *Nobles* of Venice properly so called, who had seats in the Great Council and were enrolled in the Libro d'Oro. Ramusio indeed styles our Marco *Nobile* and *Magnifico*, and Rusticiano, the actual scribe of the Traveller's recollections, calls him "*sajes et noble citaiens de Venece*," but Ramusio's accuracy and Rusticiano's precision were scarcely to be depended on. Very recently, however, since the subject has been discussed with accomplished students of the Venice Archives, proofs have been found establishing Marco's personal claim to nobility, inasmuch as both in judicial decisions and in official resolutions of the Great Council, he is designated *Nobilis Vir*, a formula which would never have been used in such documents (I am assured) had he not been technically noble.‡

* The *Genealogies* of Marco Barbaro specify 1033 as the year of the migration to Venice; on what authority does not appear (MS. copy in *Museo Civico* at Venice).

† *Cappellari*, u.s., and *Barbaro*. In the same century we find (1125, 1195) indications of Polos at Torcello, and of others (1160) at Equileo, and (1179, 1206) Lido Maggiore; in 1154 a Marco Polo of Rialto. Contemporary with these is a family of Polos (1139, 1183, 1193, 1201) at Chioggia (*Documents and Lists of Documents from various Archives at Venice*).

‡ See Appendix C, Nos. 4, 5, and 16. It was supposed that an autograph of Marco as member of the Great Council had been discovered, but this proves to be a

15. Of the three sons of Andrea Polo of S. Felice, Marco seems to have been the eldest, and Maffeo the youngest.* They were all engaged in commerce, and apparently in a partnership, which to some extent held good even when the two younger had been many years absent in the Far East.† Marco seems to have been established for a time at Constantinople,‡ and also to have had a house (no doubt of business) at Soldaia, in the Crimea, where his son and daughter, Nicolo and Maroca by name, were living in 1280. This year is the date of the Elder Marco's Will, executed at Venice, and when he was "weighed down by bodily ailment." Whether he survived for any length of time we do not know.

16. Nicolo Polo, the second of the Brothers, had two legitimate sons, MARCO, the Author of our Book, born in 1254,§ and MAFFEO, of whose place in the family we shall have a few words to say presently. The story opens, as we have said, in 1260, when we find the two brothers, Nicolo and Maffeo the Elder, at Constantinople. How long they had been absent from Venice we are not distinctly told. Nicolo had left his wife there behind him; Maffeo apparently was a bachelor. In the year named they started on a trading venture to the Crimea, whence a succession of openings and chances, recounted in the Introductory chapters of Marco's work, carried them far north along the Volga, and thence first to Bokhara, and then to the Court of the Great Kaan Kúblái in the Far East, on or within the borders of CATHAY. That a great and civilized country so called existed in the extremity of Asia had already been reported in Europe by the Friars Plano Carpini (1246) and William Rubruquis (1253), who had not indeed reached its

Marco the Elder.

Nicolo and Maffeo commence their travels.

mistake, as will be explained further on (see p. 74, note). In those days the demarcation between Patrician and non-Patrician at Venice, where all classes shared in commerce, all were (generally speaking) of one race, and where there were neither castles, domains, nor trains of horsemen, formed no wide gulf. Still it is interesting to establish the verity of the old tradition of Marco's technical nobility.

* Marco's seniority rests only on the assertion of Ramusio, who also calls Maffeo older than Nicolo. But in Marco the Elder's Will these two are always (3 times) specified as "*Nicolaus et Matheus.*"

† This seems implied in the Elder Marco's Will (1280): "*Item de bonis que me habere contingunt de fraternâ Compagniâ a suprascriptis Nicolao et Matheo Paulo,*" etc.

‡ In his Will he terms himself "*Ego Marcus Polo quondam de Constantinopoli.*"

§ There is no real ground for doubt as to this. All the extant MSS. agree in making Marco fifteen years old when his father returned to Venice in 1269.

frontiers, but had met with its people at the Court of the Great Kaan in Mongolia; whilst the latter of the two with characteristic acumen had seen that they were identical with the Seres of classic fame.

17. Kúblái had never before fallen in with European gentlemen. He was delighted with these Venetians, listened with strong interest to all that they had to tell him of the Latin world, and determined to send them back as his ambassadors to the Pope, accompanied by an officer of his own Court. His letters to the Pope, as the Polos represent them, were mainly to desire the despatch of a large body of educated missionaries to convert his people to Christianity. It is not likely that religious motives influenced Kúblái in this, but he probably desired religious aid in softening and civilizing his rude kinsmen of the Steppes, and judged, from what he saw in the Venetians and heard from them, that Europe could afford such aid of a higher quality than the degenerate Oriental Christians with whom he was familiar, or the Tibetan Lamas on whom his patronage eventually devolved when Rome so deplorably failed to meet his advances.

18. The Brothers arrived at Acre in April,* 1269, and found that no Pope existed, for Clement IV. was dead the year before, and no new election had taken place. So they went home to Venice to see how things stood there after their absence of so many years.

The wife of Nicolo was no longer among the living, but he found his son Marco a fine lad of fifteen.

The best and most authentic MSS. tell us no more than this. But one class of copies, consisting of the Latin version made by our Traveller's contemporary, Francesco Pipino, and of the numerous editions based indirectly upon it, represents that Nicolo had left Venice when Marco was as yet unborn, and consequently had never seen him till his return from the East in 1269.†

* Baldelli and Lazari say that the Bern MS. specifies 30th April; but this is a mistake.

† Pipino's version runs: "Invenit Dominus Nicolaus Paulus uxorem suam esse defunctam, quae in recessu suo fuit praegnans. Invenitque filium, Marcum nomine, qui jam annos xv. habebat aetatis, qui post discessum ipsius de Venetiis natus fuerat de uxore

We have mentioned that Nicolo Polo had another legitimate son, by name Maffeo, and him we infer to have been younger than Marco, because he is named last (*Marcus et Matheus*) in the Testament of their uncle Marco the Elder. We do not know if they were by the same mother. They could not have been so if we are right in supposing Maffeo to have been the younger, and if Pipino's version of the history be genuine. If however we reject the latter, as I incline to do, no ground remains for supposing that Nicolo went to the East much before we find him there viz., in 1260, and Maffeo may have been born of the same mother during the interval between 1254 and 1260. If on the other hand Pipino's version be held to, we must suppose that Maffeo (who is named by his uncle in 1280, during his father's second absence in the East) was born of a marriage contracted during Nicolo's residence at home after his first journey, a residence which lasted from 1269 to 1271.*

sua praefatâ." To this Ramusio adds the further particular that the mother died in giving birth to Mark.

The interpolation is older even than Pipino's version, for we find in the rude Latin published by the Société de Géographie "quam cum Venetiis primo recessit praegnantem dimiserat." But the statement is certainly an *interpolation*, for it does not exist in any of the older texts; nor have we any good reason for believing that it was an *authorised* interpolation. I suspect it to have been introduced to harmonise with an erroneous date for the commencement of the travels of the two brothers.

Lazari prints: "Messer Nicolò trovò che la sua donna era morta, e n'era rimasto un fanciullo di dodici anni per nome Marco, che il padre non avea veduto mai, perchè non era ancor nato quando egli partì." These words have no equivalent in the French Texts, but are taken from one of the Italian MSS. in the Magliabecchian Library, and are I suspect also interpolated. The *dodici* is pure error (see p. 21 *infra*).

* The last view is in substance, I find, suggested by Cicogna (ii. 389).

The matter is of some interest, because in the Will of the younger Maffeo, which is extant, he makes a bequest to his uncle (*Avunculus*) Jordan Trevisan. This seems an indication that his mother's name may have been Trevisan. The same Maffeo had a daughter *Fiordelisa*. And Marco the Elder, in his Will (1280), appoints as his executors, during the absence of his brothers, the same Jordan Trevisan and his own sister-in-law *Fiordelisa* ("Jordanum Trivisanum de confinio S. Antonini: et Flordelisam cognatam meam"). Hence I conjecture that this *cognata Fiordelisa* (Trevisan?) was the wife of the absent Nicolo, and the mother of Maffeo. In that case of course Maffeo and Marco were the sons of different mothers. With reference to the above suggestion of Nicolo's second marriage in 1269 there is a curious variation in a fragmentary Venetian Polo in the Barberini Library at Rome. It runs, in the passage corresponding to the latter part of ch. ix. of Prologue: "i qual do fratelli stetano do anni in Venetia aspettando la elletion de nuovo Papa, nel qual tempo Mess. Nicolo si tolse moier et si la lasò graveda." I believe, however, that it is only a careless misrendering of Pipino's statement about Marco's birth.

deacon of Liège, whom the Book represents to have been Legate in Syria, and who in any case was a personage of much gravity and influence. From him they got letters to authenticate the causes of the miscarriage of their mission, and started for the further East. But they were still at the port of Ayas on the Gulf of Scanderoon, which was then becoming one of the chief points of arrival and departure for the inland trade of Asia, when they were overtaken by the news that a Pope was at last elected, and that the choice had fallen upon their friend Archdeacon Tedaldo. They immediately returned to Acre, and at last were able to execute the Kaan's commission, and to obtain a reply. But instead of the hundred able teachers of science and religion whom Kúblái is said to have asked for, the new Pope, Gregory X., could supply but two Dominicans; and these lost heart and drew back when they had barely taken the first step of the journey.

Judging from certain indications we conceive it probable that the three Venetians, whose second start from Acre took place about November 1271, proceeded by Ayas and Sivas, and then by Mardin, Mosul, and Baghdad, to Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, with the view of going on by sea, but that some obstacle arose which compelled them to abandon this project and turn north again from Hormuz.* They then

* [Major Sykes, in his remarkable book on *Persia*, ch. xxiii. pp. 262-263, does not share Sir Henry Yule's opinion regarding this itinerary, and he writes :

“To return to our travellers, who started on their second great journey in 1271, Sir Henry Yule, in his introduction,¹ makes them travel *via* Sivas to Mosul and Baghdád, and thence by sea to Hormuz, and this is the itinerary shown on his sketch map. This view I am unwilling to accept for more than one reason. In the first place, if, with Colonel Yule, we suppose that Ser Marco visited Baghdád, is it not unlikely that he should term the River Volga the Tigris,² and yet leave the river of Baghdád nameless? It may be urged that Marco believed the legend of the re-appearance of the Volga in Kurdistán, but yet, if the text be read with care and the character of the traveller be taken into account, this error is scarcely explicable in any other way, than that he was never there.

“Again, he gives no description of the striking buildings of Baudas, as he terms it, but this is nothing to the inaccuracy of his supposed onward journey. To quote the text, ‘A very great river flows through the city, . . . and merchants descend some eighteen days from Baudas, and then come to a certain city called Kisi,³ where they enter the Sea of India.’ Surely Marco, had he travelled down the Persian Gulf, would never have given this description of the route, which is so untrue as to point

¹ Page 19.

² *Vide Yule*, vol. i. p. 5. It is noticeable that John of Pian de Carpine, who travelled 1245 to 1247, names it correctly.

³ The modern name is Keis, an island lying off Linga.

traversed successively Kerman and Khorasan, Balkh and Badakhshan, whence they ascended the Panja or upper Oxus to the Plateau of Pamir, a route not known to have been since followed by any European traveller except Benedict Goës, till the spirited expedition of Lieutenant John Wood of the Indian Navy in 1838.* Crossing the Pamir highlands the travellers descended upon Kashgar, whence they proceeded by Yarkand and Khotan, and the vicinity of Lake Lob, and eventually across the Great Gobi Desert to Tangut, the name then applied by Mongols and Persians to territory at the extreme North-west of China, both within and without the Wall. Skirting the

to the conclusion that it was vague information given by some merchant whom he met in the course of his wanderings.

“Finally, apart from the fact that Baghdád, since its fall, was rather off the main caravan route, Marco so evidently travels east from Yezd and thence south to Hormuz, that unless his journey be described backwards, which is highly improbable, it is only possible to arrive at one conclusion, namely, that the Venetians entered Persia near Tabriz, and travelled to Sultania, Kashán, and Yezd. Thence they proceeded to Kermán and Hormuz, where, probably fearing the sea voyage, owing to the manifest unseaworthiness of the ships, which he describes as ‘wretched affairs,’ the Khorasán route was finally adopted. Hormuz, in this case, was not visited again until the return from China, when it seems probable that the same route was retraced to Tabriz, where their charge, the Lady Kokachin, ‘moult bele dame et avenant,’ was married to Gházán Khán, the son of her fiancé Arghun. It remains to add that Sir Henry Yule may have finally accepted this view in part, as in the plate showing *Probable View of Marco Polo's own Geography*,¹ the itinerary is not shown as running to Baghdád.”

I may be allowed to answer that when Marco Polo *started* for the East, Baghdád was not rather off the main caravan route. The fall of Baghdád was not immediately followed by its decay, and we have proof of its prosperity at the beginning of the 14th century. Tauris had not yet the importance it had reached when the Polos visited it on their *return* journey. We have the will of the Venetian Pietro Viglioni, dated from Tauris, 10th December, 1264 (*Archiv. Veneto*, xxvi. 161-165), which shows that he was but a pioneer. It was only under Arghún Khan (1284-1291) that Tauris became the great market for foreign, especially Genoese, merchants, as Marco Polo remarks on his return journey; with Gházán and the new city built by that prince, Tauris reached a very high degree of prosperity, and was then really the chief emporium on the route from Europe to Persia and the far East. Sir Henry Yule had not changed his views, and if in the plate showing *Probable View of Marco Polo's own Geography*, the itinerary is not shown as running to Baghdád, it is mere neglect on the part of the draughtsman.—H. C.]

* It is stated by Neumann that this most estimable traveller once intended to have devoted a special work to the elucidation of Marco's chapters on the Oxus Provinces, and it is much to be regretted that this intention was never fulfilled. Pamir has been explored more extensively and deliberately, whilst this book was going through the press, by Colonel Gordon, and other officers, detached from Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission. [We have made use of the information given by these officers and by more recent travellers.—H. C.]

¹ Vol. 1. p. 110 (Introduction).

northern frontier of China they at last reached the presence of the Kaan, who was at his usual summer retreat at Kai-ping fu, near the base of the Khingán Mountains, and nearly 100 miles north of the Great Wall at Kalgan. If there be no mistake in the time (three years and a half) ascribed to this journey in all the existing texts, the travellers did not reach the Court till about May of 1275.*

20. Kúblái received the Venetians with great cordiality, and took kindly to young Mark, who must have been by this time one-and-twenty. The *Joenne Bachelier*, as the story calls him, applied himself to the acquisition of the languages and written characters in chief use among the multifarious nationalities included in the Kaan's Court and administration; and Kúblái after a time, seeing his discretion and ability, began to employ him in the public service. M. Pauthier has found a record in the Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty, which states that in the year 1277, a certain POLO was nominated a second-class commissioner or agent attached to the Privy Council, a passage which we are happy to believe to refer to our young traveller.†

Marco's
employment
by Kúblái
Kaan; and
his journeys.

His first mission apparently was that which carried him through the provinces of Shan-si, Shen-si, and Sze-ch'wan, and the wild country on the East of Tibet, to the remote province of Yun-nan, called by the Mongols Karájàng, and which had been partially conquered by an army under Kúblái himself in 1253, before his accession to the throne.‡ Mark, during his stay at court, had observed the Kaan's delight in hearing of strange countries, their marvels, manners, and oddities, and had heard

* Half a year earlier, if we suppose the three years and a half to count from Venice rather than Acre. But at that season (November) Kúblái would not have been at Kai-ping fu (otherwise Shang-tu).

† *Pauthier*, p. ix., and p. 361.

‡ That this was Marco's first mission is positively stated in the Ramusian edition; and though this may be only an editor's gloss it seems well-founded. The French texts say only that the Great Kaan, "l'envoia en un message en une terre ou bien avoit vj. mois de chemin." The traveller's actual Itinerary affords to Vochan (Yung-ch'ang), on the frontier of Burma, 147 days' journey, which with halts might well be reckoned six months in round estimate. And we are enabled by various circumstances to fix the date of the Yun-nan journey between 1277 and 1280. The former limit is determined by Polo's account of the battle with the Burmese, near Vochan, which took place according to the Chinese Annals in 1277. The latter is fixed by his mention of Kúblái's son, Mangalai, as governing at Kenjanfu (Si-ngan fu), a prince who died in 1280. (See vol. ii. pp. 24, 31, also 64, 80.)

his Majesty's frank expressions of disgust at the stupidity of his commissioners when they could speak of nothing but the official business on which they had been sent. Profiting by these observations, he took care to store his memory or his note-books with all curious facts that were likely to interest Kúblái, and related them with vivacity on his return to Court. This first journey, which led him through a region which is still very nearly a *terra incognita*, and in which there existed and still exists, among the deep valleys of the Great Rivers flowing down from Eastern Tibet, and in the rugged mountain ranges bordering Yun-nan and Kwei-chau, a vast Ethnological Garden, as it were, of tribes of various race and in every stage of uncivilisation, afforded him an acquaintance with many strange products and eccentric traits of manners, wherewith to delight the Emperor.

Mark rose rapidly in favour, and often served Kúblái again on distant missions, as well as in domestic administration, but we gather few details as to his employments. At one time we know that he held for three years the government of the great city of Yang-chau, though we need not try to magnify this office, as some commentators have done, into the vicerealty of one of the great provinces of the Empire; on another occasion we find him with his uncle Maffeo, passing a year at Kan-chau in Tangut; again, it would appear, visiting Kara Korum, the old capital of the Kaans in Mongolia; on another occasion in Champa or Southern Cochin China; and again, or perhaps as a part of the last expedition, on a mission to the Indian Seas, when he appears to have visited several of the southern states of India. We are not informed whether his father and uncle shared in such employments;* and the story of their services rendered to the Kaan in promoting the capture of the city of Siang-yang, by the construction of powerful engines of attack, is too much perplexed by difficulties of chronology to be cited with confidence. Anyhow they were gathering wealth, and after years of exile they began to dread what might follow old Kúblái's death, and longed to carry their gear and their own grey heads safe home to the Lagoons. The aged Emperor

* Excepting in the doubtful case of Kan-chau, where one reading says that the three Polos were there on business of their own not necessary to mention, and another, that only Maffeo and Marco were there, "*en légation*."

growled refusal to all their hints, and but for a happy chance we should have lost our mediæval Herodotus.

21. Arghún Khan of Persia, Kúblái's great-nephew, had in 1286 lost his favourite wife the Khatun Bulughán; and, mourning her sorely, took steps to fulfil her dying injunction that her place should be filled only by a lady of her own kin, the Mongol Tribe of Bayaut. Ambassadors were despatched to the Court of Kaan-baligh to seek such a bride. The message was courteously received, and the choice fell on the lady Kokáchin, a maiden of 17, "*moult bele dame et avenant*." The overland road from Peking to Tabriz was not only of portentous length for such a tender charge, but was imperilled by war, so the envoys desired to return by sea. Tartars in general were strangers to all navigation; and the envoys, much taken with the Venetians, and eager to profit by their experience, especially as Marco had just then returned from his Indian mission, begged the Kaan as a favour to send the three *Firinghis* in their company. He consented with reluctance, but, having done so, fitted the party out nobly for the voyage, charging the Polos with friendly messages for the potentates of Europe, including the King of England. They appear to have sailed from the port of Zayton (as the Westerns called T'swan-chau or Chin-cheu in Fo-kien) in the beginning of 1292. It was an ill-starred voyage, involving long detentions on the coast of Sumatra, and in the South of India, to which, however, we are indebted for some of the best chapters in the book; and two years or upwards passed before they arrived at their destination in Persia.* The three hardy

Circumstances of the Departure of the Polos from the Kaan's Court.

* Persian history seems to fix the arrival of the lady Kokáchin in the North of Persia to the winter of 1293-1294. The voyage to Sumatra occupied three months (vol. i. p. 34); they were five months detained there (ii. 292); and the remainder of the voyage extended to eighteen more (i. 35),—twenty-six months in all.

The data are too slight for unexceptional precision, but the following adjustment will fairly meet the facts. Say that they sailed from Fo-kien in January 1292. In April they would be in Sumatra, and find the S.W. Monsoon too near to admit of their crossing the Bay of Bengal. They remain in port till September (five months), and then proceed, touching (perhaps) at Ceylon, at Kayal, and at several ports of Western India. In one of these, *e.g.* Kayal or Tana, they pass the S.W. Monsoon of 1293, and then proceed to the Gulf. They reach Hormuz in the winter, and the camp of the Persian Prince Gházán, the son of Arghún, in March, twenty-six months from their departure.

I have been unable to trace Hammer's authority (not Wassáf I find), which

Venetians survived all perils, and so did the lady, who had come to look on them with filial regard; but two of the three envoys, and a vast proportion of the suite, had perished by the way.* Arghún Khan too had been dead even before they quitted China; † his brother Kaikhátú reigned in his stead; and his son Gházán succeeded to the lady's hand. We are told by one who knew both the princes well that Arghún was one of the handsomest men of his time, whilst Gházán was, among all his host, one of the most insignificant in appearance. But in other respects the lady's change was for the better. Gházán had some of the highest qualities of a soldier, a legislator and a king, adorned by many and varied accomplishments; though his reign was too short for the full development of his fame.

22. The princess, whose enjoyment of her royalty was brief, wept as she took leave of the kindly and noble Venetians. They went on to Tabriz, and after a long halt there proceeded homewards, reaching Venice, according to all the texts some time in 1295.‡

They pass
by Persia
to Venice.
Their rela-
tions there.

We have related Ramusio's interesting tradition, like a bit out of the Arabian Nights, of the reception that the Travellers met with from their relations, and of the means that they took to establish their position with those relations, and

perhaps gives the precise date of the Lady's arrival in Persia (see *infra*, p. 38). From his narrative, however (*Gesch. der Ilchane*, ii. 20), March 1294 is perhaps too late a date. But the five months' stoppage in Sumatra *must* have been in the S.W. Monsoon; and if the arrival in Persia is put earlier, Polo's numbers can scarcely be held to. Or, the eighteen months mentioned at vol. i. p. 35, must *include* the five months' stoppage. We may then suppose that they reached Hormuz about November 1293, and Gházán's camp a month or two later.

* The French text which forms the *basis* of my translation says that, excluding mariners, there were 600 souls, out of whom only 8 survived. The older MS. which I quote as G. T., makes the number 18, a fact that I had overlooked till the sheets were printed off.

† Died 12th March, 1291.

‡ All dates are found so corrupt that even in this one I do not feel absolute confidence. Marco in dictating the book is aware that Gházán had attained the throne of Persia (see vol. i. p. 36, and ii. pp. 50 and 477), an event which did not occur till October, 1295. The date assigned to it, however, by Marco (ii. 477) is 1294, or the year *before* that assigned to the return home.

The travellers may have stopped some time at Constantinople on their way, or even may have visited the northern shores of the Black Sea; otherwise, indeed, how did Marco acquire his knowledge of that Sea (ii. 486-488) and of events in Kipchak (ii. 496 *seqq.*)? If 1296 was the date of return, moreover, the six-and-twenty years assigned in the preamble as the period of Marco's absence (p. 2) would be nearer accuracy. For he left Venice in the spring or summer of 1271.

with Venetian society.* Of the relations, Marco the Elder had probably been long dead; † Maffeo the brother of our Marco was alive, and we hear also of a cousin (*consanguineus*) Felice Polo, and his wife Fiordelisa, without being able to fix their precise position in the family. We know also that Nicolo, who died before the end of the century, left behind him two illegitimate sons, Stefano and Zannino. It is not unlikely that these were born from some connection entered into during the long

* Marco Barbaro, in his account of the Polo family, tells what seems to be the same tradition in a different and more mythical version:—

“From ear to ear the story has past till it reached mine, that when the three Kinsmen arrived at their home they were dressed in the most shabby and sordid manner, insomuch that the wife of one of them gave away to a beggar that came to the door one of those garments of his, all torn, patched, and dirty as it was. The next day he asked his wife for that mantle of his, in order to put away the jewels that were sewn up in it; but she told him she had given it away to a poor man, whom she did not know. Now, the stratagem he employed to recover it was this. He went to the Bridge of Rialto, and stood there turning a wheel, to no apparent purpose, but as if he were a madman, and to all those who crowded round to see what prank was this, and asked him why he did it, he answered: ‘He’ll come if God pleases.’ So after two or three days he recognised his old coat on the back of one of those who came to stare at his mad proceedings, and got it back again. Then, indeed, he was judged to be quite the reverse of a madman! And from those jewels he built in the contrada of S. Giovanni Grisostomo a very fine palace for those days; and the family got among the vulgar name of the *Ca’ Million*, because the report was that they had jewels to the value of a million of ducats; and the palace has kept that name to the present day—*viz.*, 1566.” (*Genealogies*, MS. copy in *Museo Civico*; quoted also by *Baldelli Boni, Vita*, p. xxxi.)

† The Will of the Elder Marco, to which we have several times referred, is dated at Rialto 5th August, 1280.

The testator describes himself as formerly of Constantinople, but now dwelling in the confine of S. Severo.

His brothers *Nicolo* and *Maffeo*, if at Venice, are to be his sole trustees and executors, but in case of their continued absence he nominates *Jordano Trevisano*, and his sister-in-law *Fiordelisa* of the confine of S. Severo.

The proper tithe to be paid. All his clothes and furniture to be sold, and from the proceeds his funeral to be defrayed, and the balance to purchase masses for his soul at the discretion of his trustees.

Particulars of money due to him from his partnership with Donato Grasso, now of Justinople (Capo d’Istria), 1200 *lire* in all. (Fifty-two *lire* due by said partnership to Angelo di Tumba of S. Severo.)

The above money bequeathed to his son *Nicolo*, living at *Soldachia*, or failing him, to his beloved brothers *Nicolo* and *Maffeo*. Failing them, to the sons of his said brothers (*sic*) *Marco* and *Maffeo*. Failing them, to be spent for the good of his soul at the discretion of his trustees.

To his son *Nicolo* he bequeaths a silver-wrought girdle of vermilion silk, two silver spoons, a silver cup without cover (or saucer? *sine cembalo*), his desk, two pairs of sheets, a velvet quilt, a counterpane, a feather-bed—all on the same conditions as above, and to remain with the trustees till his son returns to Venice.

Meanwhile the trustees are to invest the money at his son’s risk and benefit, but only here in Venice (*investiant seu investire faciant*).

residence of the Polos in Cathay, though naturally their presence in the travelling company is not commemorated in Marco's Prologue.*

IV. DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE MANSION OF THE POLO FAMILY AT VENICE.

23. We have seen that Ramusio places the scene of the story recently alluded to at the mansion in the parish of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, the court of which was known in his time as the Corte del Millioni; and indeed he speaks of the Travellers as at once on their arrival resorting to that mansion as their family residence. Ramusio's details have so often proved erroneous that I should not be surprised if this also should be a mistake. At least we find (so far as I can learn) no previous intimation that the family were connected with that locality. The grandfather Andrea is styled of *San Felice*. The will of Maffeo Polo the younger, made in 1300, which we shall give hereafter in abstract, appears to be the first document that connects the family with S. Giovanni Grisostomo. It indeed styles the testator's father "the late Nicole Paulo of the confine of St. John Chrysostom," but that only shows what is not disputed, that the Travellers after their return from the East settled in this locality. And the same will appears to indicate a surviving connexion with S. Felice, for the priests and clerks who drew it up and witness it are all of the church of S. Felice, and it is to the parson of S. Felice and his successor that Maffeo bequeaths an annuity to procure their prayers for the souls of

From the proceeds to come in from his partnership with his brothers Nicolo and Maffeo, he bequeaths 200 lire to his daughter Maroca.

From same source 100 lire to his natural son Antony.

Has in his desk (*capsella*) two hyperperae (Byzantine gold coins), and three golden florins, which he bequeaths to the sister-in-law *Fiordelisa*.

Gives freedom to all his slaves and handmaidens.

Leaves his house in Soldachia to the Minor Friars of that place, reserving life-occupancy to his son Nicolo and daughter Maroca.

The rest of his goods to his son Nicolo.

* The terms in which the younger Maffeo mentions these half-brothers in his Will (1300) seem to indicate that they were still young.



170 face p. 26.

Corte del Milione, Venice.

his father, his mother, and himself, though after the successor the annuity is to pass on the same condition to the senior priest of S. Giovanni Grisostomo. Marco Polo the Elder is in his will described as of S. *Severo*, as is also his sister-in-law Fiordelisa, and the document contains no reference to S. Giovanni. On the whole therefore it seems probable that the Palazzo in the latter parish was purchased by the Travellers after their return from the East.*

24. The Court which was known in the 16th century as the Corte del Millioni has been generally understood to be that now known as the Corte Sabbionera, and here is still pointed out a relic of Marco Polo's mansion. [Indeed it is called now (1899) *Corte del Milione*; see p. 30.—H. C.]

Relic of the Casa Polo in the Corte Sabbionera.

M. Pauthier's edition is embellished with a good engraving which purports to represent the House of Marco Polo. But he has been misled. His engraving in fact exhibits, at least as the prominent feature, an embellished representation of a small house which exists on the *west side* of the Sabbionera, and which had at one time perhaps that pointed style of architecture which his engraving shows, though its present decoration is paltry and unreal. But it is on the *north side* of the Court, and on the foundations now occupied by the Malibran theatre, that Venetian tradition and the investigations of Venetian antiquaries concur in indicating the site of the Casa Polo. At the end of the 16th century a great fire destroyed the Palazzo,† and under the description of "an old

* Marco Barbaro's story related at p. 25 speaks of the Ca' Million as *built* by the travellers.

From a list of parchments existing in the archives of the *Casa di Ricovero*, or Great Poor House, at Venice, Comm. Berchet obtained the following indication:—

"No. 94. *Marco Galetti invests* Marco Polo S. of Nicolo *with the ownership of his possessions (beni) in* S. Giovanni Grisostomo; 10 September, 1319; *drawn up by the Notary Nicolo, priest of S. Canciano.*"

This document would perhaps have thrown light on the matter, but unfortunately recent search by several parties has failed to trace it. [The document has been discovered since: see vol. ii., *Calendar*, No. 6.—H. C.]

† ——"Sua casa che era posta nel confin di S. Giovanni Chrisostomo, *che hor fà l'anno s'abbrugò totalmente*, con gran danno di molti." (*Dogliont, Hist. Venetiana*, Ven. 1598, pp. 161-162.)

"1596. 7 *Nov. Senato* (Arsenal . . . ix c. 159 t).

"Essendo conveniente usar qualche ricognizione a quelli della maestranza dell'Arsenal nostro, che prontamente sono concorsi all' incendio occorso ultimamente a S. Zuane Grizostomo nelli stabeli detti di CA' MILION dove per la relazion fatta nell collegio nostro dalli patroni di esso Arsenal hanno nell' estinguere il foco prestato ogni buon servizio. . . ."—(Comm. by Cav. Cecchetti through Comm. Berchet.)

mansion ruined from the foundation" it passed into the hands of one Stefano Vecchia, who sold it in 1678 to Giovanni Carlo Grimani. He built on the site of the ruins a theatre which was in its day one of the largest in Italy, and was called the Theatre of S. Giovanni Grisostomo; afterwards the *Teatro Emeronitio*. When modernized in our own day the proprietors gave it the name of Malibran, in honour of that famous singer, and this it still bears.*

[In 1881, the year of the Venice International Geographical Congress, a Tablet was put up on the Theatre with the following inscription:—

QVI FURONO LE CASE
DI
MARCO POLO
CHE VIAGGIÒ LE PIÙ LONTANE REGIONI DELL' ASIA
E LE DESCRISSE

PER DECRETO DEL COMUNE
MDCCCLXXXI].

There is still to be seen on the north side of the Court an arched doorway in Italo-Byzantine style, richly sculptured with scrolls, disks, and symbolical animals, and on the wall above the doorway is a cross similarly ornamented.† The style and the decorations are those which were usual in Venice in the 13th century. The arch opens into a passage from which a similar doorway at the other end, also retaining some scantier relics of decoration, leads to the entrance of the Malibran Theatre. Over the archway in the Corte Sabbionera the building rises into a kind of tower. This, as well as the sculptured arches and cross, Signor Casoni, who gave a good deal of consideration to the subject, believed to be a relic of the old Polo House. But the tower (which Pauthier's view does show) is now entirely modernized.‡

Other remains of Byzantine sculpture, which are probably

* See a paper by G. C. (the Engineer Giovanni Casoni) in *Teatro Emeronitio, Almanacco per l'Anno 1835*.

† This Cross is engraved by Mr. Ruskin in vol. ii. of the *Stones of Venice*: see p. 139, and Pl. xi. Fig. 4.

‡ Casoni's only doubt was whether the *Corte del Millioni* was what is now the Sabbionera, or the interior area of the theatre. The latter seems most probable.

One Illustration of this volume, p. 1, shows the archway in the Corte Sabbionera, and also the decorations of the soffit.



[To face p. 28.

Malibran Theatre, Venice.

The site of the
CA' POLO.



Fig. A.
From the Dürer Map
A. D. 1500.

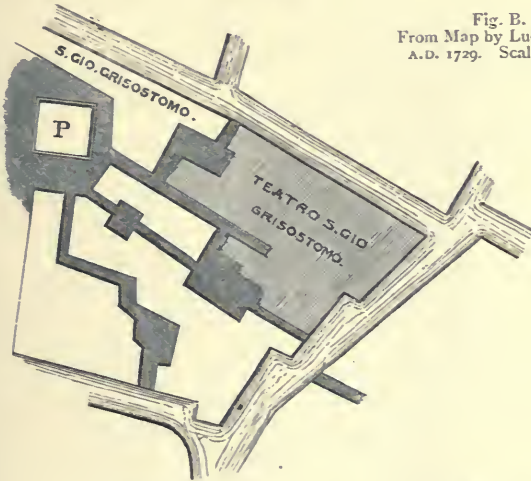


Fig. B.
From Map by Ludovico Ughi.
A. D. 1729. Scale 1 to 2500.

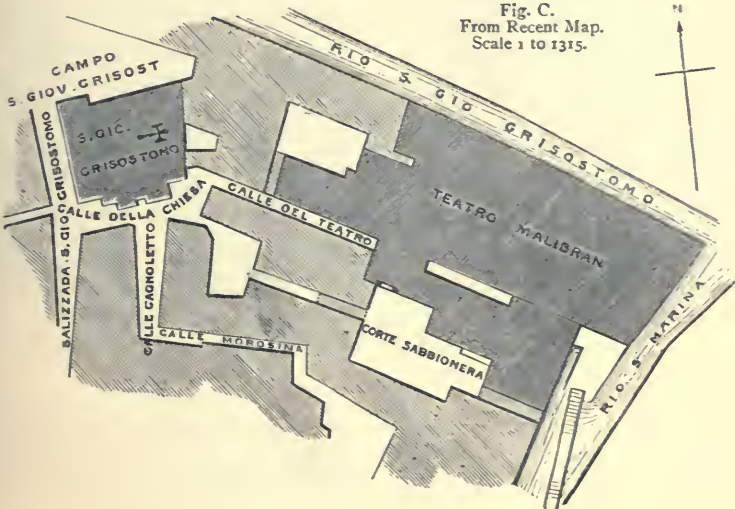


Fig. C.
From Recent Map.
Scale 1 to 1315.

fragments of the decoration of the same mansion, are found imbedded in the walls of neighbouring houses.* It is impossible to determine anything further as to the form or extent of the house of the time of the Polos, but some slight idea of its appearance about the year 1500 may be seen in the extract (fig. A) which we give from the famous pictorial map of Venice attributed erroneously to Albert Dürer. The state of the buildings in the last century is shown in (fig. B) an extract from the fine Map of Ughi; and their present condition in one (fig. C) reduced from the Modern Official Map of the Municipality.

[Coming from the Church of S. G. Grisostomo to enter the calle del Teatro on the left and the passage (*Sottoportico*) leading to the *Corte del Milione*, one has in front of him a building with a door of the epoch of the Renaissance; it was the office of the *provveditori* of silk; on the architrave are engraved the words :

PROVISORES SERICI

and below, above the door, is the Tablet which] in the year 1827 the Abate Zenier caused to be put up with this inscription :—

AEDES PROXIMA THALIAE CVLTVI MODO ADDICTA
MARCI POLO P. V. ITINERV M FAMA PRAECLARI
JAM HABITATIO FVIT.

24a. I believe that of late years some doubts have been thrown on the tradition of the site indicated as that of the Casa Polo, though I am not aware of the grounds of such doubts. But a document recently discovered at Venice by Comm. Barozzi, one of a series relating to the testamentary estate of Marco Polo, goes far to confirm the tradition. This is the copy of a technical definition of two pieces of house property adjoining the property of Marco Polo and his brother Stephen, which were sold to Marco Polo by his wife Donata † in June 1321. Though the definition is not decisive, from the rarity of topographical references and absence of points of the compass, the description

Recent cor-
roboration
as to the tra-
ditional site
of the Casa
Polo.

* See *Ruskin*, iii. 320.

† Comm. Barozzi writes: "Among us, contracts between husband and wife are and were very common, and recognized by law. The wife sells to the husband property not included in dowry, or that she may have inherited, just as any third person might."



Entrance to the Corte del Milione, Venice.

[To face p. 30

of Donata's tenements as standing on the Rio (presumably that of S. Giovanni Grisostomo) on one side, opening by certain porticoes and stairs on the other to the Court and common alley leading to the Church of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, and abutting in two places on the CA' POLO, the property of her husband and Stefano, will apply perfectly to a building occupying the western portion of the area on which now stands the Theatre, and perhaps forming the western side of a Court of which Casa Polo formed the other three sides.*

We know nothing more of Polo till we find him appearing a year or two later in rapid succession as the Captain of a Venetian Galley, as a prisoner of war, and as an author.

V. DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE WAR-GALLEYS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN STATES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

25. And before entering on this new phase of the Traveller's biography it may not be without interest that we say something regarding the equipment of those galleys which are so prominent in the mediæval history of the Mediterranean.†

Arrange-
ment of the
Rowers in
Mediæval
Galleys: a
separate oar
to every
man.

Eschewing that "Serbonian Bog, where armies whole have sunk" of Books and Commentators, the theory of the classification of the Biremes and Triremes of the Ancients, we can at least assert on secure grounds that in *mediæval* armament, up to the middle of the 16th century or thereabouts, the characteristic distinction of galleys of different calibres, so far as such differences existed, was based on the number of rowers that sat on one bench pulling each his separate oar, but through one portella or rowlock-port.‡ And to the classes

* See Appendix C, No. 16.

† I regret not to have had access to Jal's learned memoirs (*Archéologie Navale*, Paris, 1839) whilst writing this section, nor since, except for a hasty look at his Essay on the difficult subject of the oar arrangements. I see that he rejects so great a number of oars as I deduce from the statements of Sanudo and others, and that he regards a large number of the rowers as supplementary.

‡ It seems the more desirable to elucidate this, because writers on mediæval subjects so accomplished as Buchon and Capmany have (it would seem) entirely misconceived the matter, assuming that all the men on one bench pulled at one oar.

of galleys so distinguished the Italians, of the later Middle Age at least, did certainly apply, rightly or wrongly, the classical terms of *Bireme*, *Trireme*, and *Quinquereme*, in the sense of galleys having two men and two oars to a bench, three men and three oars to a bench, and five men and five oars to a bench.*

That this was the mediæval arrangement is very certain from the details afforded by Marino Sanudo the Elder, confirmed by later writers and by works of art. Previous to 1290, Sanudo tells us, almost all the galleys that went to the Levant had but two oars and men to a bench; but as it had been found that three oars and men to a bench could be employed with great advantage, after that date nearly all galleys adopted this arrangement, which was called *ai Terzaruoli*.†

Moreover experiments made by the Venetians in 1316 had shown that four rowers to a bench could be employed still more advantageously. And where the galleys could be used on inland waters, and could be made more bulky, Sanudo would even recommend five to a bench, or have gangs of rowers on two decks with either three or four men to the bench on each deck.

26. This system of grouping the oars, and putting only one man to an oar, continued down to the 16th century, during the first half of which came in the more modern system of using great oars, equally spaced, and requiring from four to seven men each to ply them, in the manner which endured till late in the last century, when galleys became altogether obsolete. Captain Pantero Pantera, the author of a work on Naval Tactics (1616), says he had heard, from veterans

Change of
System in
the 16th
century.

* See *Coronelli, Atlante Veneto*, I. 139, 140. Marino Sanudo the Elder, though not using the term *trireme*, says it was well understood from ancient authors that the Romans employed their rowers *three to a bench* (p. 59).

† "*Ad terzarolos*" (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, p. 57). The Catalan Worthy, Ramon de Muntaner, indeed constantly denounces the practice of manning *all* the galleys with *terzaruoli*, or *tersols*, as his term is. But his reason is that these thirds-men were taken from the oar when crossbowmen were wanted, to act in that capacity, and as such they were good for nothing; the crossbowmen, he insists, should be men specially enlisted for that service and kept to that. He would have some 10 or 20 per cent. only of the fleet built very light and manned in threes. He does not seem to have contemplated oars three-banked, and crossbowmen *besides*, as Sanudo does. (See below; and *Muntaner*, pp. 288, 323, 525, etc.)

In Sanudo we have a glimpse worth noting of the word *soldiers* advancing towards the modern sense; he expresses a strong preference for *soldati* (viz. *paid* soldiers) over *crusaders* (viz. volunteers), p. 74.

who had commanded galleys equipped in the antiquated fashion, that *three* men to a bench, with separate oars, answered better than three men to one great oar, but four men to one great oar (he says) were certainly more efficient than four men with separate oars. The new-fashioned great oars, he tells us, were styled *Remi di Scaloccio*, the old grouped oars *Remi a Zenzile*,—terms the etymology of which I cannot explain.*

It may be doubted whether the four-banked and five-banked galleys, of which Marino Sanudo speaks, really then came into practical use. A great five-banked galley on this system, built in 1529 in the Venice Arsenal by Vettor Fausto, was the subject of so much talk and excitement, that it must evidently have been something quite new and unheard of.† So late as 1567 indeed the King of Spain built at Barcelona a galley of thirty-six benches to the side, and seven men to the bench, with a separate oar to each in the old fashion. But it proved a failure.‡

Down to the introduction of the great oars the usual system appears to have been three oars to a bench for the larger galleys, and two oars for lighter ones. The *fuste* or lighter galleys of the Venetians, even to about the middle of the 16th century, had their oars in pairs from the stern to the mast, and single oars only from the mast forward.§

27. Returning then to the three-banked and two-banked galleys of the latter part of the 13th century, the number of benches on each side seems to have run from twenty-five to twenty-eight, at least as I interpret Sanudo's calculations. The 100-oared vessels often mentioned (e.g. by *Muntaner*, p. 419) were probably two-banked vessels with twenty-five benches to a side.

Some details
of the 13th
century
Galleys.

The galleys were very narrow, only 15½ feet in beam.||

* *L'Armata Navale*, Roma, 1616, pp. 150-151.

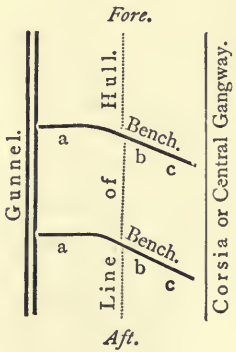
† See a work to which I am indebted for a good deal of light and information, the Engineer Giovanni Casoni's Essay: "*Dei Navigli Poliremi usati nella Marina dagli Antichi Veneziani*," in "*Esercitazioni dell'Ateneo Veneto*," vol. ii. p. 338. This great *Quinquereme*, as it was styled, is stated to have been struck by a fire-arrow, and blown up, in January 1570.

‡ *Pantera*, p. 22.

§ *Lazarus Bayfius de Re Navali Veterum*, in *Gronovii Thesaurus*, Ven. 1737, vol. xi. p. 581. This writer also speaks of the *Quinquereme* mentioned above (p. 577).

|| *Marinus Sanutus*, p. 65.

But to give room for the play of the oars and the passage of the fighting-men, &c., this width was largely augmented by an *opera-morta*, or outrigger deck, projecting much beyond the ship's sides and supported by timber brackets.* I do not find it stated how great this projection was in the mediæval galleys, but in those of the 17th century it was *on each side* as much as $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the true beam. And if it was as great in the 13th-century galleys the total width between the false gunnels would be about $22\frac{1}{4}$ feet.



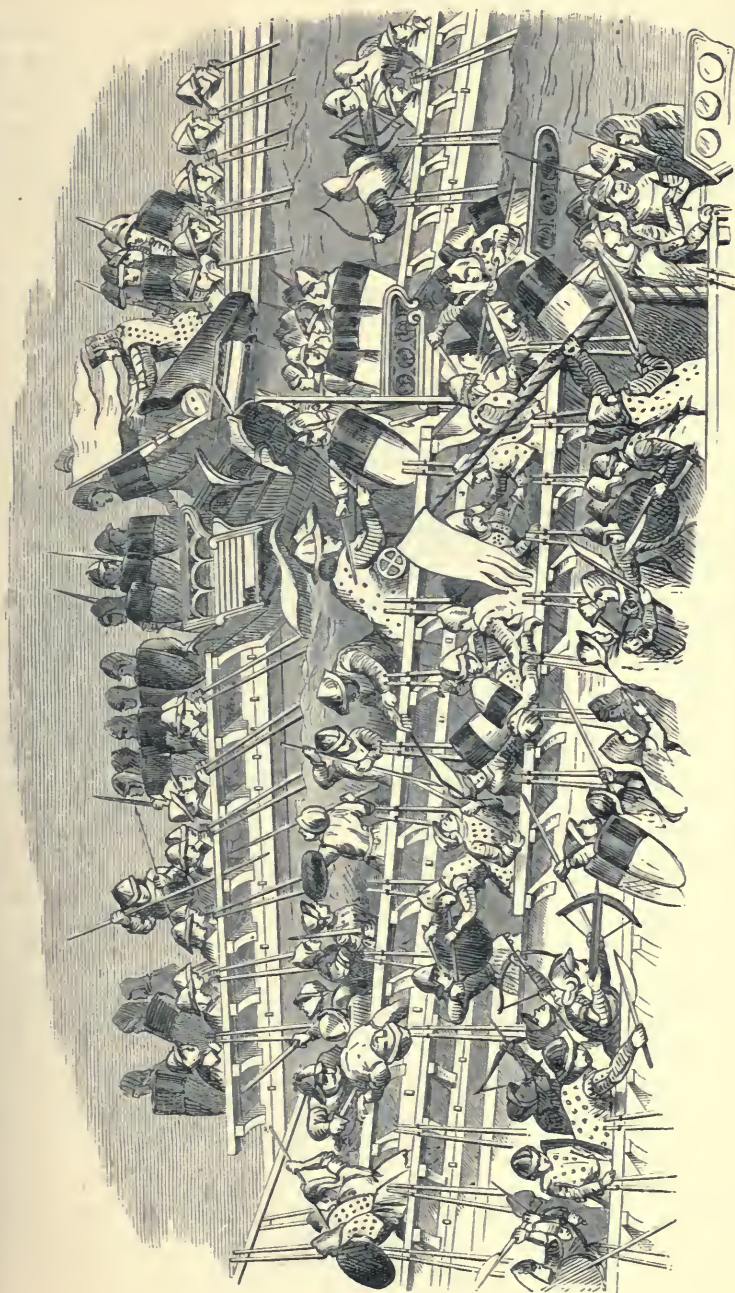
In the centre line of the deck ran, the whole length of the vessel, a raised gangway called the *corsia*,* for passage clear of the oars.

The benches were arranged as in this diagram. The part of the bench next the gunnel was at right angles to it, but the other two-thirds of the bench were thrown forward obliquely. *a*, *b*, *c*, indicate the position of the three rowers. The shortest oar *a* was called *Terlicchio*, the middle one *b* *Posticcio*, the long oar *c* *Piamero*.†

I do not find any information as to how the oars worked on the gunnels. The Siena fresco (see p. 35) appears to show them attached by loops and pins, which is the usual practice in boats of the Mediterranean now. In the cut from D. Tintoretto (p. 37) the groups of oars protrude through regular ports in the bulwarks, but this probably represents the use of a later day. In any case the oars of each bench must have worked in very close proximity. Sanudo states the length of the galleys of his time (1300-1320) as 117 feet. This was doubtless length of *keel*, for that is specified ("da ruoda a ruoda") in other Venetian measurements, but the whole oar space could scarcely have been so much, and with twenty-eight benches to a side there could not have been more than 4 feet

* See the woodcuts opposite and at p. 37; also *Pantera*, p. 46 (who is here, however, speaking of the great-oared galleys), and *Coronelli*, i. 140.

† *Casoni*, p. 324. He obtains these particulars from a manuscript work of the 16th century by Cristoforo Canale.



Galley-Fight, from a Medieval Fresco at Siena. (See p. 36.)

gunnel-space to each bench. And as one of the objects of the grouping of the oars was to allow room between the benches for the action of cross-bowmen, &c., it is plain that the rowlock space for the three oars must have been very much compressed.*

The rowers were divided into three classes, with graduated pay. The highest class, who pulled the poop or stroke oars, were called *Portolati*; those at the bow, called *Prodieri*, formed the second class.†

Some elucidation of the arrangements that we have tried to describe will be found in our cuts. That at p. 35 is from a drawing, by the aid of a very imperfect photograph, of part of one of the frescoes of Spinello Aretini in the Municipal Palace at Siena, representing a victory of the Venetians over the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's fleet, commanded by his son Otho, in 1176; but no doubt the galleys, &c., are of the artist's own age, the

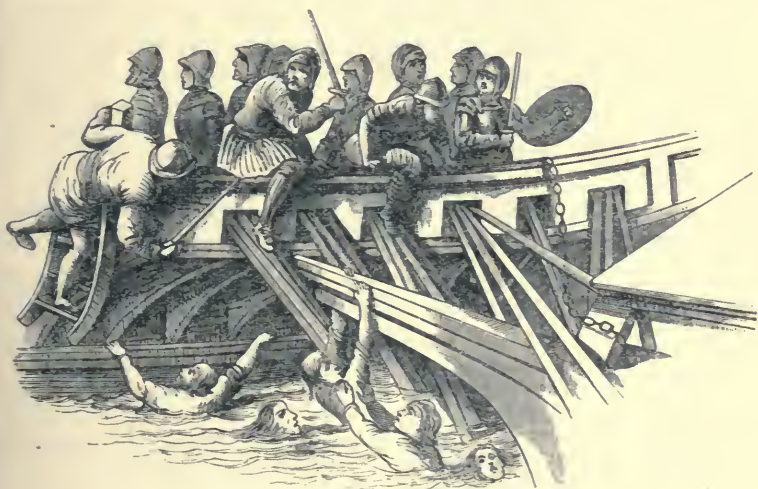
* Signor Casoni (p. 324) expresses his belief that no galley of the 14th century had more than 100 oars. I differ from him with hesitation, and still more as I find M. Jal agrees in this view. I will state the grounds on which I came to a different conclusion. (1) Marino Sanudo assigns 180 rowers for a galley equipped *ai Terzaruoli* (p. 75). This seemed to imply something near 180 oars, for I do not find any allusion to reliefs being provided. In the French galleys of the 18th century there were no reliefs except in this way, that in long runs without urgency only half the oars were pulled. (See *Mém. d'un Protestant condamné aux Galères*, etc., Réimprimés, Paris, 1865, p. 447.) If four men to a bench were to be employed, then Sanudo seems to calculate for his smaller galleys 220 men actually rowing (see pp. 75-78). This seems to assume 55 benches, *i.e.*, 28 on one side and 27 on the other, which with 3-banked oars would give 165 rowers. (2) Casoni himself refers to Pietro Martire d'Anghieria's account of a Great Galley of Venice in which he was sent ambassador to Egypt from the Spanish Court in 1503. The crew amounted to 200, of whom 150 were for working the sails and oars, *that being the number of oars in each galley*, one man to each oar and three to each bench. Casoni assumes that this vessel must have been much larger than the galleys of the 14th century; but, however that may have been, Sanudo to his galley assigns the larger crew of 250, of whom almost exactly the same proportion (180) were rowers. And in the *galeazza* described by Pietro Martire the oars were used only as an occasional auxiliary. (See his *Legationis Babylonica Libri Tres*, appended to his 3 Decads concerning the New World; *Basil.* 1533, f. 77 *ver.*) (3) The galleys of the 18th century, with their great oars 50 feet long pulled by six or seven men each, had 25 benches to the side, and only 4'6" (French) gunnel-space to each oar. (See *Mém. d'un Protest.*, p. 434.) I imagine that a smaller space would suffice for the 3 light oars of the mediæval system, so that this need scarcely be a difficulty in the face of the preceding evidence. Note also the *three hundred rowers* in Joinville's description quoted at p. 40. The great galleys of the Malay Sultan of Achin in 1621 had, according to Beautieu, from 700 to 800 rowers, but I do not know on what system.

† *Marinus Sanutius*, p. 78. These titles occur also in the *Documenti d'Amore* of Fr. Barberino referred to at p. 117 of this volume :—

“ Convienti qui manieri
Portolatti e prodieri
 E prestî galeotti
 Aver, e forti e dotti.

middle of the 14th century.* In this we see plainly the projecting *opera-morta*, and the rowers sitting two to a bench, each with his oar, for these are two-banked. We can also discern the Latin rudder on the quarter. (See this volume, p. 119.) In a picture in the Uffizj, at Florence, of about the same date, by Pietro Laurato (it is in the corridor near the entrance), may be seen a small figure of a galley with the oars also very distinctly coupled.† Casoni has engraved, after Cristoforo Canale, a pictorial plan of a Venetian trireme of the 16th century, which shows the arrangement of the oars in *triplets* very plainly.

The following cut has been sketched from an engraving of a



Part of a Sea Fight, after Dom. Tintoretto.

picture by Domenico Tintoretto in the Doge's palace, representing, I believe, the same action (real or imaginary) as Spinello's fresco, but with the costume and construction of a later date. It shows, however, very plainly, the projecting *opera-morta*, and the arrangement of the oars in fours, issuing through row-ports in high bulwarks.

28. Midships in the mediæval galley a castle was erected, of

* Spinello's works, according to Vasari, extended from 1334 till late in the century. A religious picture of his at Siena is assigned to 1385, so the frescoes may probably be of about the same period. Of the battle represented I can find no record.

† Engraved in Jal, i. 330; with other mediæval illustrations of the same points,

the width of the ship, and some 20 feet in length; its platform being elevated sufficiently to allow of free passage under it and over the benches. At the bow was the battery, consisting of mangonels (see vol. ii. p. 161 *seqq.*) and great cross-bows with winding gear,* whilst there were shot-porsts† for smaller cross-bows along the gunnels in the intervals between the benches. Some of the larger galleys had openings to admit horses at the stern, which were closed and caulked for the voyage, being under water when the vessel was at sea.‡

It seems to have been a very usual piece of tactics, in attacking as well as in awaiting attack, to connect a large number of galleys by hawsers, and sometimes also to link the oars together, so as to render it difficult for the enemy to break the line or run aboard. We find this practised by the Genoese on the defensive at the battle of Ayas (*infra*, p. 43), and it is constantly resorted to by the Catalans in the battles described by Ramon de Muntaner.§

Sanudo says the toil of rowing in the galleys was excessive, almost unendurable. Yet it seems to have been performed by freely-enlisted men, and therefore it was probably less severe than that of the great-oared galleys of more recent times,

* To these Casoni adds *Sifoni* for discharging Greek fire; but this he seems to take from the Greek treatise of the Emperor Leo. Though I have introduced Greek fire in the cut at p. 49, I doubt if there is evidence of its use by the Italians in the thirteenth century. Joinville describes it like something strange and new.

† In after days the artillery occupied the same position, at the bow of the galley.

Great beams, hung like battering rams, are mentioned by Sanudo, as well as iron crow's-feet with fire attached, to shoot among the rigging, and jars of quick-lime and soft soap to fling in the eyes of the enemy. The lime is said to have been used by Doria against the Venetians at Curzola (*infra*, p. 48), and seems to have been a usual provision. Francesco Barberini specifies among the stores for his galley:— "*Calcina, con lancioni, Pece, pietre, e ronconi*" (p. 259.) And Christine de Pisan, in her *Faiz du Sage Roy Charles* (V. of France), explains also the use of the soap: "*Item, on doit avoir plusieurs vaisseaulx legiers à rompre, comme poz plains de chauls ou pouldre, et gecter dedens; et, par ce, seront comme avuglez, au brisier des poz. Item, on doit avoir autres poz de mol savon et gecter es nefz des adversaires, et quant les vaisseaulx brisent, le savon est glissant, si ne se peuvent en piez soustenir et chiéent en l'eau*" (pt. ii. ch. 38).

‡ *Balistaræ*, whence no doubt *Balistrada* and our *Balustrade*. Wedgwood's etymology is far-fetched. And in his new edition (1872), though he has shifted his ground, he has not got nearer the truth.

§ *Sanutius*, p. 53; *Joinville*, p. 40; *Muntaner*, 316, 403.

§ See pp. 270, 288, 324, and especially 346.

which it was found impracticable to work by free enlistment, or otherwise than by slaves under the most cruel driving.* I am not well enough read to say that war-galleys were never rowed by slaves in the Middle Ages, but the only doubtful allusion to such a class that I have met with is in one passage of Muntaner, where he says, describing the Neapolitan and Catalan fleets drawing together for action, that the gangs of the galleys had to toil *like* "forçats" (p. 313). Indeed, as regards Venice at least, convict rowers are stated to have been first introduced in 1549, previous to which the gangs were of *galeotti assoldati*.†

29. We have already mentioned that Sanudo requires for his three-banked galley a ship's company of 250 men. They are distributed as follows:—

<p><i>Comito</i> or Master 1 Quartermasters 8 Carpenters 2 Caulkers 2 In charge of stores and arms 4</p>	|	<p>Orderlies 2 Cook 1 Arblastees 50 Rowers 180</p>
		250‡

Crew of a
Galley and
Staff of a
Fleet.

This does not include the *Sopracomito*, or Gentleman-Commander, who was expected to be *valens homo et probus*, a soldier and a gentleman, fit to be consulted on occasion by the captain-general. In the Venetian fleet he was generally a noble.§

The aggregate pay of such a crew, not including the *sopracomito*, amounted monthly to 60 *lire de' grossi*, or 600 florins, equivalent to 280*l.* at modern gold value; and the cost for a year to nearly 3160*l.*, exclusive of the victualling of the vessel and the pay of the gentleman-commander. The build or purchase of a galley complete is estimated by the same author at 15,000 florins, or 7012*l.*

We see that war cost a good deal in money even then.

Besides the ship's own complement Sanudo gives an estimate for the general staff of a fleet of 60 galleys. This consists of a captain-general, two (vice) admirals, and the following:—

* See the *Protestant*, cited above, p. 441, *et seqq.*

† *Venezia e le sue Lagune*, ii. 52.

‡ *Mar. Sanut.* p. 75.

§ *Mar. Sanut.*, p. 30.

6 <i>Probi homines</i> , or gentlemen of character, forming a council to the Captain-General ;	15 Master Smiths ;
4 Commissaries of Stores ;	12 Master Fletchers ;
2 Commissaries over the Arms ;	5 Cuirass men and Helmet-makers ;
3 Physicians ;	15 Oar-makers and Shaft-makers ;
3 Surgeons ;	10 Stone cutters for stone shot ;
5 Master Engineers and Carpenters ;	10 Master Arblast-makers ;
	20 Musicians ;
	20 Orderlies, &c.

30. The musicians formed an important part of the equipment. Sanudo says that in going into action every vessel should make the greatest possible display of colours ; gonfalons and broad banners should float from stem to stern, and gay pennons all along the bulwarks ; whilst it was impossible to have too much of noisy music, of pipes, trumpets, kettle-drums, and what not, to put heart into the crew and strike fear into the enemy.*

So Joinville, in a glorious passage, describes the galley of his kinsman, the Count of Jaffa, at the landing of St. Lewis in Egypt:—

“That galley made the most gallant figure of them all, for it was painted all over, above water and below, with scutcheons of the count’s arms, the field of which was *or* with a cross *patée gules*.† He had a good 300 rowers in his galley, and every man of them had a target blazoned with his arms in beaten gold. And, as they came on, the galley looked to be some flying creature, with such spirit did the rowers spin it along ;—or rather, with the rustle of its flags, and the roar of its nacaires and drums and Saracen horns, you might have taken it for a rushing bolt of heaven.”‡

The galleys, which were very low in the water,§ could not keep the sea in rough weather, and in winter they never willingly kept the sea at night, however fair the weather might

* The Catalan Admiral Roger de Loria, advancing at daybreak to attack the Provençal Fleet of Charles of Naples (1283) in the harbour of Malta, “did a thing which should be reckoned to him rather as an act of madness,” says Muntaner, “than of reason. He said, ‘God forbid that I should attack them, all asleep as they are ! Let the trumpets and nacaires sound to awaken them, and I will tarry till they be ready for action. No man shall have it to say, if I beat them, that it was by catching them asleep.’” (*Munt.* p. 287.) It is what Nelson might have done !

The Turkish admiral Sidi 'Ali, about to engage a Portuguese squadron in the Straits of Hormuz, in 1553, describes the Franks as “dressing their vessels with flags and coming on.” (*J. As.* ix. 70.)

† A cross *patée*, is one with the extremities broadened out into *feet* as it were.

‡ Page 50.

§ The galley at p. 49 is somewhat too high ; and I believe it should have had no *shrouds*.

be. Yet Sanudo mentions that he had been with armed galleys to Sluys in Flanders.

I will mention two more particulars before concluding this digression. When captured galleys were towed into port it was stern foremost, and with their colours dragging on the surface of the sea.* And the custom of saluting at sunset (probably by music) was in vogue on board the galleys of the 13th century.†

We shall now sketch the circumstances that led to the appearance of our Traveller in the command of a war-galley.

VI. THE JEALOUSIES AND NAVAL WARS OF VENICE AND GENOA.
LAMBA DORIA'S EXPEDITION TO THE ADRIATIC; BATTLE OF
CURZOLA; AND IMPRISONMENT OF MARCO POLO BY THE
GENOESE.

31. Jealousies, too characteristic of the Italian communities, were, in the case of the three great trading republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, aggravated by commercial rivalries, whilst, between the two first of those states, and also between the two last, the bitterness of such feelings had been augmenting during the whole course of the 13th century.‡

Growing
jealousies
and out-
breaks be-
tween the
Republics.

The brilliant part played by Venice in the conquest of Constantinople (1204), and the preponderance^{xi} she thus acquired on the Greek shores, stimulated her arrogance and the resentment of her rivals. The three states no longer stood on a level as bidders for the shifting favour of the Emperor of the East. By treaty, not only was Venice established as the most important ally of the empire and as mistress of a large fraction of its territory, but all members of nations at war with her were prohibited from entering its limits. Though the Genoese colonies continued to exist, they stood at a great

* See *Muntaner*, passim, e.g. 271, 286, 315, 349.

† *Ibid.* 346.

‡ In this part of these notices I am repeatedly indebted to *Heyd*. (See *supra*, p. 9.)

disadvantage, where their rivals were so predominant and enjoyed exemption from duties, to which the Genoese remained subject. Hence jealousies and resentments reached a climax in the Levantine settlements, and this colonial exacerbation reacted on the mother States.

A dispute which broke out at Acre in 1255 came to a head in a war which lasted for years, and was felt all over Syria. It began in a quarrel about a very old church called St. Sabba's, which stood on the common boundary of the Venetian and Genoese estates in Acre,* and this flame was blown by other unlucky occurrences. Acre suffered grievously.† Venice at this time generally kept the upper hand, beating Genoa by land and sea, and driving her from Acre altogether.‡ Four ancient porphyry figures from St. Sabba's were sent in triumph to Venice, and with their strange devices still stand at the exterior corner of St. Mark's, towards the Ducal Palace.‡

But no number of defeats could extinguish the spirit of Genoa, and the tables were turned when in her wrath she allied herself with Michael Palaeologus to upset the feeble and tottering Latin Dynasty, and with it the preponderance of Venice on the Bosphorus. The new emperor handed over to his allies the castle of their foes, which they tore down with jubilation, and now it was their turn to send its stones as trophies to Genoa. Mutual hate waxed fiercer than ever; no merchant fleet of either state could go to sea without convoy, and wherever their ships met they fought.§ It was something like the state of things between Spain and England in the days of Drake.

The energy and capacity of the Genoese seemed to rise with

* On or close to the Hill called *Monjoie*; see the plan from Marino Sanudo at p. 18.

† "Throughout that year there were not less than 40 machines all at work upon the city of Acre, battering its houses and its towers, and smashing and overthrowing everything within their range. There were at least ten of those engines that shot stones so big and heavy that they weighed a good 1500 lbs. by the weight of Champagne; insomuch that nearly all the towers and forts of Acre were destroyed, and only the religious houses were left. And there were slain in this same war good 20,000 men on the two sides, but chiefly of Genoese and Spaniards." (*Lettre de Jean Pierre Sarrasin*, in *Michel's Joinville*, p. 308.)

‡ The origin of these columns is, however, somewhat uncertain. [See *Cicogna*, I. p. 379.]

§ In 1262, when a Venetian squadron was taken by the Greek fleet in alliance with the Genoese, the whole of the survivors of the captive crews were blinded by order of Palaeologus. (*Roman*, ii. 272.)



Figures from St. Sabba's, sent to Venice.

[To face p. 42.

their success, and both in seamanship and in splendour they began almost to surpass their old rivals. The fall of Acre (1291), and the total expulsion of the Franks from Syria, in great measure barred the southern routes of Indian trade, whilst the predominance of Genoa in the Euxine more or less obstructed the free access of her rival to the northern routes by Trebizond and Tana.

32. Truces were made and renewed, but the old fire still smouldered. In the spring of 1294 it broke into flame, in consequence of the seizure in the Grecian seas of three Genoese vessels by a Venetian fleet. This led to an action with a Genoese convoy which sought redress.

Battle in
Bay of Ayas
in 1294.

The fight took place off Ayas in the Gulf of Scanderoon,* and though the Genoese were inferior in strength by one-third they gained a signal victory, capturing all but three of the Venetian galleys, with rich cargoes, including that of Marco Basilio (or Basegio), the commodore.

This victory over their haughty foe was in its completeness evidently a surprise to the Genoese, as well as a source of immense exultation, which is vigorously expressed in a ballad of the day, written in a stirring salt-water rhythm.† It represents the Venetians, as they enter the bay, in arrogant mirth reviling the Genoese with very unsavoury epithets as having deserted their ships to skulk on shore. They are described as saying:—

“Off they’ve slunk! and left us nothing;
We shall get nor prize nor praise;
Nothing save those crazy timbers
Only fit to make a blaze.”

So they advance carelessly—

“On they come! But lo their blunder!
When our lads start up anon,
Breaking out like unchained lions,
With a roar, ‘Fall on! Fall on!’”‡

* See pp. 16, 41, and Plan of Ayas at beginning of Bk. I.

† See *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Appendice, tom. iv.

‡ *Niente ne resta a prender
Se no li corpi de li legni;
Preixi som senza difender;
De bruxar som tute degni!*

*Como li som aproximai
Queli si levan lantor
Como leon descaenai
Tuti criando “Alor! Alor!”*

This *Alor! Alor!* (“Up, Boys, and at ’em”), or something similar, appears to have been the usual war-cry of both parties. So a trumpet-like poem of the

After relating the battle and the thoroughness of the victory, ending in the conflagration of five-and-twenty captured galleys, the poet concludes by an admonition to the enemy to moderate his pride and curb his arrogant tongue, harping on the obnoxious epithet *porci leproxi*, which seems to have galled the Genoese.* He concludes:—

“Nor can I at all remember
Ever to have heard the story
Of a fight wherein the Victors
Reaped so rich a meed of glory!” †

The community of Genoa decreed that the victory should be commemorated by the annual presentation of a golden pall to the monastery of St. German's, the saint on whose feast (28th May) it had been won.‡

The startling news was received at Venice with wrath and grief, for the flower of their navy had perished, and all energies were bent at once to raise an overwhelming force.§ The Pope (Boniface VIII.) interfered as arbiter, calling for plenipotentiaries from both sides. But spirits were too much inflamed, and this mediation came to nought.

Troubadour warrior Bertram de Born, whom Dante found in such evil plight below (xxviii. 118 *segg.*), in which he sings with extraordinary spirit the joys of war:—

“*Te us dic que tan no m'a sabor
Manjars, ni beure, ni dormir,
Cum a quant aug cridar, ALOR!
D'ambas la partz; et aug aguir
Cabals boitz per l'ombratge. . . .*”

“I tell you a zest far before
Aught of slumber, or drink, or of food,
I snatch when the shouts of ALOR
Ring from both sides: and out of the wood
Comes the neighing of steeds dimly seen. . . .”

In a galley fight at Tyre in 1258, according to a Latin narrative, the Genoese shout “*Ad arma, ad arma! ad ipsos, ad ipsos!*” The cry of the Venetians before engaging the Greeks is represented by Martino da Canale, in his old French, as “*or à yaus! or à yaus!*” that of the Genoese on another occasion as *Aur! Aur!* and this last is the shout of the Catalans also in Ramon de Muntaner. (*Villemain, Litt. du Moyen Age*, i. 99; *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* viii. 364, 506; *Pertz, Script.* xviii. 239; *Muntaner*, 269, 287.) Recently in a Sicilian newspaper, narrating an act of gallant and successful reprisal (only too rare) by country folk on a body of the brigands who are such a scourge to parts of the island, I read that the honest men in charging the villains raised a shout of “*Ad iddi! Ad iddi!*”

* A phrase curiously identical, with a similar sequence, is attributed to an Austrian General at the battle of Skalitz in 1866. (*Stoffel's Letters*.)

† .

*E no me posso aregardar
Dalcuno romanzo vertadè
Dondè oyse uncha cointar
Alcun triunfo si sobrè!*

‡ *Stella in Muratori*, xvii. 984.

§ *Dandolo*, *Ibid.* xii. 404-405.

Further outrages on both sides occurred in 1296. The Genoese residences at Pera were fired, their great alum works on the coast of Anatolia were devastated, and Caffa was stormed and sacked; whilst on the other hand a number of the Venetians at Constantinople were massacred by the Genoese, and Marco Bembo, their Bailo, was flung from a house-top. Amid such events the fire of enmity between the cities waxed hotter and hotter.

33. In 1298 the Genoese made elaborate preparations for a great blow at the enemy, and fitted out a powerful fleet which they placed under the command of LAMBA DORIA, a younger brother of Uberto of that illustrious house, under whom he had served fourteen years before in the great rout of the Pisans at Meloria.

Lamba Doria's Expedition to the Adriatic.

The rendezvous of the fleet was in the Gulf of Spezia, as we learn from the same pithy Genoese poet who celebrated Ayas. This time the Genoese were bent on bearding St. Mark's Lion in his own den; and after touching at Messina they steered straight for the Adriatic:—

“Now, as astern Otranto bears,
 Pull with a will! and, please the Lord,
 Let them who bragged, with fire and sword,
 To waste our homesteads, look to theirs!”*

On their entering the gulf a great storm dispersed the fleet. The admiral with twenty of his galleys got into port at Antivari on the Albanian coast, and next day was rejoined by fifty-eight more, with which he scoured the Dalmatian shore, plundering all Venetian property. Some sixteen of his galleys were still missing when he reached the island of Curzola, or Scurzola as the more popular name seems to have been, the Black Corcyra of the Ancients—the chief town of which, a rich and flourishing

*Or entram con gran vigor,
 En De sperando aver triumpho,
 Queli zerchando inter lo Gorfo
 Chi menazeram zercha lor!*

And in the next verse note the pure Scotch use of the word *bra*:—

*Sichè da Otranto se partim
 Quella bra compagnia,
 Per assar in Ihavonia,
 D'Avosto a vinte nooe di.*

place, the Genoese took and burned.* Thus they were engaged when word came that the Venetian fleet was in sight.

Venice, on first hearing of the Genoese armament, sent Andrea Dandolo with a large force to join and supersede Maffeo Quirini, who was already cruising with a squadron in the Ionian sea; and, on receiving further information of the strength of the hostile expedition, the Signory hastily equipped thirty-two more galleys in Chioggia and the ports of Dalmatia, and despatched them to join Dandolo, making the whole number under his command up to something like ninety-five. Recent drafts had apparently told heavily upon the Venetian sources of enlistment, and it is stated that many of the complements were made up of rustics swept in haste from the Euganean hills. To this the Genoese poet seems to allude, alleging that the Venetians, in spite of their haughty language, had to go begging for men and money up and down Lombardy. "Did *we* do like that, think you?" he adds:—

"Beat up for aliens? *We* indeed?
When lacked we homeborn Genoese?
Search all the seas, no salts like these,
For Courage, Seacraft, Wit at need." †

Of one of the Venetian galleys, probably in the fleet which sailed under Dandolo's immediate command, went Marco Polo as *Sopracomito* or Gentleman-Commander. ‡

* The island of Curzola now counts about 4000 inhabitants; the town half the number. It was probably reckoned a dependency of Venice at this time. The King of Hungary had renounced his claims on the Dalmatian coasts by treaty in 1244. (*Romanin*, ii. 235.) The gallant defence of the place against the Algerines in 1571 won for Curzola from the Venetian Senate the honourable title in all documents of *fedelissima*. (*Paton's Adriatic*, I. 47.)

† *Ma sè si gran colmo avea
Perchè andava mendigando
Per terra de Lombardia
Peccunia, gente a sodi?
Pone mente tu che l'odi
Se noi tegnamo questa via?*

*No, ma' più! ajamo omi nostrar
Destri, valenti, e avisti,
Che mai far de lor n' o visti
In tuti officj de mar.*

‡ In July 1294, a Council of Thirty decreed that galleys should be equipped by the richest families in proportion to their wealth. Among the families held to equip one galley each, or one galley among two or more, in this list, is the CA' POLO. But this was before the return of the travellers from the East, and just after the battle of Ayas. (*Romanin*, ii. 332; this author misdates Ayas, however.) When a levy was required in Venice for any expedition the heads of each *contrada* divided the male inhabitants, between the ages of twenty and sixty, into groups of twelve each, called *duodene*. The dice were thrown to decide who should go first on service. He who went received five *lire* a month from the State, and one *lira* from each of his colleagues in

34. It was on the afternoon of Saturday the 6th September that the Genoese saw the Venetian fleet approaching, but, as sunset was not far off, both sides tacitly agreed to defer the engagement.*

The Fleets
come in sight
of each other
at Curzola.

The Genoese would appear to have occupied a position near the eastern end of the Island of Curzola, with the Peninsula of Sabbioncello behind them, and Meleda on their left, whilst the Venetians advanced along the south side of Curzola. (See map on p. 50).

According to Venetian accounts the Genoese were staggered at the sight of the Venetian armaments, and sent more than once to seek terms, offering finally to surrender galleys and munitions of war, if the crews were allowed to depart. This is an improbable story, and that of the Genoese ballad seems more like truth. Doria, it says, held a council of his captains in the evening at which they all voted for attack, whilst the Venetians, with that overweening sense of superiority which at this time is reflected in their own annals as distinctly as in those of their enemies, kept scout-vessels out to watch that the Genoese fleet, which they looked on as already their own, did not steal away in the darkness. A vain imagination, says the poet:—

“Blind error of vainglorious men
To dream that we should seek to flee
After those weary leagues of sea
Crossed, but to hunt them in their den!”†

the *duodena*. Hence his pay was sixteen *lire* a month, about 2s. a day in silver value, if these were *lire ai grossi*, or 1s. 4d. if *lire dei piccoli*. (See *Romanin*, ii. 393-394.)

Money on such occasions was frequently raised by what was called an *Estimo* or *Facion*, which was a forced loan levied on the citizens in proportion to their estimated wealth; and for which they were entitled to interest from the State.

* Several of the Italian chroniclers, as Ferreto of Vicenza and Navagiero, whom Muratori has followed in his “Annals,” say the battle was fought on the 8th September, the so-called Birthday of the Madonna. But the inscription on the Church of St. Matthew at Genoa, cited further on, says the 7th, and with this agree both Stella and the Genoese poet. For the latter, though not specifying the day of the month, says it was on a Sunday:—

“Lo di de Domenga era
Passa prima en l'ora bona
Stormezam fin provo nona
Con bataio forte e fera.”

Now the 7th September, 1298, fell on a Sunday.

†

*Ma li pensavam grande error
Che in fuga se fussem tuti metui
Che de si lonzi eram regnui
Per cerchali a casa lor.*

35. The battle began early on Sunday and lasted till the afternoon. The Venetians had the wind in their favour, but the morning sun in their eyes. They made the attack, and with great impetuosity, capturing ten Genoese galleys; but they pressed on too wildly, and some of their vessels ran aground. One of their galleys too, being taken, was cleared of her crew and turned against the Venetians. These incidents caused confusion among the assailants; the Genoese, who had begun to give way, took fresh heart, formed a close column, and advanced boldly through the Venetian line, already in disorder. The sun had begun to decline when there appeared on the Venetian flank the fifteen or sixteen missing galleys of Doria's fleet, and fell upon it with fresh force. This decided the action. The Genoese gained a complete victory, capturing all but a few of the Venetian galleys, and including the flagship with Dandolo. The Genoese themselves lost heavily, especially in the early part of the action, and Lamba Doria's eldest son Octavian is said to have fallen on board his father's vessel.* The number of prisoners taken was over 7000, and among these was Marco Polo.†

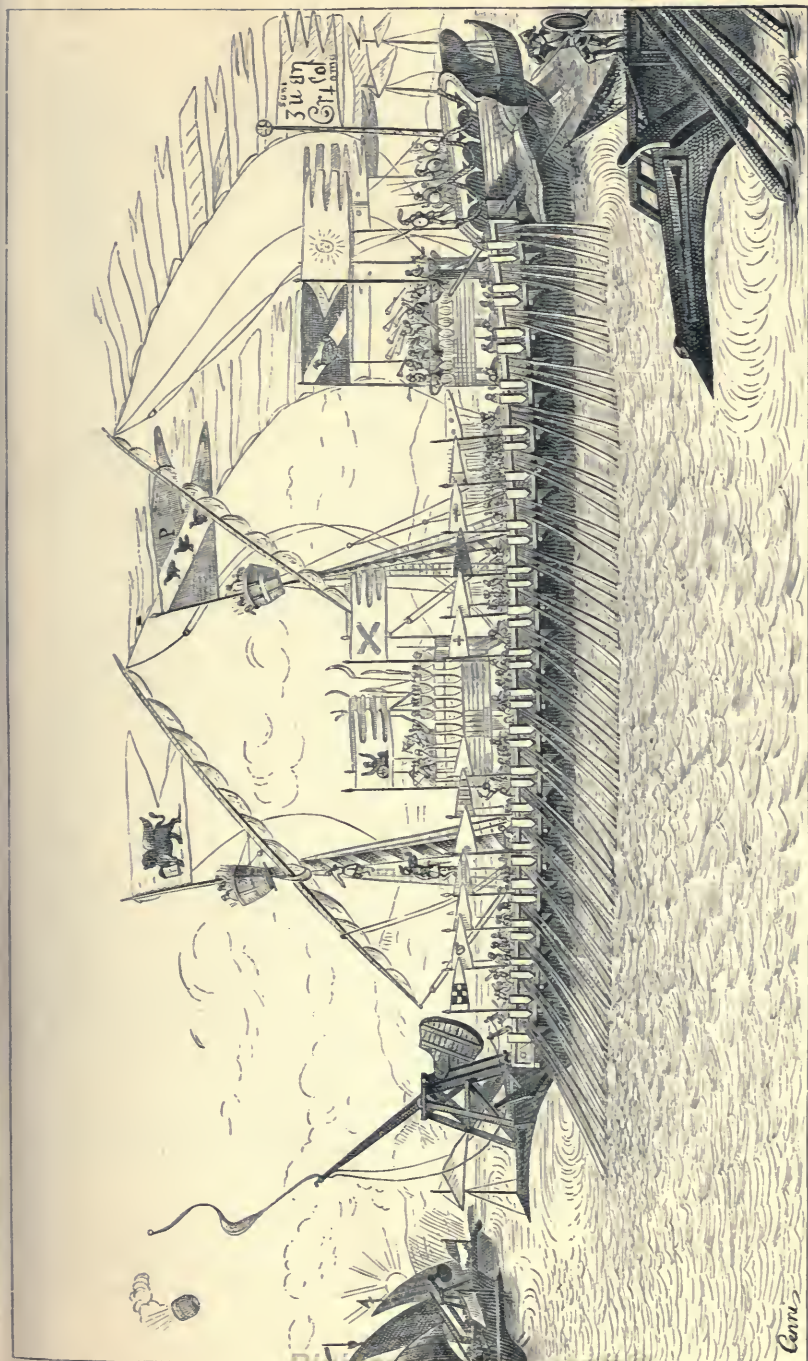
The prisoners, even of the highest rank, appear to have been chained. Dandolo, in despair at his defeat, and at the prospect of being carried captive into Genoa, refused food, and ended by dashing his head against a bench.‡ A Genoese account asserts

* "Note here that the Genoese generally, commonly, and by nature, are the most covetous of Men, and the Love of Gain spurs them to every Crime. Yet are they deemed also the most valiant Men in the World. Such an one was Lampa, of that very Doria family, a man of an high Courage truly. For when he was engaged in a Sea-Fight against the Venetians, and was standing on the Poop of his Galley, his Son, fighting valiantly at the Forecastle, was shot by an Arrow in the Breast, and fell wounded to the Death; a Mishap whereat his Comrades were sorely shaken, and Fear came upon the whole Ship's Company. But Lampa, hot with the Spirit of Battle, and more mindful of his Country's Service and his own Glory than of his Son, ran forward to the spot, loftily rebuked the agitated Crowd, and ordered his Son's Body to be cast into the Deep, telling them for their Comfort that the Land could never have afforded his Boy a nobler Tomb. And then, renewing the Fight more fiercely than ever, he achieved the Victory." (*Benvenuto of Imola, in Comment. on Dante. in Muratori, Antiq. i. 1146.*)

("Yet like an English General will I die,
And all the Ocean make my spacious Grave;
Women and Cowards on the Land may lie,
The Sea's the Tomb that's proper for the Brave!"—*Annus Mirabilis.*)

† The particulars of the battle are gathered from *Ferretus Vicentinus, in Murat. ix. 985 seqq.*; *And. Dandolo, in xii. 407-408*; *Navagiero, in xxiii. 1009-1010*; and the Genoese Poem as before.

‡ *Navagiero, u. s.* Dandolo says, "after a few days he died of grief"; Ferretus, that he was killed in the action and buried at Curzola.



Marco Polo's Galley going into action at Curzola.

. "il sembloit que la galie polast, par les nageurs qui la contreingnoient aux abirons, et sembloit que foudre cheist des cieus, au bruit que les pennouciaus menoient; et que les meutres les labours et les cors sarrazinois menoient, qui estoient en sa galie."
 (Journille, vide ante, p. 40.)

that a noble funeral was given him after the arrival of the fleet at Genoa, which took place on the evening of the 16th October.* It was received with great rejoicing, and the City voted the annual presentation of a pallium of gold brocade to the altar of the Virgin in the Church of St. Matthew, on every 8th of September, the Madonna's day, on the eve of which the Battle had been won. To the admiral himself a Palace was decreed. It still stands, opposite the Church of St. Matthew, though it has passed from the possession of the Family. On the striped marble façades, both of the Church and of the Palace, inscriptions of that age, in excellent preservation, still commemorate Lamba's



Scene of the Battle of Curzola.

achievement.† Malik al Mansúr, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt,

* For the funeral, a MS. of Cibo Recco quoted by *Jacopo Doria* in *La Chiesa di San Matteo descritta*, etc., Genova, 1860, p. 26. For the date of arrival the poem so often quoted :—

“*De Oitover, a zoia, a sese di*
Lo nostro ostel, con gran festa
En nostro porto, a or di sesta
Domine De restitui.”

† S. Matteo was built by Martin Doria in 1125, but pulled down and rebuilt by the family in a slightly different position in 1278. On this occasion is recorded a remarkable anticipation of the feats of American engineering: “As there was an ancient and very fine picture of Christ upon the apse of the Church, it was thought a great pity that so fine a work should be destroyed. And so they contrived an ingenious method by which the apse bodily was transported without injury, picture and all, for a distance of 25 ells, and firmly set upon the foundations where it now exists.” (*Jacopo de Varagine* in *Muratori*, vol. ix. 36.)



Church of San Matteo, Genoa.

[To face p. 50.

as an enemy of Venice, sent a complimentary letter to Doria accompanied by costly presents.*

The latter died at Savona 17th October, 1323, a few months before the most illustrious of his prisoners, and his bones were laid in a sarcophagus which may still be seen forming the sill of one of the windows of S. Matteo (on the right as you enter). Over this sarcophagus stood the Bust of Lamba till 1797, when the mob of Genoa, in idiotic imitation of the French proceedings of that age, threw it down. All of Lamba's six sons had fought with him at Meloria. In 1291 one of them, Tedisio, went forth into the Atlantic in company with Ugolino Vivaldi on a voyage of discovery, and never returned. Through Cæsar, the youngest, this branch of the Family still survives, bearing the distinctive surname of *Lamba-Doria*.†

As to the treatment of the prisoners, accounts differ; a thing usual in such cases. The Genoese Poet asserts that the hearts of his countrymen were touched, and that the captives were treated with compassionate courtesy. Navagiero the Venetian, on the other hand, declares that most of them died of hunger.‡

The inscription on S. Matteo regarding the battle is as follows:—" *Ad Honorem Dei et Beate Virginis Marie Anno MCCLXXXVIII Die Dominico VII Septembris iste Angelus captus fuit in Gulfo Venetiarum in Civitate Scursole et ibidem fuit prelium Galearum LXXVI Januensium cum Galeis LXXXVI Venetiarum. Capte fuerunt LXXXIIII per Nobilem Virum Dominum Lambam Aurie Capitaneum et Armiratum tunc Comunis et Populi Janue cum omnibus existentibus in eisdem, de quibus conduxit Janue homines vivos carceratos VII cccc et Galeas XVIII, reliquas LXVI fecit cumburi in dicto Gulfo Venetiarum. Qui obiit Sagone I. MCCCXXIII.*" It is not clear to what the *Angelus* refers.

* *Rampoldi, Ann. Musulm.* ix. 217.

† *Jacopo Doria*, p. 280.

‡ *Murat.* xxiii. 1010. I learn from a Genoese gentleman, through my friend Professor Henry Giglioli (to whose kindness I owe the transcript of the inscription just given), that a faint tradition exists as to the place of our traveller's imprisonment. It is alleged to have been a massive building, standing between the *Grazie* and the Mole, and bearing the name of the *Malapaga*, which is now a barrack for Doganieri, but continued till comparatively recent times to be used as a civil prison. "It is certain," says my informant, "that men of fame in arms who had fallen into the power of the Genoese were imprisoned there, and among others is recorded the name of the Corsican Giudice dalla Rocca and Lord of Cinarca, who died there in 1312;" a date so near that of Marco's imprisonment as to give some interest to the hypothesis, slender as are its grounds. Another Genoese, however, indicates as the scene of Marco's captivity certain old prisons near the Old Arsenal, in a site still known as the *Vico degli Schiavi*. (*Celestia, Dante in Liguria*, 1865, p. 43.) [Was not the place of Polo's captivity the basement of the *Palazzo del Capitan del Popolo*, afterwards *Palazzo del Comune al Mare*, where the Customs (*Dogana*) had their office, and from the 15th century the *Casa* or *Palazzo di S. Giorgio*?—H. C.]

36. Howsoever they may have been treated, here was Marco Polo one of those many thousand prisoners in Genoa ; and here, before long, he appears to have made acquaintance with a man of literary propensities, whose destiny had brought him into the like plight, by name RUSTICIANO or RUSTICHELLO of Pisa. It was this person perhaps who persuaded the Traveller to defer no longer the reduction to writing of his notable experiences ; but in any case it was he who wrote down those experiences at Marco's dictation ; it is he therefore to whom we owe the preservation of this record, and possibly even that of the Traveller's very memory. This makes the Genoese imprisonment so important an episode in Polo's biography.

To Rusticiano we shall presently recur. But let us first bring to a conclusion what may be gathered as to the duration of Polo's imprisonment.

It does not appear whether Pope Boniface made any new effort for accommodation between the Republics ; but other Italian princes did interpose, and Matteo Visconti, Captain-General of Milan, styling himself Vicar-General of the Holy Roman Empire in Lombardy, was accepted as Mediator, along with the community of Milan. Ambassadors from both States presented themselves at that city, and on the 25th May, 1299, they signed the terms of a Peace.

These terms were perfectly honourable to Venice, being absolutely equal and reciprocal ; from which one is apt to conclude that the damage to the City of the Sea was rather to her pride than to her power ; the success of Genoa, in fact, having been followed up by no systematic attack upon Venetian commerce.* Among the terms was the mutual release of prisoners on a day to be fixed by Visconti after the completion of all formalities. This day is not recorded, but as the Treaty was ratified by the Doge of Venice on the 1st July, and the latest extant document connected with the formalities appears to be dated 18th July, we may believe that before the end of August

* The Treaty and some subsidiary documents are printed in the Genoese *Liber Jurium*, forming a part of the *Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ*, published at Turin. (See *Lib. Jur.* II. 344, *seqq.*) Muratori in his *Annals* has followed John Villani (Bk. VIII. ch. 27) in representing the terms as highly unfavourable to Venice. But for this there is no foundation in the documents. And the terms are stated with substantial accuracy in Navagiero. (*Murat. Script.* xxiii. 1011.)

Marco Polo was restored to the family mansion in S. Giovanni Grisostomo.

37. Something further requires to be said before quitting this event in our Traveller's life. For we confess that a critical reader may have some justification in asking what evidence there is that Marco Polo ever fought at Curzola, and ever was carried a prisoner to Genoa from that unfortunate action?

Grounds on which the story of Marco Polo's capture at Curzola rests.

A learned Frenchman, whom we shall have to quote freely in the immediately ensuing pages, does not venture to be more precise in reference to the meeting of Polo and Rusticiano than to say of the latter: "In 1298, being in durance in the Prison of Genoa, he there became acquainted with Marco Polo, whom the Genoese had deprived of his liberty *from motives equally unknown.*"*

To those who have no relish for biographies that round the meagre skeleton of authentic facts with a plump padding of what *might have been*, this sentence of Paulin Paris is quite refreshing in its stern limitation to positive knowledge. And certainly no contemporary authority has yet been found for the capture of our Traveller at Curzola. Still I think that the fact is beyond reasonable doubt.

Ramusio's biographical notices certainly contain many errors of detail; and some, such as the many years' interval which he sets between the Battle of Curzola and Marco's return, are errors which a very little trouble would have enabled him to eschew. But still it does seem reasonable to believe that the main fact of Marco's command of a galley at Curzola, and capture there, was derived from a genuine tradition, if not from documents.

Let us then turn to the words which close Rusticiano's preamble (see *post*, p. 2):—"Lequel (Messire Marc) puis demorant en le charthre de Jene, fist retraire toutes cestes chouses à Messire Rustacians de Pise que en celle meissme charthre estoit, au tens qu'il avoit 1298 anz que Jezu eut vesqui." These words are at least thoroughly consistent with Marco's capture at Curzola, as regards both the position in which they present him, and the year in which he is thus presented.

There is however another piece of evidence, though it is curiously indirect.

* Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, ii. 355.

The Dominican Friar Jacopo of Acqui was a contemporary of Polo's, and was the author of a somewhat obscure Chronicle called *Imago Mundi*.* Now this Chronicle does contain mention of Marco's capture in action by the Genoese, but attributes it to a different action from Curzola, and one fought at a time when Polo could not have been present. The passage runs as follows in a manuscript of the Ambrosian Library, according to an extract given by Baldelli Boni :—

“In the year of Christ MCCLXXXVI, in the time of Pope Boniface VI., of whom we have spoken above, a battle was fought in Arminia, at the place called Layaz, between xv. galleys of Genoese merchants and xxv. of Venetian merchants ; and after a great fight the galleys of the Venetians were beaten, and (the crews) all slain or taken ; and among them was taken Messer Marco the Venetian, who was in company with those merchants, and who was called *Milono*, which is as much as to say ‘a thousand thousand pounds,’ for so goes the phrase in Venice. So this Messer Marco Milono the Venetian, with the other Venetian prisoners, is carried off to the prison of Genoa, and there kept for a long time. This Messer Marco was a long time with his father and uncle in Tartary, and he there saw many things, and made much wealth, and also learned many things, for he was a man of ability. And so, being in prison at Genoa, he made a Book concerning the great wonders of the World, *i.e.*, concerning such of them as he had seen. And what he told in the Book was not as much as he had really seen, because of the tongues of detractors, who, being ready to impose their own lies on others, are over hasty to set down as lies what they in their perversity disbelieve, or do not understand. And because there are many great and strange things in that Book, which are reckoned past all credence, he was asked by his friends on his death-bed to correct the Book by removing everything that went beyond the facts. To which his reply was that he had not told *one-half* of what he had really seen !” †

This statement regarding the capture of Marco *at the Battle of Ayas* is one which cannot be true, for we know that he did not reach Venice till 1295, travelling from Persia by way of Trebizond and the Bosphorus, whilst the Battle of Ayas of which we have purposely given some detail, was fought in May, 1294.

* Though there is no precise information as to the birth or death of this writer, who belonged to a noble family of Lombardy, the Bellingeri, he can be traced with tolerable certainty as in life in 1289, 1320, and 1334. (See the Introduction to his Chronicle in the Turin *Monumenta*, *Scriptores* III.)

† There is another MS. of the *Imago Mundi* at Turin, which has been printed in the *Monumenta*. The passage about Polo in that copy differs widely in wording, is much shorter, and contains no date. But it relates his capture as having taken place at *Là Glazà*, which I think there can be no doubt is also intended for Ayas (sometimes called *Giàzza*), a place which in fact is called *Glaza* in three of the MSS. of which various readings are given in the edition of the Société de Géographie (p. 535).

The date MCCLXXXVI assigned to it in the preceding extract has given rise to some unprofitable discussion. Could that date be accepted, no doubt it would enable us also to accept this, the sole statement from the Traveller's own age of the circumstances which brought him into a Genoese prison; it would enable us to place that imprisonment within a few months of his return from the East, and to extend its duration to three years, points which would thus accord better with the general tenor of Ramusio's tradition than the capture of Curzola. But the matter is not open to such a solution. The date of the Battle of Ayas is not more doubtful than that of the Battle of the Nile. It is clearly stated by several independent chroniclers, and is carefully established in the Ballad that we have quoted above.* We shall see repeatedly in the course of this Book how uncertain are the transcriptions of dates in Roman numerals, and in the present case the LXXXVI is as certainly a mistake for LXXXIV as is Boniface VI. in the same quotation a mistake for Boniface VIII.

But though we cannot accept the statement that Polo was taken prisoner at *Ayas, in the spring of 1294*, we may accept the passage as evidence from a contemporary source that he was *taken prisoner in some sea-fight with the Genoese*, and thus admit it in corroboration of the Ramusian Tradition of his capture in a sea-fight at Curzola in 1298, which is perfectly consistent with all other facts in our possession.

VII. RUSTICIANO OR RUSTICHELLO OF PISA, MARCO POLO'S FELLOW-PRISONER AT GENOA, THE SCRIBE WHO WROTE DOWN THE TRAVELS.

38. We have now to say something of that Rusticiano to whom all who value Polo's book are so much indebted.

The relations between Genoa and Pisa had long been so

* *E per meo esse aregordenti
De si grande scacho mato
Correa mille duxenti
Zonto ge novanta e quatro."*

The Armenian Prince Hayton or Héthum has put it under 1293. (See *Langlois, Mém. sur les Relations de Gènes avec la Petite-Arménie.*)

hostile that it was only too natural in 1298 to find a Pisan in the gaol of Genoa. An unhappy multitude of such prisoners had been carried thither fourteen years before, and the survivors still lingered there in vastly dwindled numbers. In the summer of 1284 was fought the battle from which Pisa had to date the commencement of her long decay. In July of that year the Pisans, at a time when the Genoese had no fleet in their own immediate waters, had advanced to the very port of Genoa and shot their defiance into the proud city in the form of silver-headed arrows, and stones belted with scarlet.* They had to pay dearly for this insult. The Genoese, recalling their cruisers, speedily mustered a fleet of eighty-eight galleys, which were placed under the command of another of that illustrious House of Doria, the Scipios of Genoa as they have been called, Uberto, the elder brother of Lamba. Lamba himself with his six sons, and another brother, was in the fleet, whilst the whole number of Dorias who fought in the ensuing action amounted to 250, most of them on board one great galley bearing the name of the family patron, St. Matthew. †

The Pisans, more than one-fourth inferior in strength, came out boldly, and the battle was fought off the Porto Pisano, in fact close in front of Leghorn, where a lighthouse on a remarkable arched basement still marks the islet of MELORIA, whence the battle got its name. The day was the 6th of August, the feast of St. Sixtus, a day memorable in the Pisan Fasti for several great victories. But on this occasion the defeat of Pisa was overwhelming. Forty of their galleys were taken or sunk, and upwards of 9000 prisoners carried to Genoa. In fact so vast a sweep was made of the flower of Pisan manhood that it was a common saying then: "*Che vuol veder Pisa, vada a*

* *B. Marangone, Croniche della C. di Pisa, in Rerum Ital. Script. of Tartini, Florence, 1748, i. 563; Dal Borgo, Dissert. sopra l'Istoria Pisana, ii. 287.*

† The list of the whole number is preserved in the Doria archives, and has been published by Sign. Jacopo D'Oria. Many of the Baptismal names are curious, and show how far sponsors wandered from the Church Calendar. *Assan, Aiton, Turco, Soldan* seem to come of the constant interest in the East. *Alaone*, a name which remained in the family for several generations, I had thought certainly borrowed from the fierce conqueror of the Khalif (*infra*, p. 63). But as one *Alaone*, present at this battle, had a son also there, he must surely have been christened before the fame of Hulaku could have reached Genoa. (See *La Chiesa di S. Matteo*, pp. 250, *seqq.*)

In documents of the kingdom of Jerusalem there are names still more anomalous, e.g., *Gualterius Baffumeth, Joannes Mahomet*. (See *Cod. Dipl. del Sac. Milit. Ord. Gerosol. I. 2-3, 62.*)

Genova!" Many noble ladies of Pisa went in large companies on foot to Genoa to seek their husbands or kinsmen: "And when they made enquiry of the Keepers of the Prisons, the reply would be, 'Yesterday there died thirty of them, to-day there have died forty; all of whom we have cast into the sea; and so it is daily.'"*

A body of prisoners so numerous and important naturally exerted themselves in the cause of peace, and through their efforts, after many months of negotiation, a formal peace was signed (15th April, 1288). But through the influence, as was alleged, of Count Ugolino (Dante's) who was then in power at Pisa, the peace became abortive; war almost immediately recommenced, and the prisoners had no release.† And, when the 6000 or 7000 Venetians were thrown into the prisons of



Seal of the Pisan Prisoners.

would find there the scanty surviving remnant of the Pisan Prisoners of Meloria, and would gather from them dismal forebodings of the fate before them.

It is a fair conjecture that to that remnant Rusticiano of Pisa may have belonged.

We have seen Ramusio's representation of the kindness shown to Marco during his imprisonment by a certain Genoese gentleman who also assisted him to reduce his travels to writing. We may be certain that this Genoese gentleman is only a distorted image of Rusticiano, the Pisan prisoner in the gaol of

* *Memorial. Potestat. Regiens.* in *Muratori*, viii. 1162.

† See *Fragm. Hist. Pisan.* in *Muratori*, xxiv. 651, *seqq.*; and *Caffaro, id.* vi. 588, 594-595. The cut in the text represents a striking memorial of those Pisan Prisoners, which perhaps still survives, but which at any rate existed last century in a collection at Lucca. It is the seal of the prisoners as a body corporate: SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS CARCERATORUM PISANORUM JANUE DETENTORUM, and was doubtless used in their negotiations for peace with the Genoese Commissioners. It represents two of the prisoners imploring the Madonna, Patron of the Duomo at Pisa. It is from *Manni, Osserv. Stor. sopra Sigilli Antichi*, etc., Firenze, 1739, tom. xii. The seal is also engraved in *Dal Borgo, op. cit.* ii. 316.

Genoa, whose name and part in the history of his hero's book Ramusio so strangely ignores. Yet patriotic Genoese writers in our own times have striven to determine the identity of this their imaginary countryman!*

39. Who, then, was Rusticiano, or, as the name actually is read in the oldest type of MS., "Messire Rusticians de Pise"?

Rusticiano, Our knowledge of him is but scanty. Still some-
 a person thing is known of him besides the few words con-
 known from other sources. cluding his preamble to our Traveller's Book, which
 you may read at pp. 1-2 of the body of this volume.

In Sir Walter Scott's "Essay on Romance," when he speaks of the new mould in which the subjects of the old metrical stories were cast by the school of prose romancers which arose in the 13th century, we find the following words:—

"Whatever fragments or shadows of true history may yet remain hidden under the mass of accumulated fable which had been heaped upon them during successive ages, must undoubtedly be sought in the metrical romances But those prose authors who wrote under the imaginary names of RUSTICIEN DE PISE, Robert de Borron, and the like, usually seized upon the subject of some old minstrel; and recomposing the whole narrative after their own fashion, with additional character and adventure, totally obliterated in that operation any shades which remained of the original and probably authentic tradition," &c.†

Evidently, therefore, Sir Walter regarded Rustician of Pisa as a person belonging to the same ghostly company as his own Cleishbothams and Dryasdusts. But in this we see that he was wrong.

In the great Paris Library and elsewhere there are manuscript volumes containing the stories of the Round Table abridged and somewhat clumsily combined from the various Prose Romances of that cycle, such as *Sir Tristan, Lancelot, Palamedes, Giron le Courtois*, &c., which had been composed, it would seem, by various Anglo-French gentlemen at the court of Henry III., styled, or styling themselves, Gasses le Blunt, Luces du Gast,

* The Abate Spotorno in his *Storia Letteraria della Liguria*, II. 219, fixes on a Genoese philosopher called Andalo del Negro, mentioned by Boccaccio.

† I quote from Galignani's ed. of *Prose Works*, v. 712. This has "Rusticien de Puisse." In this view of the fictitious character of the names of Rusticien and the rest, Sir Walter seems to have been following Ritson, as I gather from a quotation in Dunlop's *H. of Fiction*. (*Liebrecht's German Version*, p. 63.)

Robert de Borron, and Hélis de Borron. And these abridgments or recasts are professedly the work of *Le Maistre Rusticien de Pise*. Several of them were printed at Paris in the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries as the works of Rusticien de Pise; and as the preambles and the like, especially in the form presented in those printed editions, appear to be due sometimes to the original composers (as Robert and Hélis de Borron) and sometimes to Rusticien de Pise the recaster, there would seem to have been a good deal of confusion made in regard to their respective personalities.

From a preamble to one of those compilations which undoubtedly belongs to Rustician, and which we shall quote at length by and bye, we learn that Master Rustician "translated" (or perhaps *transferred*?) his compilation from a book belonging to King Edward of England, at the time when that prince went beyond seas to recover the Holy Sepulchre. Now Prince Edward started for the Holy Land in 1270, spent the winter of that year in Sicily, and arrived in Palestine in May 1271. He quitted it again in August, 1272, and passed again by Sicily, where in January, 1273, he heard of his father's death and his own consequent accession. Paulin Paris supposes that Rustician was attached to the Sicilian Court of Charles of Anjou, and that Edward "may have deposited with that king the Romances of the Round Table, of which all the world was talking, but the manuscripts of which were still very rare, especially those of the work of Helye de Borron* . . . whether by order, or only with permission of the King of Sicily, our Rustician made haste to read, abridge, and re-arrange the whole, and when Edward returned to Sicily he recovered possession of the book from which the indefatigable Pisan had extracted the contents."

But this I believe is, in so far as it passes the facts stated in Rustician's own preamble, pure hypothesis, for nothing is cited that connects Rustician with the King of Sicily. And if there be not some such confusion of personality as we have alluded to, in another of the preambles, which is quoted by Dunlop as an utterance of Rustician's, that personage would seem to claim to have been a comrade in arms of the two de Borrons. We

* *Giron le Courtois*, and the conclusion of *Tristan*.

might, therefore, conjecture that Rustician himself had accompanied Prince Edward to Syria.*

40. Rustician's literary work appears from the extracts and remarks of Paulin Paris to be that of an industrious simple man, without method or much judgment. "The haste with which he worked is too perceptible; the adventures are told without connection; you find long stories of Tristan followed by adventures of his father Meliadus." For the latter derangement of historical sequence we find a quaint and ingenuous apology offered in Rustician's epilogue to Giron le Courtois:—

"Cy fine le Maistre Rusticien de Pise son conte en louant et regraciant le Père le Filz et le Saint Esperit, et ung mesme Dieu, Filz de la Benoiste Vierge Marie, de ce qu'il m'a doné grace, sens, force, et mémoire, temps et lieu, de me mener à fin de si haulte et si noble matière come ceste-cy dont j'ay traicté les faiz et proesses recitez et recorderz à mon livre. Et se aucun me demandoit pour quoy j'ay parlé de Tristan avant que de son père le Roy Meliadus, le respons que ma matière n'estoist pas congneue. Car je ne puis pas scavoir tout, ne mettre toutes mes paroles par ordre. Et ainsi fine mon conte. Amen."†

In a passage of these compilations the Emperor Charlemagne is asked whether in his judgment King Meliadus or his son Tristan were the better man? The Emperor's answer is: "I should say that the King Meliadus was the better man, and I will tell you why I say so. As far as I can see, everything that Tristan did was done for Love, and his great feats would never have been done but under the constraint of Love, which was his

* The passage runs thus as quoted (from the preamble of the *Meliadus*—I suspect in one of the old printed editions):—

"Aussi Luces du Gau (Gas) translata en langue Françoisse une partie de l'Hystoire de Monseigneur Tristan, et moins assez qu'il ne deust. Moulte commença bien son livre et si ny mist tout les faicts de Tristan, ains la greigneur partie. Après s'en entremist Messire Gasse le Blond, qui estoit parent au Roy Henry, et divisa l'Hystoire de Lancelot du Lac, et d'autre chose ne parla il mye grandement en son livre. Messire Robert de Borron s'en entremist et Helye de Borron, par la prière du dit Robert de Borron, et pource que *compaignons feusmes d'armes longuement*, je commençay mon livre," etc. (*Liebrecht's Dunlop*, p. 80.) If this passage be authentic it would set beyond doubt the age of the de Borrons and the other writers of Anglo-French Round Table Romances, who are placed by the *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, and apparently by Fr. Michel, under Henry II. I have no means of pursuing the matter, and have preferred to follow Paulin Paris, who places them under Henry III. I notice, moreover, that the *Hist. Litt.* (xv. p. 498) puts not only the de Borrons but Rustician himself under Henry II.; and, as the last view is certainly an error, the first is probably so too.

† Transc. from MS. 6975 (now Fr. 355) of Paris Library.

spur and goad. Now that never can be said of King Meliadus! For what deeds he did, he did them not by dint of Love, but by dint of his strong right arm. Purely out of his own goodness he did good, and not by constraint of Love." "It will be seen," remarks on this Paulin Paris, "that we are here a long way removed from the ordinary principles of Round Table Romances. And one thing besides will be manifest, viz., that Rusticien de Pise was no Frenchman!" *

The same discretion is shown even more prominently in a passage of one of his compilations, which contains the romances of Arthur, Gyron, and Meliadus (No. 6975—see last note but one):—

"No doubt," Rustician says, "other books tell the story of the Queen Ginevra and Lancelot differently from this; and there were certain passages between them of which the Master, in his concern for the honour of both those personages, will say not a word." Alas, says the French Bibliographer, that the copy of Lancelot, which fell into the hands of poor Francesca of Rimini, was not one of those *expurgated* by our worthy friend Rustician! †

41. A question may still occur to an attentive reader as to the identity of this Romance-compiler Rusticien de Pise with the Messire *Rusticians de Pise*, of a solitary MS. of Polo's work (though the oldest and most authentic), a name which appears in other copies as *Rusta Pisan*, *Rasta Pysan*, *Rustichelus Civis Pisanus*, *Rustico*, *Restazio da Pisa*, *Stazio da Pisa*, and who is stated in the preamble to have acted as the Traveller's scribe at Genoa.

Identity of
the Romance
Compiler
with Polo's
fellow-
prisoner.

M. Pauthier indeed ‡ asserts that the French of the MS. Romances of Rusticien de Pise is of the same barbarous character as that of the early French MS. of Polo's Book to which we have just alluded, and which we shall show to be the nearest presentation of the work as originally dictated by the Traveller. The language of the latter MS. is so peculiar that this would be almost perfect evidence of the identity of the writers, if it were really the fact. A cursory inspection which I have made of two of those MSS. in Paris, and the extracts which I have given

* *MSS. François*, iii. 60-61.

† *Ibid.* 56-59.

‡ *Introd.* pp. lxxxvi.-vii. note.

and am about to give, do not, however, by any means support M. Pauthier's view. Nor would that view be consistent with the judgment of so competent an authority as Paulin Paris, implied in his calling Rustician a *nom recommandable* in old French literature, and his speaking of him as "versed in the secrets of the French Romance Tongue." * In fact the difference of language in the two cases would really be a difficulty in the way of identification, if there were room for doubt. This, however, Paulin Paris seems to have excluded finally, by calling attention to the peculiar formula of preamble which is common to the Book of Marco Polo and to one of the Romance compilations of Rusticien de Pise.

The former will be found in English at pp. 1, 2, of our Translation ; but we give a part of the original below † for comparison with the preamble to the Romances of Meliadus, Tristan, and Lancelot, as taken from MS. 6961 (Fr. 340) of the Paris Library :—

"*Seigneurs Empeleurs et Princes, Ducs et Contes et Barons et Chevaliers et Vavasseurs et Bourgeois, et tous les preudommes de cestui monde qui avez talent de vous deliter en rommans, si prenez cestui (livre) et le faites lire de chief en chief, si orrez toutes les grans aventure qui advindrent entre les Chevaliers errans du temps au Roy Uter Pendragon, jusques à le temps au Roy Artus son fils, et des compagnons de la Table Ronde. Et sachiez tout vraiment que cist livres fust translatez du livre Monseigneur Edouart le Roy d'Engleterre en celui temps qu'il passa oultre la mer au service nostre Seigneur Damedieu pour conquerer le Sant Sepulcre, et Maistre Rusticiens de Pise, lequel est ymaginez yci dessus, ‡ compila ce rommant, car il en translata toutes les merveilleuses nouvelles et aventures qu'il trouva en celle livre et traita tout certainement de toutes les aventures du monde, et si sachiez qu'il traitera plus de Monseigneur Lancelot du Lac, et Mons^r Tristan le fils au Roy Meliadus de Leonnoic que d'autres, porcequ'ilz furent sans faille les meilleurs chevaliers qui à ce temps furent en terre ; et li Maistres en dira de ces deux puseurs choses et puseurs nouvelles que l'en treuvera escript en tous les autres livres ; et porce que le Maistres les trouva escript au Livre d'Engleterre."*

"Certainly," Paulin Paris observes, "there is a singular

* See *Jour. As. sér. II. tom. xii. p. 251.*

† *Seignors Enperaor, C Rois, Dux C Marquois, Cuens, Chevaliers C Bargions* [for Borgiois] *C toutes gens qe uoles sauoir les deuerses jeneracions des homes, C les deuersités des deuerses region dou monde, si prennés cestui liure C le faites lire C chi trouertés toutes les grandismes meruoilles,"* etc.

‡ The portrait of Rustician here referred to would have been a precious illustration for our book. But unfortunately it has not been transferred to MS. 6961, nor apparently to any other noticed by Paulin Paris.



Palazzo di S. Giorgio, Genoa.

[To face p. 62.]

analogy between these two prefaces. And it must be remarked that the formula is not an ordinary one with translators, compilers, or authors of the 13th and 14th centuries. Perhaps you would not find a single other example of it."*

This seems to place beyond question the identity of the Romance-compiler of Prince Edward's suite in 1270, and the Prisoner of Genoa in 1298.

42. In Dunlop's History of Fiction a passage is quoted from the preamble of *Meliadus*, as set forth in the Paris printed edition of 1528, which gives us to understand that Rusticien de Pise had received as a reward for some of his compositions from King Henry III. the prodigal gift of two *chateaux*. I gather, however, from passages in the work of Paulin Paris that this must certainly be one of those confusions of persons to which I have referred before, and that the recipient of the chateaux was in reality Helye de Borron, the author of some of the originals which Rustician manipulated.† This supposed incident in Rustician's scanty history must therefore be given up.

Further particulars concerning Rustician.

We call this worthy *Rustician* or *Rusticiano*, as the nearest probable representation in Italian form of the *Rusticien* of the Round-Table MSS. and the *Rusticians* of the old text of Polo. But it is highly probable that his real name was *Rustichello*, as is suggested by the form *Rustichelus* in the early Latin version published by the *Société de Géographie*. The change of one liquid for another never goes for much in Italy,‡ and *Rustichello* might easily Gallicize himself as *Rusticien*. In a very long list of Pisan officials during the Middle Ages I find several bearing the name of *Rustichello* or *Rustichelli*, but no *Rusticiano* or *Rustigiano*.§

Respecting him we have only to add that the peace between Genoa and Venice was speedily followed by a treaty between Genoa and Pisa. On the 31st July, 1299, a truce for twenty-five years was signed between those two

* *Jour. As.* as above.

† See *Liebrecht's Dunlop*, p. 77; and *MSS. François*, II. 349, 353. The alleged gift to Rustician is also put forth by D'Israeli the Elder in his *Amenities of Literature*, 1841, I. p. 103.

‡ E.g. Geronimo, *Girolamo*; and garofalo, *garofano*; Cristoforo, *Cristoval*; gonfalone, *gonfanone*, etc.

§ See the List in *Archivio Stor. Ital.* VI. p. 64, *seqq.*

Republics. It was a very different matter from that between Genoa and Venice, and contained much that was humiliating and detrimental to Pisa. But it embraced the release of prisoners; and those of Meloria, reduced it is said to less than one tithe of their original number, had their liberty at last. Among the prisoners then released no doubt Rustician was one. But we hear of him no more.

VIII. NOTICES OF MARCO POLO'S HISTORY, AFTER THE TERMINATION OF HIS IMPRISONMENT AT GENOA.

43. A few very disconnected notices are all that can be collected of matter properly biographical in relation to the quarter century during which Marco Polo survived the Genoese captivity.

Death of
Marco's
Father
before 1300.
Will of his
brother
Maffeo.

We have seen that he would probably reach Venice in the course of August, 1299. Whether he found his aged father alive is not known; but we know at least that a year later (31st August, 1300) Messer Nicolo was no longer in life.

This we learn from the Will of the younger Maffeo, Marco's brother, which bears the date just named, and of which we give an abstract below.* It seems to imply strong regard for the

* 1. The Will is made in prospect of his voyage to Crete.

2. He had drafted his will with his own hand, sealed the draft, and made it over to Pietro Pagano, priest of S. Felice and Notary, to draw out a formal testament in faithful accordance therewith in case of the Testator's death; and that which follows is the substance of the said draft rendered from the vernacular into Latin. ("Ego Matheus Paulo . . . volens ire in Cretam, ne repentinus casus hujus vite fragilis me subreperet intestatum, mea propria manu meum scripsi et condidi testamentum, rogans Petrum Paganum ecclesie Scti. Felicis presbiterum et Notarium, sana mente et integro consilio, ut, secundum ipsius scripturam quam sibi tunc dedi meo sigillo munitam, meum scriberet testamentum, si ne de hoc seculo contigeret pertransire; cujus scripture tenor translato vulgari in latinum per omnia talis est.")

3. Appoints as Trustees Messer Maffeo Polo his uncle, Marco Polo his brother, Messer Nicolo Secreto (or Sagredo) his father-in-law, and Felix Polo his cousin (*consanguineum*).

4. Leaves 20 *soldi* to each of the Monasteries from Grado to Capo d'Argine; and 150 *lire* to all the congregations of Rialto, on condition that the priests of these maintain an annual service in behalf of the souls of his father, mother, and self.

5. To his daughter Fiordelisa 2000 *lire* to marry her withal. To be invested in safe mortgages in Venice, and the interest to go to her.

Also leaves her the interest from 1000 *lire* of his funds in Public Debt (? *de meis imprestitis*) to provide for her till she marries. After her marriage this 1000 *lire* and its interest shall go to his male heir if he has one, and failing that to his brother Marco.

testator's brother Marco, who is made inheritor of the bulk of the property, failing the possible birth of a son. I have already indicated some conjectural deductions from this document. I may add that the terms of the second clause, as quoted in the note, seem to me to throw considerable doubt on the genealogy which bestows a large family of sons upon this brother Maffeo. If he lived to have such a family it seems improbable that the draft which he thus left in the hands of a notary, to be converted into a Will in the event of his death (a curious example of the validity attaching to all acts of notaries in those days), should never have been superseded, but should actually have been so converted after his death, as the existence of the parchment

6. To his wife Catharine 400 *lire* and all her clothes as they stand now. To the Lady Maroca 100 *lire*.

7. To his natural daughter Pasqua 400 *lire* to marry her withal. Or, if she likes to be a nun, 200 *lire* shall go to her convent and the other 200 shall purchase securities for her benefit. After her death these shall come to his male heir, or failing that be sold, and the proceeds distributed for the good of the souls of his father, mother, and self.

8. To his natural brothers Stephen and Giovannino he leaves 500 *lire*. If one dies the whole to go to the other. If both die before marrying, to go to his male heir; failing such, to his brother Marco or *his* male heir.

9. To his uncle Giordano Trevisano 200 *lire*. To Marco de Tumba 100. To Fiordelisa, wife of Felix Polo, 100. To Maroca, the daughter of the late Pietro Trevisano, living at Negropont, 100. To Agnes, wife of Pietro Lion, 100; and to Francis, son of the late Pietro Trevisano, in Negropont, 100.

10. To buy Public Debt producing an annual 20 *lire ai grossi* to be paid yearly to Pietro Pagano, Priest of S. Felice, who shall pray for the souls aforesaid: on death of said Pietro the income to go to Pietro's cousin Lionardo, Clerk of S. Felice; and after him always to the senior priest of S. Giovanni Grisostomo with the same obligation.

11. Should his wife prove with child and bear a son or sons they shall have his whole property not disposed of. If a daughter, she shall have the same as Fiordelisa.

12. If he have no male heir his Brother Marco shall have the Testator's share of his Father's bequest, and 2000 *lire* besides. Cousin Nicolo shall have 500 *lire*, and Uncle Maffeo 500.

13. Should Daughter Fiordelisa die unmarried her 2000 *lire* and interest to go to his male heir, and failing such to Brother Marco and his male heir. But in that case Marco shall pay 500 *lire* to Cousin Nicolo or his male heir.

14. Should his wife bear him a male heir or heirs, but these should die under age, the whole of his undisposed property shall go to Brother Marco or his male heir. But in that case 500 *lire* shall be paid to Cousin Nicolo.

15. Should his wife bear a daughter and she die unmarried, her 2000 *lire* and interest shall go to Brother Marco, with the same stipulation in behalf of Cousin Nicolo.

16. Should the whole amount of his property between cash and goods not amount to 10,000 *lire* (though he believes he has fully as much), his bequests are to be ratably diminished, except those to his own children which he does not wish diminished. Should any legatee die before receiving the bequest, its amount shall fall to the Testator's heir male, and failing such, the half to go to Marco or his male heir, and the other half to be distributed for the good of the souls aforesaid.

The witnesses are Lionardo priest of S. Felice, Lionardo clerk of the same, and the Notary Pietro Pagano priest of the same.

seems to prove. But for this circumstance we might suppose the Marcolino mentioned in the ensuing paragraph to have been a son of the younger Maffeo.

Messer Maffeo, the uncle, was, we see, alive at this time. We do not know the year of his death. But it is alluded to by Friar Pipino in the Preamble to his Translation of the Book, supposed to have been executed about 1315-1320; and we learn from a document in the Venetian archives (see p. 77) that it must have been previous to 1318, and subsequent to February 1309, the date of his last Will. The Will itself is not known to be extant, but from the reference to it in this document we learn that he left 1000 *lire* of public debt* (*?imprestitorum*) to a certain Marco Polo, called *Marcolino*. The relationship of this Marco to old Maffeo is not stated, but we may suspect him to have been an illegitimate son. [Marcolino was a son of Nicolo, son of Marco the Elder; see vol. ii., *Calendar*, No. 6.—H. C.]

44. In 1302 occurs what was at first supposed to be a glimpse of Marco as a citizen, slight and quaint enough; being a resolution on the Books of the Great Council to exempt the respectable Marco Polo from the penalty incurred by him on account of the omission to have his water-pipe duly inspected. But since our Marco's claims to the designation of *Nobilis Vir* have been established, there is a doubt whether the *providus vir* or *prud'-homme* here spoken of may not have been rather his namesake Marco Polo of Cannareggio or S. Geremia, of whose existence we learn from another entry of the same year.† It is, however, possible

Documentary notices of Polo at this time. The sobriquet of Milione.

* According to Romanin (I. 321) the *lira dei grossi* was also called *Lira d'imprestidi*, and if the *lire* here are to be so taken, the sum will be 10,000 ducats, the largest amount by far that occurs in any of these Polo documents, unless, indeed, the 1000 *lire* in § 5 of Maffeo Junior's Will be the like; but I have some doubt if such *lire* are intended in either case.

† "(Resolved) That grace be granted to the respectable MARCO PAULO, relieving him of the penalty he has incurred for neglecting to have his water-pipe examined, seeing that he was ignorant of the order on that subject." (See *Appendix C.* No. 3.) The other reference, to M. Polo, of S. Geremia, runs as follows:—

[MCCCII. indic. XV. die VIII. Macii q̄ fiat grā Güillō aurifici q̄ ipe absolvat a pena ī qua dicit icurisse p̄ uno spōlono sibi īiēto veuēdo de Mestre p̄pe domū Macī Pauli de Canareglo ūi descenderat ad bibendū.]

"That grace be granted to William the Goldsmith, relieving him of the penalty which he is stated to have incurred on account of a spontoon (*spontono*, a loaded bludgeon) found upon him near the house of MARCO PAULO of Cannareggio, where he had landed to drink on his way from Mestre." (See *Cicogna*, V. p. 606.)

that Marco the Traveller was called to the Great Council *after* the date of the document in question.

We have seen that the Traveller, and after him his House and his Book, acquired from his contemporaries the surname, or nickname rather, of *Il Milione*. Different writers have given different explanations of the origin of this name; some, beginning with his contemporary Fra Jacopo d'Acqui (*supra*, p. 54), ascribing it to the family's having brought home a fortune of a million of *lire*, in fact to their being *millionaires*. This is the explanation followed by Sansovino, Marco Barbaro, Coronelli, and others.* More far-fetched is that of Fontanini, who supposes the name to have been given to the Book as containing a great number of stories, like the *Cento Novelle* or the *Thousand and One Nights!* But there can be no doubt that Ramusio's is the true, as it is the natural, explanation; and that the name was bestowed on Marco by the young wits of his native city, because of his frequent use of a word which appears to have been then unusual, in his attempts to convey an idea of the vast wealth and magnificence of the Kaan's Treasury and Court.† Ramusio has told us (*supra*, p. 6) that he had seen Marco styled by this sobriquet in the Books of the Signory; and it is pleasant to be able to confirm this by the next document which we cite. This is an extract from the Books of the Great Council under 10th April, 1305, condoning the offence of a certain Bonocio of Mestre in smuggling wine, for whose penalty one of the sureties had been the **NOBILIS VIR MARCHUS PAULO MILIONI.**‡

It is alleged that long after our Traveller's death there was always, in the Venetian Masques, one individual who assumed the character of Marco Milioni, and told Munchausenlike stories

* *Sansovino, Venezia, Città Nobilissima e Singolare, Descritta*, etc., Ven. 1581, f. 236 v.; *Barbaro, Alberi*; *Coronelli, Atlante Veneto*, I. 19.

† The word *Millio* occurs several times in the Chronicle of the Doge Andrea Dandolo, who wrote about 1342; and *Milion* occurs at least once (besides the application of the term to Polo) in the History of Giovanni Villani; viz. when he speaks of the Treasury of Avignon:—"diciotto milioni di fiorini d'oro ec. che ogni milione è mille migliaja di fiorini d'oro la valuta." (xi. 20, § 1; *Ducange*, and *Vocab. Univ. Ital.*). But the definition, thought necessary by Villani, in itself points to the use of the word as rare. *Domilion* occurs in the estimated value of houses at Venice in 1367, recorded in the *Cronaca Magna* in St. Mark's Library. (*Romanin*, III. 385).

‡ "Also; that Pardon be granted to Bonocio of Mestre for that 152 *lire* in which he stood condemned by the Captains of the Posts, on account of wine smuggled by him, in such wise: to wit, that he was to pay the said fine in 4 years by annual

to divert the vulgar. Such, if this be true, was the honour of our prophet among the populace of his own country.*

45. A little later we hear of Marco once more, as presenting a copy of his Book to a noble Frenchman in the service of Charles of Valois.

This Prince, brother of Philip the Fair, in 1301 had married Catharine, daughter and heiress of Philip de Courtenay, titular Emperor of Constantinople, and on the strength of this marriage had at a later date set up his own claim to the Empire of the East. To this he was prompted by Pope Clement V., who in the beginning of 1306 wrote to Venice, stimulating that Government to take part in the enterprise. In the same year, Charles and his wife sent as their envoys to Venice, in connection with this matter, a noble knight called THIBAUT DE CEPOY, along with an ecclesiastic of Chartres called Pierre le Riche, and these two succeeded in executing a treaty of alliance with Venice, of which the original, dated 14th December, 1306, exists at Paris. Thibault de Cepoy eventually went on to Greece with a squadron of Venetian Galleys, but accomplished nothing of moment, and returned to his master in 1310.†

During the stay of Thibault at Venice he seems to have made acquaintance with Marco Polo, and to have received from him a copy of his Book. This is recorded in a curious note which appears on two existing MSS. of Polo's Book, viz., that

instalments of one fourth, to be retrenched from the pay due to him on his journey in the suite of our ambassadors, with assurance that anything then remaining deficient of his instalments should be made good by himself or his securities. And his securities are the Nobles Pietro Morosini and MARCO PAULO MILIOŃ." Under *MilioŃ* is written in an ancient hand "*mortuus.*" (See *Appendix C*, No. 4.)

* Humboldt tells this (*Examen*, II. 221), alleging *Jacopo d'Acqui* as authority; and *Libri (H. des Sciences Mathématiques*, II. 149), quoting *Dogliani, Historia Veneziana*. But neither authority bears out the citations. The story seems really to come from Amoretti's commentary on the *Voyage du Cap. L. F. Maldonado*, Plaisance, 1812, p. 67. Amoretti quotes as authority *Pignoria, Degli Dei Antichi*.

An odd revival of this old libel was mentioned to me recently by Mr. George Moffatt. When he was at school it was common among the boys to express incredulity by the phrase: "Oh, what a Marco Polo!"

† Thibault, according to Ducange, was in 1307 named Grand Master of the Arblasteers of France; and Buchon says his portrait is at Versailles among the Admirals (No. 1170). Ramon de Muntaner fell in with the Seigneur de Cepoy in Greece, and speaks of him as "but a Captain of the Wind, as his Master was King of the Wind." (See *Ducange, H. de l'Empire de Const. sous les Emp. François*, Venice ed. 1729, pp. 109, 110; *Buchon, Chroniques Etrangères*, pp. lv. 467-470.)



Miracle of S. Lorenzo.

Vissicci p. 68.

of the Paris Library (10,270 or Fr. 5649), and that of Bern, which is substantially identical in its text with the former, and is, as I believe, a copy of it.* The note runs as follows:—

“Here you have the Book of which My Lord THIEBAULT, Knight and LORD OF CEPOY, (whom may God assoil!) requested a copy from SIRE MARC POL, Burgess and Resident of the City of Venice. And the said Sire Marc Pol, being a very honourable Person, of high character and respect in many countries, because of his desire that what he had witnessed should be known throughout the World, and also for the honour and reverence he bore to the most excellent and puissant Prince my Lord CHARLES, Son of the King of France and COUNT OF VALOIS, gave and presented to the aforesaid Lord of Cepoy the first copy (that was taken) of his said Book after he had made the same. And very pleasing it was to him that his Book should be carried to the noble country of France and there made known by so worthy a gentleman. And from that copy which the said Messire Thibault, Sire de Cepoy above-named, did carry into France, Messire John, who was his eldest son and is the present Sire de Cepoy,† after his Father's decease did have a copy made, and that very first copy that was made of the Book after its being carried into France he did present to his very dear and dread Lord Monseigneur de Valois. Thereafter he gave copies of it to such of his friends as asked for them.

“And the copy above-mentioned was presented by the said Sire Marc Pol to the said Lord de Cepoy when the latter went to Venice, on the part of Monseigneur de Valois and of Madame the Empress his wife, as Vicar General for them both in all the Territories of the Empire of Constantinople. And this happened in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand three hundred and seven, and in the month of August.”

Of the bearings of this memorandum on the literary history of Polo's Book we shall speak in a following section.

46. When Marco married we have not been able to ascertain, but it was no doubt early in the 14th century, for in 1324, we find that he had two married daughters besides one unmarried. His wife's Christian name was *Donata*, but of her family we have as yet found no assurance. I suspect, however, that her name may have been Loredano (*vide infra*, p. 77).

His marriage and his daughters. Marco as a merchant.

Under 1311 we find a document which is of considerable in-

* The note is not found in the Bodleian MS., which is the third known one of this precise type.

† Messire Jean, the son of Thibault, is mentioned in the accounts of the latter in the *Chambre des Comptes* at Paris, as having been with his Father in Romania. And in 1344 he commanded a confederate Christian armament sent to check the rising power of the Turks, and beat a great Turkish fleet in the Greek seas. (*Heyd*. I. 377; *Buchon*, 468.)

terest, because it is the only one yet discovered which exhibits Marco under the aspect of a practical trader. It is the judgment of the Court of Requests upon a suit brought by the NOBLE MARCO POLO of the parish of S. Giovanni Grisostomo against one Paulo Girardo of S. Apollinare. It appears that Marco had entrusted to the latter as a commission agent for sale, on an agreement for half profits, a pound and a half of musk, priced at six *lire of grossi* (about 22*l.* 10*s.* in value of silver) the pound. Girardo had sold half-a-pound at that rate, and the remaining pound which he brought back was deficient of a *saggio*, or, one-sixth of an ounce, but he had accounted for neither the sale nor the deficiency. Hence Marcò sues him for three *lire of Grossi*, the price of the half-pound sold, and for twenty *grossi* as the value of the *saggio*. And the Judges cast the defendant in the amount with costs, and the penalty of imprisonment in the common gaol of Venice if the amounts were not paid within a suitable term.*

Again in May, 1323, probably within a year of his death, Ser Marco appears (perhaps only by attorney), before the Doge and his judicial examiners, to obtain a decision respecting a question touching the rights to certain stairs and porticoes in contact with his own house property, and that obtained from his wife, in S. Giovanni Grisostomo. To this allusion has been already made (*supra*, p. 31).

47. We catch sight of our Traveller only once more. It is on the 9th of January, 1324; he is labouring with disease, under which he is sinking day by day; and he has sent for Giovanni Giustiniani, Priest of S. Proculo and Notary, to make his Last Will and Testament. It runs thus:—

Marco
Polo's Last
Will and
Death.

“IN THE NAME OF THE ETERNAL GOD AMEN!

“In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1323, on the

* The document is given in *Appendix C*, No. 5. It was found by Comm. Barozzi, the Director of the Museo Civico, when he had most kindly accompanied me to aid in the search for certain other documents in the archives of the *Casa di Ricovero*, or Poor House of Venice. These archives contain a great mass of testamentary and other documents, which probably have come into that singular depository in connection with bequests to public charities.

The document next mentioned was found in as strange a site, viz., the *Casa degli Esposti* or Foundling Hospital, which possesses similar muniments. This also I owe to Comm. Barozzi, who had noted it some years before, when commencing an arrangement of the archives of the Institution.

9th day of the month of January, in the first half of the 7th Indiction,* at Rialto.

"It is the counsel of Divine Inspiration as well as the judgment of a provident mind that every man should take thought to make a disposition of his property before death become imminent, lest in the end it should remain without any disposition :

"Wherefore I MARCUS PAULO of the parish of St. John Chrysostom, finding myself to grow daily feebler through bodily ailment, but being by the grace of God of a sound mind, and of senses and judgment unimpaired, have sent for JOHN GIUSTINIANI, Priest of S. Proculo and Notary, and have instructed him to draw out in complete form this my Testament :

"Whereby I constitute as my Trustees DONATA my beloved wife, and my dear daughters FANTINA, BELLELA, and MORETA,† in order that after my decease they may execute the dispositions and bequests which I am about to make herein.

"First of all : I will and direct that the proper Tithe be paid.‡ And over and above the said tithe I direct that 2000 *lire* of Venice denari be distributed as follows : §

"*Viz.*, 20 *soldi* of Venice *grossi* to the Monastery of St. Lawrence where I desire to be buried.

* The Legal Year at Venice began on the 1st of March. And 1324 was 7th of the Indiction. Hence the date is, according to the modern Calendar, 1324.

† Marsden says of Moreta and Fantina, the only daughters named by Ramusio, that these may be thought rather familiar terms of endearment than baptismal names. This is a mistake however. *Fantina* is from one of the parochial saints of Venice, S. Fantino, and the male name was borne by sundry Venetians, among others by a son of Henry Dandolo's. *Moreta* is perhaps a variation of *Maroca*, which seems to have been a family name among the Polos. We find also the male name of Bellela, written *Bellello*, *Bellero*, *Belletto*.

‡ The *Decima* went to the Bishop of Castello (eventually converted into Patriarch of Venice) to divide between himself, the Clergy, the Church, and the Poor. It became a source of much bad feeling, which came to a head after the plague of 1348, when some families had to pay the tenth three times within a very short space. The existing Bishop agreed to a composition, but his successor Paolo Foscari (1367) claimed that on the death of every citizen an exact inventory should be made, and a full tithe levied. The Signory fought hard with the Bishop, but he fled to the Papal Court and refused all concession. After his death in 1376 a composition was made for 5500 ducats yearly. (*Romanin*, II. 406 ; III. 161, 165.)

§ There is a difficulty about estimating the value of these sums from the variety of Venice pounds or *lire*. Thus the *Lira dei piccoli* was reckoned 3 to the ducat or *zecchin*, the *Lira ai grossi* 2 to the ducat, but the *Lira dei grossi* or *Lira d'impresidi* was equal to 10 ducats, or (allowing for higher value of silver then) about 3*l.* 15*s.* ; a little more than the equivalent of the then Pound sterling. This last money is specified in some of the bequests, as in the 20 *soldi* (or 1 *lira*) to St. Lorenzo, and in the annuity of 8 *lire* to Polo's wife ; but it seems doubtful what money is meant when *libra* only or *libra denariorum venetorum* is used. And this doubt is not new. Gallicciolli relates that in 1232 Giacomo Menotto left to the Church of S. Cassiano as an annuity *libras denariorum venetorum quatuor*. Till 1427 the church received the income as of *lire dei piccoli*, but on bringing a suit on the subject it was adjudged that *lire ai grossi* were to be understood. (*Delle Mem. Venet. Ant.* II. 18.) This story, however, cuts both ways, and does not decide our doubt.

"Also 300 *lire* of Venice denari to my sister-in-law YSABETA QUIRINO,* that she owes me.

"Also 40 *soldi* to each of the Monasteries and Hospitals all the way from Grado to Capo d'Argine.†

"Also I bequeath to the Convent of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, of the Order of Preachers, that which it owes me, and also 10 *lire* to Friar RENIER, and 5 *lire* to Friar BENVENUTO the Venetian, of the Order of Preachers, in addition to the amount of his debt to me.

"I also bequeath 5 *lire* to every Congregation in Rialto, and 4 *lire* to every Guild or Fraternity of which I am a member.‡

"Also I bequeath 20 *soldi* of Venetian grossi to the Priest Giovanni Giustiniani the Notary, for his trouble about this my Will, and in order that he may pray the Lord in my behalf.

"Also I release PETER the Tartar, my servant, from all bondage, as completely as I pray God to release mine own soul from all sin and guilt. And I also remit him whatever he may have gained by work at his own house; and over and above I bequeath him 100 *lire* of Venice denari.§

* The form of the name *Ysabeta* aptly illustrates the transition that seems so strange from *Elizabeth* into the *Isabel* that the Spaniards made of it.

† *I.e.* the extent of what was properly called the Dogado, all along the Lagoons from Grado on the extreme east to Capo d'Argine (Cavarzere at the mouth of the Adige) on the extreme west.

‡ The word rendered *Guilds* is "*Scholarum.*" The crafts at Venice were united in corporations called *Fraglie* or *Scholae*, each of which had its statutes, its head called the *Gastald*, and its place of meeting under the patronage of some saint. These acted as societies of mutual aid, gave dowries to poor girls, caused masses to be celebrated for deceased members, joined in public religious processions, etc., nor could any craft be exercised except by members of such a guild. (*Romanin*, I. 390.)

§ A few years after Ser Marco's death (1328) we find the Great Council granting to this Peter the rights of a natural Venetian, as having been a long time at Venice, and well-conducted. (See App. C, *Calendar of Documents*, No. 13.) This might give some additional colour to M. Pauthier's supposition that this Peter the Tartar was a faithful servant who had accompanied Messer Marco from the East 30 years before. But yet the supposition is probably unfounded. Slavery and slave-trade were very prevalent at Venice in the Middle Ages, and V. Lazari, a writer who examined a great many records connected therewith, found that by far the greater number of slaves were described as *Tartars*. There does not seem to be any clear information as to how they were imported, but probably from the factories on the Black Sea, especially Tana after its establishment.

A tax of 5 ducats per head was set on the export of slaves in 1379, and as the revenue so received under the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-1423) amounted (so says Lazari) to 50,000 ducats, the startling conclusion is that 10,000 slaves yearly were exported! This it is difficult to accept. The slaves were chiefly employed in domestic service, and the records indicate the women to have been about twice as numerous as the men. The highest price recorded is 87 ducats paid for a Russian girl sold in 1429. All the higher prices are for young women; a significant circumstance. With the existence of this system we may safely connect the extraordinary frequency of mention of illegitimate children in Venetian wills and genealogies. (See Lazari, *Del Traffico degli Schiavi in Venezia*, etc., in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, I. 463 *seqq.*) In 1308 the Khan Toktai of Kipchak (see Polo, II. 496), hearing that the Genoese and other Franks were in the habit of carrying off Tartar children to sell,

"And the residue of the said 2000 *lire*, free of tithe, I direct to be distributed for the good of my soul, according to the discretion of my trustees.

"Out of my remaining property I bequeath to the aforesaid Donata, my Wife and Trustee, 8 *lire* of Venetian grossi annually during her life, for her own use, over and above her settlement, and the linen and all the household utensils,* with 3 beds garnished.

"And all my other property movable and immovable that has not been disposed of [here follow some lines of mere technicality] I specially and expressly bequeath to my aforesaid Daughters Fantina, Bellela, and Moreta, freely and absolutely, to be divided equally among them. And I constitute them my heirs as regards all and sundry my property movable and immovable, and as regards all rights and contingencies tacit and expressed, of whatsoever kind as hereinbefore detailed, that belong to me or may fall to me. Save and except that before division my said daughter Moreta shall receive the same as each of my other daughters hath received for dowry and outfit [here follow many lines of technicalities, ending]

"And if any one shall presume to infringe or violate this Will, may he incur the malediction of God Almighty, and abide bound under the anathema of the 318 Fathers; and farthermore he shall forfeit to my Trustees aforesaid five pounds of gold;† and so let this my Testament abide in force. The signature of the above named Messer Marco Paulo who gave instructions for this deed.

"‡ I Peter Grifon, Priest, Witness.

"* I Humfrey Barberi, Witness.

"† I John Giustiniani, Priest of S. Proculo, and Notary,
have completed and authenticated (this testament)."‡

sent a force against Caffa, which was occupied without resistance, the people taking refuge in their ships. The Khan also seized the Genoese property in Sarai. (*Heyd.* II. 27.)

* "*Stracium et omne capud massariciorum*"; in Scotch phrase "*napery and plenishing*." A Venetian statute of 1242 prescribes that a bequest of *massariticium* shall be held to carry to the legatee all articles of common family use except those of gold and silver plate or jeweller's work. (See *Ducange, sub voce.*) *Stracci* is still used technically in Venice for "household linen."

† In the original *aureas libras quinque*. According to Marino Sanudo the Younger (*Vite dei Dogi in Muratori*, xxii. 521) this should be pounds or *lire* of *aureole*, the name of a silver coin struck by and named after the Doge Aurio Mastropietro (1178-1192): "Ancora fu fatta una Moneta d'argento che si chiamava *Aureola* per la casata del Doge; è quella Moneta che i Notai de Venezia mettevano di pena sotto i loro instrumenti." But this was a vulgar error. An example of the penalty of 5 pounds of gold is quoted from a decree of 960; and the penalty is sometimes expressed "*auri purissimi librae 5*." A coin called the *lira d'oro* or *redonda* is alleged to have been in use before the ducat was introduced. (See *Gallicciolli*, II. 16.) But another authority seems to identify the *lira a oro* with the *lira dei grossi*. (See *Zanetti, Nuova Rac. delle Monete &c. d'Italia*, 1775. I. 308.)

‡ We give a photographic reduction of the original document. This, and the other two Polo Wills already quoted, had come into the possession of the Noble Filippo Balbi, and were by him presented in our own time to the St. Mark's Library. They are all on parchment, in writing of that age, and have been officially examined and declared to be originals. They were first published by

We do not know, as has been said, how long Marco survived the making of this will, but we know, from a scanty series of documents commencing in June of the following year (1325), that he had *then* been some time dead.*

48. He was buried, no doubt, according to his declared wish, in the Church of S. Lorenzo; and indeed Sansovino bears testimony to the fact in a confused notice of our Traveller.† But there does not seem to have been any monument to Marco, though the sarcophagus which had been erected to his father Nicolo, by his own filial care, existed till near the end of the 16th century in the porch or corridor leading to the old Church of S. Lorenzo, and bore the inscription: "SEPULTURA DOMINI NICOLAI PAULO DE CONTRATA S. IOANNIS GRISOSTEMI." The church was renewed from its foundations in 1592, and then, probably, the sarcophagus was cast aside and lost, and with it all certainty as to the position of the tomb.‡

Cicogna, Iscrizioni Veneziane, III. 489-493. We give Marco's in the original language, line for line with the facsimile, in *Appendix C.*

There is no signature, as may be seen, except those of the Witnesses and the Notary. The sole presence of a Notary was held to make a deed valid, and from about the middle of the 13th century in Italy it is common to find no actual signature (even of witnesses) except that of the Notary. The peculiar flourish before the Notary's name is what is called the *Tabellionato*, a fanciful distinctive monogram which each Notary adopted. Marco's Will is unfortunately written in a very cramped hand with many contractions. The other two Wills (of Marco the Elder and Maffeo) are in beautiful and clear Gothic penmanship.

* We have noticed formerly (pp. 14-15, *note*) the recent discovery of a document bearing what was supposed to be the autograph signature of our Traveller. The document in question is the Minute of a Resolution of the Great Council, attested by the signatures of three members, of whom the last is MARCUS PAULLO. But the date alone, 11th March, 1324, is sufficient to raise the gravest doubts as to this signature being that of our Marco. And further examination, as I learn from a friend at Venice, has shown that the same name occurs in connection with analogous entries on several subsequent occasions up to the middle of the century. I presume that this Marco Polo is the same that is noticed in our *Appendix B, II.* as a voter in the elections of the Doges Marino Faliero and Giovanni Gradenigo. I have not been able to ascertain his relation to either branch of the Polo family; but I suspect that he belonged to that of S. Geremia, of which there *was* certainly a Marco about the middle of the century.

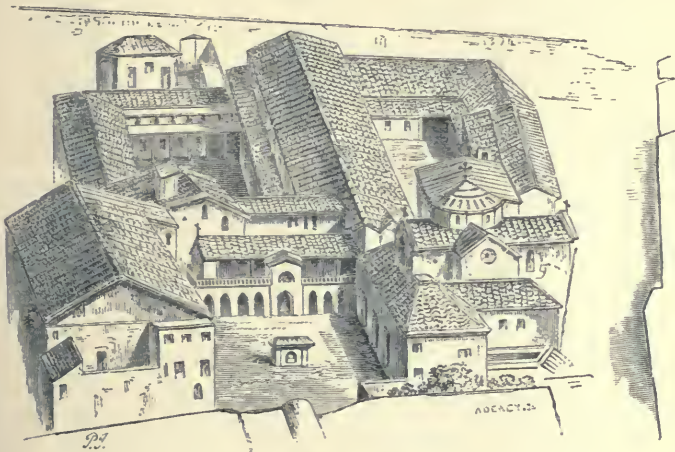
† "Under the *angiforta* (of S. Lorenzo) [see plate] is buried that Marco Polo surnamed Milione, who wrote the Travels in the New World, and who was the first before Christopher Columbus to discover new countries. No faith was put in him because of the extravagant things that he recounted; but in the days of our Fathers Columbus augmented belief in him, by discovering that part of the world which eminent men had heretofore judged to be uninhabited." (*Venezia . . . Descritta*, etc., f. 23 v.) Marco Barbaro attests the same inscription in his *Genealogies* (copy in Museo Civico at Venice).

‡ *Cicogna, II. 385.*



Pavement in front of San Lorenzo, Venice.

There is no portrait of Marco Polo in existence with any claim to authenticity. The quaint figure which we give in the *Bibliography*, vol. ii. p. 555, extracted from the earliest printed edition of his book, can certainly make no such pretension. The oldest one after this is probably a picture in the collection of Monsignor Badia at Rome, of which I am now able, by the owner's courtesy, to give a copy. It is set down in the catalogue to Titian, but is probably a work of 1600, or thereabouts, to which the aspect and costume belong. It is inscribed "*Marcus Polus Venetus Totius Orbis et Indie Peregrator Primus.*" Its history unfortunately cannot be traced, but I believe it came from a collection at



S. Lorenzo as it was in the 15th century.

Urbino. A marble statue was erected in his honour by a family at Venice in the 17th century, and is still to be seen in the Palazzo Morosini-Gattemburg in the Campo S. Stefano in that city. The medallion portrait on the wall of the *Sala dello Scudo* in the ducal palace, and which was engraved in Bettoni's "Collection of Portraits of Illustrious Italians," is a work of imagination painted by Francesco Grisellini in 1761.* From this, however, was taken the medal by Fabris, which was struck in 1847 in honour of the last meeting of the Italian Congresso Scientifico; and from the medal again is copied, I believe, the elegant woodcut which adorns the introduction to M. Pauthier's

* *Lazari*, xxxi.

edition, though without any information as to its history. A handsome bust, by Augusto Gamba, has lately been placed among the illustrious Venetians in the inner arcade of the Ducal Palace.* There is also a mosaic portrait of Polo, opposite the similar portrait of Columbus in the Municipio at Genoa.

49. From the short series of documents recently alluded to,† we gather all that we know of the remaining history of Marco

Polo's immediate family. We have seen in his will an indication that the two elder daughters, Fantina and Bellela, were married before his death. In 1333 we find the youngest, Moreta, also a married woman, and Bellela deceased. In 1336 we find that their mother Donata had died in the interval. We learn, too, that Fantina's husband was MARCO BRAGADINO, and Moreta's, RANUZZO DOLFINO.‡ The name of Bellela's husband does not appear.

Fantina's husband is probably the Marco Bragadino, son of Pietro, who in 1346 is mentioned to have been sent as Provveditore-Generale to act against the Patriarch of Aquileia.§ And in 1379 we find Donna Fantina herself, presumably in widowhood, assessed as a resident of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, on the *Estimo* or forced loan for the Genoese war, at 1300 *lire*, whilst Pietro Bragadino of the same parish—her son as I imagine—is assessed at 1500 *lire*.|| [See vol. ii., *Calendar*.]

The documents show a few other incidents which may be briefly noted. In 1326 we have the record of a charge against one Zanino Grioni for insulting Donna Moreta in the Campo of San Vitale; a misdemeanour punished by the Council of Forty with two months' imprisonment.

* In the first edition I noticed briefly a statement that had reached me from China that, in the Temple at Canton vulgarly called "of the 500 gods," there is a foreign figure which from the name attached had been supposed to represent Marco Polo! From what I have heard from Mr. Wylie, a very competent authority, this is nonsense. The temple contains 500 figures of *Arhans* or Buddhist saints, and one of these attracts attention from having a hat like a sailor's straw hat. Mr. Wylie had not remarked the name. [A model of this figure was exhibited at Venice at the international Geographical Congress, in 1881. I give a reproduction of this figure and of the Temple of 500 Genii (*Fa Lum Sze*) at Canton, from drawings by Félix Régamey made after photographs sent to me by my late friend, M. Camille Imbault Huart, French Consul at Canton.—H. C.]

† These documents are noted in Appendix C, Nos. 9-12, 14, 17, 18.

‡ I can find no *Ranuzzo* Dolfino among the Venetian genealogies, but several *Reniers*. And I suspect *Ranuzzo* may be a form of the latter name.

§ *Capellari* (see p. 77, ‡) under *Bragadino*. || *Ibid.* and *Gallicciolli*, II. 146.



Mosaic Portrait of Marco Polo at Genoa.

[To face p. 70.]

In March, 1328, Marco Polo, called Marcolino, of St. John Chrysostom (see p. 66), represents before the *Domini Advocatores* of the Republic that certain *imprestita* that had belonged to the late Maffeo Polo the Elder, had been alienated and transferred in May, 1318, by the late Marco Polo of St. John Chrysostom and since his death by his heirs, without regard to the rights of the said Marcolino, to whom the said Messer Maffeo had bequeathed 1000 *lire* by his will executed on 6th February, 1308 (*i.e.* 1309). The Advocatores find that the transfer was to that extent unjust and improper, and they order that to the same extent it should be revoked and annulled. Two months later the Lady Donata makes rather an unpleasant figure before the Council of Forty. It would seem that on the claim of Messer Bertuccio Quirino a mandate of sequestration had been issued by the Court of Requests affecting certain articles in the Ca' Polo; including two bags of money which had been tied and sealed, but left in custody of the Lady Donata. The sum so sealed was about 80 *lire* of grossi (300*l.* in silver value), but when opened only 45 *lire* and 22 *grossi* (about 170*l.*) were found therein, and the Lady was accused of abstracting the balance *non bono modo*. Probably she acted, as ladies sometimes do, on a strong sense of her own rights, and a weak sense of the claims of law. But the Council pronounced against her, ordering restitution, and a fine of 200 *lire* over and above "*ut ceteris transeat in exemplum.*"*

It will have been seen that there is nothing in the amounts mentioned in Marco's will to bear out the large reports as to his wealth, though at the same time there is no positive ground for a deduction to the contrary.†

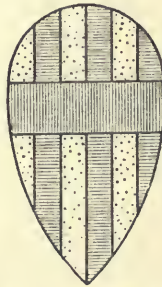
The mention in two of the documents of Agnes Loredano as the sister of the Lady Donata suggests that the latter may have belonged to the Loredano family, but as it does not appear whether Agnes was maid or wife this remains uncertain.‡

* The *lire* of the fine are not specified; but probably *ai grossi*, which would be = 37*l.* 10*s.*; not, we hope, *dei grossi*!

† Yet, if the family were so wealthy as tradition represents, it is strange that Marco's brother Maffeo, after receiving a share of his father's property, should have possessed barely 10,000 *lire*, probably equivalent to 5000 ducats at most. (See p. 65, *supra*.)

‡ An Agnes Loredano, Abbess of S. Maria delle Vergini, died in 1397. (*Cicogna*, V. 91 and 629.) The interval of 61 years makes it somewhat improbable that it should be the same.

Respecting the further history of the family there is nothing certain, nor can we give unhesitating faith to Ramusio's statement that the last male descendant of the Polos of S. Giovanni Grisostomo was Marco, who died Castellano of Verona in 1417 (according to others, 1418, or 1425),* and that the family property then passed to Maria (or *Anna*, as she is styled in a MS. statement furnished to me from Venice), who was married in 1401 to Benedetto Cornaro, and again in 1414 to Azzo Trevisan. Her descendant in the fourth generation by the latter was Marc Antonio Trevisano,† who was chosen Doge in 1553.



Arms of the Trevisan family.

The genealogy recorded by Marco Barbaro, as drawn up from documents by Ramusio, makes the Castellano of Verona a grandson of our Marco by a son Maffeo, whom we may safely pronounce not to have existed, and makes Maria the daughter of Maffeo, Marco's brother—that is to say, makes a lady marry in 1414 and have children, whose father was born in 1271 at the very latest! The genealogy is given in several other ways, but as I have satisfied myself that they all (except perhaps this of Barbaro's, which we see to be otherwise erroneous) confound together the two distinct families of Polo of S. Geremia and Polo of S. Giov. Grisostomo, I reserve my faith, and abstain from presenting them. Assuming that the Marco or Marcolino Polo, spoken of in the preceding page, was a near relation (as is

* In the *Museo Civico* (No. 2271 of the Cicogna collection) there is a commission addressed by the Doge Michiel Steno in 1408, "*Nobili Viro Marcho Paulo*," nominating him Podestà of Arostica (a Castello of the Vicentino). This is probably the same Marco.

† The descent runs: (1) Azzo = Maria Polo; (2) Febo, Captain at Padua; (3) Zaccaria, Senator; (4) Domenico, Procurator of St. Mark's; (5) Marc' Antonio, Doge (*Cappellari, Campidoglio Veneto*, MS. St. Mark's Lib.).

Marc' Antonio *nolebat ducari* and after election desired to renounce. His friends persuaded him to retain office, but he lived scarcely a year after. (*Cicogna*, IV. 566.) [See p. 8.]



The Pseudo Marco Polo at Canton.

(To face p. 78.)

probable, though perhaps an illegitimate one), he is the only male descendant of old Andrea of San Felice whom we can indicate as having survived Marco himself; and from a study of the links in the professed genealogies I think it not unlikely that both Marco the Castellano of Verona and Maria Trevisan belonged to the branch of S. Geremia.* [See vol. ii., *App. C*, p. 510.]

[49. *bis*.—It is interesting to note some of the *reliques* left by our traveller.

1. The unfortunate Doge of Venice, Marino Faliero, seems to have possessed many souvenirs of Marco Polo, and among them two manuscripts, one in the handwriting of his celebrated fellow-citizen(?), and one adorned with miniatures. M. Julius von Schlosser has reprinted (*Die ältesten Medaillen und die Antike*, Bd. XVIII., *Jahrb. d. Kunsthist. Samml. d. Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1897, pp. 42-43) from the *Bulletino di arti, industrie e curiosità veneziane*, III., 1880-81, p. 101,† the inventory of the curiosities kept in the "Red Chamber" of Marino Faliero's palace in the Parish of the SS. Apostles; we give the following abstract of it:—

Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi 1351^o indictione sexta

* In Appendix B will be found tabulated all the facts that seem to be positively ascertained as to the Polo genealogies.

In the Venetian archives occurs a procuration executed by the Doge in favour of the *Nobilis Vir* SER MARCO PAULO that he may present himself before the king of Sicily; under date, Venice 9th November, 1342. And some years later we have in the Sicilian Archives an order by King Lewis of Sicily, directed to the Maestri Procuratori of Messina, which grants to MARCO POLO of Venice, on account of services rendered to the king's court, the privilege of free import and export at the port of Messina, without payment of customs of goods to the amount annually of 20 ounces. Dated in Catania 13th January, 1346 (1347?).

For the former notice I am indebted to the courtesy of Signor B. Cecchetti of the Venetian Archives, who cites it as "transcribed in the *Commemor.* IV. p. 5"; for the latter to that of the Abate Carini of the *Reale Archivio* at Palermo; it is in *Archivio della Regia Cancelleria* 1343-1357, f. 58.

The mission of this MARCO POLO is mentioned also in a rescript of the Sicilian king Peter II., dated Messina, 14th November, 1340, in reference to certain claims of Venice, about which the said Marco appeared as the Doge's ambassador. This is printed in F. TESTA, *De Vita et Rebus Gestis Federici II., Sicilie Regis*, Panormi, 1775, pp. 267 *seqq.* The Sicilian Antiquary Rosario Gregorio identifies the Envoy with our Marco, dead long before. (See *Opere scelte del Canon Ros. Gregorio*, Palermo, 1845, 3a ediz., p. 352.)

It is possible that this Marco, who from the latter notice seems to have been engaged in mercantile affairs, may have been the Marcolino above mentioned, but it is perhaps on the whole more probable that this *nobilis vir* is the Marco spoken of in the note at p. 74.

† *La Collezione del Doge Marin Faliero e i Tesori di Marco Polo*, pp. 98-103. I have seen this article.—H. C.

mensis aprilis. Inuentarium rerum qui sunt in camera rubea domi habitationis clarissimi domini MARINI FALETRO de confinio SS. Apostolorum, scriptum per me Johannem, presbiterum, dicte ecclesie.

Item alia capsaleta cum ogiis auri et argenti, inter quos unum anulum con inscriptione que dicit: *Ciuble Can Marco Polo*, et unum torques cum multis animalibus Tartarorum sculptis, que res donum dedit predictus MARCUS cuidam Faletrorum.

Item 2 capsalete de corio albo cum variis rebus auri et argenti, quas habuit praedictus MARCUS a Barbarorum rege.

Item 1 ensem mirabilem, qui habet 3 enses simul, quem habuit in suis itineribus praedictus MARCUS.

Item 1 tenturam de pannis indicis, quam habuit praedictus MARCUS.

Item de itineribus MARCI praedicti liber in corio albo cum multis figuris.

Item aliud volumen quod vocatur *de locis mirabilibus Tartarorum*, scriptum manu praedicti MARCI.

II. There is kept at the Louvre, in the very valuable collection of China Ware given by M. Ernest Grandidier, a white porcelain incense-burner said to come from Marco Polo. This incense-burner, which belonged to Baron Davillier, who received it, as a present, from one of the keepers of the Treasury of St. Mark's at Venice, is an octagonal *ting* from the Fo-kien province, and of the time of the Sung Dynasty. By the kind permission of M. P. Grandidier, we reproduce it from Pl. II. 6, of the *Céramique chinoise*, Paris, 1894, published by this learned amateur.—H. C.]

IX. MARCO POLO'S BOOK; AND THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH IT WAS FIRST WRITTEN.

50. The Book itself consists essentially of Two Parts. *First*, of a Prologue, as it is termed, the only part which is actual personal narrative, and which relates, in a very interesting but far too brief manner, the circumstances which led the two elder Polos to the Kaan's Court, and those of their second journey with Mark, and of their return to Persia through the Indian Seas. *Secondly*, of a long series of chapters of very unequal length, descriptive of notable sights and products, of curious manners and remarkable events, relating to the different nations and states of Asia, but, above all, to the

General statement of what the Book contains.



Porcelain Incense-Burner, from the Louvre.

[To face p. 80.]

Emperor Kúblái, his court, wars, and administration. A series of chapters near the close treats in a verbose and monotonous manner of sundry wars that took place between the various branches of the House of Chinghiz in the latter half of the 13th century. This last series is either omitted or greatly curtailed in all the copies and versions except one; a circumstance perfectly accounted for by the absence of interest as well as value in the bulk of these chapters. Indeed, desirous though I have been to give the Traveller's work complete, and sharing the dislike that every man who *uses* books must bear to abridgments, I have felt that it would be sheer waste and dead-weight to print these chapters in full.

This second and main portion of the Work is in its oldest forms undivided, the chapters running on consecutively to the end.* In some very early Italian or Venetian version, which Friar Pipino translated into Latin, it was divided into three Books, and this convenient division has generally been adhered to. We have adopted M. Pauthier's suggestion in making the final series of chapters, chiefly historical, into a Fourth.

51. As regards the language in which Marco's Book was first committed to writing, we have seen that Ramusio assumed, somewhat arbitrarily, that it was *Latin*; Marsden supposed it to have been the *Venetian* dialect; Baldelli Boni first showed, in his elaborate edition (Florence, 1827), by arguments that have been illustrated and corroborated by learned men since, that it was *French*.

That the work was originally written in *some* Italian dialect was a natural presumption, and slight contemporary evidence can be alleged in its favour; for Fra Pipino, in the Latin version of the work, executed whilst Marco still lived, describes his task as a translation *de vulgari*. And in one MS. copy of the same Friar Pipino's Chronicle, existing in the library at Modena, he refers to the said version as made "*ex vulgari idiomate Lombardico*." But though it may seem improbable that at so early a date a Latin version should have been made at second hand, I believe this to have been the case, and that some internal evidence also is traceable that Pipino translated *not* from the original but from an Italian *version* of the original.

* 232 chapters in the oldest French which we quote as the *Geographic Text* (or G. T.), 200 in Pauthier's Text, 183 in the Crusca Italian.

The oldest MS. (it is supposed) in any Italian dialect is one in the Magliabéccian Library at Florence, which is known in Italy as *L'Ottima*, on account of the purity of its Tuscan, and as *Della Crusca* from its being one of the authorities cited by that body in their Vocabulary.* It bears on its face the following note in Italian:—

“This Book called the Navigation of Messer Marco Polo, a noble Citizen of Venice, was written in Florence by Michael Ormanni my great grandfather by the Mother's side, who died in the Year of Grace One Thousand Three Hundred and Nine; and my mother brought it into our Family of Del Riccio, and it belongs to me Pier del Riccio and to my Brother; 1452.”

As far as I can learn, the age which this note implies is considered to be supported by the character of the MS. itself.† If it be accepted, the latter is a performance going back to within eleven years *at most* of the first dictation of the Travels. At first sight, therefore, this would rather argue that the original had been written in pure Tuscan. But when Baldelli came to prepare it for the press he found manifest indications of its being a Translation from the *French*. Some of these he has noted; others have followed up the same line of comparison. We give some detailed examples in a note.‡

* The MS. has been printed by Baldelli as above, and again by Bartoli in 1863.

† This is somewhat peculiar. I traced a few lines of it, which with Del Riccio's note were given in facsimile in the First Edition.

‡ The *Crusca* is cited from Bartoli's edition.

French idioms are frequent, as *l'uomo* for the French *on*; *quattro-vinti* instead of *ottanta*; etc.

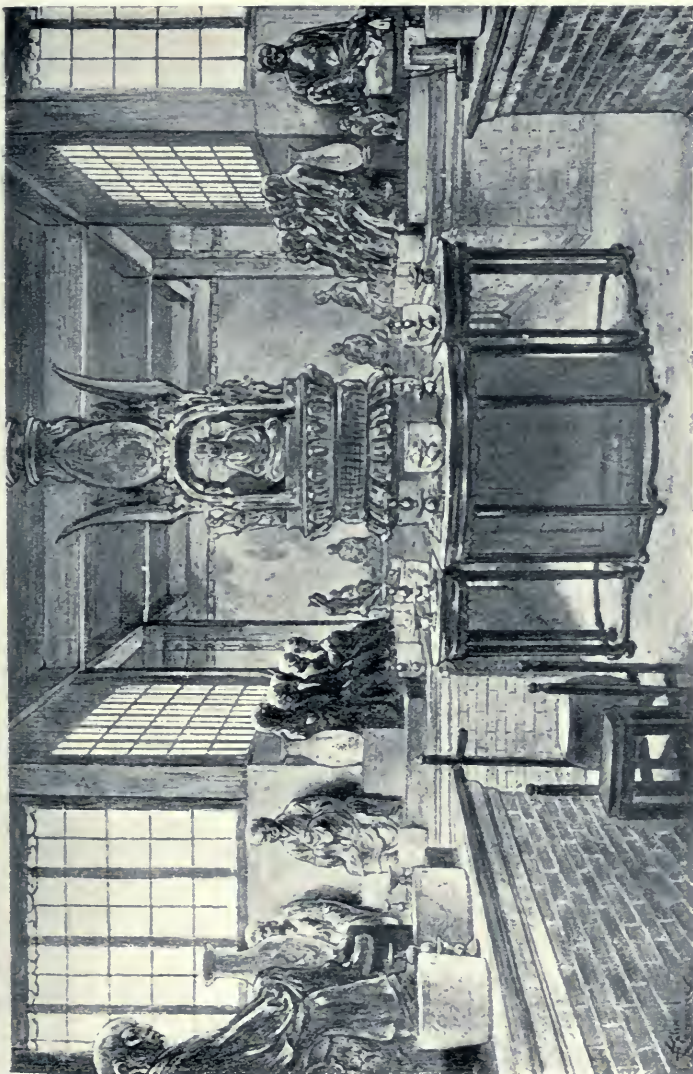
We have at p. 35, “*Questo piano è molto cavo*,” which is nonsense, but is explained by reference to the French (G. T.) “*Voz di qu' il est celle plainne mout chae*” (*chaude*).

The bread in Kerman is bitter, says the G. T. “*per ce que l'eive hi est amer*,” because the water there is bitter. The *Crusca* mistakes the last word and renders (p. 40) “*e questi è per lo mare che vi viene*.”

“*Sachis de voir qe endementiers*,” know for a truth that whilst—, by some misunderstanding of the last word becomes (p. 129) “*Sappiate di vero senza mentire*.”

“*Mès de sel font-il monoie*”—“They make money of salt,” becomes (p. 168) “*ma fannole da loro*,” *sel* being taken for a pronoun, whilst in another place *sel* is transferred bodily without translation.

“*Chevoil*,” “hair” of the old French, appears in the Tuscan (p. 20) as *cavagli*, “horses.”—“*La Grant Provence Jereraus*,” the great general province, appears (p. 68) as a province whose proper name is *Ienaraus*. In describing Kúblái's expedition against Mien or Burma, Polo has a story of his calling on the Jugglers at his court to undertake the job, promising them a Captain and other help, “*Cheveitain*



[To face p. 52.]

Temple of 500 Genii, at Canton, after a Drawing by FELIX RÉGAMÉY.

52. The French Text that we have been quoting, published by the Geographical Society of Paris in 1824, affords on the other hand the strongest corresponding proof that it is an original and not a Translation. Rude as is the language of the manuscript (Fr. 1116, formerly No. 7367, of Paris Library), it is, in the correctness of the proper names, and the intelligible exhibition of the itineraries, much superior to any form of the Work previously published.

Old French
Text published by
the Société
de Géographie.

The language is very peculiar. We are obliged to call it French, but it is not "Frenche of Paris." "Its style," says Paulin Paris, "is about as like that of good French authors of the age, as in our day the natural accent of a German, an Englishman, or an Italian, is like that of a citizen of Paris or Blois." The author is at war with all the practices of French grammar; subject and object, numbers, moods, and tenses, are in consummate confusion. Even readers of his own day must at times have been fain to guess his meaning. Italian words are constantly introduced, either quite in the crude or rudely Gallicized.* And words

et aide." This has fairly puzzled the Tuscan, who converts these (p. 186) into two Tartar tribes, "*quegli d' Aide e quegli di Caveità.*"

So also we have *lievre* for hare transferred without change; *lait*, milk, appearing as *laido* instead of *latte*; *très*, rendered as "three"; *bue*, "mud," Italianised as *buoi*, "oxen," and so forth. Finally, in various places when Polo is explaining Oriental terms we find in the Tuscan MS. "*ciòè a dire in Francesco.*"

The blunders mentioned are intelligible enough as in a version *from the French*; but in the description of the Indian pearl-fishery we have a startling one not so easy to account for. The French says, "the divers gather the sea-oysters (*hostrige de Mer*), and in these the pearls are found." This appears in the Tuscan in the extraordinary form that the divers catch those fishes called *Herrings* (*Aringhe*), and in those *Herrings* are found the Pearls!

* As examples of these Italianisms: "*Et ont del olio de la lanpe dou sepolchro de Crist*"; "*L' Angel ven en vision pour mesajes de Deu à un Veschevo qe mout estoient home de sante vite*"; "*E certes il estoit bien beizongno*"; "*ne trop caut ne trop fredo*"; "*la creuse*" (*credenza*); "*remort*" for noise (*rumore*); "*inverno*"; "*jorno*"; "*dementiqué*" (*dimenticato*); "*enferme*" for sickly; "*leign*" (*legno*); "*devisce*" (*dovizia*); "*ammalaide*" (*ammalato*), etc. etc.

Professor Bianconi points out that there are also traces of Venetian dialect, as *Pere* for *père*; *Mojer* for wife; *Zabater*, cobbler; *casoor*, huntsman, etc.

I have not been able to learn to what extent books in this kind of mixed language are extant. I have observed one, a romance in verse called *Macaire* (*Altfranzösische Gedichte aus Venez. Handschriften*, von Adolf Mussafia, Wien, 1864), the language of which is not unlike this jargon of Rustician's, e.g. :—

"Dama, fait-il, 'molto me poso merviler
De ves enfant quant le fi batecer
De un signo qe le vi sor la spal'a droitrer
Qe non ait nul se no filz d'inperer.'"—(p. 41)

also, we may add, sometimes slip in which appear to be purely Oriental, just as is apt to happen with Anglo-Indians in these days.* All this is perfectly consistent with the supposition that we have in this MS. a copy at least of the original words as written down by Rusticiano a Tuscan, from the dictation of Marco an Orientalized Venetian, in French, a language foreign to both.

But the character of the language *as French* is not its only peculiarity. There is in the style, apart from grammar or vocabulary, a rude angularity, a rough dramatism like that of oral narrative; there is a want of proportion in the style of different parts, now over curt, now diffuse and wordy, with at times even a hammering reiteration; a constant recurrence of pet colloquial phrases (in which, however, other literary works of the age partake); a frequent change in the spelling of the same proper names, even when recurring within a few lines, as if caught by ear only; a literal following to and fro of the hesitations of the narrator; a more general use of the third person in speaking of the Traveller, but an occasional lapse into the first. All these characteristics are strikingly indicative of the unrevised product of dictation, and many of them would *necessarily* disappear either in translation or in a revised copy.

Of changes in representing the same proper name, take as an example that of the Kaan of Persia whom Polo calls *Quiacatu* (Kaikhátú), but also *Acatu*, *Catu*, and the like.

As an example of the literal following of dictation take the following:—

“Let us leave Rosia, and I will tell you about the Great Sea (the Euxine), and what provinces and nations lie round about it, all in detail; and we will begin with Constantinople—First, however, I should tell you about a province, etc. . . . There is nothing more worth mentioning, so I will speak of other subjects,—but there is one thing more to tell you about Rosia that I had forgotten. . . . Now then let us speak of the Great Sea as I was about to do. To be sure many merchants and others have

* As examples of such Orientalisms: *Bonus*, “ebony,” and *calamanz*, “pencases,” seem to represent the Persian *abuús* and *kalamdàn*; the dead are mourned by *les mères et les Araines*, the *Harems*; in speaking of the land of the Ismaelites or Assassins, called *Mulhete*, *i.e.* the Arabic *Muláhidah*, “Heretics,” he explains this term as meaning “des *Aram*” (*Harám*, “the reprobate”). Speaking of the Viceroy of Chinese Provinces, we are told that they rendered their accounts yearly to the *Safators* of the Great Kaan. This is certainly an Oriental word. Sir H. Rawlinson has suggested that it stands for *dafítir* (“registers or public books”), pl. of *dafstar*. This seems probable, and in that case the true reading may have been *dafators*.

been here, but still there are many again who know nothing about it, so it will be well to include it in our Book. We will do so then, and let us begin first with the Strait of Constantinople.

“At the Straits leading into the Great Sea, on the West Side, there is a hill called the Faro.—But since beginning on this matter I have changed my mind, because so many people know all about it, so we will not put it in our description but go on to something else.” (See vol. ii. p. 487 *seqq.*)

And so on.

As a specimen of tautology and hammering reiteration the following can scarcely be surpassed. The Traveller is speaking of the *Chughi*, *i.e.* the Indian Jogis:—

“And there are among them certain devotees, called *Chughi*; these are longer-lived than the other people, for they live from 150 to 200 years; and yet they are so hale of body that they can go and come wheresoever they please, and do all the service needed for their monastery or their idols, and do it just as well as if they were younger; and that comes of the great abstinence that they practise, in eating little food and only what is wholesome; for they use to eat rice and milk more than anything else. And again I tell you that these *Chughi* who live such a long time as I have told you, do also eat what I am going to tell you, and you will think it a great matter. For I tell you that they take quicksilver and sulphur, and mix them together, and make a drink of them, and then they drink this, and they say that it adds to their life; and in fact they do live much longer for it; and I tell you that they do this twice every month. And let me tell you that these people use this drink from their infancy in order to live longer, and without fail those who live so long as I have told you use this drink of sulphur and quicksilver.” (See G. T. p. 213.)

Such talk as this does not survive the solvent of translation; and we may be certain that we have here the nearest approach to the Traveller's reminiscences as they were taken down from his lips in the prison of Genoa.

53. Another circumstance, heretofore I believe unnoticed, is in itself enough to demonstrate the Geographic Text to be the source of all other versions of the Work. It is this.

In reviewing the various classes or types of texts of Polo's Book, which we shall hereafter attempt to discriminate, there are certain proper names which we find in the different texts to take very different forms, each class adhering in the main to one particular form.

Thus the names of the Mongol ladies introduced at pp. 32 and 36 of this volume, which are in proper Oriental form *Bulughán* and *Kukáchin*, appear in the class of MSS. which Pauthier has followed as *Bolgara* and *Cogatra*; in the MSS. of Pipino's

Conclusive proof that the Old French Text is the source of all the others.

version, and those founded on it, including Ramusio, the names appear in the correcter forms *Bolgana* or *Balgana* and *Cogacin*. Now *all the forms* *Bolgana*, *Balgana*, *Bolgara*, and *Cogatra*, *Cocacin* appear in the *Geographic Text*.

Kaikhátú Kaan appears in the Pauthier MSS. as *Chiato*, in the Pipinian as *Acatu*, in the Ramusian as *Chiacato*. *All three forms*, *Chiato*, *Achatu*, and *Quiacatu* are found in the *Geographic Text*.

The city of Koh-banan appears in the Pauthier MSS. as *Cabanant*, in the Pipinian and Ramusian editions as *Cobinam* or *Cobinan*. *Both forms* are found in the *Geographic Text*.

The city of the Great Kaan (Khanbalig) is called in the Pauthier MSS. *Cambaluc*, in the Pipinian and Ramusian less correctly *Cambalu*. *Both forms* appear in the *Geographic Text*.

The aboriginal People on the Burmese Frontier who received from the Western officers of the Mongols the Persian name (translated from that applied by the Chinese) of *Zardandán*, or Gold-Teeth, appear in the Pauthier MSS. most accurately as *Zardandan*, but in the Pipinian as *Ardandan* (still further corrupted in some copies into *Arcladam*). Now *both forms* are found in the *Geographic Text*. Other examples might be given, but these I think may suffice to prove that this Text was the common source of both classes.

In considering the question of the French original too we must remember what has been already said regarding Rusticien de Pise and his other French writings; and we shall find hereafter an express testimony borne in the next generation that Marco's Book was composed *in vulgari Gallico*.

54. But, after all, the circumstantial evidence that has been adduced from the texts themselves is the most conclusive. We

have then every reason to believe both that the work was written in French, and that an existing French Text is a close representation of it as originally committed to paper. And that being so we may cite some circumstances to show that the use of French or quasi-French for the purpose was not a fact of a very unusual or surprising nature. The French language had at that time almost as wide, perhaps relatively a wider, diffusion than it has now. It was still spoken at the Court of England, and still used by many English writers, of whom the authors or translators of the Round Table

Greatly
diffused em-
ployment of
French in
that age.

Romances at Henry III.'s Court are examples.* In 1249 Alexander III. King of Scotland, at his coronation spoke in Latin and French; and in 1291 the English Chancellor addressing the Scotch Parliament did so in French. At certain of the Oxford Colleges as late as 1328 it was an order that the students should converse *colloquio latino vel saltem gallico*.† Late in the same century Gower had not ceased to use French, composing many poems in it, though apologizing for his want of skill therein:—

“Et si jeo nai de Francois la faconde

* * * *

Jeo suis Englois ; si quier par tiele voie
Estre excusé.”‡

Indeed down to nearly 1385, boys in the English grammar-schools were taught to construe their Latin lessons into French.§ St. Francis of Assisi is said by some of his biographers to have had his original name changed to Francesco because of his early mastery of that language as a qualification for commerce. French had been the prevalent tongue of the Crusaders, and was that of the numerous Frank Courts which they established in the East, including Jerusalem and the states of the Syrian coast, Cyprus, Constantinople during the reign of the Courtenays, and the principalities of the Morea. The Catalan soldier and chronicler Ramon de Muntaner tells us that it was commonly said of the Morean chivalry that they spoke as good French as at Paris.|| Quasi-French at least was still spoken half a century later by the numerous Christians settled at Aleppo, as John Marignolli testifies;¶ and if we may trust Sir John Maundevile the Soldan of Egypt himself and four of his chief Lords “*spak Frensche righte wel!*”** Gházán Kaan, the accomplished Mongol Sovereign of Persia, to whom our Traveller conveyed a

* Luces du Gast, one of the first of these, introduces himself thus:—“Je Luces, Chevaliers et Sires du Chastel du Gast, voisins prochain de Salebieres, comme chevaliers amoureux enpres à translater du Latin en François une partie de cette estoire, non mie pour ce que je sache gramment de François, ainz apartient plus ma langue et ma parleure à la manière de l'Engleterre que à celle de France, comme cel qui fu en Engleterre nez, mais tele est ma volentez et mon proposement, que je en langue française le translaterai.” (*Hist. Litt. de La France*, xv. 494.)

† *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xv. 500.

‡ *Ibid.* 508.

§ *Tyrwhitt's Essay on Lang., etc., of Chaucer*, p. xxii. (Moxon's Ed. 1852.)

|| *Chroniques Etrangères*, p. 502.

¶ “*Loquuntur linguam quasi Gallicam, scilicet quasi de Cipro.*” (See *Cathay*, p. 332.)

** Page 138.

bride from Cambaluc, is said by the historian Rashiduddin to have known something of the Frank tongue, probably French.* Nay, if we may trust the author of the Romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, French was in his day the language of still higher spheres!†

Nor was Polo's case an exceptional one even among writers on the East who were not Frenchmen. Maundevile himself tells us that he put his book first "out of Latyn into Frensche," and then out of French into English.‡ The History of the East which the Armenian Prince and Monk Hayton dictated to Nicolas Faulcon at Poitiers in 1307 was taken down in French. There are many other instances of the employment of French by foreign, and especially by Italian authors of that age. The Latin chronicle of the Benedictine Amato of Monte Cassino was translated into French early in the 13th century by another monk of the same abbey, at the particular desire of the Count of Militrée (or Malta), "*Pour ce qu'il set lire et entendre fransoize et s'en delitte.*"§ Martino da Canale, a countryman and contemporary of Polo's, during the absence of the latter in the East wrote a Chronicle of Venice in the same language, as a reason for which he alleges its general popularity.|| The like does the most notable example of all, Brunetto Latini, Dante's master, who wrote in French his encyclopædic and once highly popular work *Li Tresor*.¶ Other examples might be given, but in fact

* *Hammer's Ilchan*, II. 148.

† After the capture of Acre, Richard orders 60,000 Saracen prisoners to be executed:—

"They wer brought out off the toun,
Save twenty, he beeld to raunsoun.
They wer led into the place ful evene:
Ther they herden Aungles off Hevene:

*They sayde: 'SEVNYORS, TUEZ, TUEZ!
'Spare hem nought! Behedith these!
Kyng Rychard herde the Aungelys voys,
And thankyd God, and the Holy Croys.'*
—Weber, II. 144.

Note that, from the rhyme, the Angelic French was apparently pronounced "*Too-eees! Too-eees!*"

‡ [Refer to the edition of Mr. George F. Warner, 1889, for the Roxburghe Club, and to my own paper in the *T'oung Pao*, Vol. II., No. 4, regarding the compilation published under the name of Maundeville. Also *App. L.* 13—H. C.]

§ *L'Ystoire de li Normand*, etc., edited by M. Champollion-Figeac, Paris, 1835, p. v.

|| "*Porce que lengue Franceise cort parmi le monde, et est la plus delitable à lire et à oir que nule autre, me sui-je entremis de translater l'ancien estoire des Veneciens de Latin en Franceis.*" (Archiv. Stor. Ital. viii. 268.)

¶ "*Et se aucuns demandoit por quoi cist livres est escriv en Romans, selonc le langage des Francois, puisque nos somes Ytaliens, je diroie que ce est por. ij. raisons: l'une, car nos somes en France; et l'autre porce que la parleure est plus delitable et plus commune à toutes gens.*" (Li Livres dou Tresor, p. 3.)

such illustration is superfluous when we consider that Rusticiano himself was a compiler of French Romances.

But why the language of the Book as we see it in the Geographic Text should be so much more rude, inaccurate, and Italianized than that of Rusticiano's other writings, is a question to which I can suggest no reply quite satisfactory to myself. Is it possible that we have in it a literal representation of Polo's own language in dictating the story,—a rough draft which it was intended afterwards to reduce to better form, and which was so reduced (after a fashion) in French copies of another type, regarding which we shall have to speak presently? * And, if this be the true answer, why should Polo have used a French jargon in which to tell his story? Is it possible that his own mother Venetian, such as he had carried to the East with him and brought back again, was so little intelligible to Rusticiano that French of some kind was the handiest medium of communication between the two? I have known an Englishman and a Hollander driven to converse in Malay; Chinese Christians of different provinces are said sometimes to take to English as the readiest means of intercommunication; and the same is said even of Irish-speaking Irishmen from remote parts of the Island.

It is worthy of remark how many notable narratives of the Middle Ages have been dictated instead of being written by their authors, and that in cases where it is impossible to ascribe this to ignorance of writing. The Armenian Hayton, though evidently a well-read man, possibly could not write in Roman characters. But Joinville is an illustrious example. And the narratives of four of the most famous Mediæval Travellers † seem to have been drawn from them by a kind of pressure, and committed to paper by other hands. I have elsewhere remarked this as indicating how little diffused was literary ambition or vanity; but it would perhaps be more correct to ascribe it to that intense dislike which is still seen on the shores of the Mediter-

* It is, however, not improbable that Rusticiano's hasty and abbreviated original was extended by a scribe who knew next to nothing of French; otherwise it is hard to account for such forms as *perlinage* (pelerinage), *peseries* (epiceries), *proque* (see vol. ii. p. 370), *oisi* (G. T. p. 208), *thochere* (toucher), etc. (See *Bianconi*, 2nd Mem. pp. 30-32.)

† Polo, Friar Odoric, Nicolo Conti, Ibn Batuta.

ranean to the use of pen and ink. On certain of those shores at least there is scarcely any inconvenience that the majority of respectable and good-natured people will not tolerate—inconvenience to their neighbours be it understood—rather than put pen to paper for the purpose of preventing it.

X. VARIOUS TYPES OF TEXT OF MARCO POLO'S BOOK.

55. In treating of the various Texts of Polo's Book we must necessarily go into some irksome detail.

Four Principal Types of Text. First, that of the Geographic, or oldest French.

Those Texts that have come down to us may be classified under Four principal Types.

I. The First Type is that of the Geographic Text of which we have already said so much. This is found nowhere *complete* except in the unique MS. of the Paris Library, to which it is stated to have come from the old Library of the French Kings at Blois. But the Italian *Crusca*, and the old Latin version (No. 3195 of the Paris Library) published with the Geographic Text, are evidently derived entirely from it, though both are considerably abridged. It is also demonstrable that neither of these copies has been translated from the other, for each has passages which the other omits, but that both have been taken, the one as a copy more or less loose, the other as a translation, from an intermediate *Italian* copy.* A special

* In the following citations, the Geographic Text (G. T.) is quoted by page from the printed edition (1824); the Latin published in the same volume (G. L.) also by page; the *Crusca*, as before, from Bartoli's edition of 1863. References in parentheses are to the present translation:—

A. *Passages showing the G. L. to be a translation from the Italian, and derived from the same Italian text as the Crusca.*

	Page		
(1). G.T.	17	(I. 43).	Il hi se laborent <i>le souran tapis</i> dou monde.
Crusca,	17	..	E quivi si fanno <i>i sovrani tappeti</i> del mondo.
G.L.	311	..	Et ibi fiunt <i>soriani et tapeti</i> pulciores de mundo.
(2). G.T.	23	(I. 69).	Et adonc le calif mande par tuit les cristiez . . . <i>que en sa tere estoient.</i>
Crusca,	27	..	<i>Ora mandò</i> lo aliffo per tutti gli Cristiani <i>ch' erano di là.</i>
G.L.	316	..	<i>Or misit</i> califus pro Christianis <i>qui erant ultra fluvium</i> (the last words being clearly a misunderstanding of the Italian <i>di là</i>).

difference lies in the fact that the Latin version is divided into three Books, whilst the Crusca has no such division. I shall show in a tabular form the *filiation* of the texts which these facts seem to demonstrate (see Appendix G).

There are other Italian MSS. of this type, some of which show signs of having been derived independently from the French;* but I have not been able to examine any of them with the care needful to make specific deductions regarding them.

	Page		
(3).	G.T. 198	(II. 313).	Ont <i>sosimain</i> (sesamum) de coi il font le olio.
	Crusca, 253	..	Hanno <i>sosimai</i> onde fanno l' olio.
	G.L. 448	..	Habent <i>turpes manus</i> (taking <i>sosimani</i> for <i>sozze mani</i> "Dirty hands"!).
(4).	Crusca, 52	(I. 158).	<i>Cacciare e ucellare</i> v' è lo migliore del mondo.
	G.L. 332	..	Et est ibi optimum <i>cacciare et ucellare</i> .
(5).	G.T. 124	(II. 36).	Adonc treuve une Provence <i>qe est encore</i> de le confin dou Mangi.
	Crusca, 162-3	..	L' uomo truova una Provincia <i>ch' è chiamata ancora</i> delle confine de' Mangi.
	G.L. 396	..	Invenit unam Provinciam <i>quae vocatur Anchota</i> de confinibus Mangi.
(6).	G.T. 146	(II. 119.)	Les dames portent as jambes et es braces, braciaus d'or et d'arjent de grandisme vailance.
	Crusca, 189	..	Le donne <i>portano alle braccia e alle gambe bracciali d'oro</i> e d'ariento di gran valuta.
	G.L. 411	..	Domine eorum <i>portant ad brachia et ad gambas brazalia de auro</i> et de argento magni valoris.

B. *Passages showing additionally the errors, or other peculiarities of a translation from a French original, common to the Italian and the Latin.*

(7).	G.T. 32	(I. 97.)	Est celle plainne mout <i>chaue</i> (chaude).
	Crusca, 35	..	Questo piano è molto <i>cavo</i> .
	G.L. 322	..	Ista planities est inultum <i>cava</i> .
(8).	G.T. 36	(I. 110).	Avent por ce que l'eive hi est <i>amer</i> .
	Crusca, 40	..	E questo è <i>per lo mare</i> che vi viene.
	G.L. 324	..	Istud est <i>propter mare</i> quod est ibi.
(9).	G.T. 18	(I. 50).	Un roi qi est apelés par tout tens Davit Melic, que veut à dir <i>en fransois</i> Davit Roi.
	Crusca, 20	..	Uno re il quale si chiama <i>sempre</i> David Melic, ciò è a dire <i>in francesco</i> David Re.
	G.L. 312	..	Rex qui <i>semper</i> vocatur David Mellic, quod sonat <i>in gallico</i> David Rex.

These passages, and many more that might be quoted, seem to me to demonstrate (1) that the Latin and the Crusca have had a common original, and (2) that this original was an Italian version from the French.

* Thus the *Pucci* MS. at Florence, in the passage regarding the Golden King (vol. ii. p. 17) which begins in G. T. "*Lequel fist faire jadis un rois qe fu apellés le Roi Dor,*" renders "*Lo quale fa fare Jaddis uno re,*" a mistake which is not in the Crusca nor in the Latin, and seems to imply derivation from the French directly, or by some other channel (*Baldelli Boni*).

56. II. The next Type is that of the French MSS. on which M. Pauthier's Text is based, and for which he claims the highest authority, as having had the mature revision and sanction of the Traveller. There are, as far as I know, five MSS. which may be classed together under this type, three in the Great Paris Library, one at Bern, and one in the Bodleian.

The high claims made by Pauthier on behalf of this class of MSS. (on the first three of which his Text is formed) rest mainly upon the kind of certificate which two of them bear regarding the presentation of a copy by Marco Polo to Thibault de Cepoy, which we have already quoted (*supra*, p. 69). This certificate is held by Pauthier to imply that the original of the copies which bear it, and of those having a general correspondence with them, had the special seal of Marco's revision and approval. To some considerable extent their character is corroborative of such a claim, but they are far from having the perfection which Pauthier attributes to them, and which leads him into many paradoxes.

It is not possible to interpret rigidly the bearing of this so-called certificate, as if no copies had previously been taken of *any* form of the Book; nor can we allow it to impugn the authenticity of the Geographic Text, which demonstratively represents an older original, and has been (as we have seen) the parent of all other versions, including some very old ones, Italian and Latin, which certainly owe nothing to this revision.

The first idea apparently entertained by d'Avezac and Paulin Paris was that the Geographic Text was *itself* the copy given to the Sieur de Cepoy, and that the differences in the copies of the class which we describe as Type II. merely resulted from the modifications which would naturally arise in the process of transcription into purer French. But closer examination showed the differences to be too great and too marked to admit of this explanation. These differences consist not only in the conversion of the rude, obscure, and half Italian language of the original into good French of the period. There is also very considerable curtailment, generally of tautology, but also extending often to circumstances of substantial interest; whilst we observe the omission of a few notably erroneous statements or expressions; and a few insertions of small im-

portance. None of the MSS. of this class contain more than a few of the historical chapters which we have formed into Book IV.

The only *addition* of any magnitude is that chapter which in our translation forms chapter xxi. of Book II. It will be seen that it contains no new facts, but is only a tedious recapitulation of circumstances already stated, though scattered over several chapters. There are a few minor additions. I have not thought it worth while to collect them systematically here, but two or three examples are given in a note.*

There are also one or two corrections of erroneous statements in the G. T. which seem not to be accidental and to indicate some attempt at revision. Thus a notable error in the account of Aden, which seems to conceive of the Red Sea as a *river*, disappears in Pauthier's MSS. A and B.† And we find in these MSS. one or two interesting names preserved which are not found in the older Text.‡

But on the other hand this class of MSS. contains many erroneous readings of names, either adopting the worse of two forms occurring in the G. T. or originating blunders of its own.§

* In the Prologue (vol. i. p. 34) this class of MSS. alone names the King of England.

In the account of the Battle with Nayan (i. p. 337) this class alone speaks of the two-stringed instruments which the Tartars played whilst awaiting the signal for battle. But the circumstance appears elsewhere in the G. T. (p. 250).

In the chapter on *Malabar* (vol. ii. p. 390), it is said that the ships which go with cargoes towards Alexandria are not one-tenth of those that go to the further East. This is not in the older French.

In the chapter on *Coilun* (ii. p. 375), we have a notice of the Columbine ginger so celebrated in the Middle Ages, which is also absent from the older text.

† See vol. ii. p. 439. It is, however, remarkable that a like mistake is made about the Persian Gulf (see i. 63, 64). Perhaps Polo *thought* in Persian, in which the word *darya* means either *sea* or a *large river*. The same habit and the ambiguity of the Persian *sher* led him probably to his confusion of lions and tigers (see i. 397).

‡ Such are *Pasciai-Dir* and *Ariora Kesciemur* (i. p. 98.)

§ Thus the MSS. of this type have elected the erroneous readings *Bolgara*, *Cogatra*, *Chiato*, *Cabanant*, etc., instead of the correcter *Bolgana*, *Cocacin*, *Quiacatu*, *Cobinan*, where the G. T. presents both (*supra*, p. 86). They read *Esanar* for the correct *Etzina*; *Chascun* for *Casvin*; *Achalet* for *Acbalec*; *Sardansu* for *Sindafu*; *Kayteu*, *Kayton*, *Sarcon* for *Zaiton* or *Caiton*; *Soucat* for *Locac*; *Falec* for *Ferlec*, and so on, the worse instead of the better. They make the *Mer Oceane* into *Mer Occident*; the wild asses (*asnes*) of the Kerman Desert into wild geese (*oes*); the *escoilles* of Bengal (ii. p. 115) into *escoliers*; the *giraffes* of Africa into *girofles*, or cloves, etc., etc.

M. Pauthier lays great stress on the character of these MSS. as the sole authentic form of the work, from their claim to have been specially revised by Marco Polo. It is evident, however, from what has been said, that this revision can have been only a very careless and superficial one, and must have been done in great measure by deputy, being almost entirely confined to curtailment and to the improvement of the expression, and that it is by no means such as to allow an editor to dispense with a careful study of the Older Text.

57. There is another curious circumstance about the MSS. of this type, viz., that they clearly divide into two distinct recensions, of which both have so many peculiarities and errors in common that they must necessarily have been both derived from *one* modification of the original text, whilst at the same time there are such differences between the two as cannot be set down to the accidents of transcription. Pauthier's MSS. A and B (Nos. 16 and 15 of the List in App. F) form one of these subdivisions: his C (No. 17 of List), Bern (No. 56), and Oxford (No. 6), the other. Between A and B the differences are only such as seem constantly to have arisen from the whims of transcribers or their dialectic peculiarities. But between A and B on the one side, and C on the other, the differences are much greater. The readings of proper names in C are often superior, sometimes worse; but in the latter half of the work especially it contains a number of substantial passages* which are to be found in the G. T., but are altogether absent from the MSS. A and B; whilst in one case at least (the history of the Siege of Saianfu, vol. ii. p. 159) it diverges considerably from the G. T. *as well* as from A and B.†

I gather from the facts that the MS. C represents an older form of the work than A and B. I should judge that the latter had been derived from that older form, but intentionally modified from it. And as it is the MS. C, with its copy at Bern, that alone presents the certificate of derivation from the Book given

* There are about five-and-thirty such passages altogether.

† The Bern MS. I have satisfied myself is an actual *copy* of the Paris MS. C.

The Oxford MS. closely resembles both, but I have not made the comparison minutely enough to say if it is an exact copy of either.

to the *Sieur de Cepoy*, there can be no doubt that it is the true representative of that recension.

58. III. The next Type of Text is that found in *Friar Pipino's Latin version*. It is the type of which MSS. are by far the most numerous. In it condensation and curtailment are carried a good deal further than in Type II. Third; Friar Pipino's Latin. The work is also divided into three Books. But this division does not seem to have originated with Pipino, as we find it in the ruder and perhaps older Latin version of which we have already spoken under Type I. And we have demonstrated that this ruder Latin is a translation from an Italian copy. It is probable therefore that an Italian version similarly divided was the common source of what we call the *Geographic Latin* and of Pipino's more condensed version.*

Pipino's version appears to have been executed in the later years of Polo's life.† But I can see no ground for the idea entertained by Baldelli-Boni and Professor Bianconi that it was executed with Polo's cognizance and retouched by him.

59. The absence of effective publication in the Middle Ages led to a curious complication of translation and retranslation. Thus the Latin version published by Grynæus in the *Novus Orbis* (Basle, 1532) is different from Pipino's, and yet clearly traceable to it as a base. In fact it The Latin of Grynæus a translation at fifth hand.

* The following comparison will also show that these two Latin versions have probably had a common source, such as is here suggested.

At the end of the Prologue the *Geographic Text* reads simply :—

“Or puis que je voz ai contez tot le fat dou prolegue ensi con voz avés oï, adonc (commencerai) le Livre.”

Whilst the *Geographic Latin* has :—

“*Postquam recitavimus et diximus facta et conditiones morum, itinerum et ea quae nobis contigerunt per vias, incipiemus dicere ea quae vidimus. Et primo dicemus de Minore Hermentia.*”

And Pipino :—

“*Narratione facta nostri itineris, nunc ad ea narranda quae vidimus accedamus. Primo autem Armeniam Minorem describemus breviter.*”

† *Friar Francesco Pipino* of Bologna, a Dominican, is known also as the author of a lengthy chronicle from the time of the Frank Kings down to 1314; of a Latin Translation of the French History of the Conquest of the Holy Land, by Bernard the Treasurer; and of a short Itinerary of a Pilgrimage to Palestine in 1320. Extracts from the Chronicle, and the version of Bernard, are printed in Muratori's Collection. As Pipino states himself to have executed the translation of Polo by order of his Superiors, it is probable that the task was set him at a general chapter of the order which was held at Bologna in 1315. (See *Muratori*, IX. 583; and *Quétif, Script. Ord. Praed.* I. 539). We do not know why Ramusio assigned the translation specifically to 1320, but he may have had grounds.

is a retranslation into Latin from some version (Marsden thinks the printed Portuguese one) of Pipino. It introduces many minor modifications, omitting specific statements of numbers and values, generalizing the names and descriptions of specific animals, exhibiting frequent sciolism and self-sufficiency in modifying statements which the Editor disbelieved.* It is therefore utterly worthless as a Text, and it is curious that Andreas Müller, who in the 17th century devoted himself to the careful editing of Polo, should have made so unfortunate a choice as to reproduce this fifth-hand Translation. I may add that the French editions published in the middle of the 16th century are *translations* from Grynæus. Hence they complete this curious and vicious circle of translation: French—Italian—Pipino's Latin—Portuguese?—Grynæus's Latin—French! †

60. IV. We now come to a Type of Text which deviates largely from any of those hitherto spoken of, and the history and true character of which are involved in a cloud of difficulty. We mean that Italian version prepared for the press by G. B. Ramusio, with most interesting, though, as we have seen, not always accurate preliminary dissertations, and published at Venice two years after his death, in the second volume of the *Navigazioni e Viaggi*.‡

The peculiarities of this version are very remarkable. Ramusio seems to imply that he used as one basis at least the Latin of Pipino; and many circumstances, such as the division into Books, the absence of the terminal historical chapters and of

* See *Bianconi*, 1st Mem. 29 *seqq.*

† C. Dickens somewhere narrates the history of the equivalents for a sovereign as changed and rechanged at every frontier on a continental tour. The final equivalent received at Dover on his return was some 12 or 13 shillings; a fair parallel to the comparative value of the first and last copies in the circle of translation.

‡ The Ramusios were a family of note in literature for several generations. Paolo, the father of Gian Battista, came originally from Rimini to Venice in 1458, and had a great repute as a jurist, besides being a littérateur of some eminence, as was also his younger brother Girolamo. G. B. Ramusio was born at Treviso in 1485, and early entered the public service. In 1533 he became one of the Secretaries of the Council of X. He was especially devoted to geographical studies, and had a school for such studies in his house. He retired eventually from public duties, and lived at his Villa Ramusia, near Padua. He died in the latter city, 10th July, 1557, but was buried at Venice in the Church of S. Maria dell' Orto. There was a portrait of him by Paul Veronese in the Hall of the Great Council, but it perished in the fire of 1577; and that which is now seen in the Sala dello Scudo is, like the companion portrait of Marco Polo, imaginary. Paolo Ramusio, his son, was the author of the well-known History of the Capture of Constantinople. (*Cicogna*, II. 310 *seqq.*)

those about the Magi, and the form of many proper names, confirm this. But also many additional circumstances and anecdotes are introduced, many of the names assume a new shape, and the whole style is more copious and literary in character than in any other form of the work.

Whilst some of the changes or interpolations seem to carry us further from the truth, others contain facts of Asiatic nature or history, as well as of Polo's own experiences, which it is extremely difficult to ascribe to any hand but the Traveller's own. This was the view taken by Baldelli, Klaproth, and Neumann; * but Hugh Murray, Lazari, and Bartoli regard the changes as interpolations by another hand; and Lazari is rash enough to ascribe the whole to a *rifacimento* of Ramusio's own age, asserting it to contain interpolations not merely from Polo's own contemporary Hayton, but also from travellers of later centuries, such as Conti, Barbosa, and Pigafetta. The grounds for these last assertions have not been cited, nor can I trace them. But I admit to a certain extent indications of modern tampering with the text, especially in cases where proper names seem to have been identified and more modern forms substituted. In days, however, where an Editor's duties were ill understood, this was natural.

61. Thus we find substituted for the *Bastra* (or *Bascra*) of the older texts the more modern and incorrect *Balsora*, dear to memories of the Arabian Nights; among the provinces of Persia we have *Spaan* (Ispahan) where older texts read *Istanit*; for *Cormos* we have *Ormus*; for *Herminia* and *Laias*, *Armenia* and *Giazza*; *Coulam* for the older *Coilum*; *Socotera* for *Scotra*. With these changes may be classed the chapter-headings, which are undisguisedly modern, and probably Ramusio's own. In some other cases this editorial spirit has been over-meddlesome and has gone astray. Thus *Malabar* is substituted wrongly for *Maabar* in one place, and by a grosser error for *Dalivar* in another. The age of young Marco, at the time of his father's first return to Venice, has been arbitrarily altered from 15 to 19, in order to correspond with a date which is itself erroneous. Thus also Polo is made to describe Ormus

Injudicious
tamperings
in Ramusio.

* The old French texts were unknown in Marsden's time. Hence this question did not present itself to him.

as on an Island, contrary to the old texts and to the fact; for the city of Hormuz was not transferred to the island, afterwards so famous, till some years after Polo's return from the East. It is probably also the editor who in the notice of the oil-springs of Caucasus (i. p. 46) has substituted *camel-loads* for *ship-loads*, in ignorance that the site of those alluded to was probably Baku on the Caspian.

Other erroneous statements, such as the introduction of window-glass as one of the embellishments of the palace at Cam-baluc, are probably due only to accidental misunderstanding.

62. Of circumstances certainly genuine, which are peculiar to this edition of Polo's work, and which it is difficult to assign to any one but himself, we may note the specification of the woods east of Yezd as composed of *date trees* (vol. i. pp. 88-89); the unmistakable allusion to the subterranean irrigation channels of Persia (p. 123); the accurate explanation of the term *Mulehet* applied to the sect of Assassins (pp. 139-142); the mention of the Lake (Sirikul?) on the plateau of Pamer, of the wolves that prey on the wild sheep, and of the piles of wild rams' horns used as landmarks in the snow (pp. 171-177). To the description of the Tibetan Yak, which is in all the texts, Ramusio's version alone adds a fact probably not recorded again till the present century, viz., that it is the practice to cross the Yak with the common cow (p. 274). Ramusio alone notices the prevalence of *goître* at Yarkand, confirmed by recent travellers (i. p. 187); the vermilion seal of the Great Kaan imprinted on the paper-currency, which may be seen in our plate of a Chinese note (p. 426); the variation in Chinese dialects (ii. p. 236); the division of the hulls of junks into water-tight compartments (ii. p. 249); the introduction into China from Egypt of the art of refining sugar (ii. p. 226). Ramusio's account of the position of the city of Sindafu (Ch'êng-tu fu) encompassed and intersected by many branches of a great river (ii. p. 40), is much more just than that in the old text, which speaks of but one river through the middle of the city. The intelligent notices of the Kaan's charities as originated by his adoption of "idolatry" or Buddhism; of the astrological superstitions of the Chinese, and of the manners and character of the latter nation, are found in Ramusio alone. To whom but Marco himself, or one of his party, can we refer the brief but vivid picture of the delicious

Genuine
statements
peculiar to
Ramusio.

atmosphere and scenery of the Badakhshan plateaux (i. p. 158), and of the benefit that Messer Marco's health derived from a visit to them? In this version alone again we have an account of the oppressions exercised by Kúblái's Mahomedan Minister Ahmad, telling how the Cathayans rose against him and murdered him, with the addition that Messer Marco was on the spot when all this happened. Now not only is the whole story in substantial accordance with the Chinese Annals, even to the name of the chief conspirator,* but those annals also tell of the courageous frankness of "Polo, assessor of the Privy Council," in opening the Kaan's eyes to the truth.

Many more such examples might be adduced, but these will suffice. It is true that many of the passages peculiar to the Ramusian version, and indeed the whole version, show a freer utterance and more of a literary faculty than we should attribute to Polo, judging from the earlier texts. It is possible, however, that this may be almost, if not entirely, due to the fact that the version is the result of a double translation, and probably of an editorial fusion of several documents; processes in which angularities of expression would be dissolved.†

* *Wangcheu* in the Chinese Annals; *Vanchu* in Ramusio. I assume that Polo's *Vanchu* was pronounced as in English; for in Venetian the *ch* very often has that sound. But I confess that I can adduce no other instance in Ramusio where I suppose it to have this sound, except in the initial sound of *Chinchitalas* and twice in *Choiach* (see II. 364).

Professor Bianconi, who has treated the questions connected with the Texts of Polo with honest enthusiasm and laborious detail, will admit nothing genuine in the Ramusian interpolations beyond the preservation of some *oral traditions* of Polo's supplementary recollections. But such a theory is out of the question in face of a chapter like that on Ahmad.

† Old Purchas appears to have greatly relished Ramusio's comparative lucidity: "I found (says he) this Booke translated by Master Hakluyt out of the Latine (*i.e.* among Hakluyt's MS. collections). But where the blind leade the blind both fall: as here the corrupt *Latine* could not but yeeld a corruption of truth in *English*. Ramusio, Secretarie to the *Decemviri* in Venice, found a better Copie and published the same, whence you have the worke in manner new: so renewed, that I have found the Proverbe true, that it is better to pull downe an old house and to build it anew, then to repaire it; as I also should have done, had I knowne that which in the event I found. The *Latine* is Latten, compared to *Ramusio's* Gold. And hee which hath the *Latine* hath but *Marco Polo's* carkasse or not so much, but a few bones, yea, sometimes stones rather then bones; things divers, averse, adverse, perverted in manner, disjoynted in manner, beyond believe. I have seene some Authors maymed, but never any so mangled and so mingled, so present and so absent, as this vulgar *Latine* of *Marco Polo*; not so like himselfe, as the Three *Polo's* were at their returne to Venice, where none knew them. . . . Much are wee beholden to *Ramusio*, for restoring this *Pole* and Load-starre of *Asia*, out of that mirie poole or puddle in which he lay drowned." (III. p. 65.)

63. Though difficulties will certainly remain,* the most probable explanation of the origin of this text seems to me to be some such hypothesis as the following:—I suppose that Polo in his latter years added with his own hand supplementary notes and reminiscences, marginally or otherwise, to a copy of his book; that these, perhaps in his lifetime, more probably after his death, were digested and translated into Latin;† and that Ramusio, or some friend of his, in retranslating and fusing them with Pipino's version for the *Navigazioni*, made those minor modifications in names and other matters which we have already noticed. The mere facts of digestion from memoranda and double translation would account for a good deal of unintentional corruption.

That more than one version was employed in the composition of Ramusio's edition we have curious proof in at least one passage of the latter. We have pointed out at p. 410 of this volume a curious example of misunderstanding of the old French

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- * Of these difficulties the following are some of the more prominent:—
1. The mention of the death of Kúblái (see note 7, p. 38 of this volume), whilst throughout the book Polo speaks of Kúblái as if still reigning.
 2. Mr Hugh Murray objects that whilst in the old texts Polo appears to look on Kúblái with reverence as a faultless Prince, in the Ramusian we find passages of an opposite tendency, as in the chapter about Ahmad.
 3. The same editor points to the manner in which one of the Ramusian additions represents the traveller to have visited the Palace of the Chinese Kings at Kinsay, which he conceives to be inconsistent with Marco's position as an official of the Mongol Government. (See vol. ii. p. 208.)

If we could conceive the Ramusian additions to have been originally notes written by old Maffeo Polo on his nephew's book, this hypothesis would remove almost all difficulty.

One passage in Ramusio seems to bear a reference to the date at which these interpolated notes were amalgamated with the original. In the chapter on Samarkand (i. p. 191) the conversion of the Prince Chagatai is said in the old texts to have occurred "not a great while ago" (*il ne a encore gramment de tens*). But in Ramusio the supposed event is fixed at "one hundred and twenty-five years since." This number could not have been uttered with reference to 1298, the year of the dictation at Genoa, nor to any year of Polo's own life. Hence it is probable that the original note contained a date or definite term which was altered by the compiler to suit the date of his own compilation, some time in the 14th century.

† In the first edition of Ramusio the preface contained the following passage, which is omitted from the succeeding editions; but as even the first edition was issued after Ramusio's own death, I do not see that any stress can be laid on this:

"A copy of the Book of Marco Polo, as it was originally written in Latin, marvelously old, and perhaps directly copied from the original as it came from M. Marco's own hand, has been often consulted by me and compared with that which we now publish, having been lent me by a nobleman of this city, belonging to the Ca' Ghisi."

Text, a passage in which the term *Roi des Pelaines*, or "King of Furs," is applied to the Sable, and which in the Crusca has been converted into an imaginary Tartar phrase *Leroide pelame*, or as Pipino makes it *Rondes* (another indication that Pipino's Version and the Crusca passed through a common medium). But Ramusio exhibits *both* the true reading and the perversion: "*E li Tartari la chiamano Regina delle pelli*" (there is the true reading), "*E gli animali si chiamano Rondes*" (and there the perverted one).

We may further remark that Ramusio's version betrays indications that one of its bases either was in the Venetian dialect, or had passed through that dialect; for a good many of the names appear in Venetian forms, *e.g.*, substituting the *z* for the sound of *ch*, *j*, or soft *g*, as in *Goza*, *Zorzania*, *Zagatay*, *Gonza* (for Giogiu), *Quenzanfu*, *Coiganzu*, *Tapinzu*, *Zipangu*, *Ziamba*.

64. To sum up. It is, I think, beyond reasonable dispute that we have, in what we call the Geographic Text, as nearly as may be an exact transcript of the Traveller's words as originally taken down in the prison of Genoa. We have again in the MSS. of the second type an edition pruned and refined, probably under instructions from Marco Polo, but not with any critical exactness. And lastly, I believe, that we have, imbedded in the Ramusian edition, the supplementary recollections of the Traveller, noted down at a later period of his life, but perplexed by repeated translation, compilation, and editorial mishandling.

Summary in regard to Text of Polo.

And the most important remaining problem in regard to the text of Polo's work is the discovery of the supplemental manuscript from which Ramusio derived those passages which are found only in his edition. It is possible that it may still exist, but no trace of it in anything like completeness has yet been found; though when my task was all but done I discovered a small part of the Ramusian peculiarities in a MS. at Venice.*

* For a moment I thought I had been lucky enough to light on a part of the missing original of Ramusio in the Barberini Library at Rome. A fragment of a Venetian version in that library (No. 56 in our list of MSS.) bore on the fly-leaf the title "*Alcuni primi capi del Libro di S. Marco Polo, copiati dall'esemplare manoscritto di PAOLO RANNUSIO.*" But it proved to be of no importance. One brief passage of those which have been thought peculiar to Ramusio; viz., the

65. Whilst upon this subject of manuscripts of our Author, I will give some particulars regarding a very curious one, containing a version in the *Irish* language.

This remarkable document is found in the *Book of Lismore*, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. That magnificent book, finely written on vellum of the largest size, was discovered in 1814, enclosed in a wooden box, along with a superb crozier, on opening a closed doorway in the castle of Lismore. It contained Lives of the Saints, the (Romance) History of Charlemagne, the History of the Lombards, histories and tales of Irish wars, etc., etc., and among the other matter this version of Marco Polo. A full account of the Book and its mutilations will be found in *O'Curry's Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 196 *seqq.*, Dublin, 1861. The *Book of Lismore* was written about 1460 for

reference to the Martyrdom of St. Blaize at Sebaste (see p. 43 of this volume), is found also in the Geographic Latin.

It was pointed out by Lazari, that another passage (vol. i. p. 60) of those otherwise peculiar to Ramusio, is found in a somewhat abridged Latin version in a MS. which belonged to the late eminent antiquary Emanuel Cicogna. (See List in Appendix F, No. 35.) This fact induced me when at Venice in 1870 to examine the MS. throughout, and, though I could give little time to it, the result was very curious.

I find that this MS. contains, not one only, but at least *seven* of the passages otherwise peculiar to Ramusio, and must have been one of the elements that went to the formation of his text. Yet of his more important interpolations, such as the chapter on Ahmad's oppressions and the additional matter on the City of Kinsay, there is no indication. The seven passages alluded to are as follows; the words corresponding to Ramusian peculiarities are in italics, the references are to my own volumes.

1. In the chapter on Georgia :
 "Mare quod dicitur Gheluchelan *vel ABACU*" . . .
 "Est ejus stricta via et dubia. Ab una parte est mare *quod dixi de ABACU* et ab aliâ nemora invia," etc. (See I. p. 59, note 8.)
2. "Et ibi optimi austuræ *dicti AVIGI*" (I. 50).
3. After the chapter on Mosul is another short chapter, already alluded to :
 "*Prope hanc civitatem (est) alia provincia dicta MUS e MEREDIEN in quâ nascitur magna quantitas bombacis, et hic fiunt bocharini et alia multa, et sunt mercatores homines et artiste.*" (See i. p. 60.)
4. In the chapter on *Tarcan* (for Carcan, *i.e.* Yarkand) :
 "*Et maior pars horum habent unum ex pedibus grossum et habent gosum in gulâ; et est hic fertilis contracta.*" (See i. p. 187.)
5. In the Desert of Lop :
 "*Homines trasseutes appendunt bestiis suis capanullas [i.e. campanellas] ut ipsas sciant et ne deviare possint*" (i. p. 197.)
6. "Ciagannor, *quod sonat in Latino STAGNUM ALBUM.*" (i. p. 296.)
7. "Et in medio hujus viridarii est palacium sive logia, *tota super columpnas. Et in summitate cujuslibet columnæ est draco magnus circumdans totam columpnam, et hic substinet eorum cohopturam cum ore et pedibus; et est cohoptura tota de cannis hoc modo,*" etc. (See i. p. 299.)

Kings, four of whom worship the true God, and each of them wears a golden cross on the forehead; and they are valiant in battle, having been brought up fighting against the Gentiles of the other three kings, who are Unbelievers and Idolaters. And the kingdom of ADEN; a Soudan rules over them.

“The king of Abaschia once took a notion to make a pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of Jesus. ‘Not at all,’ said his nobles and warriors to him, ‘for we should be afraid lest the infidels through whose territories you would have to pass, should kill you. There is a Holy Bishop with you,’ said they; ‘send him to the Sepulchre of Jesus, and much gold with him’”——

The rest is wanting.

XI. SOME ESTIMATE OF THE CHARACTER OF POLO AND HIS BOOK.

66. That Marco Polo has been so universally recognised as the King of Mediæval Travellers is due rather to the width of his experience, the vast compass of his journeys, and the romantic nature of his personal history, than to transcendent superiority of character or capacity.

The generation immediately preceding his own has bequeathed to us, in the Report of the Franciscan Friar William de Rubruquis,* on the Mission with which

* M. d’Avezac has refuted the common supposition that this admirable traveller was a native of Brabant.

The form *Rubruquis* of the name of the traveller William de Rubruk has been habitually used in this book, perhaps without sufficient consideration, but it is the most familiar in England, from its use by Hakluyt and Purchas. The former, who first published the narrative, professedly printed from an imperfect MS. belonging to the Lord Lumley, which does not seem to be now known. But all the MSS. collated by Messrs. Francisque-Michel and Wright, in preparing their edition of the Traveller, call him simply Willelmus de Rubruc or Rubruk.

Some old authors, apparently without the slightest ground, having called him *Risbrucke* and the like, it came to be assumed that he was a native of Ruysbroeck, a place in South Brabant.

But there is a place still called *Rubrouck* in French Flanders. This is a commune containing about 1500 inhabitants, belonging to the Canton of Cassel and *arrondissement* of Hazebrouck, in the Department du Nord. And we may take for granted, till facts are alleged against it, that *this* was the place from which the envoy of St. Lewis drew his origin. Many documents of the Middle Ages, referring expressly to this place Rubrouck, exist in the Library of St. Omer, and a detailed notice of them has been published by M. Edm. Coussemaker, of Lille. Several of these documents refer to persons bearing the same name as the Traveller, e.g., in 1190, Thierry de Rubrouc; in 1202 and 1221, Gauthier du Rubrouc; in 1250, Jean du Rubrouc; and in 1258, Woutermann de Rubrouc. It is reasonable to suppose that Friar William was of the same stock. See *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie*, 2nd vol. for 1868, pp. 569-570, in which there are some remarks on the subject by M. d’Avezac; and

St. Lewis charged him to the Tartar Courts, the narrative of one great journey, which, in its rich detail, its vivid pictures, its acuteness of observation and strong good sense, seems to me to form a Book of Travels of much higher claims than *any one series* of Polo's chapters; a book, indeed, which has never had justice done to it, for it has few superiors in the whole Library of Travel.

Enthusiastic Biographers, beginning with Ramusio, have placed Polo on the same platform with Columbus. But where has our Venetian Traveller left behind him any trace of the genius and lofty enthusiasm, the ardent and justified previsions which mark the great Admiral as one of the lights of the human race? * It is a juster praise that the spur which his Book eventually gave to geographical studies, and the beacons which it hung out at the Eastern extremities of the Earth helped to guide the aims, though scarcely to kindle the fire, of the greater son of the rival Republic. His work was at

I am indebted to the kind courtesy of that eminent geographer himself for the indication of this reference and the main facts, as I had lost a note of my own on the subject.

It seems a somewhat complex question whether a native even of *French Flanders* at that time should be necessarily claimable as a Frenchman; * but no doubt on this point is alluded to by M. d'Avezac, so he probably had good ground for that assumption. [See also *Yule's* article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and *Rockhill's Rubruck*, Int., p. xxxv.—H. C.]

That cross-grained Orientalist, I. J. Schmidt, on several occasions speaks contemptuously of this veracious and delightful traveller, whose evidence goes in the teeth of some of his crotchets. But I am glad to find that Professor Peschel takes a view similar to that expressed in the text: "The narrative of Ruysbroek [Rubruquis], almost immaculate in its freedom from fabulous insertions, may be indicated on account of its truth to nature as the greatest geographical masterpiece of the Middle Ages." (*Gesch. der Erdkunde*, 1865, p. 151.)

* High as Marco's name deserves to be set, his place is not beside the writer of such burning words as these addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella: "From the most tender age I went to sea, and to this day I have continued to do so. Whosoever devotes himself to this craft must desire to know the secrets of Nature here below. For 40 years now have I thus been engaged, and wherever man has sailed hitherto on the face of the sea, thither have I sailed also. I have been in constant relation with men of learning, whether ecclesiastic or secular, Latins and Greeks, Jews and Moors, and men of many a sect besides. To accomplish this my longing (to know the Secrets of the World) I found the Lord favourable to my purposes; it is He who hath given me the needful disposition and understanding. He bestowed upon me abundantly the knowledge of seamanship: and of Astronomy He gave me enough to work withal, and so with Geometry and Arithmetic. . . . In the days of my youth I studied

* The County of Flanders was at this time in large part a fief of the French Crown. (See *Natalis de Wailly*, notes to Joinville, p. 576.) But that would not much affect the question either one way or the other.

least a link in the Providential chain which at last dragged the New World to light.*

67. Surely Marco's real, indisputable, and, in their kind, unique claims to glory may suffice! *He was the first Traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of ASIA, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the Deserts of PERSIA, the flowering plateaux and wild gorges of BADAKHSHAN, the jade-bearing rivers of KHOTAN, the MONGOLIAN Steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom, the new and brilliant Court that had been established at CAMBALUC: The first Traveller to reveal*

His true
claims to
glory.

works of all kinds, history, chronicles, philosophy, and other arts, and to apprehend these the Lord opened my understanding. Under His manifest guidance I navigated hence to the Indies; for it was the Lord who gave me the will to accomplish that task, and it was in the ardour of that will that I came before your Highnesses. All those who heard of my project scouted and derided it; all the acquirements I have mentioned stood me in no stead; and if in your Highnesses, and in you alone, Faith and Constancy endured, to Whom are due the Lights that have enlightened you as well as me, but to the Holy Spirit?" (Quoted in *Humboldt's Examen Critique*, I. 17, 18.)

* Libri, however, speaks too strongly when he says: "The finest of all the results due to the influence of Marco Polo is that of having stirred Columbus to the discovery of the New World. Columbus, jealous of Polo's laurels, spent his life in preparing means to get to that Zipangu of which the Venetian traveller had told such great things; his desire was to reach China by sailing westward, and in his way he fell in with America." (*H. des Sciences Mathém.* etc. II. 150.)

The fact seems to be that Columbus knew of Polo's revelations only at second hand, from the letters of the Florentine Paolo Toscanelli and the like; and I cannot find that he ever refers to Polo by name. [How deep was the interest taken by Columbus in Marco Polo's travels is shown by the numerous marginal notes of the Admiral in the printed copy of the latin version of Pipino kept at the Bib. Colombina at Seville. See *Appendix H.* p. 558.—H. C.] Though to the day of his death he was full of imaginations about Zipangu and the land of the Great Kaan as being in immediate proximity to his discoveries, these were but accidents of his great theory. It was the intense conviction he had acquired of the absolute smallness of the Earth, of the vast extension of Asia eastward, and of the consequent narrowness of the Western Ocean, on which his life's project was based. This conviction he seems to have derived chiefly from the works of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly. But the latter borrowed his collected arguments from Roger Bacon, who has stated them, erroneous as they are, very forcibly in his *Opus Majus* (p. 137), as Humboldt has noticed in his *Examen* (vol. i. p. 64). The Spanish historian Mariana makes a strange jumble of the alleged guides of Columbus, saying that some ascribed his convictions to "the information given by one Marco Polo, a Florentine Physician!" ("como otros dizen, por aviso que le dio un cierto Marco Polo, Medico Florentin;" *Hist. de España*, lib. xxvi. cap. 3). Toscanelli is called by Columbus *Maestro Paulo*, which seems to have led to this mistake; see Sign. G. Uzielli, in *Boll. della Soc. Geog. Ital.* IX. p. 119. [Also by the same: *Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli iniziatore della scoperta d'America*, Florence, 1892; *Toscanelli*, No. 1; *Toscanelli*, Vol. V. of the *Raccolta Colombiana*, 1894.—H. C.]

CHINA in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders with all their eccentricities of manners and worship; of TIBET with its sordid devotees; of BURMA with its golden pagodas and their tinkling crowns; of LAOS, of SIAM, of COCHIN CHINA, of JAPAN, the Eastern Thule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that Museum of Beauty and Wonder, still so imperfectly ransacked, the INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO, source of those aromatics then so highly prized and whose origin was so dark; of JAVA the Pearl of Islands; of SUMATRA with its many kings, its strange costly products, and its cannibal races; of the naked savages of NICOBAR and ANDAMAN; of CEYLON the Isle of Gems with its Sacred Mountain and its Tomb of Adam; of INDIA THE GREAT, not as a dream-land of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and partially explored, with its virtuous Brahmans, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea-beds of pearl, and its powerful sun; the first in mediæval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian Empire of ABYSSINIA, and the semi-Christian Island of SOCOTRA; to speak, though indeed dimly, of ZANGIBAR with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distant MADAGASCAR, bordering on the Dark Ocean of the South, with its Ruc and other monstrosities; and, in a remotely opposite region, of SIBERIA and the ARCTIC OCEAN, of dog-sledges, white bears, and reindeer-riding Tunguses.

That all this rich catalogue of discoveries should belong to the revelations of one Man and one Book is surely ample ground enough to account for and to justify the Author's high place in the roll of Fame, and there can be no need to exaggerate his greatness, or to invest him with imaginary attributes.*

68. What manner of man was Ser Marco? It is a question hard to answer. Some critics cry out against personal detail in books of Travel; but as regards him who would not welcome a little more egotism! In his Book impersonality is carried to excess; and we are often

His personal
attributes
seen but
dimly.

* "C'est diminuer l'expression d'un éloge que de l'exagérer." (Humboldt, *Examen*, III. 13.)

driven to discern by indirect and doubtful indications alone, whether he is speaking of a place from personal knowledge or only from hearsay. In truth, though there are delightful exceptions, and nearly every part of the book suggests interesting questions, a desperate meagreness and baldness does extend over considerable tracts of the story. In fact his book reminds us sometimes of his own description of Khorasan:—
“ On chevauche par beaux plains et belles costieres, là où il a moult beaux herbages et bonne pasture et fruis assez Et aucune fois y treuve l'en un desert de soixante milles ou de mains, esquels desers ne treuve l'en point d'eaue ; mais la convient porter o lui ! ”

Still, some shadowy image of the man may be seen in the Book ; a practical man, brave, shrewd, prudent, keen in affairs, and never losing his interest in mercantile details, very fond of the chase, sparing of speech ; with a deep wondering respect for Saints, even though they be Pagan Saints, and their asceticism, but a contempt for Patarins and such like, whose consciences would not run in customary grooves, and on his own part a keen appreciation of the World's pomps and vanities. See, on the one hand, his undisguised admiration of the hard life and long fastings of Sakya Muni ; and on the other how enthusiastic he gets in speaking of the great Kaan's command of the good things of the world, but above all of his matchless opportunities of sport ! *

Of humour there are hardly any signs in his Book. His almost solitary joke (I know but one more, and it pertains to the οὐκ ἀνήκοντα) occurs in speaking of the Kaan's paper-money when he observes that Kúblái might be said to have the true Philosopher's Stone, for he made his money at pleasure out of the bark of Trees.† Even the oddest eccentricities of outlandish tribes scarcely seem to disturb his gravity ; as when he relates in his brief way of the people called Gold-Teeth on the frontier of Burma, that ludicrous custom which Mr. Tylor has so well illustrated under the name of the *Couvade*. There is more savour of laughter in the few lines of a Greek Epic, which relate precisely the same custom of a people on the Euxine :—

* See vol. ii. p. 318, and vol. i. p. 404.

† Vol. i. p. 423.

— “In the Tibarenian Land
 When some good woman bears her lord a babe,
 'Tis *he* is swathed and groaning put to bed ;
 Whilst *she*, arising, tends his baths, and serves
 Nice possets for her husband in the straw.”*

69. Of scientific notions, such as we find in the unvarnished Maundevile, we have no trace in truthful Marco. The former, “lying with a circumstance,” tells us boldly that he was in 33° of South Latitude; the latter is full of wonder that some of the Indian Islands where he had been lay so far to the south that you lost sight of the Pole-star. When it rises again on his horizon he estimates the Latitude by the Pole-star's being so many *cubits* high. So the gallant Baber speaks of the sun having mounted *spear-high* when the onset of battle began at Paniput. Such expressions convey no notion at all to such as have had their ideas sophisticated by angular perceptions of altitude, but similar expressions are common among Orientals,† and indeed I have heard them from educated Englishmen. In another place Marco states regarding certain islands in the Northern Ocean that they lie so very far to the north that in going thither one actually leaves the Pole-star a trifle behind towards the south; a statement to which we know only one parallel, to wit, in the voyage of that adventurous Dutch skipper who told Master Moxon, King Charles II.'s Hydrographer, that he had sailed two degrees beyond the Pole!

Absence of scientific notions.

70. The Book, however, is full of bearings and distances, and I have thought it worth while to construct a map from its indications, in order to get some approximation to Polo's own idea of the face of that world which he had traversed so extensively. There are three allusions to maps in the course of his work (II. 245, 312, 424).

Map constructed on Polo's data.

In his own bearings, at least on land journeys, he usually carries us along a great general traverse line, without much caring about small changes of direction. Thus on the great outward journey from the frontier of Persia to that of China the line runs almost continuously “*entre Levant et Grec*” or E.N.E. In his journey from Cambaluc or Peking to Mien or

* Vol. ii. p. 85, and *Apollonius Rhodius, Argonaut.* II. 1012.

† Chinese Observers record the length of Comets' tails by *cubits*!

Burma, it is always *Ponent* or W.; and in that from Peking to Zayton in Fo-kien, the port of embarkation for India, it is *Sceloc* or S.E. The line of bearings in which he deviates most widely from truth is that of the cities on the Arabian Coast from Aden to Hormuz, which he makes to run steadily *vers Maistre* or N.W., a conception which it has not been very easy to realise on the map.*

71. In the early part of the Book we are told that Marco acquired several of the languages current in the Mongol Empire, and no less than four written characters. We have discussed what these are likely to have been (i. pp. 28-29), and have given a decided opinion that Chinese was not one of them. Besides intrinsic improbability, and positive indications of Marco's ignorance of Chinese, in no respect is his book so defective as in regard to Chinese manners and peculiarities. The Great Wall is never mentioned, though we have shown reason for believing that it was in his mind when one passage of his book was dictated.† The use of Tea, though he travelled through the

* The map, perhaps, gives too favourable an idea of Marco's geographical conceptions. For in such a construction much has to be supplied for which there are no data, and that is apt to take mould from modern knowledge. Just as in the book illustrations of ninety years ago we find that Princesses of Abyssinia, damsels of Otabeite, and Beauties of Mary Stuart's Court have all somehow a savour of the high waists, low foreheads, and tight garments of 1810.

We are told that Prince Pedro of Portugal in 1426 received from the Signory of Venice a map which was supposed to be either an original or a copy of one by Marco Polo's own hand. (*Major's P. Henry*, p. 62.) There is no evidence to justify any absolute expression of disbelief; and if any map-maker with the spirit of the author of the Carta Catalana then dwelt in Venice, Polo certainly could not have gone to his grave uncatechised. But I should suspect the map to have been a copy of the old one that existed in the Sala dello Scudo of the Ducal Palace.

The maps now to be seen painted on the walls of that Hall, and on which Polo's route is marked, are not of any great interest. But in the middle of the 15th century there was an old *Descriptio Orbis sive Mappamundus* in the Hall, and when the apartment was renewed in 1459 a decree of the Senate ordered that such a map should be repainted on the new walls. This also perished by a fire in 1483. On the motion of Ramusio, in the next century, four new maps were painted. These had become dingy and ragged, when, in 1762, the Doge Marco Foscarini caused them to be renewed by the painter Francesco Grisellini. He professed to have adhered closely to the old maps, but he certainly did not, as Morelli testifies. Eastern Asia looks as if based on a work of Ramusio's age, but Western Asia is of undoubtedly modern character. (See *Operetti di Iacopo Morelli*, Ven. 1820, I. 299.)

† "Humboldt confirms the opinion I have more than once expressed that too much must not be inferred from the silence of authors. He adduces three important and perfectly undeniable matters of fact, as to which no evidence is to be found where it would be most anticipated: In the archives of Barcelona no trace of the triumphal

Tea districts of Fo-kien, is never mentioned;* the compressed feet of the women and the employment of the fishing cormorant (both mentioned by Friar Odoric, the contemporary of his later years), artificial egg-hatching, printing of books (though the notice of this art seems positively challenged in his account of paper-money), besides a score of remarkable arts and customs which one would have expected to recur to his memory, are never alluded to. Neither does he speak of the great characteristic of the Chinese writing. It is difficult to account for these omissions, especially considering the comparative fulness with which he treats the manners of the Tartars and of the Southern Hindoos; but the impression remains that his associations in China were chiefly with foreigners. Wherever the place he speaks of had a Tartar or Persian name he uses that rather than the Chinese one. Thus *Cathay*, *Cambaluc*, *Pulisanghin*, *Tangut*, *Chagannor*, *Saianfu*, *Kenjanfu*, *Tenduc*, *Acbalet*, *Carajan*, *Zardandan*, *Zayton*, *Kemenfu*, *Brius*, *Caramoran*, *Chorcha*, *Juju*, are all Mongol, Turki, or Persian forms, though all have Chinese equivalents.†

In reference to the then recent history of Asia, Marco is often inaccurate, e.g. in his account of the death of Chinghiz, in the list of his successors, and in his statement of the relation-

entry of Columbus into that city; in *Marco Polo no allusion to the Chinese Wall*; in the archives of Portugal nothing about the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci in the service of that crown." (*Varnhagen v. Ense*, quoted by Hayward, *Essays*, 2nd Ser. I. 36.) See regarding the Chinese Wall the remarks referred to above, at p. 292 of this volume.

* [It is a strange fact that Polo never mentions the use of *Tea* in China, although he travelled through the Tea districts in Fu Kien, and tea was then as generally drunk by the Chinese as it is now. It is mentioned more than four centuries earlier by the Mohammedan merchant Soleyman, who visited China about the middle of the 9th century. He states (*Reinaud, Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, 1845, I. 40): "The people of China are accustomed to use as a beverage an infusion of a plant, which they call *sabh*, and the leaves of which are aromatic and of a bitter taste. It is considered very wholesome. This plant (the leaves) is sold in all the cities of the empire." (*Bretschneider, Hist. Bot. Disc.* I. p. 5.)—H. C.]

† It is probable that Persian, which had long been the language of Turanian courts, was also the common tongue of foreigners at that of the Mongols. *Pulisanghin* and *Zardandan*, in the preceding list, are pure Persian. So are several of the Oriental phrases noted at p. 84. See also notes on *Ondanique* and *Vernique* at pp. 93 and 384 of this volume, on *Tacuin* at p. 448, and a note at p. 93 *supra*. The narratives of Odoric, and others of the early travellers to Cathay, afford corroborative examples. Lord Stanley of Alderley, in one of his contributions to the Hakluyt Series, has given evidence from experience that Chinese Mahomedans still preserve the knowledge of numerous Persian words.

ship between notable members of that House.* But the most perplexing knot in the whole book lies in the interesting account which he gives of the Siege of Sayanfu or Siang-yang, during the subjugation of Southern China by Kúblái. I have entered on this matter in the notes (vol. ii. p. 167), and will only say here that M. Pauthier's solution of the difficulty is no solution, being absolutely inconsistent with the story as told by Marco himself, and that I see none; though I have so much faith in Marco's veracity that I am loath to believe that the facts admit of no reconciliation.

Our faint attempt to appreciate some of Marco's qualities, as gathered from his work, will seem far below the very high estimates that have been pronounced, not only by some who have delighted rather to enlarge upon his frame than to make themselves acquainted with his work,† but also by persons whose studies and opinions have been worthy of all respect. Our estimate, however, does not abate a jot of our intense interest in his Book and affection for his memory. And we have a strong feeling that, owing partly to his reticence, and partly to the great disadvantages under which the Book was committed to writing, we have in it a singularly imperfect image of the Man.

72. A question naturally suggests itself, how far Polo's narrative, at least in its expression, was modified by passing under the pen of a professed littérateur of somewhat humble claims, such as Rusticiano Rusticiano? was. The case is not a singular one, and in our own day the ill-judged use of such assistance has been fatal to the reputation of an adventurous Traveller.

* Compare these errors with like errors of Herodotus, e.g., regarding the conspiracy of the False Smerdis. (See Rawlinson's Introduction, p. 55.) There is a curious parallel between the two also in the supposed occasional use of Oriental state records, as in Herodotus's accounts of the revenues of the satrapies, and of the army of Xerxes, and in Marco Polo's account of Kinsay, and of the Kaan's revenues. (Vol. ii pp. 185, 216.)

† An example is seen in the voluminous *Annali Musulmani* of G. B. Rampoldi, Milan, 1825. This writer speaks of the Travels of Marco Polo with his brother and uncle; declares that he visited *Tipango* (sic), Java, Ceylon, and the *Maldives*, collected all the geographical notions of his age, traversed the two peninsulas of the Indies, examined the islands of *Socotra*, *Madagascar*, *Sofala*, and traversed with *philosophic eye* the regions of Zanguebar, Abyssinia, Nubia, and Egypt! and so forth (ix. 174). And whilst Malte-Brun bestows on Marco the sounding and ridiculous title of "*the Humboldt of the 13th century*," he shows little real acquaintance with his Book. (See his *Précis*, ed. of 1836, I. 551 seqq.)

We have, however, already expressed our own view that in the Geographic Text we have the nearest possible approach to a photographic impression of Marco's oral narrative. If there be an exception to this we should seek it in the descriptions of battles, in which we find the narrator to fall constantly into a certain vein of bombastic commonplaces, which look like the stock phrases of a professed romancer, and which indeed have a strong resemblance to the actual phraseology of certain metrical romances.* Whether this feature be due to Rusticiano I cannot say, but I have not been able to trace anything of the same character in a cursory inspection of some of his romance-compilations. Still one finds it impossible to conceive of our sober and reticent Messer Marco pacing the floor of his Genoese dungeon, and seven times over rolling out this magniloquent bombast, with sufficient deliberation to be overtaken by the pen of the faithful amanuensis!

73. On the other hand, though Marco, who had left home at fifteen years of age, naturally shows very few signs of reading, there are indications that he had read romances, especially those dealing with the fabulous adventures of Alexander.

Marco's
reading embraced the
Alexandrian
Romances.
Examples.

To these he refers explicitly or tacitly in his notices of the Irongate and of Gog and Magog, in his allusions to the marriage of Alexander with Darius's daughter, and to the battle between those two heroes, and in his repeated mention of the *Arbre Sol* or *Arbre Sec* on the Khorasan frontier.

The key to these allusions is to be found in that Legendary History of Alexander, entirely distinct from the true history of the Macedonian Conqueror, which in great measure took the place of the latter in the imagination of East and West for more than a thousand years. This fabulous history is believed to be of Græco-Egyptian origin, and in its earliest extant compiled form, in the Greek of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, can be traced back to at least about A.D. 200. From the Greek its marvels spread eastward at an early date; some part at least of their matter was known to Moses of Chorene, in the

* See for example vol. i. p. 338, and note 4 at p. 341; also vol. ii. p. 103. The descriptions in the style referred to recur in all seven times; but most of them (which are in Book IV.) have been omitted in this translation.

5th century;* they were translated into Armenian, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac; and were reproduced in the verses of Firdusi and various other Persian Poets; spreading eventually even to the Indian Archipelago, and finding utterance in Malay and Siamese. At an early date they had been rendered into Latin by Julius Valerius; but this work had probably been lost sight of, and it was in the 10th century that they were re-imported from Byzantium to Italy by the Arch-priest Leo, who had gone as Envoy to the Eastern Capital from John Duke of Campania.† Romantic histories on this foundation, in verse and prose, became diffused in all the languages of Western Europe, from Spain to Scandinavia, rivalling in popularity the romantic cycles of the Round Table or of Charlemagne. Nor did this popularity cease till the 16th century was well advanced.

The heads of most of the Mediæval Travellers were crammed with these fables as genuine history.‡ And by the help of that community of legend on this subject which they found wherever Mahomedan literature had spread, Alexander Magnus was to be traced everywhere in Asia. Friar Odoric found Tana, near Bombay, to be the veritable City of King Porus; John Marignolli's vainglory led him to imitate King Alexander in setting up a marble column "in the corner of the world over against Paradise," *i.e.* somewhere on the coast of Travancore; whilst Sir John Maundevile, with a cheaper ambition, borrowed wonders from the Travels of Alexander to adorn his own. Nay, even in after days, when the Portuguese stumbled with amazement on those vast ruins in Cambodia, which have so lately become familiar to us through the works of Mouhot, Thomson, and Garnier, they ascribed them to Alexander.§

Prominent in all these stories is the tale of Alexander's shutting up a score of impure nations, at the head of which were Gog and Magog, within a barrier of impassable moun-

* [On the subject of Moses of Chorene and his works, I must refer to the clever researches of the late Auguste Carrière, Professor of Armenian at the École des Langues Orientales.—H.C.]

† Zacher, *Forschungen zur Kritik, &c., der Alexandersage*, Halle, 1867, p. 108.

‡ Even so sagacious a man as Roger Bacon quotes the fabulous letter of Alexander to Aristotle as authentic. (*Opus Majus*, p. 137.)

§ *J. As. sér. VI. tom. xviii. p. 352.*

tains, there to await the latter days; a legend with which the disturbed mind of Europe not unnaturally connected that cataclysm of unheard-of Pagans that seemed about to deluge Christendom in the first half of the 13th century. In these stories also the beautiful Roxana, who becomes the bride of Alexander, is *Darius's* daughter, bequeathed to his arms by the dying monarch. Conspicuous among them again is the Legend of the Oracular Trees of the Sun and Moon, which with audible voice foretell the place and manner of Alexander's death. With this Alexandrian legend some of the later forms of the story had mixed up one of Christian origin about the Dry Tree, *L'Arbre Sec*. And they had also adopted the Oriental story of the Land of Darkness and the mode of escape from it, which Polo relates at p. 484 of vol. ii.

74. We have seen in the most probable interpretation of the nickname *Milioni* that Polo's popular reputation in his lifetime was of a questionable kind; and a contemporary chronicler, already quoted, has told us how on his death-bed the Traveller was begged by anxious friends to retract his extraordinary stories.* A little later one who copied the Book "*per passare tempo e malinconia*" says frankly that he puts no faith in it.† Sir Thomas Brown is content "to carry a wary eye" in reading "Paulus Venetus"; but others of our countrymen in the last century express strong doubts whether he ever was in Tartary or China.‡ Marden's edition might well have extinguished the last sparks of scepticism.§ Hammer meant praise in calling Polo "*der Vater orientalischer Hodogetik*," in spite of the uncouthness of

Injustice long done to Polo. Singular modern instance.

* See passage from Jacopo d'Acqui, *supra*, p. 54.

† It is the transcriber of one of the Florence MSS. who appends this terminal note, worthy of Mrs. Nickleby:—"Here ends the Book of Messer M. P. of Venice, written with mine own hand by me Amalio Bonaguasi when Podestà of Cierreto Guidi, to get rid of time and *ennui*. The contents seem to me incredible things, not lies so much as miracles; and it may be all very true what he says, but I don't believe it; though to be sure throughout the world very different things are found in different countries. But these things, it has seemed to me in copying, are entertaining enough, but not things to believe or put any faith in; that at least is my opinion. And I finished copying this at Cierreto aforesaid, 12th November, A.D. 1392."

‡ *Vulgar Errors*, Bk. I. ch. viii.; *Astley's Voyages*, IV. 583.

§ A few years before Marsden's publication, the Historical branch of the R. S. of Science at Göttingen appears to have put forth as the subject of a prize Essay the Geography of the Travels of Carpini, Rubruquis, and especially of Marco Polo. (See *L. of M. Polo*, by Zurla, in *Collezione di Vite e Ritratti d'Illustri Italiani*. Pad. 1816.)

the eulogy. But another grave German writer, ten years after Marsden's publication, put forth in a serious book that the whole story was a clumsy imposture!*

XII. CONTEMPORARY RECOGNITION OF POLO AND HIS BOOK.

75. But we must return for a little to Polo's own times.

Ramusio states, as we have seen, that immediately after the first commission of Polo's narrative to writing (in Latin as he imagined), many copies of it were made, it was translated into the vulgar tongue, and in a few months all Italy was full of it.

The few facts that we can collect do not justify this view of the rapid and diffused renown of the Traveller and his Book. The number of MSS. of the latter dating from the 14th century is no doubt considerable, but a large proportion of these are of Pipino's condensed Latin Translation, which was not put forth, if we can trust Ramusio, till 1320, and certainly not much earlier. The whole number of MSS. in various languages that we have been able to register, amounts to about eighty. I find it difficult to obtain statistical data as to the comparative number of copies of different works existing in manuscript. With

* See *Städtewesen des Mittelalters*, by K. D. Hüllmann, Bonn, 1829, vol. iv.

After speaking of the Missions of Pope Innocent IV. and St. Lewis, this author sketches the Travels of the Polos, and then proceeds:—"Such are the clumsily compiled contents of this ecclesiastical fiction (*Kirchengeschichtlichen Dichtung*) disguised as a Book of Travels, a thing devised generally in the spirit of the age, but specially in the interests of the Clergy and of Trade. . . . This compiler's aim was analogous to that of the inventor of the Song of Roland, to kindle enthusiasm for the conversion of the Mongols, and so to facilitate commerce through their dominions. . . . Assuredly the Poli never got further than Great Bucharía, which was then reached by many Italian Travellers. What they have related of the regions of the Mongol Empire lying further east consists merely of recollections of the bazaar and travel-talk of traders from those countries; whilst the notices of India, Persia, Arabia, and Ethiopia, are borrowed from Arabic Works. The compiler no doubt carries his audacity in fiction a long way, when he makes his hero Marcus assert that he had been seventeen years in Kúblái's service," etc. etc. (pp. 360-362).

In the French edition of *Malcolm's History of Persia* (II. 141), Marco is styled "*prêtre Venetien*"! I do not know whether this is due to Sir John or to the translator.

[Polo is also called "a Venetian Priest," in a note, vol. i., p. 409, of the original edition of London, 1815, 2 vols., 4to.—H. C.]

Dante's great Poem, of which there are reckoned close upon 500 MSS.,* comparison would be inappropriate. But of the Travels of Friar Odoric, a poor work indeed beside Marco Polo's, I reckoned thirty-nine MSS., and could now add at least three more to the list. [I described seventy-three in my edition of *Odoric*.—H. C.] Also I find that of the nearly contemporary work of Brunetto Latini, the *Tresor*, a sort of condensed Encyclopædia of knowledge, but a work which one would scarcely have expected to approach the popularity of Polo's Book, the Editor enumerates some fifty MSS. And from the great frequency with which one encounters in Catalogues both MSS. and early printed editions of Sir John Maundevile, I should suppose that the lying wonders of our English Knight had a far greater popularity and more extensive diffusion than the veracious and more sober marvels of Polo.† To Southern Italy Polo's popularity certainly does not seem at any time to have extended. I cannot learn that any MS. of his Book exists in any Library of the late Kingdom of Naples or in Sicily.‡

Dante, who lived for twenty-three years after Marco's work

* See Ferrazzi, *Manuale Dantesca*, Bassano, 1865, p. 729.

† In Quaritch's catalogue for Nov. 1870 there is only one *old* edition of Polo; there are *nine* of Maundevile. In 1839 there were nineteen MSS. of the latter author catalogued in the British Museum Library. There are *now* only six of Marco Polo. At least twenty-five editions of Maundevile and only five of Polo were printed in the 15th century.

‡ I have made personal enquiry at the National Libraries of Naples and Palermo, at the Communal Library in the latter city, and at the Benedictine Libraries of Monte Cassino, Monreale, S. Martino, and Catania.

In the 15th century, when Polo's book had become more generally diffused we find three copies of it in the Catalogue of the Library of Charles VI. of France, made at the Louvre in 1423, by order of the Duke of Bedford.

The estimates of value are curious. They are in *sols parisais*, which we shall not estimate very wrongly at a shilling each :—

"No. 295. *Item*. Marcus Paulus; *en ung cahier escript de lettre formée, en françois, à deux coulombes. Commt. ou ii^e fo. 'deux frères prescheurs,' et ou derrenier 'que sa arrières.'* X. s. p.

"No. 334. *Item*. Marcus Paulus. *Couvert de drap d'or, bien escript & enluminé, de lettre de forme en françois, à deux coulombes. Commt. ou ii^e fol. ; 'il fut Roys,' & ou derrenier 'propremen,' à deux fermouers de laton.* XV. s. p.

"No. 336. *Item*. Marcus Paulus; *non enluminé, escript en françois, de lettre de forme. Commt. ou ii^e fo. 'vocata moult grant,' & ou derrenier 'ilec dist il.' Couvert de cuir blanc, à deux fermouers de laton.* XII. s. p."

(*Inventaire de la Bibliothèque du Roi Charles VI., etc., Paris, Société des Bibliophiles, 1867.*)

was written, and who touches so many things in the seen and unseen Worlds, never alludes to Polo, nor I think to anything that can be connected with his Book. I believe that no mention of *Cathay* occurs in the *Divina Commedia*. That distant region is indeed mentioned more than once in the poems of a humbler contemporary, Francesco da Barberino, but there is nothing in his allusions besides this name to suggest any knowledge of Polo's work.*

Neither can I discover any trace of Polo or his work in that of his contemporary and countryman, Marino Sanudo the Elder, though this worthy is well acquainted with the somewhat later work of Hayton, and many of the subjects which he touches in his own book would seem to challenge a reference to Marco's labours.

76. Of contemporary or nearly contemporary references to our Traveller by name, the following are all that I can produce, and none of them are new.

Contemporary references to Polo. First there is the notice regarding his presentation of his book to Thibault de Cepoy, of which we need say no more (*supra*, p. 68).

Next there is the Preface to Friar Pipino's Translation, which we give at length in the Appendix (E) to these notices. The phraseology of this appears to imply that Marco was still alive, and this agrees with the date assigned to the work by Ramusio.

* See *Del Reggimento e de' Costumi delle donne di Messer Francesco da Barberino*, Roma, 1815, pp. 166 and 271. The latter passage runs thus, on *Slavery*:—

“E fu indutta prima da Noé,
E fu cagion lo vin, perchè si egge:
Ch' egli è un paese, dove
Son molti servi in parte di Cathay:
Che per questa cagione
Hanno a nimico il vino,
E non ne beon, nè vogliono vedere.”

The author was born the year before Dante (1264), and though he lived to 1348 it is probable that the poems in question were written in his earlier years. *Cathay* was no doubt known by dim repute long before the final return of the Polos, both through the original journey of Nicolo and Maffeo, and by information gathered by the Missionary Friars. Indeed, in 1278 Pope Nicolas III., in consequence of information said to have come from Abaka Khan of Persia, that Kúblái was a baptised Christian, sent a party of Franciscans with a long letter to the Kaan *Quobley*, as he is termed. They never seem to have reached their destination. And in 1289 Nicolas IV. entrusted a similar mission to Friar John of Monte Corvino, which eventually led to very tangible results. Neither of the Papal letters, however, mentions *Cathay*. (See *Mosheim*, App. pp. 76 and 94.)

Pipino was also the author of a Chronicle, of which a part was printed by Muratori, and this contains chapters on the Tartar wars, the destruction of the Old Man of the Mountain, etc., derived from Polo. A passage not printed by Muratori has been extracted by Prof. Bianconi from a MS. of this Chronicle in the Modena Library, and runs as follows :—

“The matters which follow, concerning the magnificence of the Tartar Emperors, whom in their language they call *Cham* as we have said, are related by Marcus Paulus the Venetian in a certain Book of his which has been translated by me into Latin out of the Lombardic Vernacular. Having gained the notice of the Emperor himself and become attached to his service, he passed nearly 27 years in the Tartar countries.”*

Again we have that mention of Marco by Friar Jacopo d’Acqui, which we have quoted in connection with his capture by the Genoese, at p. 54.† And the Florentine historian GIOVANNI VILLANI,‡ when alluding to the Tartars, says :—

“Let him who would make full acquaintance with their history examine the book of Friar Hayton, Lord of Colcos in Armenia, which he made at the instance of Pope Clement V., and also the Book called *Milione* which was made by Messer Marco Polo of Venice, who tells much about their power and dominion, having spent a long time among them. And so let us quit the Tartars and return to our subject, the History of Florence.”§

77. Lastly, we learn from a curious passage in a medical work by PIETRO OF ABANO, a celebrated physician and philosopher, and a man of Polo’s own generation, that he was personally acquainted with the Traveller. In a discussion on the old notion of the non-habitability of the Equatorial regions, which Pietro controverts, he says :||

Further contemporary references.

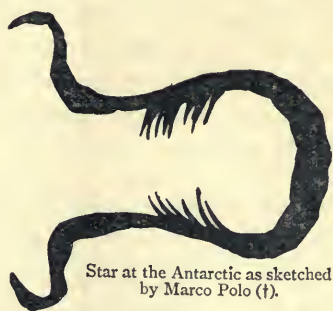
* See *Muratori*, IX. 583, *seqq.*; *Bianconi*, Mem. I. p. 37.

† This Friar makes a strange hotch-potch of what he had read, *e.g.*: “The Tartars, when they came out of the mountains, made them a king, viz., the son of Prester John, who is thus vulgarly termed *Vetulus de la Montagna!*” (*Mon. Hist. Patr. Script.* III. 1557.)

‡ G. Villani died in the great plague of 1348. But his book was begun soon after Marco’s was written, for he states that it was the sight of the memorials of greatness which he witnessed at Rome, during the Jubilee of 1300, that put it into his head to write the history of the rising glories of Florence, and that he began the work after his return home. (Bk. VIII. ch. 36.) § Book V. ch. 29.

|| *Petri Aponensis Medici ac Philosophi Celeberrimi, Conciliator*, Venice, 1521, fol. 97. Peter was born in 1250 at Abano, near Padua, and was Professor of Medicine at the University in the latter city. He twice fell into the claws of the Unholy Office, and only escaped them by death in 1316.

"In the country of the ZINGHI there is seen a star as big as a sack.



Star at the Antarctic as sketched by Marco Polo (†).

I know a man who has seen it, and he told me it had a faint light like a piece of a cloud, and is always in the south.* I have been told of this and other matters by MARCO the Venetian, the most extensive traveller and the most diligent inquirer whom I have ever known. He saw this same star under the Antarctic; he described it as having a great tail, and drew a figure of it *thus*. He also told me that he saw the Antarctic Pole at an altitude above the earth apparently equal to the

length of a soldier's lance, whilst the Arctic Pole was as much below the horizon. 'Tis from that place, he says, that they export to us camphor, lign-aloës, and brazil. He says the heat there is intense, and the habitations few. And these things he witnessed in a certain island at which he arrived by Sea. He tells me also that there are (wild ?) men there, and also certain very great rams that have very coarse and stiff wool just like the bristles of our pigs.†‡

In addition to these five I know no other contemporary references to Polo, nor indeed any other within the 14th century, though such there must surely be, excepting in a Chronicle written after the middle of that century by JOHN of

* The great Magellanic cloud? In the account of Vincent Yanez Pinzon's Voyage to the S.W. in 1499 as given in Ramusio (III. 15) after Pietro Martire d'Anghieria, it is said:—"Taking the astrolabe in hand, and ascertaining the Antarctic Pole, they did not see any star like our Pole Star; but they related that they saw another manner of stars very different from ours, and which they could not clearly discern because of a certain dimness which diffused itself about those stars, and obstructed the view of them." Also the Kachh mariners told Lieutenant Leech that midway to Zanzibar there was a town (?) called Marethee, where the North Pole Star sinks below the horizon, and they steer by a *fixed cloud in the heavens*. (Bombay Govt. Selections, No. XV. N.S. p. 215.)

The great Magellan cloud is mentioned by an old Arab writer as a white blotch at the foot of Canopus, visible in the Tehama along the Red Sea, but not in Nejd or 'Irak. Humboldt, in quoting this, calculates that in A.D. 1000 the Great Magellan would have been visible at Aden some degrees above the horizon. (*Examen*, V. 235.)

† [It is curious that this figure is almost exactly that which among oriental carpets is called a "cloud." I have heard the term so applied by Vincent Robinson. It often appears in old Persian carpets, and also in Chinese designs. Mr. Purdon Clarke tells me it is called *nebula* in heraldry; it is also called in Chinese by a term signifying cloud; in Persian, by a term which he called *silen-i-khitai*, but of this I can make nothing.—*MS. Note by Yule*.]

‡ This passage contains points that are omitted in Polo's book, besides the drawing implied to be from Marco's own hand! The island is of course Sumatra. The animal is perhaps the peculiar Sumatran wild-goat, figured by Marsden, the hair of which on the back is "coarse and strong, almost like bristles." (*Sumatra*, p. 115.)

YPRES, Abbot of St. Bertin, otherwise known as Friar John the Long, and himself a person of very high merit in the history of Travel, as a precursor of the Ramusios, Hakluyts and Purchases, for he collected together and translated (when needful) into French all of the most valuable works of Eastern Travel and Geography produced in the age immediately preceding his own.* In his Chronicle the Abbot speaks at some length of the adventures of the Polo Family, concluding with a passage to which we have already had occasion to refer :

“And so Messers Nicolaus and Maffeus, with certain Tartars, were sent a second time to these parts ; but Marcus Pauli was retained by the Emperor and employed in his military service, abiding with him for a space of 27 years. And the Cham, on account of his ability despatched him upon affairs of his to various parts of Tartary and India and the Islands, on which journeys he beheld many of the marvels of those regions. And concerning these he afterwards composed a book in the French vernacular, which said Book of Marvels, with others of the same kind, we do possess.” (*Thesaur. Nov. Anecdot.* III. 747.)

78. There is, however, a notable work which is ascribed to a rather early date in the 14th century, and which, though it contains no reference to Polo by name, shows a thorough acquaintance with his book, and borrows themes largely from it. This is the poetical Romance of Bauduin de Sebourg, an exceedingly clever and vivacious production, partaking largely of that bantering, half-mocking spirit which is, I believe, characteristic of many of the

Curious borrowings from Polo in the Romance of Bauduin de Sebourg.

* A splendid example of Abbot John's Collection is the *Livre des Merveilles* of the Great French Library (No. 18 in our *App. F.*). This contains Polo, Odoric, William of Boldensel, the Book of the Estate of the Great Kaan by the Archbishop of Soltania, Maundevile, Hayton, and Ricold of Montecroce, of which all but Polo and Maundevile are French versions by this excellent Long John. A list of the Polo miniatures is given in *App. F.* of this Edition, p. 527.

It is a question for which there is sufficient ground, whether the Persian Historians Rashiduddin and Wassáf, one or other or both, did not derive certain information that appears in their histories, from Marco Polo personally, he having spent many months in Persia, and at the Court of Tabriz, when either or both may have been there. Such passages as that about the Cotton-trees of Guzerat (vol. ii. p. 393, and note), those about the horse trade with Maabar (id. p. 340, and note), about the brotherings of that country (id. p. 331), about the naked savages of Necuveram (id. p. 306), about the wild people of Sumatra calling themselves subjects of the Great Kaan (id. pp. 285, 292, 293, 299), have so strong a resemblance to parallel passages in one or both of the above historians, as given in the first and third volumes of Elliot, that the probability, at least, of the Persian writers having derived their information from Polo might be fairly maintained.

later mediæval French Romances.* Bauduin is a knight who, after a very wild and loose youth, goes through an extraordinary series of adventures, displaying great faith and courage, and eventually becomes King of Jerusalem. I will cite some of the traits evidently derived from our Traveller, which I have met with in a short examination of this curious work.

Bauduin, embarked on a dromond in the Indian Sea, is wrecked in the territory of Baudas, and near a city called Falise, which stands on the River of Baudas. The people of this city were an unbelieving race.

“Il ne créoient Dieu, Mahon, né Tervogant, .
Ydole, cruchéfis, déable, né tirant.” P. 300.

Their only belief was this, that when a man died a great fire should be made beside his tomb, in which should be burned all his clothes, arms, and necessary furniture, whilst his horse and servant should be put to death, and then the dead man would have the benefit of all these useful properties in the other world.† Moreover, if it was the king that died—

“Sé li rois de la terre i aloit trespassant,
* * * * *
Si fasoit-on tuer, .viii. jour en un tenant,
Tout chiaus c'on encontroit par la chité passant,
Pour tenir compaignie leur ségnor soffisant.
Telle estoit le créanche ou pais dont je cant!”‡ P. 301.

Baudin arrives when the king has been dead three days, and through dread of this custom all the people of the city are shut up in their houses. He enters an inn, and helps himself to a vast repast, having been fasting for three days. He is then seized and carried before the king, Polibans by name. We might have quoted this prince at p. 87 as an instance of the diffusion of the French tongue :

“Polibans sot Fransois, car on le doctrina :
j. renoiés de Franche. vij. ans i demora,
Qui li aprist Fransois, si que bel en parla.” P. 309.

* *Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourc III^e Roy de Jhérusalem*; Poème du XIV^e Siècle; Valenciennes, 1841. 2 vols. 8vo. I was indebted to two references of M. Pauthier's for knowledge of the existence of this work. He cites the legends of the Mountain, and of the Stone of the Saracens from an abstract, but does not seem to have consulted the work itself, nor to have been aware of the extent of its borrowings from Marco Polo. M. Génin, from whose account Pauthier quotes, ascribes the poem to an early date after the death of Philip the Fair (1314). See *Pauthier*, pp. 57, 58, and 140.

† See Polo, vol. i. p. 204, and vol. ii. p. 191.

‡ See Polo, vol. i. p. 246.

Bauduin exclaims against their barbarous belief, and declares the Christian doctrine to the king, who acknowledges good points in it, but concludes :

“Vassaus, dist Polibans, à le chière hardie,
Jà ne crerai vou Dieux, à nul jour de ma vie ;
Né vostre Loy ne vaut une pomme pourie !” P. 311.

Bauduin proposes to prove his Faith by fighting the prince, himself unarmed, the latter with all his arms. The prince agrees, but is rather dismayed at Bauduin's confidence, and desires his followers, in case of his own death, to burn with him horses, armour, etc., asking at the same time which of them would consent to burn along with him, in order to be his companions in the other world :

“Là en i ot. ij^e. dont cascuns s'escria :
“Nous morons volentiers, quant vo corps mort sara !” P. 313.

Bauduin's prayer for help is miraculously granted ; Polibans is beaten, and converted by a vision. He tells Bauduin that in his neighbourhood, beyond Baudas—

“ou. v. liewes, ou. vi.

Ché un felles prinches, orgoellieus et despis ;
De la Rouge-Montaingne est Prinches et Marchis.
Or vous dirai comment il a ses gens nouris :
Je vous di que chius Roys a fait un Paradis
Tant noble et gratieus, et plain de tels déliis,

* * * * *

Car en che Paradis est un riex établis,
Qui se partist en trois, en che noble pourpris :
En l'un coert li clarés, d'espises bien garnis ;
Et en l'autre li miés, qui les a resouffis ;
Et li vins di pieument i queurt par droit avis—

* * * * *

Il n'i vente, né gèle. Che liés est de samis,
De riches dras de soie, bien ouvrés à devis.
Et aveukes tout che que je chi vous devis,
I a. ij^e puchelles qui moult ont cler les vis,
Carolans et tresquans, menans gales et ris.
Et si est li dieuesse, dame et suppellatis,
Qui doctrine les autres et en fais et en dis,
Celle est la fille au Roy c'on dist des *Haus-Assis*.”† Pp. 319-320.

* See Polo, vol. ii. p. 339.

† See Polo, vol. i. p. 140. *Hashishi* has got altered into *Haus Assis*.

This Lady Ivorine, the Old Man's daughter, is described among other points as having—

“Les iex vairs com faucons, nobles et agentis.”* P. 320.

The King of the Mountain collects all the young male children of the country, and has them brought up for nine or ten years :

“Dedens un lieu obscur : là les met-on toudis
Aveukes males bestes ; kiens, et cas, et soris,
Culoères, et lisaerdes, escorpions petis.
Là endroit ne peut nuls avoir joie, né ris.” Pp. 320-321.

And after this dreary life they are shown the Paradise, and told that such shall be their portion if they do their Lord's behest.

“S'il disoit à son homme : ‘Va-t-ent droit à Paris ;
Si me fier d'un coutel le Roy de Saint Denis,
Jamais n'aresteroit, né par nuit né par dis,
S'aroit tué le Roy, voïant tous ches marchis ;
Et déuist estre à fources traïnés et mal mis.’” P. 321.

Bauduin determines to see this Paradise and the lovely Ivorine. The road led by Baudas :

“Or avoit à che tamps, sé l'istoire ne ment,
En le chit de Baudas Kristiens jusqu' à cent ;
Qui manonent illoec par tréu d'argent,
Que cascuns cristiens au Roy-Calife rent.
Li pères du Calife, qui régna longement,
Ama les Crestiens, et Dieu premièrement :
* * * * *
Et lor fist establir. j. monstier noble et gent,
Où Crestien faisoient faire lor sacrement.
Une mout noble pière lor donna proprement,
Où on avoit posé Mahon mout longement.” † P. 322.

The story is, in fact, that which Marco relates of Samarkand. ‡ The Caliph dies. His son hates the Christians. His people complain of the toleration of the Christians and their minister ; but he says his father had pledged him not to interfere, and he dared not forswear himself. If, without

* See vol. i. p. 358, note.

† See vol. i. p. 189, note 2.

‡ Vol. i. pp. 183-186.

doing so, he could do them an ill turn, he would gladly. The people then suggest their claim to the stone :

“Or leur donna vos pères, dont che fu mesprisons.
Ceste pierre, biaux Sire, Crestiens demandons :
Il ne le porront rendre, pour vrai le vous disons,
Si li monstiers n'est mis et par pièches et par mons ;
Et s'il estoit desfais, jamais ne le larons
Refaire chi-endroit. Ensément averons
Faites et acomplies nostres ententions.” P. 324.

The Caliph accordingly sends for Maistre Thumas, the Priest of the Christians, and tells him the stone must be given up :

“Il a. c. ans ut plus c'on i mist à solas
Mahon, le nostre Dieu : dont che n'est mie estas
Que li vous monstiers soit fais de nostre harnas !” P. 324.

Master Thomas, in great trouble, collects his flock, mounts the pulpit, and announces the calamity. Bauduin and his convert Polibans then arrive. Bauduin recommends confession, fasting, and prayer. They follow his advice, and on the third day the miracle occurs :

“L'escripture le dist, qui nous achertéfié
Que le pierre Mahon, qui ou mur fut fiquie,
Sali hors du piler, coi que nul vous en die,
Droit enmi le monstier, c'onques ne fut brisie.
Et demoura li traus, dont le pière ert widie,
Sans pière est sans quailiel, à cascune partie ;
Chou deseure soustient, par divine maistrie,
Tout en air proprement, n'el tenés à falie.
Encore le voit-on en ichelle partie :
Qui croire ne m'en voelt, si voist ; car je l'en prie !” P. 327.

The Caliph comes to see, and declares it to be the Devil's doing. Seeing Polibans, who is his cousin, he hails him, but Polibans draws back, avowing his Christian faith. The Caliph in a rage has him off to prison. Bauduin becomes very ill, and has to sell his horse and arms. His disease is so offensive that he is thrust out of his hostel, and in his wretchedness sitting on a stone he still avows his faith, and confesses that even then he has not received his deserts. He goes to beg in the Christian

quarter, and no one gives to him; but still his faith and love to God hold out:

“Ensément Bauduins chelle rue cherqua,
Tant qu'à .j. chavetier Bauduins s'arresta,
Qui chavates cousoit; son pain en garigna:
Jones fu et plaisans, apertement ouvra.
Bauduins le regarde, c'onques mot ne parla.” P. 334.

The cobbler is charitable, gives him bread, shoes, and a grey coat that was a foot too short. He then asks Bauduin if he will not learn his trade; but that is too much for the knightly stomach:

“Et Bauduins respont, li preus et li membrus:
J'amerioie trop miex que je fuisse pendus!” P. 335.

The Caliph now in his Council expresses his vexation about the miracle, and says he does not know how to disprove the faith of the Christians. A very sage old Saracen who knew Hebrew, and Latin, and some thirty languages, makes a suggestion, which is, in fact, that about the moving of the Mountain, as related by Marco Polo.* Master Thomas is sent for again, and told that they must transport the high mountain of *Thir* to the valley of *Joaquin*, which lies to the westward. He goes away in new despair and causes his clerk to *sonner le clocke* for his people. Whilst they are weeping and wailing in the church, a voice is heard desiring them to seek a certain holy man who is at the good cobbler's, and to do him honour. God at his prayer will do a miracle. They go in procession to Bauduin, who thinks they are mocking him. They treat him as a saint, and strive to touch his old coat. At last he consents to pray along with the whole congregation.

The Caliph is in his palace with his princes, taking his ease at a window. Suddenly he starts up exclaiming:

“Seignour, par Mahoumet que j'aoure et tieng chier,
Le Mont de Thir enportent le déable d'enfeir!
Li Califes s'écrie: ‘Seignour, franc palasin,
Voies le Mont de Thir qui ch'est mis au chemin!
Vés-le-là tout en air, par mon Dieu Apolin;
J'à bientost le verrons ens ou val Joaquin!’” P. 345.

The Caliph is converted, releases Polibans, and is baptised,

* Vol. i. pp. 68 *seqq.* The virtuous cobbler is not left out, but is made to play second fiddle to the hero Bauduin.

taking the name of Bauduin, to whom he expresses his fear of the Viex de la Montagne with his *Hauts-Assis*, telling anew the story of the Assassin's Paradise, and so enlarges on the beauty of Ivorine that Bauduin is smitten, and his love heals his malady. Toleration is not learned however :

“Bauduins, li Califes, fist baptisier sa gent,
Et qui ne voilt Dieu croire, li teste on li pourfent !” P. 350.

The Caliph gives up his kingdom to Bauduin, proposing to follow him to the Wars of Syria. And Bauduin presents the Kingdom to the Cobler.

Bauduin, the Caliph, and Prince Polibans then proceed to visit the Mountain of the Old Man. The Caliph professes to him that they want help against Godfrey of Bouillon. The Viex says he does not give a *bouton* for Godfrey ; he will send one of his *Hauts-Assis* straight to his tent, and give him a great knife of steel between *fie et poumon* !

After dinner they go out and witness the feat of devotion which we have quoted elsewhere.* They then see the Paradise and the lovely Ivorine, with whose beauty Bauduin is struck dumb. The lady had never smiled before ; now she declares that he for whom she had long waited was come. Bauduin exclaims :

“Madame, fu-jou chou qui sui le vous soubgis ?
Quant la puchelle Pot, lors li geta. j. ris ;
Et li dist : ‘Bauduins, vous estes mes amis !’” Pp. 362-363.

The Old One is vexed, but speaks pleasantly to his daughter, who replies with frightfully bad language, and declares herself to be a Christian. The father calls out to the Caliph to kill her. The Caliph pulls out a big knife and gives him a blow that nearly cuts him in two. The amiable Ivorine says she will go with Bauduin :

“Sé mes pères est mors, n'en donne. j. paresis !” P. 364.

We need not follow the story further, as I did not trace beyond this point any distinct derivation from our Traveller, with the exception of that allusion to the incombustible cover-

* Vol. i. p. 144.

ing of the napkin of St. Veronica, which I have quoted at p. 216 of this volume. But including this, here are at least seven different themes borrowed from Marco Polo's book, on which to be sure his poetical contemporary plays the most extraordinary variations.

[78 *bis*.—In the third volume of *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1894, the Rev. Walter W. Skeat gives (pp. 372 *seqq.*) an *Account of the Sources of the Canterbury Tales*. Regarding *The Squires Tales*, he says that one of his sources was the Travels of Marco; Mr. Keighley in his *Tales and Popular Fictions*, published in 1834, at p. 76, distinctly derives Chaucer's Tale from the travels of Marco Polo. (*Skeat, l. c.*, p. 463, note.) I cannot quote all the arguments given by the Rev. W. W. Skeat to support his theory, pp. 463-477.

Regarding the opinion of Professor Skeat of Chaucer's indebtedness to Marco Polo, cf. *Marco Polo and the Squire's Tale*, by Professor John Matthews Manly, vol. xi. of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1896, pp. 349-362. Mr. Manly says (p. 360): "It seems clear, upon reviewing the whole problem, that if Chaucer used Marco Polo's narrative, he either carelessly or intentionally confused all the features of the setting that could possibly be confused, and retained not a single really characteristic trait of any person, place or event. It is only by twisting everything that any part of Chaucer's story can be brought into relation with any part of Polo's. To do this might be allowable, if any rational explanation could be given for Chaucer's supposed treatment of his 'author,' or if there were any scarcity of sources from which Chaucer might have obtained as much information about Tartary as he seems really to have possessed; but such an explanation would be difficult to devise, and there is no such scarcity. Any one of half a dozen accessible accounts could be distorted into almost if not quite as great resemblance to the *Squire's Tale* as Marco Polo's can."

Mr. A. W. Pollard, in his edition of *The Squire's Tale* (Lond., 1899) writes: "A very able paper, by Prof. J. M. Manly, demonstrates the needlessness of Prof. Skeat's theory, which has introduced fresh complications into an already complicated story. My own belief is that, though we may illustrate the

Squire's Tale from these old accounts of Tartary, and especially from Marco Polo, because he has been so well edited by Colonel Yule, there is very little probability that Chaucer consulted any of them. It is much more likely that he found these details where he found more important parts of his story, *i.e.* in some lost romance. But if we must suppose that he provided his own local colour, we have no right to pin him down to using Marco Polo to the exclusion of other accessible authorities." Mr. Pollard adds in a note (p. xiii.): "There are some features in these narratives, *e.g.* the account of the gorgeous dresses worn at the Kaan's feast, which Chaucer with his love of colour could hardly have helped reproducing if he had known them."—H. C.]

XIII. NATURE OF POLO'S INFLUENCE ON GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE.

79. Marco Polo contributed such a vast amount of new facts to the knowledge of the Earth's surface, that one might have expected his book to have had a sudden effect upon the Science of Geography: but no such result occurred speedily, nor was its beneficial effect of any long duration.

Tardy operation, and causes thereof.

No doubt several causes contributed to the slowness of its action upon the notions of Cosmographers, of which the unreal character attributed to the Book, as a collection of romantic marvels rather than of geographical and historical facts, may have been one, as Santarem urges. But the essential causes were no doubt the imperfect nature of publication before the invention of the press; the traditional character which clogged geography as well as all other branches of knowledge in the Middle Ages; and the entire absence of scientific principle in what passed for geography, so that there was no organ competent to the assimilation of a large mass of new knowledge.

Of the action of the first cause no examples can be more striking than we find in the false conception of the Caspian as a gulf of the Ocean, entertained by Strabo, and the opposite error in regard to the Indian Sea held by Ptolemy, who regards it as an enclosed basin, when we contrast these with the correct

ideas on both subjects possessed by Herodotus. The later Geographers no doubt knew his statements, but did not appreciate them, probably from not possessing the evidence on which they were based.

80. As regards the second cause alleged, we may say that down nearly to the middle of the 15th century cosmographers, as a rule, made scarcely any attempt to reform their maps by any elaborate search for new matter, or by lights that might be collected from recent travellers. Their world was in its outline that handed down by the traditions of their craft, as sanctioned by some Father of the Church, such as Orosius or Isidore, as sprinkled with a combination of classical and mediæval legend; Solinus being the great authority for the former. Almost universally the earth's surface is represented as filling the greater part of a circular disk, rounded by the ocean; a fashion that already existed in the time of Aristotle and was ridiculed by him.* No dogma of false geography was more persistent or more pernicious than this. Jerusalem occupies the central point, because it was found written in the Prophet Ezekiel: "*Haec dicit Dominus Deus: Ista est Jerusalem, in medio gentium posui eam, et in circuitu ejus terras;*"† a declaration supposed to be corroborated by the Psalmist's expression, regarded as prophetic of the death of Our Lord: "*Deus autem, Rex noster, ante secula operatus est salutem in medio Terrae*" (Ps. lxxiii. 12).‡ The Terrestrial

* "They draw nowadays the map of the world in a laughable manner, for they draw the inhabited earth as a circle; but this is impossible, both from what we see and from reason." (*Meteorolog. Lib. II. cap. 5.*) Cf. *Herodotus*, iv. 36.

† In Dante's *Cosmography*, Jerusalem is the centre of our *οικουμένη*, whilst the Mount of Purgatory occupies the middle of the Antipodal hemisphere:—

"Come cìd sia, se'l vuoi poter pensare,
Dentro raccolto immagina Sion
Con questo monte in su la terra stare,
Sì, ch' ambedue hann' un solo orrizon
E diversi emisperi"
—*Purg. IV. 67.*


‡ The belief, with this latter ground of it, is alluded to in curious verses by Jacopo Alighieri, Dante's son:—

"E molti gran Profeti
Filosofi e Poeti
Fanno il colco dell' Emme
Dov' è Gerusalemme;
Se le loro scritte
Hanno vere figure:

E per la Santa fede
Cristiana ancor si vede
Chè l' suo principio Cristo
Nel suo mezzo conquisto
Per cui prese morte
E vi pose la sorte."

—(*Rime Antiche Toscane, III. 9.*)

Though the general meaning of the second couplet is obvious, the expression *il*

Paradise was represented as occupying the extreme East, because it was found in Genesis that the Lord planted a garden eastward in Eden.* *Gog and Magog* were set in the far north or north-east, because it was said again in Ezekiel: "*Ecce Ego super te, Gog Principem capitibus Mosoch et Thubal. . . et ascendere te faciam de lateribus Aquilonis,*" whilst probably the topography of those mysterious nationalities was completed by a girdle of mountains out of the Alexandrian Fables. The loose and scanty nomenclature was mainly borrowed from Pliny or Mela through such Fathers as we have named; whilst vacant spaces were occupied by Amazons, Arimaspians, and the realm of Prester John. A favourite representation of the inhabited earth was this ; a great O enclosing a T, which thus divides the circle in three parts; the greater or half-circle being Asia, the two quarter circles Europe and Africa.† These Maps were known to St. Augustine.‡

81. Even Ptolemy seems to have been almost unknown; and indeed had his Geography been studied it might, with all its errors, have tended to some greater endeavours after accuracy. Roger Bacon, whilst lamenting the exceeding deficiency of geographical knowledge in the Latin world, and purposing to essay an exacter distribution of countries, says he will not attempt to do so by latitude and longitude, for that is a system of which the Latins have learned

Roger Bacon as a geographer.

colco dell' Emme, "the couch of the M," is puzzling. The best solution that occurs to me is this: In looking at the world map of Marino Sanudo, noticed on p. 133, as engraved by Bongars in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, you find geometrical lines laid down, connecting the N.E., N.W., S.E., and S.W. points, and thus forming a square inscribed in the circular disk of the Earth, with its diagonals passing through the Central Zion. The eye easily discerns in these a great M inscribed in the circle, with its middle angular point at Jerusalem. Gervasius of Tilbury (with some confusion in his mind between tropic and equinoxial, like that which Pliny makes in speaking of the Indian Mons Malleus) says that "some are of opinion that the Centre is in the place where the Lord spoke to the woman of Samaria at the well, for there, at the summer solstice, the noonday sun descends perpendicularly into the water of the well, casting no shadow; a thing which the philosophers say occurs at Syene"! (*Otia Imperialia*, by Liebrecht, p. 1.)

* This circumstance does not, however, show in the Vulgate.

† "Veggiamo in prima in general la terra
Come risiede e come il mar la serra.
Un T dentro ad un O mostra il disegno
Come in tre parti fu diviso il Mondo,
E la superiore è il maggior regno
Che quasi piglia la metà del tondo.

ASIA chiamata: il gambo ritto è segno
Che parte il terzo nome dal secondo
AFRICA dico da EUROPA: il mare
Mediterran tra esse in mezzo appare."

—*La Sfera*, di F. Leonardo di Stagio Dati, Lib. iii. st. 11.

‡ *De Civ. Dei*, xvi. 17, quoted by *Peschel*, 92.

nothing. He himself, whilst still somewhat burdened by the authoritative dicta of "saints and sages" of past times, ventures at least to criticise some of the latter, such as Pliny and Ptolemy, and declares his intention to have recourse to the information of those who have travelled most extensively over the Earth's surface. And judging from the good use he makes, in his description of the northern parts of the world, of the Travels of Rubruquis, whom he had known and questioned, besides diligently studying his narrative,* we might have expected much in Geography from this great man, had similar materials been available to him for other parts of the earth. He did attempt a map with mathematical determination of places, but it has not been preserved.†

It may be said with general truth that the world-maps current up to the end of the 13th century had more analogy to the mythical cosmography of the Hindus than to any thing properly geographical. Both, no doubt, were originally based in the main on real features. In the Hindu cosmography these genuine features are symmetrised as in a kaleidoscope; in the European cartography they are squeezed together in a manner that one can only compare to a pig in brawn. Here and there some feature strangely compressed and distorted is just recognisable. A splendid example of this kind of map is that famous one at Hereford, executed about A.D. 1275, of which a facsimile has lately been published, accompanied by a highly meritorious illustrative Essay.‡

82. Among the Arabs many able men, from the early days of Islâm, took an interest in Geography, and devoted labour to geographical compilations, in which they often made use of their own observations, of the itineraries of travellers, and of other fresh knowledge. But somehow or other their maps were always far behind their books. Though they appear to have had an early translation of Ptolemy, and elaborate Tables of Latitudes and Longitudes form a prominent feature in many of their geographical treatises, there appears to be no Arabic map in

* *Opus Majus*, Venice ed. pp. 142, *seqq.*

† *Peschel*, p. 195. This had escaped me.

‡ By the Rev. W. L. Bevan, M.A., and the Rev. H. W. Phillott, M.A. In Asia, they point out, the only name showing any recognition of modern knowledge is Samarcand.

existence, laid down with meridians and parallels ; whilst *all* of their best known maps are on the old system of the circular disk. This apparent incapacity for map-making appears to have acted as a heavy drag and bar upon progress in Geography among the Arabs, notwithstanding its early promise among them, and in spite of the application to its furtherance of the great intellects of some (such as Abu Rihán al-Biruni), and of the indefatigable spirit of travel and omnivorous curiosity of others (such as Mas'údi).

83. Some distinct trace of acquaintance with the Arabian Geography is to be found in the World-Map of Marino Sanudo the Elder, constructed between 1300 and 1320 ; and this may be regarded as an exceptionally favourable specimen of the cosmography in vogue, for the author was a diligent investigator and compiler, who evidently took a considerable interest in geographical questions, and had a strong enjoyment and appreciation of a map.* Nor is the map in question without some result of these characteristics. His representation of Europe, Northern Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, Arabia and its two gulfs, is a fair approximation to general facts ; his collected knowledge has enabled him to locate, with more or less of general truth, Georgia, the Iron Gates, Cathay, the Plain of Moghan, Euphrates and Tigris, Persia, Bagdad, Kais, Aden (though on the wrong side of the Red Sea), Abyssinia (*Habesh*), Zangibar (*Zinz*), Jidda (*Zede*), etc. But after all the traditional forms are too strong for him. Jerusalem is still the centre of the disk of the habitable earth, so that the distance is as great from Syria to Gades in the extreme West, as from Syria to the India Interior of Prester John which terminates the extreme East. And Africa beyond the Arabian Gulf is carried, according to the Arabian modification of Ptolemy's misconception, far to the eastward until it almost meets the prominent shores of India.

84. The first genuine mediæval attempt at a geographical construction that I know of, absolutely free from the traditional *idola*, is the Map of the known World from the Portulano

* His work, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, intended to stimulate a new Crusade, has three capital maps, besides that of the World, one of which, translated, but otherwise in facsimile, is given at p. 18 of this volume. But besides these maps, he gives, in a tabular form of parallel columns, the reigning sovereigns in Europe and Asia connected with his historical retrospect, just on the plan presented in Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology of History.

Mediceo (in the Laurentian Library), of which an extract is engraved in the atlas of Baldelli-Boni's Polo. I need not describe it, however, because I cannot satisfy myself that it makes much use of Polo's contributions, and its facts have been embodied in a more ambitious work of the next generation, the celebrated Catalan Map of 1375 in the great Library of Paris. This also, but on a larger scale and in a more comprehensive manner, is an honest endeavour to represent the known world on the basis of collected facts, casting aside all theories pseudo-scientific or pseudo-theological; and a very remarkable work it is. In this map it seems to me Marco Polo's influence, I will not say on geography, but on map-making, is seen to the greatest advantage. His Book is the basis of the Map as regards Central and Further Asia, and partially as regards India. His names are often sadly perverted, and it is not always easy to understand the view that the compiler took of his itineraries. Still we have Cathay admirably placed in the true position of China, as a great Empire filling the south-east of Asia. The Eastern Peninsula of India is indeed absent altogether, but the Peninsula of Hither India is for the first time in the History of Geography represented with a fair approximation to its correct form and position,* and Sumatra also (*Jaua*) is not badly placed. Carajan, Vocian, Mien, and Bangala, are located with a happy conception of their relation to Cathay and to India. Many details in India foreign to Polo's book,† and some in Cathay (as well as in Turkestan and Siberia, which have been entirely derived from other sources) have been embodied in the Map. But the study of his Book has, I conceive, been essentially the basis of those great portions which I have specified, and the additional matter has not been in mass sufficient to perplex the compiler. Hence we really see

* I do not see that al-Birūni deserves the credit in this respect assigned to him by Professor Peschel, so far as one can judge from the data given by Sprenger (*Peschel*, p. 128; *Post und Reise-Routen*, 81-82.)

† For example, *Delli*, which Polo does not name; *Diogil* (Deogir); on the Coromandel coast *Setemelti*, which I take to be a clerical error for *Sette-Templi*, the Seven Pagodas; round the Gulf of Cambay we have *Cambetum* (Kambayat), *Cocintaya* (Kokan-Tana, see vol. ii. p. 396), *Goga*, *Baroche*, *Nervala* (Anharwala), and to the north *Moltan*. Below Multan are *Hocibelch* and *Bargelidoa*, two puzzles. The former is, I think, *Uch-baligh*, showing that part of the information was from Perso-Mongol sources.

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in this Map something like the idea of Asia that the Traveller himself would have presented, had he bequeathed a Map to us.

[Some years ago, I made a special study of the Far East in the Catalan Map. (*L'Extrême-Orient dans l'Atlas catalan de Charles V.*, Paris, 1895), and I have come to the conclusion that the cartographer's knowledge of Eastern Asia is drawn almost entirely from Marco Polo. We give a reproduction of part of the Catalan Map.—H. C.]

85. In the following age we find more frequent indications that Polo's book was diffused and read. And now that the spirit of discovery began to stir, it was apparently regarded in a juster light as a Book of Facts, and not as a mere *Romman du Grant Kaan*.* But in fact this age produced new supplies of crude information in greater abundance than the knowledge of geographers was prepared to digest or co-ordinate, and the consequence is that the magnificent Work of Fra Mauro (1459), though the result of immense labour in the collection of facts and the endeavour to combine them, really gives a considerably less accurate idea of Asia than that which the Catalan Map had afforded.†

Confusions in Cartography of the 16th century, from the endeavour to combine new and old information.

And when at a still later date the great burst of discovery eastward and westward took effect, the results of all attempts to combine the new knowledge with the old was most unhappy. The first and crudest forms of such combinations attempted to realise the ideas of Columbus regarding the identity of his discoveries with the regions of the Great Kaan's dominion;‡ but even after AMERICA had vindicated its independent position on the surface of the globe, and the new

* I see it stated by competent authority that *Romman* is often applied to any prose composition in a Romance language.

In or about 1426, Prince Pedro of Portugal, the elder brother of the illustrious Prince Henry, being on a visit to Venice, was presented by the Signory with a copy of Marco Polo's book, together with a map already alluded to. (*Major's P. Henry*, pp. 61, 62.)

† This is partly due also to Fra Mauro's reversion to the fancy of the circular disk limiting the inhabited portion of the earth.

‡ An early graphic instance of this is Ruysch's famous map (1508). The following extract of a work printed as late as 1533 is an example of the like confusion in verbal description: "The Territories which are beyond the limits of Ptolemy's Tables have not yet been described on certain authority. Behind the Sinae and the Seres, and beyond 180° of East Longitude, many countries were discovered by one [*quendam*] Marco

knowledge of the Portuguese had introduced CHINA where the Catalan Map of the 14th century had presented CATHAY, the latter country, with the whole of Polo's nomenclature, was shoved away to the north, forming a separate system.* Henceforward the influence of Polo's work on maps was simply injurious; and when to his nomenclature was added a sprinkling of Ptolemy's, as was usual throughout the 16th century, the result was a most extraordinary hotch-potch, conveying no approximation to any consistent representation of facts.

Thus, in a map of 1522,† running the eye along the north of Europe and Asia from West to East, we find the following succession of names: Groenlandia, or Greenland, as a great peninsula overlapping that of Norvegia and Suecia; Livonia, Plescovia and Moscovia, Tartaria bounded on the South by *Scythia extra Imaum*, and on the East, by the Rivers *Ochardes* and *Bautisis* (out of Ptolemy), which are made to flow into the Arctic Sea. South of these are *Aureacithis* and *Asmirea* (Ptolemy's *Auxacitis* and *Asmiræa*), and *Serica Regio*. Then following the northern coast *Balor Regio*,‡ *Judei Clausi*, i.e. the Ten Tribes who are constantly associated or confounded with the Shut-up Nations of Gog and Magog. These impinge upon the River *Polisacus*, flowing into the Northern Ocean in Lat. 75°, but which is in fact no other than Polo's *Pulisanghin*!§ Immediately south of this is *Tholomon Provincia* (Polo's again), and on the coast *Tangut, Cathaya*, the Rivers

Polo a Venetian and others, and the sea-coasts of those countries have now recently again been explored by Columbus the Genoese and Amerigo Vespucci in navigating the Western Ocean. . . . To this part (of Asia) belong the territory called that of the *Bachalaos* [or Codfish, Newfoundland], *Florida*, the *Desert of Lop*, *Tangut*, *Cathay*, the realm of *Mexico* (wherein is the vast city of *Temistitan*, built in the middle of a great lake, but which the older travellers styled QUINSAY), besides *Paria*, *Uraba*, and the countries of the *Canibals*." (*Joannis Schoneri Carolostadii Opusculum Geogr.*, quoted by Humboldt, *Examen*, V. 171, 172.)

* In Robert Parke's Dedication of his Translation of Mendoza's, London, 1st of January, 1589, he identifies China and Japan with the regions of which *Paulus Venetus* and *Sir John Mandeuill* "wrote long agoe."—*MS. Note by Yule*.

† "*Totius Europæ et Asiæ Tabula Geographica, Auctore Thoma D. Aucupario. Edita Argentorati, MDXXII.*" Copied in Witsen.

‡ This strange association of *Balor* (i.e., Bolor, that name of so many odd vicissitudes, see pp. 178-179 *infra*) with the shut-up Israelites must be traced to a passage which Athanasius Kircher quotes from *R. Abraham Pizol* (qu. Peritsol?): "*Regnum, inquit, Belor magnum et excelsum nimis, juxta omnes illos qui scripserunt Historicis. Sunt in eo Judæi plurimi inclusi, et illud in latere Orientali et Boreali,*" etc. (*China Illustrata*, p. 49.)

§ Vol. ii. p. 1.

Caramoran and *Oman* (a misreading of Polo's *Quian*), *Quinsay* and *Mangi*.

86. The Maps of Mercator (1587) and Magini (1597) are similar in character, but more elaborate, introducing China as a separate system. Such indeed also is Blaeu's Map (1663) excepting that Ptolemy's contributions are reduced to one or two.

Gradual
disappear-
ance of
Polo's no-
menclature.

In Sanson's Map (1659) the data of Polo and the mediæval Travellers are more cautiously handled, but a new element of confusion is introduced in the form of numerous features derived from Edrisi.

It is scarcely worth while to follow the matter further. With the increase of knowledge of Northern Asia from the Russian side, and that of China from the Maps of Martini, followed by the surveys of the Jesuits, and with the real science brought to bear on Asiatic Geography by such men as De l'Isle and D'Anville, mere traditional nomenclature gradually disappeared. And the task which the study of Polo has provided for the geographers of later days has been chiefly that of determining the true localities that his book describes under obsolete or corrupted names.

[My late illustrious friend, Baron *A. E. Nordenskiöld*, who has devoted much time and labour to the study of Marco Polo (see his *Periplus*, Stockholm, 1897), and published a facsimile edition of one of the French MSS. kept in the Stockholm Royal Library (see vol. ii. *Bibliography*, p. 570), has given to *The Geographical Journal* for April, 1899, pp. 396-406, a paper on *The Influence of the "Travels of Marco Polo" on Jacobo Gastaldi's Maps of Asia*. He writes (p. 398) that as far as he knows, none "of the many learned men who have devoted their attention to the discoveries of Marco Polo, have been able to refer to any maps in which all or almost all those places mentioned by Marco Polo are given. All friends of the history of geography will therefore be glad to hear that such an atlas from the middle of the sixteenth century really does exist, viz. Gastaldi's 'Prima, seconda e terza parte dell Asia.'" All the names of places in Ramusio's Marco Polo are introduced in the maps of Asia of Jacobo Gastaldi (1561). Cf. *Periplus*, liv., lv., and lvi.

I may refer to what both Yule and myself say *supra* of the Catalan Map.—H. C.]

87. Before concluding, it may be desirable to say a few words on the subject of important knowledge other than geographical, which various persons have supposed that Marco Polo must have introduced from Eastern Asia to Europe.

Alleged introduction of Block-printed Books into Europe by Marco Polo.

Respecting the mariner's compass and gunpowder I shall say nothing, as no one now, I believe, imagines Marco to have had anything to do with their introduction. But from a highly respectable source in recent years we have seen the introduction of Block-printing into Europe connected with the name of our Traveller. The circumstances are stated as follows : *

"In the beginning of the 15th century a man named Pamphilo Castaldi, of Feltre . . . was employed by the Seignory or Government of the Republic, to engross deeds and public edicts of various kinds . . . the initial letters at the commencement of the writing being usually ornamented with red ink, or illuminated in gold and colours

"According to Sansovino, certain stamps or types had been invented some time previously by Pietro di Natali, Bishop of Aquilœa.† These were made at Murano of glass, and were used to stamp or print the outline of the large initial letters of public documents, which were afterwards filled up by hand. . . Pamphilo Castaldi improved on these glass types, by having others made of wood or metal, and having seen several Chinese books which the famous traveller Marco Polo had brought from China, and of which the entire text was printed with wooden blocks, he caused moveable wooden types to be made, each type containing a single letter ; and with these he printed several broadsides and single leaves, at Venice, in the year 1426. Some of these single sheets are said to be preserved among the archives at Feltre. . .

"The tradition continues that John Faust, of Mayence . . . became acquainted with Castaldi, and passed some time with him, at his *Scriptorium*, . . . at Feltre ;"

and in short developed from the knowledge so acquired the great invention of printing. Mr. Curzon goes on to say that

* *A short Account of Libraries of Italy*, by the Hon. R. Curzon (the late Lord de la Zouche) ; in *Bibliog. and Hist. Miscellanies* ; *Philobiblon Society*, vol. i, 1854, pp. 6. *segg.*

† P. dei Natali was Bishop of Equilio, a city of the Venetian Lagoons, in the latter part of the 14th century. (See *Ughelli, Italia Sacra*, X. 87.) There is no ground whatever for connecting him with these inventions. The story of the glass types appears to rest entirely and solely on one obscure passage of Sansovino, who says that under the Doge Marco Corner (1365-1367) : "*certe Natale Veneto lasciò un libro della materie delle forme da giustar intorno alle lettere, ed il modo di formarle di vetro.*" There is absolutely nothing more. Some kind of stencilling seems indicated.

Panfilo Castaldi was born in 1398, and died in 1490, and that he gives the story as he found it in an article written by Dr. Jacopo Facen, of Feltre, in a (Venetian?) newspaper called *Il Gondoliere*, No. 103, of 27th December, 1843.

In a later paper Mr. Curzon thus recurs to the subject :*

“Though none of the early block-books have dates affixed to them, many of them are with reason supposed to be more ancient than any books printed with moveable types. Their resemblance to Chinese block-books is so exact, that they would almost seem to be copied from the books commonly used in China. *The impressions are taken off on one side of the paper only, and in binding, both the Chinese, and ancient German, or Dutch block-books, the blank sides of the pages are placed opposite each other, and sometimes pasted together* The impressions are not taken off with printer's ink, but *with a brown paint or colour, of a much thinner description, more in the nature of Indian ink, as we call it, which is used in printing Chinese books.* Altogether the German and Oriental block-books are so precisely alike, in almost every respect, that . . . we must suppose that the process of printing then must have been copied from ancient Chinese specimens, brought from that country by some early travellers, whose names have not been handed down to our times.”

The writer then refers to the tradition about *Guttemberg* (so it is stated on this occasion, not Faust) having learned Castaldi's art, etc., mentioning a circumstance which he supposes to indicate that Guttemberg had relations with Venice; and appears to assent to the probability of the story of the art having been founded on specimens brought home by Marco Polo.

This story was in recent years diligently propagated in Northern Italy, and resulted in the erection at Feltre of a public statue of Panfilo Castaldi, bearing this inscription (besides others of like tenor):—

“To Panfilo Castaldi the illustrious Inventor of Movable Printing Types, Italy renders this Tribute of Honour, too long deferred.”

In the first edition of this book I devoted a special note to the exposure of the worthlessness of the evidence for this story.† This note was, with the present Essay, translated and published at Venice by Comm. Berchet, but this challenge to the supporters

* *History of Printing in China and Europe*, in *Philobiblon*, vol. vi. p. 23.

† See *Appendix L.* in First Edition.

of the patriotic romance, so far as I have heard, brought none of them into the lists in its defence.

But since Castaldi has got his statue from the printers of Lombardy, would it not be mere equity that the mariners of Spain should set up a statue at Huelva to the Pilot Alonzo Sanchez of that port, who, according to Spanish historians, after discovering the New World, died in the house of Columbus at Terceira, and left the crafty Genoese to appropriate his journals, and rob him of his fame?

Seriously; if anybody in Feltre cares for the real reputation of his native city, let him do his best to have that preposterous and discreditable fiction removed from the base of the statue. If Castaldi has deserved a statue on other and truer grounds let *him* stand; if not, let him be burnt into honest lime! I imagine that the original story that attracted Mr. Curzon was more *jeu d'esprit* than anything else; but that the author, finding what a stone he had set rolling, did not venture to retract.

88. Mr. Curzon's own observations, which I have italicised about the resemblance of the two systems are, however, very striking, and seem clearly to indicate the derivation of the art from China. But I should suppose that in the tradition, if there ever was any genuine tradition of the kind at Feltre (a circumstance worthy of all doubt), the name of Marco Polo was introduced merely because it was so prominent a name in Eastern Travel. The fact has been generally overlooked and forgotten * that, for many years in the course of the 14th century, not only were missionaries of the Roman Church and Houses of the Franciscan Order established in the chief cities of China, but a regular trade was carried on overland between Italy and China, by way of Tana (or Azov), Astracan, Otrar and Kamul, insomuch that instructions for the Italian merchant following that route form the two first chapters in the Mercantile Handbook of Balducci Pegolotti (*circa* 1340).† Many a traveller besides Marco Polo might therefore have brought home the block-books. And this is the less to be ascribed to him because

Frequent opportunities for such introduction in the age following Polo's.

* Ramusio himself appears to have been entirely unconscious of it, *vide supra*,

p. 3.

† This subject has been fully treated in *Cathay and the Way Thither*.

he so curiously omits to speak of the art of printing, when his subject seems absolutely to challenge its description.

XIV. EXPLANATIONS REGARDING THE BASIS ADOPTED FOR THE PRESENT TRANSLATION.

89. It remains to say a few words regarding the basis adopted for our English version of the Traveller's record.

Ramusio's recension was that which Marsden selected for translation. But at the date of his most meritorious publication nothing was known of the real literary history of Polo's Book, and no one was aware of the peculiar value and originality of the French manuscript texts, nor had Marsden seen any of them. A translation from one of those texts is a translation at first hand; a translation from Ramusio's Italian is, as far as I can judge, the translation of a translated compilation from two or more translations, and therefore, whatever be the merits of its matter, inevitably carries us far away from the spirit and style of the original narrator. M. Pauthier, I think, did well in adopting for the text of his edition the MSS. which I have classed as of the second Type, the more as there had hitherto been no publication from those texts. But editing a text in the original language, and translating, are tasks substantially different in their demands.

Text followed by Marsden and by Pauthier

90. It will be clear from what has been said in the preceding pages that I should not regard as a fair or full representation of Polo's Work, a version on which the Geographic Text did not exercise a material influence. But to adopt that Text, with all its awkwardnesses and tautologies, as the absolute subject of translation, would have been a mistake. What I have done has been, in the first instance, to translate from Pauthier's Text. The process of abridgment in this text, however it came about, has been on the whole judiciously executed, getting rid of the intolerable prolixities of manner which belong to many parts of the Original Dictation, but *as a general rule* preserving the matter. Having translated this,—not always from the Text adopted by Pauthier himself,

Eclectic formation of the English Text of this Translation.

but with the exercise of my own judgment on the various readings which that Editor lays before us,—I then compared the translation with the Geographic Text, and transferred from the latter not only all items of real substance that had been omitted, but also all expressions of special interest and character, and occasionally a greater fulness of phraseology where condensation in Pauthier's text seemed to have been carried too far. And finally I introduced *between brackets* everything peculiar to Ramusio's version that seemed to me to have a just claim to be reckoned authentic, and that could be so introduced without harshness or mutilation. Many passages from the same source which were of interest in themselves, but failed to meet one or other of these conditions, have been given in the notes.*

91. As regards the reading of proper names and foreign words, in which there is so much variation in the different MSS. and editions, I have done my best to select what seemed to be the true reading from the G. T. and Pauthier's three MSS., only in some rare instances transgressing this limit.

Where the MSS. in the repetition of a name afforded a choice of forms, I have selected that which came nearest the real name when known. Thus the G. T. affords *Baldasciain, Badascian, Badasciam, Badausiam, Balasian*. I adopt BADASCIAN, or in English spelling BADASHAN, because it is closest to the real name *Badakhshan*. Another place appears as COBINAN, *Cabanat, Cobian*. I adopt the first because it is the truest expression of the real name *Koh-benán*. In chapters 23, 24 of Book I., we have in the G. T. *Asisim, Asciscin, Aescin*, and in Pauthier's MSS. *Hasisins, Harsisins*, etc. I adopt ASCISCIN, or in English spelling ASHISHIN, for the same reason as before.

* This "eclectic formation of the English text," as I have called it for brevity in the marginal rubric, has been disapproved by Mr. de Khanikoff, a critic worthy of high respect. But I must repeat that the duties of a translator, and of the Editor of an original text, at least where the various recensions bear so peculiar a relation to each other as in this case, are essentially different; and that, on reconsidering the matter after an interval of four or five years, the plan which I have adopted, whatever be the faults of execution, still commends itself to me as the only appropriate one.

Let Mr. de Khanikoff consider what course he would adopt if he were about to publish Marco Polo in Russian. I feel certain that with whatever theory he might set out, before his task should be concluded he would have arrived practically at the same system that I have adopted.

So with *Creman*, *Crerman*, *Crermain*, QUERMAN, Anglicè KERMAN ; Cormos, HORMOS, and many more.*

In two or three cases I have adopted a reading which I cannot show *literatim* in any authority, but because such a form appears to be the just resultant from the variety of readings which are presented ; as in surveying one takes the mean of a number of observations when no one can claim an absolute preference.

Polo's proper names, even in the French Texts, are *in the main* formed on an Italian fashion of spelling.† I see no object in preserving such spelling in an English book, so after selecting the best reading of the name I express it in English spelling, printing *Badashan*, *Pashai*, *Kerman*, instead of *Badascian*, *Pasciai*, *Querman*, and so on.

And when a little trouble has been taken to ascertain the true form and force of Polo's spelling of Oriental names and technical expressions, it will be found that they are in the main as accurate as Italian lips and orthography will admit, and not justly liable either to those disparaging epithets‡ or to those exegetical distortions which have been too often applied to them. Thus, for example, *Cocacin*, *Ghel* or *Ghelan*, *Tonocain*, *Cobinan*, *Ondanique*, *Barguerlac*, *Argon*, *Sensin*, *Quescican*, *Toscaol*, *Bularguci*, *Zardandan*, *Anin*, *Caugigu*, *Coloman*, *Gauenispola*, *Mutfili*, *Avarian*, *Choiach*, are not, it will be seen, the ignorant blunderings which the interpretations affixed by some commentators would imply them to be, but are, on the contrary, all but perfectly accurate utterances of the names and words intended.

* In Polo's diction C frequently represents H., e.g., *Cormos* = Hormuz ; *Camadi* probably = Hamadi ; *Caagiu* probably = Hochau ; *Cacianfu* = Hochangfu, and so on. This is perhaps attributable to Rusticiano's Tuscan ear. A true Pisan will absolutely contort his features in the intensity of his efforts to aspire sufficiently the letter C. Filippo Villani, speaking of the famous Aguto (Sir J. Hawkwood), says his name in English was *Kauchouvole*. (*Murat. Script.* xiv. 746.)

† In the Venetian dialect *ch* and *j* are often sounded as in English, not as in Italian. Some traces of such pronunciation I think there are, as in *Coja*, *Carajan*, and in the Chinese name *Vanclu* (occurring only in Ramusio, *supra*, p. 99). But the scribe of the original work being a Tuscan, the spelling is in the main Tuscan. The sound of the *Qu* is, however, French, as in *Quescican*, *Quinsai*, except perhaps in the case of *Quenianfu*, for a reason given in vol. ii. p. 29.

‡ For example, that enthusiastic student of mediæval Geography, Joachim Lelewel, speaks of Polo's "gibberish" (*le baragouinage du Venitien*) with special reference to such names as *Zayton* and *Kinsay*, whilst we now know that these names were in universal use by all foreigners in China, and no more deserve to be called gibberish than *Bocca-Tigris*, *Leghorn*, *Ratisbon*, or *Buda*.

The *-tchéou* (of French writers), *-choo*, *-chow*, or *-chau* * of English writers, which so frequently forms the terminal part in the names of Chinese cities, is almost invariably rendered by Polo as *-giu*. This has frequently in the MSS., and constantly in the printed editions, been converted into *-gui*, and thence into *-guy*. This is on the whole the most constant canon of Polo's geographical orthography, and holds in *Caagiu* (Ho-chau), *Singiu* (Sining-chau), *Cui-giu* (Kwei-chau), *Sin-giu* (T'sining-chau), *Pi-giu* (Pei-chau), *Coigangiu* (Hwaingan-chau), *Si-giu* (Si-chau), *Ti-giu* (Tai-chau), *Tin-giu* (Tung-chau), *Yan-giu* (Yang-chau), *Sin-giu* (Chin-chau), *Cai-giu* (Kwa-chau), *Chinghi-giu* (Chang-chau), *Su-giu* (Su-chau), *Vu-giu* (Wu-chau), and perhaps a few more. In one or two instances only (as *Sinda-ciu*, *Caiciu*) he has *-ciu* instead of *-giu*.

The chapter-headings I have generally taken from Parthier's Text, but they are no essential part of the original work, and they have been slightly modified or enlarged where it seemed desirable.

“Behold! I see the Haven nigh at Hand,
 To which I meane my wearie Course to bend;
 Vere the maine Shete, and beare up with the Land,
 The which afore is fayrly to be kend,
 And seemeth safe from Storms that may offend.
 * * * * *

There eke my feeble Barke a while may stay,
 Till mery Wynd and Weather call her thence away.”

—THE FAERIE QUEENE, I. xii. 1.

* I am quite sensible of the diffidence with which any outsider should touch any question of Chinese language or orthography. A Chinese scholar and missionary (Mr. Moule) objects to my spelling *chau*, whilst he, I see, uses *chow*. I imagine we mean the same sound, according to the spelling which I try to use throughout the book. Dr. C. Douglas, another missionary scholar, writes *chau*



1

THE
BOOK OF MARCO POLO.

PROLOGUE.

GREAT PRINCES, Emperors, and Kings, Dukes and Marquises, Counts, Knights, and Burgesses! and People of all degrees who desire to get knowledge of the various races of mankind and of the diversities of the sundry regions of the World, take this Book and cause it to be read to you. For ye shall find therein all kinds of wonderful things, and the divers histories of the Great Hermenia, and of Persia, and of the Land of the Tartars, and of India, and of many another country of which our Book doth speak, particularly and in regular succession, according to the description of Messer Marco Polo, a wise and noble citizen of Venice, as he saw them with his own eyes. Some things indeed there be therein which he beheld not; but these he heard from men of credit and veracity. And we shall set down things seen as seen, and things heard as heard only, so that no jot of falsehood may mar the truth of our Book, and that all who shall read it or hear it read may put full faith in the truth of all its contents.

For let me tell you that since our Lord God did mould with his hands our first Father Adam, even until this day, never hath there been Christian, or Pagan, or

Tartar, or Indian, or any man of any nation, who in his own person hath had so much knowledge and experience of the divers parts of the World and its Wonders as hath had this Messer Marco! And for that reason he bethought himself that it would be a very great pity did he not cause to be put in writing all the great marvels that he had seen, or on sure information heard of, so that other people who had not these advantages might, by his Book, get such knowledge. And I may tell you that in acquiring this knowledge he spent in those various parts of the World good six-and-twenty years. Now, being thereafter an inmate of the Prison at Genoa, he caused Messer Rusticiano of Pisa, who was in the said Prison likewise, to reduce the whole to writing; and this befell in the year 1298 from the birth of Jesus.

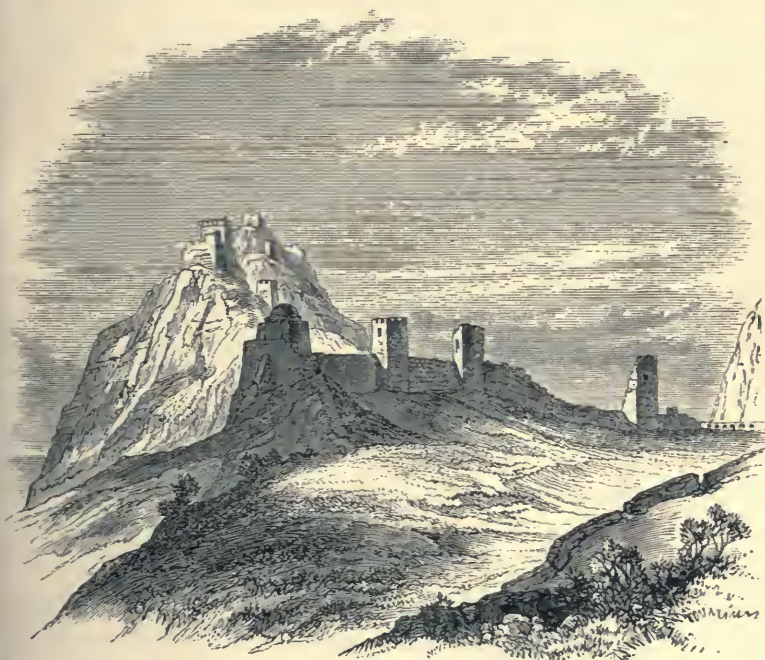
CHAPTER I.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS POLO SET FORTH FROM CONSTANTINOPLE
TO TRAVERSE THE WORLD.

IT came to pass in the year of Christ 1260, when Baldwin was reigning at Constantinople,¹ that Messer Nicolas Polo, the father of my lord Mark, and Messer Maffeo Polo, the brother of Messer Nicolas, were at the said city of CONSTANTINOPLE, whither they had gone from Venice with their merchants' wares. Now these two Brethren, men singularly noble, wise, and provident, took counsel together to cross the GREATER SEA on a venture of trade; so they laid in a store of jewels and set forth from Constantinople, crossing the Sea to SOLDIAIA.²

NOTE 1.—Baldwin II. (de Courtenay), the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople, reigned from 1237 to 1261, when he was expelled by Michael Palaeologus.

The date in the text is, as we see, that of the Brothers' voyage across the Black Sea. It stands 1250 in all the chief texts. But the figure is certainly wrong. We shall see that, when the Brothers return to Venice in 1269, they find Mark, who, according to Ramusio's version, was *born after their departure*, a lad of fifteen. Hence, if we rely on Ramusio, they must have left Venice about 1253-54. And we shall see also that they reached the Volga in 1261. Hence their start from Constantinople may well have occurred in 1260, and this I have adopted as the most probable correction. Where they spent the interval between 1254 (if they really left Venice so early) and 1260, nowhere appears. But as their brother, Mark the Elder, in his Will styles himself "*whilom of Constantinople*," their headquarters were probably there.



Castle of Soldaia or Sudak.

NOTE 2.—In the Middle Ages the Euxine was frequently called *Mare Magnum* or *Majus*. Thus Chaucer :—

“In the GRETE SEE,
At many a noble Armece hadde he be.”

The term Black Sea (*Mare Maurum* v. *Nigrum*) was, however, in use, and Abulfeda says it was general in his day. That name has been alleged to appear as early as the 10th century, in the form *Σκοτεινή*, “The Dark Sea”; but an examination of the passage cited, from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, shows that it refers rather to the Baltic, whilst that author elsewhere calls the Euxine simply Pontus. (*Reinaud's Abulf.* I. 38; *Const. Porph. De Adm. Imp.* c. 31, c. 42.)

†—*Sodaya*, *Soldaia*, or *Soldachia*, called by Orientals *Suddak*, stands on the S.F.

coast of the Crimea, west of Kaffa. It had belonged to the Greek Empire, and had a considerable Greek population. After the Frank conquest of 1204 it apparently fell to Trebizond. It was taken by the Mongols in 1223 for the first time, and a second time in 1239, and during that century was the great port of intercourse with what is now Russia. At an uncertain date, but about the middle of the century, the Venetians established a factory there, which in 1287 became the seat of a consul. In 1323 we find Pope John XXII. complaining to Uzbek Khan of Sarai that the Christians had been ejected from Soldaia and their churches turned into mosques. Ibn Batuta, who alludes to this strife, counts Sudak as one of the four great ports of the World. The Genoese got Soldaia in 1365 and built strong defences, still to be seen. Kaffa, with a good anchorage, in the 14th century, and later on Tana, took the place of Soldaia as chief emporium in South Russia. Some of the Arab Geographers call the Sea of Azov the Sea of Sudak.

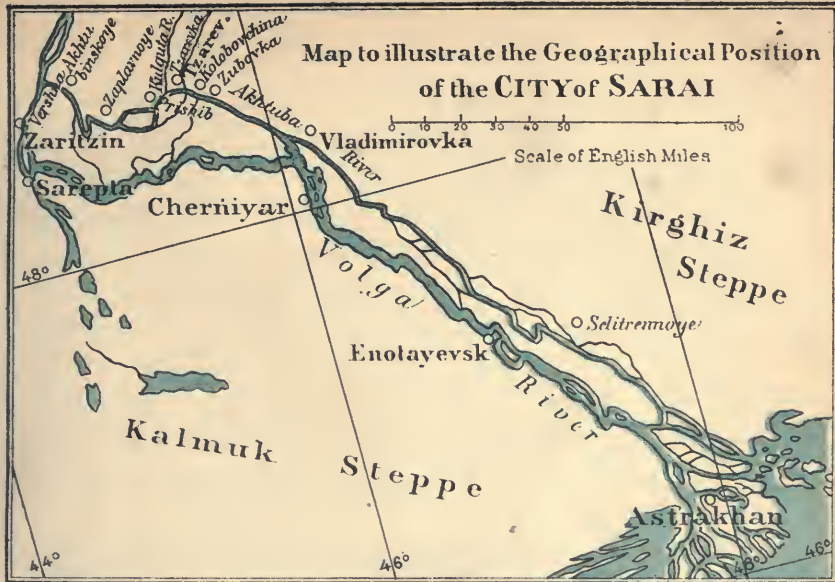
The Elder Marco Polo in his Will (1280) bequeaths to the Franciscan Friars of the place a house of his in *Soldachia*, reserving life occupation to his own son and daughter, then residing in it. Probably this establishment already existed when the two Brothers went thither. (*Elie de Laprimaudare*, passim; *Gold. Horde*, 87; *Mosheim*, App. 148; *Ibn Bat.* I. 28, II. 414; *Cathay*, 231-33; *Heyd*, II. passim.)

CHAPTER II.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS WENT ON BEYOND SOLDAIA.

HAVING stayed a while at Soldaia, they considered the matter, and thought it well to extend their journey further. So they set forth from Soldaia and travelled till they came to the Court of a certain Tartar Prince, BARCA KAAH by name, whose residences were at SARA¹ and at BOLGARA [and who was esteemed one of the most liberal and courteous Princes that ever was among the Tartars.]² This Barca was delighted at the arrival of the Two Brothers, and treated them with great honour; so they presented to him the whole of the jewels that they had brought with them. The Prince was highly pleased with these, and accepted the offering most graciously, causing the Brothers to receive at least twice its value.

After they had spent a twelvemonth at the court of this Prince there broke out a great war between Barca



and Aláu, the Lord of the Tartars of the Levant, and great hosts were mustered on either side.³

But in the end Barca, the Lord of the Tartars of the Ponent, was defeated, though on both sides there was great slaughter. And by reason of this war no one could travel without peril of being taken; thus it was at least on the road by which the Brothers had come, though there was no obstacle to their travelling forward. So the Brothers, finding they could not retrace their steps, determined to go forward. Quitting Bolgara, therefore, they proceeded to a city called UCACA, which was at the extremity of the kingdom of the Lord of the Ponent; ⁴ and thence departing again, and passing the great River Tigris, they travelled across a Desert which extended for seventeen days' journey, and wherein they found neither town nor village, falling in only with the tents of Tartars occupied with their cattle at pasture.⁵

NOTE 1.—: Barka Khan, third son of Júji, the first-born of Chinghiz, ruled the *Ulus* of Juji and Empire of Kipchak (Southern Russia) from 1257 to 1265. He was the first Musulman sovereign of his race. His chief residence was at SARAI (Sara of the text), a city founded by his brother and predecessor Bátú, on the banks of the Akhtuba branch of the Volga. In the next century Ibn Batuta describes Sarai as a very handsome and populous city, so large that it made half a day's journey to ride through it. The inhabitants were Mongols, Aás (or Alans), Kipchaks, Circassians, Russians, and Greeks, besides the foreign Moslem merchants, who had a walled quarter. Another Mahomedan traveller of the same century says the city itself was not walled, but, "The Khan's Palace was a great edifice surmounted by a golden crescent weighing two *kantars* of Egypt, and encompassed by a wall flanked with towers," etc. Pope John XXII., on the 26th February 1322, defined the limits of the new Bishopric of Kaffa, which were Sarai to the east and Varna to the west.

Sarai became the seat of both a Latin and a Russian metropolitan, and of more than one Franciscan convent. It was destroyed by Timur on his second invasion of Kipchak (1395-6), and extinguished by the Russians a century later. It is the scene of Chaucer's half-told tale of Cambuscan:—

"At *Sarra*, in the Londe of Tartarie,
There dwelt a King that werriëd Russie."

["*Mesâlek-al-âbsar* (285, 287), says Sarai, meaning 'the Palace,' was founded by Bereké, brother of Batu. It stood in a salty plain, and was without walls, though the palace had walls flanked by towers. The town was large, had markets, *madrasas*—and baths. It is usually identified with Selitrennoyé Gorodok, about 70 miles above Astrakhan." (*Rockhill, Knubruck*, p. 260, note.)—H. C.]

Several sites exhibiting extensive ruins near the banks of the Akhtuba have been identified with Sarai; two in particular. One of these is not far from the great

elbow of the Volga at Tzaritzyn : the other much lower down, at Selitrennoy Gorodok or Saltpetre-Town, not far above Astrakhan.

The upper site exhibits by far the most extensive traces of former population, and is declared unhesitatingly to be the sole site of Sarai by M. Gregorieff, who carried on excavations among the remains for four years, though with what precise results I have not been able to learn. The most dense part of the remains, consisting of mounds and earth-works, traces of walls, buildings, cisterns, dams, and innumerable canals, extends for about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles in the vicinity of the town of Tzarev, but a tract of 66 miles in length and 300 miles in circuit, commencing from near the head of the Akhtuba, presents remains of like character, though of less density, marking the ground occupied by the villages which encircled the capital. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the N.W. of Tzarev a vast mass of such remains, surrounded by the traces of a brick rampart, points out the presumable position of the Imperial Palace.

M. Gregorieff appears to admit no alternative. Yet it seems certain that the indications of Abulfeda, Pegolotti, and others, with regard to the position of the capital in the early part of the 14th century, are not consistent with a site so far from the Caspian. Moreover, F. H. Müller states that the site near Tzarev is known to the Tartars as the "Sarai of Janibek Khan" (1341-1357). Now it is worthy of note that in the coinage of Janibek we repeatedly find as the place of mintage, *New Sarai*. Arabsháh in his History of Timur states that 63 years had elapsed from the foundation to the destruction of Sarai. But it must have been at least 140 years since the foundation of Batu's city. Is it not possible, therefore, that both the sites which we have mentioned were successively occupied by the Mongol capital; that the original Sarai of Batu was at Selitrennoy Gorodok, and that the *New Sarai* of Janibek was established by him, or by his father Uzbek in his latter days, on the upper Akhtuba? Pegolotti having carried his merchant from Tana (Azov) to Gittarchan (Astrakhan), takes him *one day* by river to Sara, and from Sara to *Saracanco*, also by river, eight days more. (*Cathay*, p. 287.) In the work quoted I have taken Saracanco for Saraichik, on the Yaik. But it was possibly the Upper or New Sarai on the Akhtuba. Ibn Batuta, marching on the frozen river, reached Sarai in three days from Astrakhan. This could not have been at Tzarev, 200 miles off.

In corroboration (*quantum valeat*) of my suggestion that there must have been two Sarais near the Volga, Professor Bruun of Odessa points to the fact that Fra Mauro's map presents *two* cities of Sarai on the Akhtuba; only the Sarai of Janibeg is with him no longer *New Sarai*, but *Great Sarai*.

The use of the latter name suggests the possibility that in the *Saracanco* of Pegolotti the latter half of the name may be the Mongol *Künk* "Great." (See *Pavel de Courteille*, p. 439.)

Professor Bruun also draws attention to the impossibility of Ibn Batuta's travelling from Astrakhan to Tzarev in three days, an argument which had already occurred to me and been inserted above.

[The Empire of Kipchak founded after the Mongol Conquest of 1224, included also parts of Siberia and Khwarizm; it survived nominally until 1502.—H. C.]

(*Four Years of Archaeological Researches among the Ruins of Sarai* [in Russian] by M. Gregorieff [who appears to have also published a pamphlet specially on the site, but this has not been available]; *Historisch-geographische Darstellung des Stromsystems der Wolga*, von Ferd. Heinr. Müller, Berlin, 1839, 568-577; *Ibn. Bat. II. 447*; *Not. et Extraits*, XIII. i. 286; *Pallas, Voyages*; *Cathay*, 231, etc.; *Erdmann, Numi Asiatici*, pp. 362 seqq; *Arabs. I. p. 381*.)

NOTE 2.—BOLGHAR, our author's Bolgara, was the capital of the region sometimes called Great Bulgaria, by Abulfeda *Inner Bulgaria*, and stood a few miles from the left bank of the Volga, in latitude about $54^{\circ} 54'$, and 90 miles below Kazan. The old Arab writers regarded it as nearly the limit of the habitable world, and told wonders of the cold, the brief summer nights, and the fossil ivory that was found in its vicinity. This was exported, and with peltry, wax, honey, hazel-nuts, and Russia leather,

formed the staple articles of trade. The last item derived from Bolghar the name which it still bears all over Asia. (See Bk. II. ch. xvi., and Note.) Bolghar seems to have been the northern limit of Arab travel, and was visited by the curious (by Ibn Batuta among others) in order to witness the phenomena of the short summer night, as tourists now visit Hammerfest to witness its entire absence.

Russian chroniclers speak of an earlier capital of the Bulgarian kingdom, Brakhimof, near the mouth of the Kama, destroyed by Andrew, Grand Duke of Rostof and Susdal, about 1160; and this may have been the city referred to in the earlier Arabic accounts. The fullest of these is by Ibn Fozlán, who accompanied an embassy from the Court of Baghdad to Bolghar, in A. D. 921. The King and people had about this time been converted to Islam, having previously, as it would seem, professed Christianity. Nevertheless, a Mahomedan writer of the 14th century says the people had then long renounced Islam for the worship of the Cross. (*Not. et Extr.* XIII. i. 270.)



Ruins of Bolghar.

Bolghar was first captured by the Mongols in 1225. It seems to have perished early in the 15th century, after which Kazan practically took its place. Its position is still marked by a village called Bolgari, where ruins of Mahomedan character remain, and where coins and inscriptions have been found. Coins of the Kings of Bolghar, struck in the 10th century, have been described by Fraehn, as well as coins of the Mongol period struck at Bolghar. Its latest known coin is of A. H. 818 (A. D. 1415-16). A history of Bolghar was written in the first half of the 12th century by Yakub Ibn Noman, Kadhi of the city, but this is not known to be extant.

Fraehn shows ground for believing the people to have been a mixture of Fins, Slavs, and Turks. Nicephorus Gregoras supposes that they took their name from the great river on which they dwelt (*Βούλγα*).

[“The ruins[*of Bolghar*],” says Bretschneider, in his *Medieval Researches*, published in 1888, vol. ii. p. 82, “still exist, and have been the subject of learned investigation by several Russian scholars. These remains are found on the spot where now the village *Uspenskoye*, called also *Bolgarskoye* (Bolgari), stands, in the district of Spask, province of Kazan. This village is about 4 English miles distant from the Volga, east of it, and 83 miles from Kazan.” Part of the Bulgars removed to the Balkans; others remained in their native country on the shores of the Azov Sea, and were subjugated by the Khazars. At the beginning of the 9th century, they marched northwards to the Volga and the Kama, and established the kingdom of Great Bulgaria. Their chief city, Bolghar, was on the bank of the Volga, but the river runs now to the west; as the Kama also underwent a change in its course, it is possible that formerly Bolghar was built at the junction of the two rivers. (Cf. *Reclus*,

Europe russe, p. 761.) The Bulgars were converted to Islam in 922. Their country was first invaded by the Mongols under Subutai in 1223; this General conquered it in 1236, the capital was destroyed the following year, and the country annexed to the kingdom of Kipchak. Bolghar was again destroyed in 1391 by Tamerlan. In 1438, Ulugh Mohammed, cousin of Toka Timur, younger son of Juji, transformed this country into the khanate of Kazan, which survived till 1552. It had probably been the capital of the Golden Horde before Sarai.

With reference to the early Christianity of the Bulgarians, to which Yule refers in his note, the *Laurentian Chronicle* (A.D. 1229), quoted by Shpilevsky, adduces evidence to show that in the Great City, *i.e.* *Bulgar*, there were Russian Christians and a Christian cemetery, and the death of a Bulgarian Christian martyr is related in the same chronicle as well as in the Nikon, Tver, and Tatischev annals in which his name is given. (Cf. Shpilevsky, *Anc. towns and other Bulgaro-Tartar monuments*, Kazan, 1877, p. 158 *seq.*; *Rockhill's Rubruck*, Hakl. Soc. p. 121, note.)—H. C.]

The severe and lasting winter is spoken of by Ibn Fozlán and other old writers in terms that seem to point to a modern mitigation of climate. It is remarkable, too, that Ibn Fozlán speaks of the aurora as of very frequent occurrence, which is not now the case in that latitude. We may suspect this frequency to have been connected with the greater cold indicated, and perhaps with a different position of the magnetic pole. Ibn Fozlán's account of the aurora is very striking:—"Shortly before sunset the horizon became all very ruddy, and at the same time I heard sounds in the upper air, with a dull rustling. I looked up and beheld sweeping over me a fire-red cloud, from which these sounds issued, and in its movements, as it were, of men and horses; the men grasping bows, lances, and swords. This I saw, or thought I saw. Then there appeared a white cloud of like aspect; in it also I beheld armed horsemen, and these rushed against the former as one squadron of horse charges another. We were so terrified at this that we turned with humble prayer to the Almighty, whereupon the natives about us wondered and broke into loud laughter. We, however, continued to gaze, seeing how one cloud charged the other, remained confused with it a while, and then sundered again. These movements lasted deep into the night, and then all vanished."

(*Fraehn, Ueber die Wolga Bulgaren*, Petersb. 1832; *Gold. Horde*, 8, 9, 423-424; *Not. et Extr.* II. 541; *Ibn Bat.* II. 398; *Büschings Mag.* V. 492; *Erdmann, Numi Asiat.* I. 315-318, 333-334, 520-535; *Niceph. Gregoras*, II. 2, 2.)

NOTE 3.—ALAU is Polo's representation of the name of Hulákú, brother of the Great Kaans Mangu and Kublai and founder of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. In the Mongol pronunciation guttural and palatal consonants are apt to be elided, hence this spelling. The same name is written by Pope Alexander IV., in addressing the Khan, *Olaa*, by Pachymeres and Gregoras Χαλαῦ and Χαλαοῦ, by Hayton *Haolon*, by Ibn Batuta *Huláán*, as well as in a letter of Hulaku's own, as given by Makrizi.

The war in question is related in Rashfduddín's history, and by Polo himself towards the end of the work. It began in the summer of 1262, and ended about eight months later. Hence the Polos must have reached Barka's Court in 1261.

Marco always applies to the Mongol Khans of Persia the title of "Lords of the East" (*Levant*), and to the Khans of Kipchak that of "Lords of the West" (*Ponent*). We use the term *Levant* still with a similar specific application, and in another form *Anatolia*. I think it best to preserve the terms *Levant* and *Ponent* when used in this way.

[Robert Parke in his translation out of Spanish of Mendoza, *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China* . . . London, printed by I. Wolfe for Edward White, 1588, uses the word *Ponent*: "You shall understande that this mightie kingdome is the Orientalest part of all Asia, and his next neighbour towards the *Ponent* is the kingdome of *Quachinchina* . . . (p. 2)."—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—UCACA or UKEK was a town on the right bank of the Volga, nearly

equidistant between Sarai and Bolghar, and about six miles south of the modern Saratov, where a village called *Uwek* still exists. Ukek is not mentioned before the Mongol domination, and is supposed to have been of Mongol foundation, as the name Ukek is said in Mongol to signify a dam of hurdles. The city is mentioned by Abulfeda as marking the extremity of "the empire of the Barka Tartars," and Ibn Batuta speaks of it as "one day distant from the hills of the Russians." Polo therefore means that it was the frontier of the Ponent towards Russia. Ukek was the site of a Franciscan convent in the 14th century; it is mentioned several times in the campaigns of Timur, and was destroyed by his army. It is not mentioned under the form Ukek after this, but appears as *Uwek* and *Uwesh* in Russian documents of the 16th century. Perhaps this was always the Slavonic form, for it already is written *Uguech* (=Uwek) in Wadding's 14th century catalogue of convents. Anthony Jenkinson, in Hakluyt, gives an observation of its latitude, as *Oweke* ($51^{\circ} 40'$), and Christopher Burrough, in the same collection, gives a description of it as *Oueak*, and the latitude as $51^{\circ} 30'$ (some $7'$ too much). In his time (1579) there were the remains of a "very faire stone castle" and city, with old tombs exhibiting sculptures and inscriptions. All these have long vanished. Burrough was told by the Russians that the town "was swallowed into the earth by the justice of God, for the wickedness of the people that inhabited the same." Lepechin in 1769 found nothing remaining but part of an earthen rampart and some underground vaults of larger bricks, which the people dug out for use. He speaks of coins and other relics as frequent, and the like have been found more recently. Coins with Mongol-Arab inscriptions, struck at Ukek by Tuktugai Khan in 1306, have been described by Fraehn and Erdmann.

(*Fraehn, Ueber die ehemalige Mong. Stadt Ukek, etc.*, Petersb. 1835; *Gold. Horde*; *Ibn Bat.* II. 414; *Abulfeda, in Bûsching*, V. 365; *Ann. Minorum*, sub anno 1400; *Petis de la Croix*, II. 355, 383, 388; *Hakluyt*, ed. 1809, I. 375 and 472; *Lepechin, Tagebuch der Reise, etc.*, I. 235-237; *Rockhill, Rubruck*, 120-121, note 2.)

NOTE 5.—The great River Tigeri or Tigris is the Volga, as Pauthier rightly shows. It receives the same name from the Monk Pascal of Vittoria in 1338. (*Cathay*, p. 234.) Perhaps this arose out of some legend that the Tigris was a reappearance of the same river. The ecclesiastical historian, Nicephorus Callistus, appears to imply that the Tigris coming from Paradise flows under the Caspian to emerge in Kurdistan. (See IX. 19.)

The "17 days" applies to one stretch of desert. The whole journey from Ukek Bokhara would take some 60 days at least. Ibn Batuta is 58 days from Sarai to Bokhara, and of the last section he says, "we entered the desert which extends between Khwarizm and Bokhara, and which has an extent of 18 days' journey." (III. 19.)

CHAPTER III.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS, AFTER CROSSING A DESERT, CAME TO THE CITY OF BOCARA, AND FELL IN WITH CERTAIN ENVOYS THERE.

AFTER they had passed the desert, they arrived at a very great and noble city called BOCARA, the territory of which belonged to a king whose name was Barac,

and is also called Bocara. The city is the best in all Persia.¹ And when they had got thither, they found they could neither proceed further forward nor yet turn back again; wherefore they abode in that city of Bocara for three years. And whilst they were sojourning in that city, there came from Alau, Lord of the Levant, Envoys on their way to the Court of the Great Kaan, the Lord of all the Tartars in the world. And when the Envoys beheld the Two Brothers they were amazed, for they had never before seen Latins in that part of the world. And they said to the Brothers: "Gentlemen, if ye will take our counsel, ye will find great honour and profit shall come thereof." So they replied that they would be right glad to learn how. "In truth," said the Envoys, "the Great Kaan hath never seen any Latins, and he hath a great desire so to do. Wherefore, if ye will keep us company to his Court, ye may depend upon it that he will be right glad to see you, and will treat you with great honour and liberality; whilst in our company ye shall travel with perfect security, and need fear to be molested by nobody."²

NOTE 1.—Hayton also calls Bokhara a city of Persia, and I see Vámbéry says that, up till the conquest by Chinghiz, Bokhara, Samarkand, Balkh, etc., were considered to belong to Persia. (*Travels*, p. 377.)—The first Mongolian governor of Bokhara was Buka Bosha.

King Barac is Borrak Khan, great-grandson of Chagatai, and sovereign of the Ulús of Chagatai, from 1264 to 1270. The Polos, no doubt, reached Bokhara before 1264, but Borrak must have been sovereign some time before they left it.

NOTE 2.—The language of the envoys seems rather to imply that they were the Great Kaan's own people returning from the Court of Hulaku. And Rashid mentions that Sartak, the Kaan's ambassador to Hulaku, returned from Persia in the year that the latter prince died. It may have been his party that the Venetians joined, for the year almost certainly was the same, viz. 1265. If so, another of the party was Bayan, afterwards the greatest of Kublai's captains, and much celebrated in the sequel of this book. (See *Erdmann's Temudschin*, p. 214.)

Marsden justly notes that Marco habitually speaks of *Latins*, never of *Franks*. Yet I suspect his own mental expression was *Farangi*.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS TOOK THE ENVOYS' COUNSEL, AND WENT TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAAN.

So when the Two Brothers had made their arrangements, they set out on their travels, in company with the Envoys, and journeyed for a whole year, going northward and north-eastward, before they reached the Court of that Prince. And on their journey they saw many marvels of divers and sundry kinds, but of these we shall say nothing at present, because Messer Mark, who has likewise seen them all, will give you a full account of them in the Book which follows.

CHAPTER V.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS ARRIVED AT THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAAN.

WHEN the Two Brothers got to the Great Kaan, he received them with great honour and hospitality, and showed much pleasure at their visit, asking them a great number of questions. First, he asked about the emperors, how they maintained their dignity, and administered justice in their dominions; and how they went forth to battle, and so forth. And then he asked the like questions about the kings and princes and other potentates.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE GREAT KAAH ASKED ALL ABOUT THE MANNERS OF THE CHRISTIANS, AND PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE POPE OF ROME.

AND then he inquired about the Pope and the Church, and about all that is done at Rome, and all the customs of the Latins. And the Two Brothers told him the truth in all its particulars, with order and good sense, like sensible men as they were; and this they were able to do as they knew the Tartar language well.¹

NOTE 1.—The word generally used for Pope in the original is *Apostoille* (*Apostolicus*), the usual French expression of that age.

It is remarkable that for the most part the text edited by Pauthier has the correcter Oriental form *Tatar*, instead of the usual *Tartar*. *Tattar* is the word used by Yvo of Narbonne, in the curious letter given by Matthew Paris under 1243.

We are often told that *Tartar* is a vulgar European error. It is in any case a very old one; nor does it seem to be of European origin, but rather Armenian;* though the suggestion of Tartarus may have given it readier currency in Europe. Russian writers, or rather writers who have been in Russia, sometimes try to force on us a specific limitation of the word *Tartar* to a certain class of Oriental Turkish race, to whom the Russians appropriate the name. But there is no just ground for this. *Tátár* is used by Oriental writers of Polo's age exactly as *Tartar* was then, and is still, used in Western Europe, as a generic title for the Turanian hosts who followed Chinghiz and his successors. But I believe the name in this sense was unknown to Western Asia before the time of Chinghiz. And General Cunningham must overlook this when he connects the *Títariya* coins, mentioned by Arab geographers of the 9th century, with "the Scythic or *Tátár* princes who ruled in Kabul" in the beginning of our era. Tartars on the Indian frontier in those centuries are surely to be classed with the Frenchmen whom Brennus led to Rome, or the Scotchmen who fought against Agricola.

* See *J. ds. sct.* V. tom. xi. p. 204.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW THE GREAT KAAAN SENT THE TWO BROTHERS AS HIS ENVOYS TO THE POPE.

WHEN that Prince, whose name was CUBLAY KAAAN, Lord of the Tartars all over the earth, and of all the kingdoms and provinces and territories of that vast quarter of the world, had heard all that the Brothers had to tell him about the ways of the Latins, he was greatly pleased, and he took it into his head that he would send them on an Embassy to the Pope. So he urgently desired them to undertake this mission along with one of his Barons; and they replied that they would gladly execute all his commands as those of their Sovereign Lord. Then the Prince sent to summon to his presence one of his Barons whose name was COGATAL, and desired him to get ready, for it was proposed to send him to the Pope along with the Two Brothers. The Baron replied that he would execute the Lord's commands to the best of his ability.

After this the Prince caused letters from himself to the Pope to be indited in the Tartar tongue,¹ and committed them to the Two Brothers and to that Baron of his own, and charged them with what he wished them to say to the Pope. Now the contents of the letter were to this purport: He begged that the Pope would send as many as an hundred persons of our Christian faith; intelligent men, acquainted with the Seven Arts,² well qualified to enter into controversy, and able clearly to prove by force of argument to idolaters and other kinds of folk, that the Law of Christ was best, and that all other religions were false and naught; and that if they would prove this, he and all under him would become Christians and the

Church's liegemen. Finally he charged his Envoys to bring back to him some Oil of the Lamp which burns on the Sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem.³

NOTE 1.—The appearance of the Great Kaan's letter may be illustrated by two letters on so-called Korean paper preserved in the French archives; one from Arghún Khan of Persia (1289), brought by Buscarel, and the other from his son Oljaitu (May, 1305), to Philip the Fair. These are both in the Mongol language, and according to Abel Rémusat and other authorities, in the Uighúr character, the parent of the present Mongol writing. Facsimiles of the letters are given in Rémusat's paper on intercourse with Mongol Princes, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* vols. vii. and viii., reproductions in J. B. Chabot's *Hist. de Mar Jabalaha III.*, Paris, 1895, and preferably in Prince Roland Bonaparte's beautiful *Documents Mongols*, Pl. XIV., and we give samples of the two in vol. ii.*

NOTE 2.—“The Seven Arts,” from a date reaching back nearly to classical times, and down through the Middle Ages, expressed the whole circle of a liberal education, and it is to these Seven Arts that the degrees in arts were understood to apply. They were divided into the *Trivium* of Rhetoric, Logic, and Grammar, and the *Quadrivium* of Arithmetic, Astronomy, Music, and Geometry. The 38th epistle of Seneca was in many MSS. (according to Lipsius) entitled “*L. Annaei Senecae Liber de Septem Artibus liberalibus.*” I do not find, however, that Seneca there mentions categorically more than five, viz., Grammar, Geometry, Music, Astronomy, and Arithmetic. In the 5th century we find the Seven Arts to form the successive subjects of the last seven books of the work of Martianus Capella, much used in the schools during the early Middle Ages. The Seven Arts will be found enumerated in the verses of Tzetzes (*Chil. XI.* 525), and allusions to them in the mediæval romances are endless. Thus, in one of the “*Gestes d'Alexandre,*” a chapter is headed “*Comment Aristotle aprent à Alixandre les Sept Arts.*” In the tale of the Seven Wise Masters, Diocletian selects that number of tutors for his son, each to instruct him in one of the Seven Arts. In the romance of *Erec and Eneide* we have a dress on which the fairies had portrayed the Seven Arts (*Franc. Michel, Recherches, etc.* II. 82); in the *Roman de Mahomet* the young impostor is master of all the seven. There is one mediæval poem called the *Marriage of the Seven Arts*, and another called the *Battle of the Seven Arts*. (See also Dante, *Convito*, Trat. II. c. 14; *Not. et Ex.* V., 491 seqq.)

NOTE 3.—The Chinghizide Princes were eminently liberal—or indifferent—in religion; and even after they became Mahomedan, which, however, the Eastern branch never did, they were rarely and only by brief fits persecutors. Hence there was scarcely one of the non-Mahomedan Khans of whose conversion to Christianity there were not stories spread. The first rumours of Chinghiz in the West were as of a Christian conqueror; tales may be found of the Christianity of Chagatai, Hulaku, Abaka, Arghun, Baidu, Ghazan, Sartak, Kuyuk, Mangu, Kublai, and one or two of the latter's successors in China, all probably false, with one or two doubtful exceptions.

* See plates with ch. xvij, of Bk. IV. See also the Uighúr character in the second *Palza*, Bk. II. ch. vii.



The Great Kaan delivering a Golden Tablet to the Brothers. From a miniature of the 14th century.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THE GREAT KAAH GAVE THEM A TABLET OF GOLD, BEARING HIS ORDERS IN THEIR BEHALF.

WHEN the Prince had charged them with all his commission, he caused to be given them a Tablet of Gold, on which was inscribed that the three Ambassadors should be supplied with everything needful in all the countries through which they should pass—with horses, with escorts, and, in short, with whatever they should require. And when they had made all needful preparations, the three Ambassadors took their leave of the Emperor and set out.

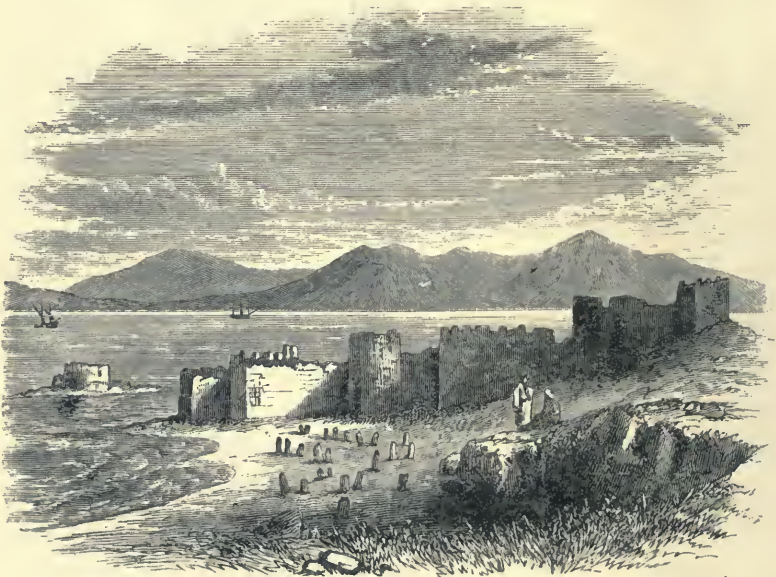
When they had travelled I know not how many days, the Tartar Baron fell sick, so that he could not ride, and being very ill, and unable to proceed further, he halted at a certain city. So the Two Brothers judged it best that they should leave him behind and proceed to carry out their commission; and, as he was well content that they

should do so, they continued their journey. And I can assure you, that whithersoever they went they were honourably provided with whatever they stood in need of, or chose to command. And this was owing to that Tablet of Authority from the Lord which they carried with them.¹

So they travelled on and on until they arrived at Layas in Hermania, a journey which occupied them, I assure you, for three years.² It took them so long because they could not always proceed, being stopped sometimes by snow, or by heavy rains falling, or by great torrents which they found in an impassable state.

NOTE 1.—On these Tablets, see a note under Bk. II. ch. vii.

NOTE 2.—AYAS, called also Ayacio, Aiazzo, Giazza, Glaza, La Jazza, and *Layas*, occupied the site of ancient *Aegae*, and was the chief port of Cilician Armenia, on the Gulf of Scanderoon. *Aegae* had been in the 5th century a place of trade with the West, and the seat of a bishopric, as we learn from the romantic but incomplete



Castle of Ayas,

story of Mary, the noble slave-girl, told by Gibbon (ch. 33). As Ayas it became in the latter part of the 13th century one of the chief places for the shipment of Asiatic wares arriving through Tabriz, and was much frequented by the vessels of the Italian Republics. The Venetians had a *Bailo* resident there.

Ayas is the *Leyes* of Chaucer's Knight,—

(“At LEYES was he and at Satalie”)—

and the *Layas* of Froissart. (Bk. III. ch. xxii.) The Gulf of *Layas* is described in the xix. Canto of Ariosto, where Mafisa and Astolfo find on its shores a country of barbarous Amazons :—

“Fatto è 'l porto a sembranza d' una luna,” etc.

Marino Sanuto says of it : “Laiacio has a haven, and a shoal in front of it that we might rather call a reef, and to this shoal the hawsers of vessels are moored whilst the anchors are laid out towards the land.” (II. IV. ch. xxvi.)

The present Ayas is a wretched village of some 15 huts, occupied by about 600 Turkmans, and standing inside the ruined walls of the castle. This castle, which is still in good condition, was built by the Armenian kings, and restored by Sultan Suleiman ; it was constructed from the remains of the ancient city ; fragments of old columns are embedded in its walls of cut stone. It formerly communicated by a causeway with an advanced work on an island before the harbour. The ruins of the city occupy a large space. (*Langlois, V. en Cilicie*, pp. 429-31 ; see also *Beaufort's Karamania*, near the end.) A plan of Ayas will be found at the beginning of Bk. I. —H. Y. and H. C.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS CAME TO THE CITY OF ACRE.

THEY departed from *Layas* and came to *ACRE*, arriving there in the month of April, in the year of Christ 1269, and then they learned that the Pope was dead. And when they found that the Pope was dead (his name was Pope * *),¹ they went to a certain wise Churchman who was Legate for the whole kingdom of Egypt, and a man of great authority, by name THEOBALD OF PIACENZA, and told him of the mission on which they were come. When the Legate heard their story, he was greatly surprised, and deemed the thing to be of great honour and advantage for the whole of Christendom. So his answer to the two Ambassador Brothers was this : “Gentlemen, ye see that

which corresponds to Ramusio's version. Most of the ecclesiastical chroniclers call him *Tedaldus*, some *Thealdus*. *Tedaldo* is a real name, occurring in Boccaccio. (Day iii. Novel 7.)

NOTE 2.—After the expulsion of the Venetians from Constantinople, Negropont was the centre of their influence in Romania. On the final return of the travellers they again take Negropont on their way. [It was one of the ports on the route from Venice to Constantinople, Tana, Trebizond.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The *edition* of the Soc. de Géographie makes Mark's age *twelve*, but I have verified from inspection the fact noticed by Pauthier that the *manuscript* has distinctly xv. like all the other old texts. In Ramusio it is *nineteen*, but this is doubtless an arbitrary correction to suit the mistaken date (1250) assigned for the departure of the father from Constantinople.

There is nothing in the old French texts to justify the usual statement that Marco was born after the departure of his father from Venice. All that the G. T. says is: "Meser Nicolau treuve que sa fame estoit morte, et les remès un filz de xv. anz que avoit à nom Marc," and Pauthier's text is to the same effect. Ramusio, indeed, has: "M. Nicolò trovò, che sna moglie era morta, la quale nella sua partita haveva partorito un figliuolo," and the other versions that are based on Pipino's seem all to have like statements.

CHAPTER X.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS AGAIN DEPARTED FROM VENICE, ON THEIR WAY BACK TO THE GREAT KAAH, AND TOOK WITH THEM MARK, THE SON OF MESSER NICOLAS.

WHEN the Two Brothers had tarried as long as I have told you, and saw that never a Pope was made, they said that their return to the Great Kaan must be put off no longer. So they set out from Venice, taking Mark along with them, and went straight back to Acre, where they found the Legate of whom we have spoken. They had a good deal of discourse with him concerning the matter, and asked his permission to go to JERUSALEM to get some Oil from the Lamp on the Sepulchre, to carry with them to the Great Kaan, as he had enjoined.¹ The Legate giving them leave, they went from Acre to Jerusalem and got some of the Oil, and then returned to Acre, and went to the Legate and said to him: "As we see no sign of a

Pope's being made, we desire to return to the Great Kaan; for we have already tarried long, and there has been more than enough delay." To which the Legate replied: "Since 'tis your wish to go back, I am well content." Wherefore he caused letters to be written for delivery to the Great Kaan, bearing testimony that the Two Brothers had come in all good faith to accomplish his charge, but that as there was no Pope they had been unable to do so.

NOTE I.—In a Pilgrimage of date apparently earlier than this, the Pilgrim says of the Sepulchre: "The Lamp which had been placed by His head (when He lay there) still burns on the same spot day and night. *We took a blessing from it (i.e. apparently took some of the oil as a beneficent memorial), and replaced it.*" (*Itinerarium Antonini Placentini in Bollandists*, May, vol. ii. p. xx.)

["Five great oil lamps," says Daniel, the Russian Hégoûmène, 1106-1107 (*Itinéraires russes en Orient*, trad. pour la Soc. de l'Orient Latin, par Mme. B. de Khitrowo, Geneva, 1889, p. 13), "burning continually night and day, are hung in the Sepulchre of Our Lord."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XI.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS SET OUT FROM ACRE, AND MARK ALONG WITH THEM.

WHEN the Two Brothers had received the Legate's letters, they set forth from Acre to return to the Grand Kaan, and got as far as Layas. But shortly after their arrival there they had news that the Legate aforesaid was chosen Pope, taking the name of Pope Gregory of Piacenza; news which the Two Brothers were very glad indeed to hear. And presently there reached them at Layas a message from the Legate, now the Pope, desiring them, on the part of the Apostolic See, not to proceed further on their journey, but to return to him incontinently. And what shall I tell you? The King of

Hermenia caused a galley to be got ready for the Two Ambassador Brothers, and despatched them to the Pope at Acre.¹

NOTE 1.—The death of Pope Clement IV. occurred on St Andrew's Day (29th November), 1268; the election of Tedaldo or Tebaldo of Piacenza, a member of the Visconti family, and Archdeacon of Liège, did not take place till 1st September, 1271, owing to the factions among the cardinals. And it is said that some of them, anxious only to get away, voted for Theobald in full belief that he was dead. The conclave, in its inability to agree, had named a committee of six with full powers which the same day elected Theobald, on the recommendation of the Cardinal Bishop of Portus (John de Toledo, said, in spite of his name, to have been an Englishman). This facetious dignitary had suggested that the roof should be taken off the Palace at Viterbo where they sat, to allow the divine influences to descend more freely on their counsels (*quia nequeunt ad nos per tot tecta ingredi*). According to some, these doggerel verses, current on the occasion, were extemporised by Cardinal John in the pious exuberance of his glee:—



Portrait of Pope Gregory X.

“Papatūs munus tulit Archidiaconus unus
Quem Patrem Patrum fecit discordia Fratrum.”

The Archdeacon, a man of great weight of character, in consequence of differences with his Bishop (of Liège), who was a disorderly liver, had gone to the Holy Land, and during his stay there he contracted great intimacy with Prince Edward of England (Edward I.). Some authors, e.g. John Villani (VIII. 39), say that he was Legate in Syria; others, as Rainaldus, deny this; but Polo's statement, and the authority which the Archdeacon took on himself in writing to the Kaan, seem to show that he had some such position.

He took the name of Gregory X., and before his departure from Acre, preached a moving sermon on the text, “*If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,*” etc. Prince Edward fitted him out for his voyage.

Gregory reigned barely four years, dying at Arezzo 10th January, 1276. His character stood high to the last, and some of the Northern Martyrologies enrolled him among the saints, but there has never been canonisation by Rome. The people of Arezzo used to celebrate his anniversary with torch-light gatherings at his tomb, and plenty of miracles were alleged to have occurred there. The tomb still stands in the

Duomo at Arezzo, a handsome work by Margaritone, an artist in all branches, who was the Pope's contemporary. There is an engraving of it in *Gonnelli, Mon. Sepolc. di Toscana*.

(*Fra Pipino* in *Muratori*, IX. 700; *Rainaldi Annal.* III. 252 *seqq.*; *Wadding*, sub. an. 1217; *Bollandists*, 10th January; *Palatii, Gesta Pontif. Roman.* vol. iii., and *Fasti Cardinalium*, I. 463, etc.)

CHAPTER XII.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS PRESENTED THEMSELVES BEFORE THE NEW POPE.

AND when they had been thus honourably conducted to Acre they proceeded to the presence of the Pope, and paid their respects to him with humble reverence. He received them with great honour and satisfaction, and gave them his blessing. He then appointed two Friars of the Order of Preachers to accompany them to the Great Kaan, and to do whatever might be required of them. These were unquestionably as learned Churchmen as were to be found in the Province at that day—one being called Friar Nicolas of Vicenza, and the other Friar William of Tripoli.¹ He delivered to them also proper credentials, and letters in reply to the Great Kaan's messages [and gave them authority to ordain priests and bishops, and to bestow every kind of absolution, as if given by himself in proper person; sending by them also many fine vessels of crystal as presents to the Great Kaan].² So when they had got all that was needful, they took leave of the Pope, receiving his benediction; and the four set out together from Acre, and went to Layas, accompanied always by Messer Nicolas's son Marco.

Now, about the time that they reached Layas, Bendocquedar, the Soldan of Babylon, invaded Hermenia with a great host of Saracens, and ravaged the country,

so that our Envoys ran a great peril of being taken or slain.³ And when the Preaching Friars saw this they were greatly frightened, and said that go they never would. So they made over to Messer Nicolas and Messer Maffeo all their credentials and documents, and took their leave, departing in company with the Master of the Temple.⁴

NOTE 1.—Friar William, of Tripoli, of the Dominican convent at Acre, appears to have served there as early as 1250. [He was born *circa* 1220, at Tripoli, in Syria, whence his name.—H. C.] He is known as the author of a book, *De Statu Saracenorum post Ludovici Regis de Syriâ reditum*, dedicated to Theoldus, Archdeacon of Liège (*i.e.* Pope Gregory). Of this some extracts are printed in Duchesne's *Hist. Francorum Scriptores*. There are two MSS. of it, with different titles, in the Paris Library, and a French version in that of Berne. A MS. in Cambridge Univ. Library, which contains among other things a copy of Pipino's Polo, has also the work of Friar William:—"Willelmus Tripolitanus, Aconensis Conventus, de Egressu Machometi et Saracenorum, atque progressu eorumdem, de Statu Saracenorum," etc. It is imperfect; it is addressed THEOBALDO Ecclesiarcho digno Sancte Terre Peregrino Sancto. And from a cursory inspection I imagine that the Tract appended to one of the Polo MSS. in the British Museum (Addl. MSS., No. 19,952) is the same work or part of it. To the same author is ascribed a tract called *Clades Daniatae*. (Duchesne, V. 432; *D'Avezac* in *Rec. de Voyages*, IV. 406; *Quñtif, Script. Ord. Præd.* I. 264-5; *Catal. of MSS. in Camb. Univ. Library*, I. 22.)

NOTE 2.—I presume that the powers, stated in this passage from Ramusio to have been conferred on the Friars, are exaggerated. In letters of authority granted in like cases by Pope Gregory's successors, Nicolas III. (in 1278) and Boniface VIII. (in 1299), the missionary friars to remote regions are empowered to absolve from excommunication and release from vows, to settle matrimonial questions, to found churches and appoint *idoneos rectores*, to authorise Oriental clergy who should publicly submit to the Apostolic See to enjoy the *privilegium clericale*, whilst in the absence of bishops those among the missionaries who were priests might consecrate cemeteries, altars, palls, etc., admit to the Order of Acolytes, but nothing beyond. (See *Mosheim, Hist. Tartar. Eccles.* App. Nos. 23 and 42.)

NOTE 3.—The statement here about Bundúkdár's invasion of Cilician Armenia is a difficulty. He had invaded it in 1266, and his second devastating invasion, during which he burnt both Layas and Sis, the king's residence, took place in 1275, a point on which Marino Sanuto is at one with the Oriental Historians. Now we know from Rainaldus that Pope Gregory left Acre in November or December, 1271, and the text appears to imply that our travellers left Acre before him. The utmost corroboration that I can find lies in the following facts stated by Makrizi:—

On the 13th Safar, A.H. 670 (20th September 1271), Bundúkdár arrived unexpectedly at Damascus, and after a brief raid against the Ismaelians he returned to that city. In the middle of Rabi I. (about 20-25 October) the Tartars made an incursion in northern Syria, and the troops of Aleppo retired towards Hamah. There was great alarm at Damascus; the Sultan sent orders to Cairo for reinforcements, and these arrived at Damascus on the 9th November. The Sultan then advanced on Aleppo, sending corps likewise towards Marash (which was within the Armenian frontier) and Harran. At the latter place the Tartars were attacked and those in the town slaughtered; the rest retreated. The Sultan was back at

Damascus, and off on a different expedition, by 7th December. Hence, if the travellers arrived at Ayas towards the latter part of November they would probably find alarm existing at the advance of Bundúkdár, though matters did not turn out so serious as they imply.

"Babylon," of which Bundúkdár is here styled Sultan, means Cairo, commonly so styled (*Bambellonia d'Egitto*) in that age. Babylon of Egypt is mentioned by Diodorus quoting Ctesias, by Strabo, and by Ptolemy; it was the station of a Roman Legion in the days of Augustus, and still survives in the name of *Babul*, close to old Cairo.

Malik Dáhir Ruknuddín BÍbars Bundúkdári, a native of Kipchak, was originally sold at Damascus for 800 dirhems (about 18*l.*), and returned by his purchaser because of a blemish. He was then bought by the Amir Aláuddín Aidekín *Bundúkdár* ("The Arblasteer") whose surname he afterwards adopted. He became the fourth of the Mameluke Sultans, and reigned from 1259 to 1276. The two great objects of his life were the repression of the Tartars and the expulsion of the Christians from Syria, so that his reign was one of constant war and enormous activity. William of Tripoli, in the work above mentioned, says: "Bondogar, as a soldier, was not inferior to Julius Caesar, nor in malignity to Nero." He admits, however, that the Sultan was sober, chaste, just to his own people, and even kind to his Christian subjects; whilst Makrizi calls him one of the best princes that ever reigned over Musulmans. Yet if we take Bibars as painted by this admiring historian and by other Arabic documents, the second of Friar William's comparisons is justified, for he seems almost a devil in malignity as well as in activity. More than once he played tennis at Damascus and Cairo within the same week. A strange sample of the man is the letter which he wrote to Boemond, Prince of Antioch and Tripoli, to announce to him the capture of the former city. After an ironically polite address to Boemond as having by the loss of his great city had his title changed from Princeship (*Al-Brenstyah*) to Countship (*Al-Komasiyah*), and describing his own devastations round Tripoli, he comes to the attack of Antioch: "We carried the place, sword in hand, at the 4th hour of Saturday, the 4th day of Ramadhán, . . . Hadst thou but seen thy Knights trodden under the hoofs of the horses! thy palaces invaded by plunderers and ransacked for booty! thy treasures weighed out by the hundredweight! thy ladies (*Dámátaka*, 'tes DAMES') bought and sold with thine own gear, at four for a dinár! hadst thou but seen thy churches demolished, thy crosses sawn in sunder, thy garbled Gospels hawked about before the sun, the tombs of thy nobles cast to the ground; thy foe the Moslem treading thy Holy of the Holies; the monk, the priest, the deacon slaughtered on the Altar; the rich given up to misery; princes of royal blood reduced to slavery! Couldst thou but have seen the flames devouring thy halls; thy dead cast into the fires temporal with the fires eternal hard at hand; the churches of Paul and of Cosmas rocking and going down—, then wouldst thou have said, 'Would God that I were dust!' . . . As not a man hath escaped to tell thee the tale, I TELL IT THEE!"

A little later, when a mission went to treat with Boemond, Bibars himself accompanied it in disguise, to have a look at the defences of Tripoli. In drawing out the terms, the Envoys styled Boemond *Count*, not *Prince*, as in the letter just quoted. He lost patience at their persistence, and made a movement which alarmed them. Bibars nudged the Envoy Mohiuddin (who tells the story) with his foot to give up the point, and the treaty was made. On their way back the Sultan laughed heartily at their narrow escape, "sending to the devil all the counts and princes on the face of the earth."

(*Quatremère's Makrizi*, II. 92-101, and 190 *seqq.*; *J. As. sér.* I. tom. xi. p. 89; *D'Ohsson*, III. 459-474; *Marino Sanuto* in Bongars, 224-226, etc.)

NOTE 4.—The ruling Master of the Temple was Thomas Berard (1256-1273), but there is little detail about the Order in the East at this time. They had, however, considerable possessions and great influence in Cilician Armenia, and how much they were mixed up in its affairs is shown by a circumstance related by Makrizi. In 1285,

when Sultan Mansúr, the successor of Bundúkdár, was besieging the Castle of Markab, there arrived in Camp the Commander of the Temple (*Kamandúr-ul Dewet*) of the Country of Armenia, charged to negotiate on the part of the King of Sis (*i.e.* of Lesser Armenia, Leon III. 1268-1289, successor of Hayton I. 1224-1268), and bringing presents from him and from the Master of the Temple, Berard's successor, William de Beaujeu (1273-1291). (III. 201.)—H. Y. and H. C.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW MESSER NICOLO AND MESSER MAFFEO POLO, ACCOMPANIED BY
MARK, TRAVELLED TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAH.

So the Two Brothers, and Mark along with them, proceeded on their way, and journeying on, summer and winter, came at length to the Great Kaan, who was then at a certain rich and great city, called KEMENFU.¹ As to what they met with on the road, whether in going or coming, we shall give no particulars at present, because we are going to tell you all those details in regular order in the after part of this Book. Their journey back to the Kaan occupied a good three years and a half, owing to the bad weather and severe cold that they encountered. And let me tell you in good sooth that when the Great Kaan heard that Messers Nicolo and Maffeo Polo were on their way back, he sent people a journey of full 40 days to meet them ; and on this journey, as on their former one, they were honourably entertained upon the road, and supplied with all that they required.

NOTE 1.—The French texts read *Clemeinfu*, Ramusio *Clemenfu*. The Pucci MS. guides us to the correct reading, having *Chemensu* (*Kemensu*) for *Chemenfu*. KAIPINGFU, meaning something like "City of Peace," and called by Rashiduddin *Kaiminfu* (whereby we see that Polo as usual adopted the Persian form of the name), was a city founded in 1256, four years before Kublai's accession, some distance to the north of the Chinese wall. It became Kublai's favourite summer residence, and was styled from 1264 *Shangtu* or "Upper Court." (See *infra*, Bk. I. ch. lxi.) It was known to the Mongols, apparently by a combination of the two names, as *Shangdu Keibung*. It appears in D'Anville's map under the name of *Djao-Naiman Sumé*.

Dr. Bushell, who visited Shangtu in 1872, makes it 1103 *li* (367 miles) by road distance *viâ* Kalgan from Peking. The busy town of Dolonnûr lies 26 miles S.E. of it, and according to Kiepert's *Asia* that place is about 180 miles in a direct line north of Peking.

(See *Klaproth* in *J. As.* XI. 365; *Gaubil*, p. 115; *Cathay*, p. 260; *J. R. G. S.* vol. xliii.)

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW MESSER NICOLO AND MESSER MAFFEO POLO AND MARCO PRESENTED THEMSELVES BEFORE THE GREAT KAAN.

And what shall I tell you? when the Two Brothers and Mark had arrived at that great city, they went to the Imperial Palace, and there they found the Sovereign attended by a great company of Barons. So they bent the knee before him, and paid their respects to him, with all possible reverence [prostrating themselves on the ground]. Then the Lord bade them stand up, and treated them with great honour, showing great pleasure at their coming, and asked many questions as to their welfare, and how they had sped. They replied that they had in verity sped well, seeing that they found the Kaan well and safe. Then they presented the credentials and letters which they had received from the Pope, which pleased him right well; and after that they produced the Oil from the Sepulchre, and at that also he was very glad, for he set great store thereby. And next, spying Mark, who was then a young gallant,¹ he asked who was that in their company? "Sire," said his father, Messer Nicolo, "'tis my son and your liegeman."² "Welcome is he too," quoth the Emperor. And why should I make a long story? There was great rejoicing at the Court because of their arrival; and they met with attention and honour from everybody.

So there they abode at the Court with the other Barons.

NOTE 1.—“*Joenne Bachelor.*”

NOTE 2.—“*Sire, il est mon filz et vostre homme.*” The last word in the sense which gives us the word *homage*. Thus in the miracle play of Theophilus (13th century), the Devil says to Theophilus:—

“ Or joing
Tes mains, et si devien *mes hom.*
Theoph. Vez ci que je vous faz *hommage.*”

So *infra* (Bk. I. ch. xviii.) Aung Khan is made to say of Chinghiz: “*Il est mon homes et mon serf.*” (See also Bk. II. ch. iv. note.) St. Lewis said of the peace he had made with Henry III.: “*Il m'est mout grant honneur en la paix que je foiz au Roy d'Angleterre pour ce qu'il est mon home, ce que n'estoit pas devant.*” And Joinville says with regard to the king, “*Je ne voz faire point de serement, car je n'estoie pas son home*” (being a vassal of Champagne). A famous Saturday Reviewer quotes the term applied to a lady: “*Eddeva puella homo Stigandi Archiepiscopi.*” (*Théâtre Français au Moyen Age*, p. 145; *Joinville*, pp. 21, 37; *S. R.*, 6th September, 1873, p. 305.)

CHAPTER XV.

HOW THE EMPEROR SENT MARK ON AN EMBASSY OF HIS.

Now it came to pass that Marco, the son of Messer Nicolo, sped wondrously in learning the customs of the Tartars, as well as their language, their manner of writing, and their practice of war; in fact he came in brief space to know several languages, and four sundry written characters. And he was discreet and prudent in every way, insomuch that the Emperor held him in great esteem.¹ And so when he discerned Mark to have so much sense, and to conduct himself so well and beseemingly, he sent him on an ambassage of his, to a country which was a good six months' journey distant.² The young gallant executed his commission well and with discretion. Now he had taken note on several occasions that when the Prince's ambassadors returned from different parts of the world, they were able to tell him about nothing except the business on which they

had gone, and that the Prince in consequence held them for no better than fools and dolts, and would say: "I had far lieber hearken about the strange things, and the manners of the different countries you have seen, than merely be told of the business you went upon;"—for he took great delight in hearing of the affairs of strange countries. Mark therefore, as he went and returned, took great pains to learn about all kinds of different matters in the countries which he visited, in order to be able to tell about them to the Great Kaan.⁸

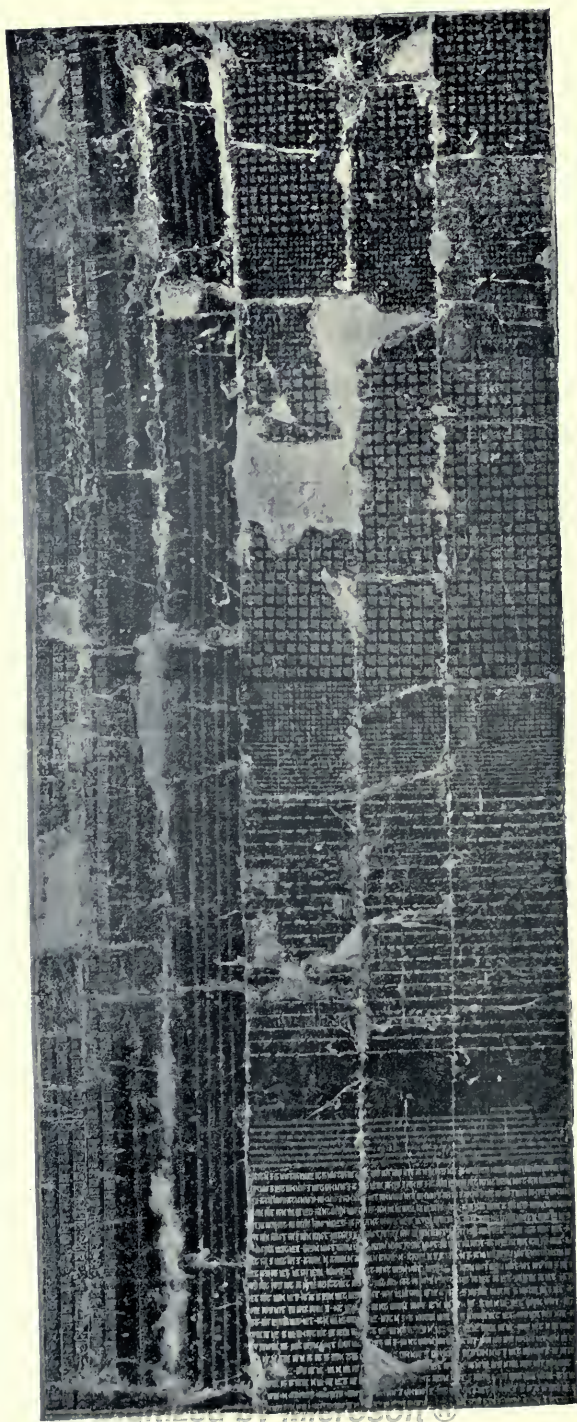
NOTE 1.—The word Emperor stands here for *Seigneur*.

What the four characters acquired by Marco were is open to discussion.

The Chronicle of the Mongol Emperors rendered by Gaubil mentions, as characters used in their Empire, the Uíghúr, the Persian and Arabic, that of the Lamas (Tibetan), that of the Niuché, introduced by the Kin Dynasty, the Khitán, and the *Báshpah* character, a syllabic alphabet arranged, on the basis of the Tibetan and Sanskrit letters chiefly, by a learned chief Lama so-called, under the orders of Kublai, and established by edict in 1269 as the official character. Coins bearing this character, and dating from 1308 to 1354, are extant. The forms of the Niuché and Khitán were devised in imitation of Chinese writing, but are supposed to be syllabic. Of the Khitán but one inscription was known, and no key. "The Khitán had two national scripts, the 'small characters' (*hsiao tzu*) and the 'large characters' (*ta tzu*)." S. W. Bushell, *Insc. in the Juchen and Allied Scripts*, Cong. des Orientalistes, Paris, 1897.—*Die Sprache und Schrift der Juchen*, von Dr W. Grube, Leipzig, 1896, from a polyglot MS. dictionary, discovered by Dr F. Hirth and now kept in the Royal Library, Berlin.—H. Y. and H. C.

Chinghiz and his first successors used the Uíghúr, and sometimes the Chinese character. Of the Uíghúr character we give a specimen in Bk. IV. It is of Syriac origin, undoubtedly introduced into Eastern Turkestan by the early Nestorian missions, probably in the 8th or 9th century. The oldest known example of this character so applied, the *Kudatku Bilik*, a didactic poem in Uíghúr (a branch of Oriental Turkish), dating from A.D. 1069, was published by Prof. Vámbéry in 1870. A new edition of the *Kudatku Bilik* was published at St. Petersburg, in 1891, by Dr. W. Radloff. Vámbéry had a pleasing illustration of the origin of the Uíghúr character, when he received a visit at Pesth from certain Nestorians of Urumia on a begging tour. On being shown the original MS. of the *Kudatku Bilik*, they read the character easily, whilst much to their astonishment they could not understand a word of what was written. This Uíghúr is the basis of the modern Mongol and Manchu characters. (Cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, I. pp. 236, 263.)—H. Y. and H. C.

[At the village of Keuyung Kwan, 40 miles north of Peking, in the sub-prefecture of Ch'ang Ping, in the Chih-li province, the road from Peking to Kalgan runs beyond the pass of Nankau, under an archway, a view of which will be found at the end of this volume, on which were engraved, in 1345, two large inscriptions in six different languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongol, *Báshpah*, Uíghúr, Chinese, and a language unknown till recently. Mr Wylie's kindness enabled Sir Henry Yule to present a specimen of this. (A much better facsimile of these inscriptions than Wylie's having since been published by Prince Roland Bonaparte in his valuable *Recueil des Documents de*



Hexaglot Inscription on the East side of the Kiu-Yong Kwan.

l'Époque Mongole, this latter is, by permission, here reproduced.) The Chinese and Mongol inscriptions have been translated by M. Ed. Chavannes; the Tibetan by M. Sylvain Lévi (*Jour. Asiat.*, Sept.-Oct. 1894, pp. 354-373); the Uighúr, by Prof. W. Radloff (*Ibid.* Nov.-Dec. 1894, pp. 546, 550); the Mongol by Prof. G. Huth. (*Ibid.* Mars-Avril 1895, pp. 351-360.) The sixth language was supposed by A. Wylie (*J. R. A. S.* vol. xvii. p. 331, and N.S., vol. v. p. 14) to be Neuchih, Niuché, Niuchen or Juchen. M. Devéria has shown that the inscription is written in *Si Hia*, or the language of Tangut, and gave a facsimile of a stone stèle (*peï*) in this language kept in the great Monastery of the Clouds (Ta Yun Ssü) at Liangchau in Kansuh, together with a translation of the Chinese text, engraved on the reverse side of the slab. M. Devéria thinks that this writing was borrowed by the Kings of Tangut from the one derived in 920 by the Khitans from the Chinese. (*Stèle Si-Hia de Leang-tcheou*. . . . *J. As.*, 1898; *L'écriture du royaume de Si-Hia ou Tangout*, par M. Devéria. . . . Ext. des Mém. . . . présentés à l'Ac. des. Ins. et B. Let. 1^{ère} Sér. XI., 1898.) Dr. S. W. Bushell in two papers (*Inscriptions in the Juchen and Allied Scripts, Actes du XI. Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, 2nd. sect., pp. 11, 35, and the *Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, their Money and their peculiar Script, J. China Br. R. A. S.*, xxx. N.S. No. 2, pp. 142, 160) has also made a special study of the same subject. The Si Hia writing was adopted by Yuan Ho in 1036, on which occasion he changed the title of his reign to Ta Ch'ing, *i.e.* "Great Good Fortune." Unfortunately, both the late M. Devéria and Dr. S. W. Bushell have deciphered but few of the Si Hia characters.—H. C.]

The orders of the Great Kaan are stated to have been published habitually in six languages, *viz.*, Mongol, Uighúr, Arabic, Persian, Tangutan (Si-Hia), and Chinese.—H. Y. and H. C.

Gházán Khan of Persia is said to have understood Mongol, Arabic, Persian, something of Kashmiri, of Tibetan, of Chinese, and a little of the *Frank* tongue (probably French).

The annals of the Ming Dynasty, which succeeded the Mongols in China, mention the establishment in the 11th moon of the 5th year Yong-lo (1407) of the *Sse yi kwan*, a linguistic office for diplomatic purposes. The languages to be studied were Niuché, Mongol, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Bokharan (Persian?) Uighúr, Burmese, and Siamese. To these were added by the Manchu Dynasty two languages called *Papeh* and *Pehyih*, both dialects of the S.W. frontier. (See *infra*, Bk. II. ch. lvi.-lvii., and notes.) Since 1382, however, official interpreters had to translate Mongol texts; they were selected among the Academicians, and their service (which was independent of the *Sse yi kwan* when this was created) was under the control of the *Han-lin-yuen*. There may have been similar institutions under the Yuen, but we have no proof of it. At all events, such an office could not then be called *Sse yi kwan* (*Sse yi*, Barbarians from four sides); Niuché (Niuchen) was taught in Yong-lo's office, but not Manchu. The *Sse yi kwan* must not be confounded with the *Hui t'ong kwan*, the office for the reception of tributary envoys, to which it was annexed in 1748. (*Gaubil*, p. 148; *Gold. Horde*, 184; *Ilchan*. II. 147; *Lockhart* in *J. R. G. S.* XXXVI. 152; *Koepfen*, II. 99; G. Devéria, *Hist. du Collège des Interprètes de Peking* in *Mélanges* Charles de Harlez, pp. 94-102; MS. Note of Prof. A. Vissière; *The Tangut Script in the Nan-K'ou Pass*, by Dr. S. W. Bushell, *China Review*, xxiv. II. pp. 65-68.)—H. Y. and H. C.

Pauthier supposes Mark's four acquisitions to have been *Báshpah-Mongol*, *Arabic*, *Uighúr*, and *Chinese*. I entirely reject the Chinese. Sir H. Yule adds: "We shall see no reason to believe that he knew either language or character" [Chinese]. The blunders Polo made in saying that the name of the city, Suju, signifies in our tongue "Earth" and Kinsay "Heaven" show he did not know the Chinese characters, but we read in Bk. II. ch. lxxiii.: "And Messer Marco Polo himself, of whom this Book speaks, did govern this city (Yanju) for three full years, by the order of the Great Kaan." It seems to me [H.C.] hardly possible that Marco could have for three years been governor of so important and so Chinese a city as Yangchau, in the

heart of the Empire, without acquiring a knowledge of the spoken language.—H. C. The other three languages seem highly probable. The fourth may have been Tibetan. But it is more likely that he counted separately two varieties of the same character (*e.g.* of the Arabic and Persian) as two “*lettres de leur escriptures.*”—H. Y. and H. C.

NOTE 2.—[Ramusio here adds: “Ad und città, detta Carazan,” which, as we shall see, refers to the Yun-nan Province.]—H. C.

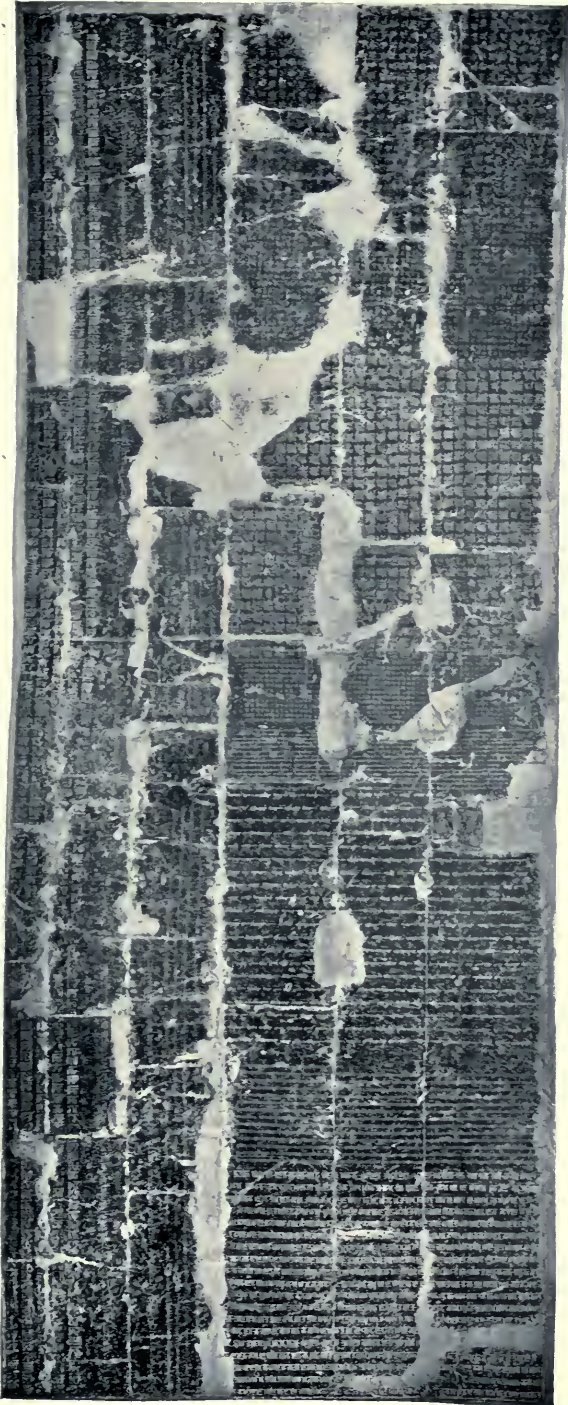
NOTE 3.—From the context no doubt Marco’s employments were honourable and confidential; but *Commissioner* would perhaps better express them than Ambassador in the modern sense. The word *Ilchi*, which was probably in his mind, was applied to a large variety of classes employed on the commissions of Government, as we may see from a passage of Rashiduddin in D’Ohsson, which says that “there were always to be found in every city from one to two hundred *Ilchis*, who forced the citizens to furnish them with free quarters,” etc., III. 404. (See also 485.)

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW MARK RETURNED FROM THE MISSION WHEREON HE HAD BEEN SENT.

WHEN Mark returned from his embassy he presented himself before the Emperor, and after making his report of the business with which he was charged, and its successful accomplishment, he went on to give an account in a pleasant and intelligent manner of all the novelties and strange things that he had seen and heard; insomuch that the Emperor and all such as heard his story were surprised, and said: “If this young man live, he will assuredly come to be a person of great worth and ability.” And so from that time forward he was always entitled MESSER MARCO POLO, and thus we shall style him henceforth in this Book of ours, as is but right.

Thereafter Messer Marco abode in the Kaan’s employment some seventeen years, continually going and coming, hither and thither, on the missions that were entrusted to him by the Lord [and sometimes, with the permission and authority of the Great Kaan, on his own private affairs.] And, as he knew all the sovereign’s ways,



Hexaglot Inscription on the West side of the Kin-Yong Kwan.

[To face p. 30.

like a sensible man he always took much pains to gather knowledge of anything that would be likely to interest him, and then on his return to Court he would relate everything in regular order, and thus the Emperor came to hold him in great love and favour. And for this reason also he would employ him the oftener on the most weighty and most distant of his missions. These Messer Marco ever carried out with discretion and success, God be thanked. So the Emperor became ever more partial to him, and treated him with the greater distinction, and kept him so close to his person that some of the Barons waxed very envious thereat. And thus it came about that Messer Marco Polo had knowledge of, or had actually visited, a greater number of the different countries of the World than any other man; the more that he was always giving his mind to get knowledge, and to spy out and enquire into everything in order to have matter to relate to the Lord.

CHAPTER XVII.

HOW MESSER NICOLO, MESSER MAFFEO, AND MESSER MARCO, ASKED
LEAVE OF THE GREAT KAAH TO GO THEIR WAY.

WHEN the Two Brothers and Mark had abode with the Lord all that time that you have been told [having meanwhile acquired great wealth in jewels and gold], they began among themselves to have thoughts about returning to their own country; and indeed it was time. [For, to say nothing of the length and infinite perils of the way, when they considered the KaaH's great age, they doubted whether, in the event of his death before their departure, they would ever be able to get home.¹]

They applied to him several times for leave to go, presenting their request with great respect, but he had such a partiality for them, and liked so much to have them about him, that nothing on earth would persuade him to let them go.

Now it came to pass in those days that the Queen BOLGANA, wife of ARGON, Lord of the Levant, departed this life. And in her Will she had desired that no Lady should take her place, or succeed her as Argon's wife, except one of her own family [which existed in Cathay]. Argon therefore despatched three of his Barons, by name respectively OULATAY, APUSCA, and COJA, as ambassadors to the Great Kaan, attended by a very gallant company, in order to bring back as his bride a lady of the family of Queen Bolgana, his late wife.²

When these three Barons had reached the Court of the Great Kaan, they delivered their message, explaining wherefore they were come. The Kaan received them with all honour and hospitality, and then sent for a lady whose name was COCACHIN, who was of the family of the deceased Queen Bolgana. She was a maiden of 17, a very beautiful and charming person, and on her arrival at Court she was presented to the three Barons as the Lady chosen in compliance with their demand. They declared that the Lady pleased them well.³

Meanwhile Messer Marco chanced to return from India, whither he had gone as the Lord's ambassador, and made his report of all the different things that he had seen in his travels, and of the sundry seas over which he had voyaged. And the three Barons, having seen that Messer Nicolo, Messer Maffeo, and Messer Marco were not only Latins, but men of marvellous good sense withal, took thought among themselves to get the three to travel with them, their intention being to return to their country by sea, on account of the

great fatigue of that long land journey for a lady. And the ambassadors were the more desirous to have their company, as being aware that those three had great knowledge and experience of the Indian Sea and the countries by which they would have to pass, and especially Messer Marco. So they went to the Great Kaan, and begged as a favour that he would send the three Latins with them, as it was their desire to return home by sea.

The Lord, having that great regard that I have mentioned for those three Latins, was very loath to do so [and his countenance showed great dissatisfaction]. But at last he did give them permission to depart, enjoining them to accompany the three Barons and the Lady.

NOTE 1.—Pegolotti, in his chapters on mercantile ventures to Cathay, refers to the dangers to which foreigners were always liable on the death of the reigning sovereign. (See *Cathay*, p. 292.)

NOTE 2.—Several ladies of the name of BULUGHAN ("Zibellina") have a place in Mongol-Persian history. The one here indicated, a lady of great beauty and ability, was known as the *Great Khâtûn* (or Lady) Bulughan, and was (according to strange Mongol custom) the wife successively of Abâka and of his son ARGHUN, the Argon of the text, Mongol sovereign of Persia. She died on the banks of the Kur in Georgia, 7th April, 1286. She belonged to the Mongol tribe of Bayaut, and was the daughter of Hulâkû's Chief Secretary Gúghah. (*Ilchan*, I. 374 *et passim*; *Erdmann's Temudschin*, p. 216.)

The names of the Envoys, ULADAI, APUSHKA, and KOJA, are all names met with in Mongol history. And Rashiduddin speaks of an Apushka of the Mongol Tribe of Urnaut, who on some occasion was sent as Envoy to the Great Kaan from Persia,—possibly the very person. (See *Erdmann*, 205.)

Of the Lady Cocachin we shall speak below.

NOTE 3.—Ramusio here has the following passage, genuine no doubt: "So everything being ready, with a great escort to do honour to the bride of King Argon, the Ambassadors took leave and set forth. But after travelling eight months by the same way that they had come, they found the roads closed, in consequence of wars lately broken out among certain Tartar Princes; so being unable to proceed, they were compelled to return to the Court of the Great Kaan."

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOW THE TWO BROTHERS AND MESSER MARCO TOOK LEAVE OF THE GREAT KAAH, AND RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

AND when the Prince saw that the Two Brothers and Messer Marco were ready to set forth, he called them all three to his presence, and gave them two golden Tablets of Authority, which should secure them liberty of passage through all his dominions, and by means of which, whithersoever they should go, all necessaries would be provided for them, and for all their company, and whatever they might choose to order.¹ He charged them also with messages to the King of France, the King of England,² the King of Spain, and the other kings of Christendom. He then caused thirteen ships to be equipt, each of which had four masts, and often spread twelve sails.³ And I could easily give you all particulars about these, but as it would be so long an affair I will not enter upon this now, but hereafter, when time and place are suitable. [Among the said ships were at least four or five that carried crews of 250 or 260 men.]

And when the ships had been equipt, the Three Barons and the Lady, and the Two Brothers and Messer Marco, took leave of the Great Kaan, and went on board their ships with a great company of people, and with all necessaries provided for two years by the Emperor. They put forth to sea, and after sailing for some three months they arrived at a certain Island towards the South, which is called JAVA,⁴ and in which there are many wonderful things which we shall tell you all about by-and-bye. Quitting this Island they con-

tinued to navigate the Sea of India for eighteen months more before they arrived whither they were bound, meeting on their way also with many marvels, of which we shall tell hereafter.

And when they got thither they found that Argon was dead, so the Lady was delivered to CASAN, his son.

But I should have told you that it is a fact that, when they embarked, they were in number some 600 persons, without counting the mariners; but nearly all died by the way, so that only eight survived.⁵

The sovereignty when they arrived was held by KIA-CATU, so they commended the Lady to him, and executed all their commission. And when the Two Brothers and Messer Marco had executed their charge in full, and done all that the Great Kaan had enjoined on them in regard to the Lady, they took their leave and set out upon their journey.⁶ And before their departure, Kiacatu gave them four golden tablets of authority, two of which bore gerfalcons, one bore lions, whilst the fourth was plain, and having on them inscriptions which directed that the three Ambassadors should receive honour and service all through the land as if rendered to the Prince in person, and that horses and all provisions, and everything necessary, should be supplied to them. And so they found in fact; for throughout the country they received ample and excellent supplies of everything needful; and many a time indeed, as I may tell you, they were furnished with 200 horsemen, more or less, to escort them on their way in safety. And this was all the more needful because Kiacatu was not the legitimate Lord, and therefore the people had less scruple to do mischief than if they had had a lawful prince.⁷

Another thing too must be mentioned, which does credit to those three Ambassadors, and shows for what

great personages they were held. The Great Kaan regarded them with such trust and affection, that he had confided to their charge the Queen Cocachin, as well as the daughter of the King of Manzi,⁸ to conduct to Argon the Lord of all the Levant. And those two great ladies who were thus entrusted to them they watched over and guarded as if they had been daughters of their own, until they had transferred them to the hands of their Lord; whilst the ladies, young and fair as they were, looked on each of those three as a father, and obeyed them accordingly. Indeed, both Casan, who is now the reigning prince, and the Queen Cocachin his wife, have such a regard for the Envoys that there is nothing they would not do for them. And when the three Ambassadors took leave of that Lady to return to their own country, she wept for sorrow at the parting.

What more shall I say? Having left Kiacatu they travelled day by day till they came to Trebizond, and thence to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Negropont, and from Negropont to Venice. And this was in the year 1295 of Christ's Incarnation.

And now that I have rehearsed all the Prologue as you have heard, we shall begin the Book of the Description of the Divers Things that Messer Marco met with in his Travels.

NOTE 1.—On these plates or tablets, which have already been spoken of, a note will be found further on. (Bk. II. ch. vii.) Plano Carpini says of the Mongol practice in reference to royal messengers: "Nuncios, quoscunque et quotcunque, et ubicunque transmittit, oportet quod dent eis sine morâ equos subductivos et expensas" (669).

NOTE 2.—The mention of the King of England appears for the first time in Pauthier's text. Probably we shall never know if the communication reached him. But we have the record of several embassies in preceding and subsequent years from the Mongol Khans of Persia to the Kings of England; all with the view of obtaining co-operation in attack on the Egyptian Sultan. Such messages came from Ábáka in 1277; from Arghún in 1289 and 1291; from Gházán in 1302; from Oljaitu in 1307. (See *Résumé* in *Mém. de l'Acad.* VII.)

NOTE 3.—Ramusio has “*nine sails.*” Marsden thinks even this lower number an error of Ramusio’s, as “it is well known that Chinese vessels do not carry any kind of topsail.” This is, however, a mistake, for they do sometimes carry a small topsail of cotton cloth (and formerly, it would seem from Lecomte, even a topgallant sail at times), though only in quiet weather. And the evidence as to the number of sails carried by the great Chinese junks of the Middle Ages, which evidently made a great impression on Western foreigners, is irresistible. Friar Jordanus, who saw them in Malabar, says: “With a fair wind they carry ten sails;” Ibn Batuta: “One of these great junks carries from three sails to twelve;” Joseph, the Indian, speaking of those



Ancient Chinese War Vessel.

that traded to India in the 15th century: “They were very great, and had sometimes twelve sails, with innumerable rowers.” (*Lecomte*, I. 389; *Fr. Jordanus*, *Hak. Soc.*, p. 55; *Ibn Batuta*, IV. 91; *Novus Orbis*, p. 148.) A fuller account of these vessels is given at the beginning of Bk. III.

NOTE 4.—*I.e.* in this case Sumatra, as will appear hereafter. “It is quite possible for a fleet of fourteen junks which required to keep together to take three months at the present time to accomplish a similar voyage. A Chinese trader, who has come annually to Singapore in junks for many years, tells us that he has had as long a passage as sixty days, although the average is eighteen or twenty days.” (*Logan in J. Ind. Archip.* II. 609.)

NOTE 5.—Ramusio's version here varies widely, and looks more probable: "From the day that they embarked until their arrival there died of mariners and others on board 600 persons; and of the three ambassadors only one survived, whose name was Goza (*Coja*); but of the ladies and damsels died but one."

It is worth noting that in the case of an embassy sent to Cathay a few years later by Gházán Khan, on the return by this same route to Persia, the chief of the two Persian ambassadors, and the Great Khan's envoy, who was in company, both died by the way. Their voyage, too, seems to have been nearly as long as Polo's; for they were seven years absent from Persia, and of these only four in China. (See *Wassáf* in *Elliot*, III. 47.)

NOTE 6.—Ramusio's version states that on learning Arghún's death (which they probably did on landing at Hormuz), they sent word of their arrival to Kiacatu, who directed them to conduct the lady to Casan, who was then in the region of the *Arbre Sec* (the Province of Khorasan) guarding the frontier passes with 60,000 men, and that they did so, and then turned back to Kiacatu (probably at Tabriz), and stayed at his Court nine months. Even the Geog. Text seems to imply that they had become personally known to Casan, and I have no doubt that Ramusio's statement is an authentic expansion of the original narrative by Marco himself, or on his authority.

Arghún Khan died 10th March, 1291. He was succeeded (23rd July) by his brother Kaikhátú (*Quiacatu* of Polo), who was put to death 24th March, 1295.

We learn from Hammer's History of the Ilkhans that when Gházán, the son of Arghún (*Casan* of Polo), who had the government of the Khorasan frontier, was on his return to his post from Tabriz, where his uncle Kaikhátu had refused to see him, "he met at Abher the ambassador whom he had sent to the Great Khan to obtain in marriage a relative of the Great Lady Bulghán. This envoy brought with him the Lady KÚKÁCHIN (our author's *Cocachin*), with presents from the Emperor, and the marriage was celebrated with due festivity." Abher lies a little west of Kazvín.

Hammer is not, I find, here copying from Wassáf, and I have not been able to procure a thorough search of the work of Rashiduddin, which probably was his authority. As well as the date can be made out from the History of the Ilkhans, Gházán must have met his bride towards the end of 1293, or quite the beginning of 1294. Rashiduddin in another place mentions the fair lady from Cathay; "The *ordú* (or establishment) of Tukiti Khatun was given to KUKACHI KHATUN, who had been brought from the Kaan's Court, and who was a kinswoman of the late chief Queen Bulghán. Kúkáchi, the wife of the Padshah of Islam, Gházán Khan, died in the month of Shaban, 695," *i.e.* in June, 1296, so that the poor girl did not long survive her promotion. (See *Hammer's Ilch.* II. 20, and 8, and I. 273; and *Quatre-mère's Rashiduddin*, p. 97.) Kúkachin was the name also of the wife of Chingkim, Kublai's favourite son; but she was of the Kungurát tribe. (*Dequignes*, IV. 179.)

NOTE 7.—Here Ramusio's text says: "During this journey Messers Nicolo, Maffeo, and Marco heard the news that the Great Khan had departed this life; and this caused them to give up all hope of returning to those parts."

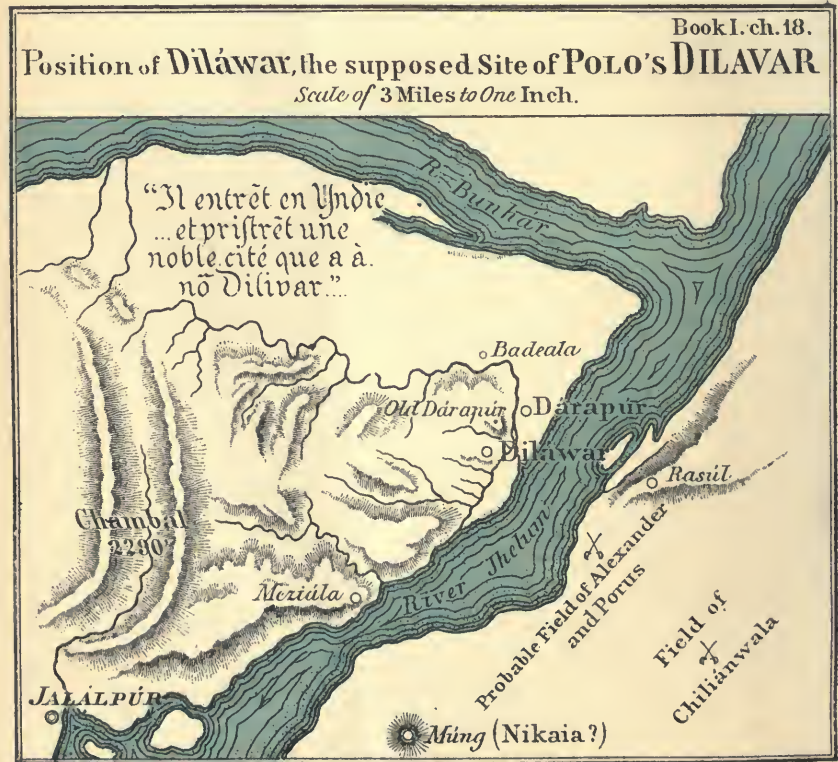
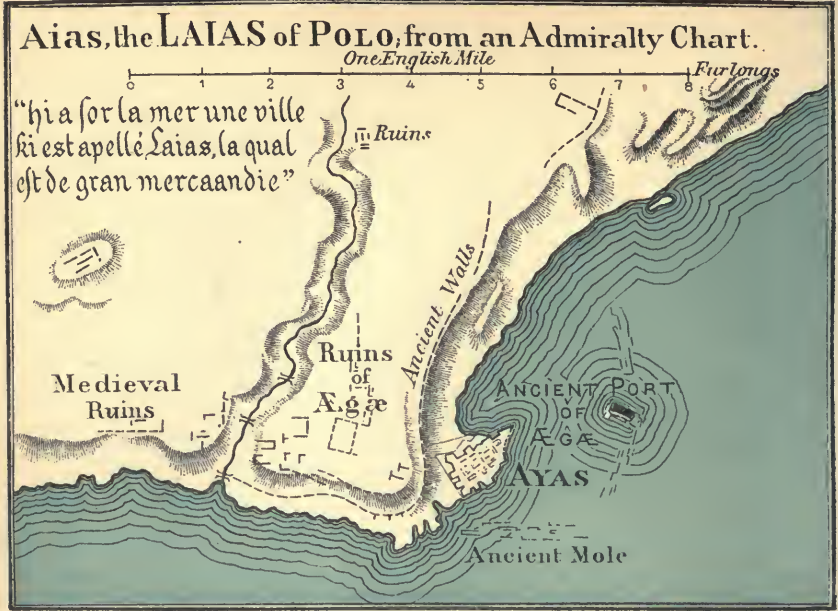
NOTE 8.—This Princess of Manzi, or Southern China, is mentioned only in the Geog. Text and in the Crusca, which is based thereon. I find no notice of her among the wives of Gházán or otherwise.

On the fall of the capital of the Sung Dynasty—the Kinsay of Polo—in 1276, the Princesses of that Imperial family were sent to Peking, and were graciously treated by Kublai's favourite Queen, the Lady Jamui. This young lady was, no doubt, one of those captive princesses who had been brought up at the Court of Khánbálik. (See *De Mailla*, IX. 376, and *infra* Bk. II. ch. lxx., note.

BOOK FIRST.



ACCOUNT OF REGIONS VISITED OR HEARD OF
ON THE JOURNEY FROM THE LESSER ARMENIA
TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAAH AT
CHANDU.



BOOK I.



CHAPTER I.

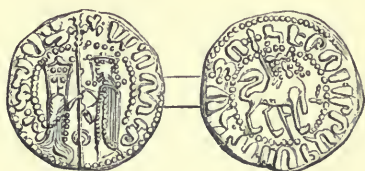
HERE THE BOOK BEGINS ; AND FIRST IT SPEAKS OF THE LESSER
HERMENIA.

THERE are two Hermenias, the Greater and the Less, The Lesser Hermenia is governed by a certain King, who maintains a just rule in his dominions, but is himself subject to the Tartar.¹ The country contains numerous towns and villages,² and has everything in plenty ; moreover, it is a great country for sport in the chase of all manner of beasts and birds. It is, however, by no means a healthy region, but grievously the reverse.³ In days of old the nobles there were valiant men, and did doughty deeds of arms ; but nowadays they are poor creatures, and good at nought, unless it be at boozing ; they are great at that. Howbeit, they have a city upon the sea, which is called LAYAS, at which there is a great trade. For you must know that all the spicery, and the cloths of silk and gold, and the other valuable wares that come from the interior, are brought to that city. And the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and other countries, come thither to sell their goods, and to buy what they lack. And whatsoever persons would travel to the interior (of the East), merchants or others, they take their way by this city of Layas.⁴

Having now told you about the Lesser Hermenia, we shall next tell you about Turcomania.

NOTE 1.—The *Petite Hermenie* of the Middle Ages was quite distinct from the Armenia Minor of the ancient geographers, which name the latter applied to the western portion of Armenia, west of the Euphrates, and immediately north of Cappadocia.

But when the old Armenian monarchy was broken up (1079-80), Rupen, a kinsman of the Bagratid Kings, with many of his countrymen, took refuge in the Taurus. His first descendants ruled as *barons*, a title adopted apparently from the Crusaders, but still preserved in Armenia. Leon, the great-great-grandson of Rupen, was consecrated King under the supremacy of the Pope and the Western Empire in 1198. The kingdom



Coin of King Hetum and his Queen Isabel.

was at its zenith under Hetum or Hayton I., husband of Leon's daughter Isabel (1224-1269); he was, however, prudent enough to make an early submission to the Mongols, and remained ever staunch to them, which brought his territory constantly under the flail of Egypt. It included at one time all Cilicia, with many cities of Syria and the ancient Armenia Minor, of Isauria and Cappadocia. The male line of Rupen becoming extinct in 1342, the kingdom passed to John de Lusignan, of the royal house of Cyprus, and in 1375 it was put an end to by the Sultan of Egypt. Leon VI., the ex-king, into whose mouth Froissart puts some extraordinary geography, had a pension of 1000*l.* a year granted him by our Richard II., and died at Paris in 1398.

The chief remaining vestige of this little monarchy is the continued existence of a *Catholics* of part of the Armenian Church at Sis, which was the royal residence. Some Armenian communities still remain both in hills and plains; and the former, the more independent and industrious, still speak a corrupt Armenian.

Polo's contemporary, Marino Sanuto, compares the kingdom of the Pope's faithful Armenians to one between the teeth of four fierce beasts, the *Lion Tartar*, the *Panther Soldan*, the *Turkish Wolf*, the *Corsair Serpent*.

(*Dulaurier*, in *J. As. sér. V. tom. xvii.*; *St. Martin, Arm.*; *Mar. San. p. 32*; *Froissart*, Bk. II. ch. xxii. *seqq.*; *Langlois, V. en Cilicie*, 1861, p. 19.)

NOTE 2.—“*Maintes villes et maint chasteaux.*” This is a constantly recurring phrase, and I have generally translated it as here, believing *chasteaux* (*castelli*) to be used in the frequent old Italian sense of a *walled village* or small walled town, or like the Eastern *Kala*, applied in Khorasan “to everything—town, village, or private residence—surrounded by a wall of earth.” (*Ferrier*, p. 292; see also *A. Conolly*, I. p. 211.) Martini, in his *Atlas Sinensis*, uses “*Urbes, oppida, castella*,” to indicate the three classes of Chinese administrative cities.

NOTE 3.—“*Enferme durement.*” So Marino Sanuto objects to Lesser Armenia as a place of debarkation for a crusade “*quia terra est infirma.*” Langlois, speaking of the Cilician plain: “In this region once so fair, now covered with swamps and brambles, fever decimates a population which is yearly diminishing, has nothing to oppose to the scourge but incurable apathy, and will end by disappearing altogether,” etc. (*Voyage*, p. 65.) Cilician Armenia retains its reputation for sport, and is much frequented by our naval officers for that object. Ayas is noted for the extraordinary abundance of turtles.

NOTE 4.—The phrase twice used in this passage for the *Interior* is *Fra terre*, an Italianism (*Fra terra*, or, as it stands in the Geog. Latin, “*infra terram Orientis*”), which, however, Murray and Pauthier have read as an allusion to the *Euphrates*, an error based apparently on a marginal gloss in the published edition of the Soc. de Géographie. It is true that the province of Comagene under the Greek Empire got the name of *Euphratesia*, or in Arabic *Furdtiyah*, but that was not in question here. The great trade of Ayas was with Tabriz, *viâ* Sivas, Erzingan, and Erzurum, as we see in Pegolotti. Elsewhere, too, in Polo we find the phrase *fra terre* used, where Euphrates could possibly have no concern, as in relation to India and Oman. (See Bk. III. chs. xxix. and xxxviii., and notes in each case.)

With regard to the phrase *spicery* here and elsewhere, it should be noted that the Italian *spezierie* included a vast deal more than ginger and other things “hot i’ the mouth.” In one of Pegolotti’s lists of *spezierie* we find drugs, dye-stuffs, metals, wax, cotton, etc.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TURCOMANIA.

IN Turcomania there are three classes of people. First, there are the Turcomans; these are worshippers of Mahomet, a rude people with an uncouth language of their own.¹ They dwell among mountains and downs where they find good pasture, for their occupation is cattle-keeping. Excellent horses, known as *Turquans*, are reared in their country, and also very valuable mules. The other two classes are the Armenians and the Greeks, who live mixt with the former in the towns and villages, occupying themselves with trade and handicrafts. They weave the finest and handsomest carpets in the world, and also a great quantity of fine and rich silks of cramoisy and other colours, and plenty of other stuffs. Their chief cities are CONIA, SAVAST [where the glorious Messer Saint Blaise suffered martyrdom], and CASARIA, besides many other towns and bishops’ sees, of which we shall not speak at present, for it would be too long a matter. These people are subject to the

Tartar of the Levant as their Suzerain.² We will now leave this province, and speak of the Greater Armenia.

NOTE 1.—Ricold of Montecroce, a contemporary of Polo, calls the Turkmans *homines bestiales*. In our day Ainsworth notes of a Turkman village: "The dogs were very ferocious; . . . the people only a little better." (*J. R. G. S. X.* 292.) The ill report of the people of this region did not begin with the Turkmans, for the Emperor Constantine Porphyrog. quotes a Greek proverb to the disparagement of the three *kappas*, Cappadocia, Crete, and Cilicia. (In *Banduri*, I. 6.)

NOTE 2.—In Turcomania Marco perhaps embraces a great part of Asia Minor, but he especially means the territory of the decaying Seljukian monarchy, usually then called by Asiatics *Rûm*, as the Ottoman Empire is now, and the capital of which was Iconium, KUNİYAH, the Conia of the text, and Coync of Joinville. Ibn Batuta calls the whole country Turkey (*Al-Turkiyah*), and the people *Turkman*; exactly likewise does Ricold (*Thurchia* and *Thurchimanni*). Hayton's account of the various classes of inhabitants is quite the same in substance as Polo's. [The Turkmans emigrated from Turkestan to Asia Minor before the arrival of the Seljukid Turks. "Their villages," says Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, II. p. 767, "are distinguished by the peculiarity of the houses being built of sun-baked bricks, whereas it is the general habit in the country to build them of earth or a kind of plaster, called *djès*."—H. C.] The migratory and pastoral Turkmans still exist in this region, but the Kurds of like habits have taken their place to a large extent. The fine carpets and silk fabrics appear to be no longer produced here, any more than the excellent horses of which Polo speaks, which must have been the remains of the famous old breed of Cappadocia. [It appears, however (Vital Cuinet's *Turquie d'Asie*, I. p. 224), that fine carpets are still manufactured at Koniah, also a kind of striped cotton cloth, called *Aladja*.—H. C.]

A grant of privileges to the Genoese by Leon II., King of Lesser Armenia, dated 23rd December, 1288, alludes to the export of horses and mules, etc., from Ayas, and specifies the duties upon them. The horses now of repute in Asia as Turkman come from the east of the Caspian. And Asia Minor generally, once the mother of so many breeds of high repute, is now poorer in horses than any province of the Ottoman empire. (*Peregr. Qual.* p. 114; *I. B.* II. 255 *seqq.*; *Hayton*, ch. xiii.; *Liber Jurium Reip. Januensis*, II. 184; *Tchihatcheff, As. Min.*, 2^{de} partie, 631.)

[The Seljukian Sultanate of Iconium or Rûm, was founded at the expense of the Byzantines by Suleiman (1074-1081); the last three sovereigns of the dynasty con-temporaneous with Marco Polo are Ghiath ed-din Kaïkhosru III. (1267-1283), Ghiath ed-din Mas'ud II. (1283-1294), Ala ed-din Kaïkobod III. (1294-1308), when this kingdom was destroyed by the Mongols of Persia. Privileges had been granted to Venice by Ghiath ed-din Kaïkhosru I. (+ 1211), and his sons Izz ed-din Kaïkaus (1211-1220), and Ala ed-din Kaïkobod I. (1220-1237); the diploma of 1220 is unfortunately the only one of the three known to be preserved. (Cf. Heyd, I. p. 302.)—H. C.]

Though the authors quoted above seem to make no distinction between Turks and Turkmans, that which we still understand does appear to have been made in the 12th century: "That there may be some distinction, at least in name, between those who made themselves a king, and thus achieved such glory, and those who still abide in their primitive barbarism and adhere to their old way of life, the former are nowadays termed *Turks*, the latter by their old name of *Turkomans*." (*William of Tyre*, i. 7.)

Caſaria is KAISARĪYA, the ancient Caesareia of Cappadocia, close to the foot of the great Mount Argæus. *Savast* is the Armenian form (*Sevasa*) of Sebaste, the modern SIVAS. The three cities, Iconium, Caesareia, and Sebaste, were metropolitan sees under the Catholics of Sis.

[The ruins of Sebaste are situated at about 6 miles to the east of modern Sivas,

near the village of Gavraz, on the *Kizil Irmak*. In the 11th century, the King of Armenia, Senecherim, made his capital of Sebaste. It belonged after to the Seljukid Turks, and was conquered in 1397 by Bayezid Ilderim with Tokat, Castambol and Sinope. (Cf. *Vital Cuinet*.)

One of the oldest churches in Sivas is St. George (*Sourp-Kéwork*), occupied by the Greeks, but claimed by the Armenians; it is situated near the centre of the town, in what is called the "Black Earth," the spot where Timur is said to have massacred the garrison. A few steps north of St. George is the Church of St. Blasius, occupied by the Roman Catholic Armenians. The tomb of St. Blasius, however, is shown in another part of the town, near the citadel mount, and the ruins of a very beautiful Seljukian Medresseh. (From a MS. Note by Sir H. Yule. The information had been supplied by the American Missionaries to General Sir C. Wilson, and forwarded by him to Sir H. Yule.)

It must be remembered that at the time of the Seljuk Turks, there were four Medressehs at Sivas, and a university as famous as that of Amassia. Children to the number of 1000, each a bearer of a copy of the Koran, were crushed to death under the feet of the horses of Timur, and buried in the "Black Earth"; the garrison of 4000 soldiers were buried alive.

St. Blasius, Bishop of Sebaste, was martyred in 316 by order of Agricola, Governor of Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia, during the reign of Licinius. His feast is celebrated by the Latin Church on the 3rd of February, and by the Greek Church on the 11th of February. He is the patron of the Republic of Ragusa in Dalmatia, and in France of wool-carders.

At the village of Hullukluk, near Sivas, was born in 1676 Mekhitar, founder of the well-known Armenian Order, which has convents at Venice, Vienna, and Trieste.—H. C.]

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREATER HERMENIA.

THIS is a great country. It begins at a city called ARZINGA, at which they weave the best buckrams in the world. It possesses also the best baths from natural springs that are anywhere to be found.¹ The people of the country are Armenians, and are subject to the Tartar. There are many towns and villages in the country, but the noblest of their cities is Arzinga, which is the See of an Archbishop, and then ARZIRON and ARZIZI.²

The country is indeed a passing great one, and in the summer it is frequented by the whole host of the Tartars of the Levant, because it then furnishes them with such excellent pasture for their cattle. But in winter the cold

is past all bounds, so in that season they quit this country and go to a warmer region, where they find other good pastures. [At a castle called PAIPURTH, that you pass in going from Trebizond to Tauris, there is a very good silver mine.³]

And you must know that it is in this country of Armenia that the Ark of Noah exists on the top of a certain great mountain [on the summit of which snow is so constant that no one can ascend ;⁴ for the snow never melts, and is constantly added to by new falls. Below, however, the snow does melt, and runs down, producing such rich and abundant herbage that in summer cattle are sent to pasture from a long way round about, and it never fails them. The melting snow also causes a great amount of mud on the mountain].

The country is bounded on the south by a kingdom called Mosul, the people of which are Jacobite and Nestorian Christians, of whom I shall have more to tell you presently. On the north it is bounded by the Land of the Georgians, of whom also I shall speak. On the confines towards Georgia there is a fountain from which oil springs in great abundance, insomuch that a hundred shiploads might be taken from it at one time. This oil is not good to use with food, but 'tis good to burn, and is also used to anoint camels that have the mange. People come from vast distances to fetch it, for in all the countries round about they have no other oil.⁵

Now, having done with Great Armenia, we will tell you of Georgia.

NOTE I.—[ERZINJAN, Erzinga, or Eriza, in the vilayet of Erzurum, was rebuilt in 1784, after having been destroyed by an earthquake. "Arzendjan," says Ibn Batuta, II. p. 294, "is in possession of well-established markets ; there are manufactured fine stuffs, which are called after its name." It was at Erzinjan that was fought in 1244 the great battle, which placed the Seljuk Turks under the dependency of the Mongol Khans.—II. C.] I do not find mention of its hot springs by modern travellers, but Lazari says Armenians assured him of their existence. There are plenty of others

in Polo's route through the country, as at Ilija, close to Erzurum, and at Hássan Kalá.

The *Buckrams* of Arzinga are mentioned both by Pegolotti (*circa* 1340) and by Giov. d'Uzzano (1442). But what were they?

Buckram in the modern sense is a coarse open texture of cotton or hemp, loaded with gum, and used to stiffen certain articles of dress. But this was certainly *not* the mediæval sense. Nor is it easy to bring the mediæval uses of the term under a single explanation. Indeed Mr Marsh suggests that probably two different words have coalesced. Fr.-Michel says that *Bouqueran* was at first applied to a light cotton stuff of the nature of muslin, and afterwards to linen, but I do not see that he makes out this history of the application. Douet d'Arcq, in his *Comptes de l'Argenterie*, etc., explains the word simply in the modern sense, but there seems nothing in his text to bear this out.

A quotation in Raynouard's Romance Dictionary has "*Vestirs de polpra e de bisso que est bocaran*," where Raynouard renders *bisso* as *lin*; a quotation in Ducange also makes Buckram the equivalent of Bissus; and Michel quotes from an inventory of 1365, "*unam culcitram pinctam* (qu. punctam?) *albam factam de bisso aliter boquerant*."

Mr. Marsh again produces quotations, in which the word is used as a proverbial example of *whiteness*, and inclines to think that it was a bleached cloth with a lustrous surface.

It certainly was not necessarily linen. Giovanni Villani, in a passage which is curious in more ways than one, tells how the citizens of Florence established races for their troops, and, among other prizes, was one which consisted of a *Bucherame di bambagine* (of cotton). Polo, near the end of the Book (Bk. III. ch. xxxiv.), speaking of Abyssinia, says, according to Pauthier's text: "*Et si y fait on moult beaux bouquerans et autres draps de coton*." The G. T. is, indeed, more ambiguous: "*Il hi se font maint biaus dras banbacin e bocaran*" (cotton and buckram). When, however, he uses the same expression with reference to the delicate stuffs woven on the coast of Telingana, there can be no doubt that a cotton texture is meant, and apparently a fine muslin. (Sec Bk. III. ch. xviii.) Buckram is generally named as an article of price, *chier bouquerant*, *rice boquerans*, etc., but not always, for Polo in one passage (Bk. II. ch. xlv.) seems to speak of it as the clothing of the poor people of Eastern Tibet.

Plano Carpini says the tunics of the Tartars were either of buckram (*bukeranium*), of *purpura* (a texture, perhaps velvet), or of *baudekin*, a cloth of gold (pp. 614-615). When the envoys of the Old Man of the Mountain tried to bully St. Lewis, one had a case of daggers to be offered in defiance, another a *bouqueran* for a winding sheet. (*Joinville*, p. 136.)

In accounts of materials for the use of Anne Boleyn in the time of her prosperity, *bokeram* frequently appears for "lyning and taynting" (?) gowns, lining sleeves, cloaks, a bed, etc., but it can scarcely have been for mere stiffening, as the colour of the buckram is generally specified as the same as that of the dress.

A number of passages seem to point to a quilted material. Boccaccio (Day viii. Novel 10) speaks of a quilt (*coltre*) of the whitest buckram of Cyprus, and Uzzano enters buckram quilts (*coltre di Bucherame*) in a list of *Linajuoli*, or linen-draperies. Both his handbook and Pegolotti's state repeatedly that buckrams were sold by the piece or the half-score pieces—never by measure. In one of Michel's quotations (from *Baudouin de Seboürc*) we have:

"Gaufer li fist premiers armer d'un auqueton
Qui fu de bougherant et plaine de bon coton."

Mr. Hewitt would appear to take the view that Buckram meant a quilted material; for, quoting from a roll of purchases made for the Court of Edward I., an entry for Ten Buckrams to make sleeves of, he remarks, "The sleeves appear to have been of *pourpointerie*," i.e. quilting. (*Ancient Armour*, I. 240.)

This signification would embrace a large number of passages in which the term is used, though certainly not all. It would account for the mode or sale by the piece, and frequent use of the expression *a buckram*, for its habitual application to *coltre* or counterpanes, its use in the *auqueton* of Baudouin, and in the jackets of Falstaff's "men in buckram," as well as its employment in the frocks of the Mongols and Tibetans. The winter *chapkan*, or long tunic, of Upper India, a form of dress which, I believe, correctly represents that of the Mongol hosts, and is probably derived from them, is almost universally of quilted cotton.* This signification would also facilitate the transfer of meaning to the substance now called buckram, for that is used as a *kind* of quilting.

The derivation of the word is very uncertain. Reiske says it is Arabic, *Abu-Kairám*, "Pannus cum intextis figuris"; Wedgwood, attaching the modern meaning, that it is from It., *bucherare*, to pierce full of holes, which might be if *bucherare* could be used in the sense of *puntare*, or the French *piquer*; Marsh connects it with the *bucking* of linen; and D'Avezac thinks it was a stuff that took its name from *Bokhara*. If the name be local, as so many names of stuffs are, the French form rather suggests *Bulgaria*. [Heyd, II. 703, says that Buckram (Bucherame) was principally manufactured at Erzinjan (Armenia), Mush, and Mardin (Kurdistan), Ispahan (Persia), and in India, etc. It was shipped to the west at Constantinople, Satalia, Acre, and Famagusta; the name is derived from Bokhara.—H. C.]

(*Della Decima*, III. 18, 149, 65, 74, 212, etc.; IV. 4, 5, 6, 212; *Reiske's Notes to Const. Porphyrogen.* II.; *D'Avezac*, p. 524; *Vocab. Univ. Ital.*; *Franc.-Michel, Recherches*, etc. II. 29 *seqq.*; *Philobiblon Soc. Miscell.* VI.; *Marsh's Wedgwood's Etym. Dict.* sub voce.)



Castle of Baiburt.

NOTE 2.—*Aziron* is ERZRUM, which, even in Tournefort's time, the Franks called *Erzeron* (III. 126); [it was named *Garine*, then *Theodosiopolis*, in honour of

* Polo's contemporary, the Indian Poet Amír Khusrú, puts in the mouth of his king Kaikobád, a contemptuous gibe at the Mongols with their cotton-quilted dresses. (*Elliot*, III. p. 526.)

Theodosius the Great; the present name was given by the Seljukid Turks, and it means "Roman Country"; it was taken by Chinghiz Khan and Timur, but neither kept it long. Odorico (*Cathay*, I. p. 46), speaking of this city, says it "is mighty cold." (See also on the low temperature of the place, Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, II. pp. 258-259.) Arzizi, ARJISH, in the vilayet of Van, was destroyed in the middle of the 19th century; it was situated on the road from Van to Erzurum. Arjish Kalá was one of the ancient capitals of the Kingdom of Armenia; it was conquered by Toghrul I., who made it his residence. (Cf. Vital Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, II. p. 710). —H. C.]

Arjish is the ancient *Arsissa*, which gave the Lake Van one of its names. It is now little more than a decayed castle, with a village inside.

Notices of Kuniyah, Kaisariya, Sivas, Arzan-ar-Rumi, Arzangan, and Arjish, will be found in Polo's contemporary Abulfeda. (See *Büsching*, IV. 303-311.)

NOTE 3.—Paipurth, or Baiburt, on the high road between Trebizond and Erzurum, was, according to Neumann, an Armenian fortress in the first century, and, according to Ritter, the castle *Baiberdon* was fortified by Justinian. It stands on a peninsular hill, encircled by the windings of the R. Charok. [According to Ramusio's version Baiburt was the third relay from Trebizond to Tauris, and travellers on their way from one of these cities to the other passed under this stronghold.—H. C.] The Russians, in retiring from it in 1829, blew up the greater part of the defences. The nearest silver mines of which we find modern notice, are those of *Gumish-Khánah* ("Silverhouse"), about 35 miles N.W. of Baiburt; they are more correctly mines of lead rich in silver, and were once largely worked. But the *Masdlak-al-absár* (14th century), besides these, speaks of two others in the same province, one of which was near *Bajert*. This Quatremère reasonably would read *Babert* or Baiburt. (*Not. et Extraits*, XIII. i. 337; *Texier, Arménie*, I. 59.)

NOTE 4.—Josephus alludes to the belief that Noah's Ark still existed, and that pieces of the pitch were used as amulets. (*Ant.* I. 3. 6.)

Ararat (16,953 feet) was ascended, first by Prof. Parrot, September 1829; by Spasski Aotonomoff, August 1834; by Behrens, 1835; by Abich, 1845; by Seymour in 1848; by Khodzko, Khanikoff, and others, for trigonometrical and other scientific purposes, in August 1850. It is characteristic of the account from which I take these notes (*Longrimoff*, in *Bull. Soc. Géog. Paris*, sér. IV. tom. i. p. 54), that whilst the writer's countrymen, Spasski and Behrens, were "moved by a noble curiosity," the Englishman is only admitted to have "gratified a tourist's whim"!

NOTE 5.—Though Mr. Khanikoff points out that springs of naphtha are abundant in the vicinity of Tiflis, the mention of *ship-loads* (in Ramusio indeed altered, but probably by the Editor, to *camel-loads*), and the vast quantities spoken of, point to the naphtha-wells of the Baku Peninsula on the Caspian. Ricold speaks of their supplying the whole country as far as Baghdad, and Barbaro alludes to the practice of anointing camels with the oil. The quantity collected from the springs about Baku was in 1819 estimated at 241,000 *poods* (nearly 4000 tons), the greater part of which went to Persia. (*Pereg. Quat.* p. 122; *Ramusio*, II. 109; *El. de Laprim.* 276; *V. du Chev. Gamba*, I. 298.)

[The phenomenal rise in the production of the Baku oil-fields between 1890-1900, may be seen at a glance from the Official Statistics where the total output for 1900 is given as 601,000,000 *poods*, about 9,500,000 tons. (Cf. *Petroleum*, No. 42, vol. ii. p. 13.)]

CHAPTER IV.

OF GEORGIANIA AND THE KINGS THEREOF.

IN GEORGIANIA there is a King called David Melic, which is as much as to say "David King"; he is subject to the Tartar.¹ In old times all the kings were born with the figure of an eagle upon the right shoulder. The people are very handsome, capital archers, and most valiant soldiers. They are Christians of the Greek Rite, and have a fashion of wearing their hair cropped, like Churchmen.²

This is the country beyond which Alexander could not pass when he wished to penetrate to the region of the Ponent, because that the defile was so narrow and perilous, the sea lying on the one hand, and on the other lofty mountains impassable to horsemen. The strait extends like this for four leagues, and a handful of people might hold it against all the world. Alexander caused a very strong tower to be built there, to prevent the people beyond from passing to attack him, and this got the name of the IRON GATE. This is the place that the Book of Alexander speaks of, when it tells us how he shut up the Tartars between two mountains; not that they were really Tartars, however, for there were no Tartars in those days, but they consisted of a race of people called COMANIANS and many besides.³

[In this province all the forests are of box-wood.⁴] There are numerous towns and villages, and silk is produced in great abundance. They also weave cloths of gold, and all kinds of very fine silk stuffs. The country produces the best goshawks in the world [which are called *Avigi*].⁵ It has indeed no lack of anything, and



Medieval Georgian Fortress, from a drawing dated 1634.

“La probence est toute plene de grant montaigne et d'estroit pas et de fort.”

the people live by trade and handicrafts. 'Tis a very mountainous region, and full of strait defiles and of fortresses, insomuch that the Tartars have never been able to subdue it out and out.

There is in this country a certain Convent of Nuns called St. Leonard's, about which I have to tell you a very wonderful circumstance. Near the church in question there is a great lake at the foot of a mountain, and in this lake are found no fish, great or small, throughout the year till Lent come. On the first day of Lent they find in it the finest fish in the world, and great store too thereof; and these continue to be found till Easter Eve. After that they are found no more till Lent come round again; and so 'tis every year. 'Tis really a passing great miracle!⁶

That sea whereof I spoke as coming so near the mountains is called the Sea of GHĒL or GHĒLAN, and extends about 700 miles.⁷ It is twelve days' journey distant from any other sea, and into it flows the great River Euphrates and many others, whilst it is surrounded by mountains. Of late the merchants of Genoa have begun to navigate this sea, carrying ships across and launching them thereon. It is from the country on this sea also that the silk called *Ghellé* is brought.⁸ [The said sea produces quantities of fish, especially sturgeon, at the river-mouths salmon, and other big kinds of fish.]⁹

NOTE I.—Ramusio has: "One part of the said province is subject to the Tartar, and the other part, owing to its fortresses, remains subject to the King David." We give an illustration of one of these mediæval Georgian fortresses, from a curious collection of MS. notices and drawings of Georgian subjects in the Municipal Library at Palermo, executed by a certain P. Cristoforo di Castelli of that city, who was a Theatine missionary in Georgia, in the first half of the 17th century.

The G. T. says the King was *always* called David. The Georgian Kings of the family of Bagratidæ claimed descent from King David through a prince Shampath, said to have been sent north by Nebuchadnezzar; a descent which was usually asserted in their public documents. Timur in his Institutes mentions a suit of armour given him by the King of Georgia as forged by the hand of the Psalmist King. David is a

very frequent name in their royal lists. [The dynasty of the Bagratidae, which was founded in 786 by Ashod, and lasted until the annexation of Georgia by Russia on the 18th January, 1801, had nine reigning princes named David. During the second half of the 12th century the princes were : Dawith (David) IV. Narin (1247-1259), Dawith V. (1243-1272), Dimitri II. Thawdadebuli (1272-1289), Wakhtang II. (1289-1292), Dawith VI. (1292-1308).—H. C.] There were two princes of that name, David, who shared Georgia between them under the decision of the Great Kaan in 1246, and one of them, who survived to 1269, is probably meant here. The name of David was borne by the last titular King of Georgia, who ceded his rights to Russia in 1801. It is probable, however, as Marsden has suggested, that the statement about the King *always* being called David arose in part out of some confusion with the title of *Dadian*, which, according to Chardin (and also to P. di Castelli), was always assumed by the Princes of Mingrelia, or Colchis as the latter calls it. Chardin refers this title to the Persian *Dād*, "equity." To a portrait of "Alexander, King of Iberia," or Georgia Proper, Castelli attaches the following inscription, giving apparently his official style : "With the sceptre of David, Crowned by Heaven, First King of the Orient and of the World, King of Israel," adding, "They say that he has on his shoulder a small mark of a cross, '*Factus est principatus super humerum ejus*,' and they add that he has all his ribs in one piece, and not divided." In another place he notes that when attending the King in illness his curiosity moved him strongly to ask if these things were true, but he thought better of it! (*Khanikoff; Jour. As. IX. 370, XI. 291, etc.; Tim. Instit. p. 143; Castelli MSS.*)

[A descendant of these Princes was in St. Petersburg about 1870. He wore the Russian uniform, and bore the title of Prince Bagration—Mukransky.]

NOTE 2.—This fashion of tonsure is mentioned by Barbaro and Chardin. The latter speaks strongly of the beauty of both sexes, as does Della Valle, and most modern travellers concur.

NOTE 3.—This refers to the Pass of Derbend, apparently the Sarmatic Gates of Ptolemy, and *Claustra Caspiorum* of Tacitus, known to the Arab geographers as the "Gate of Gates" (*Bāb-ul-abwāb*), but which is still called in Turkish *Demir-Kāpi*, or the Iron Gate, and to the ancient Wall that runs from the Castle of Derbend along the ridges of Caucasus, called in the East *Sadd-i-Iskandar*, the Rampart of Alexander. Bayer thinks the wall was probably built originally by one of the Antiochi, and renewed by the Sassanian Kobad or his son Naoshirwan. It is ascribed to the latter by Abulfeda; and according to Klaproth's extracts from the *Derbend Ndmah*, Naoshirwan completed the fortress of Derbend in A.D. 542, whilst he and his father together had erected 360 towers upon the Caucasian Wall which extended to the Gate of the Alans (*i.e.* the Pass of Dariel). Mas'ūdi says that the wall extended for 40 parasangs over the steepest summits and deepest gorges. The Russians must have gained some knowledge as to the actual existence and extent of the remains of this great work, but I have not been able to meet with any modern information of a very precise kind. According to a quotation from *Reinegg's Kaukasus* (I. 120, a work which I have not been able to consult), the remains of defences can be traced for many miles, and are in some places as much as 120 feet high. M. Moynet indeed, in the *Tour du Monde* (I. 122), states that he traced the wall to a distance of 27 versts (18 miles) from Derbend, but unfortunately, instead of describing remains of such high interest from his own observation, he cites a description written by Alex. Dumas, which he says is quite accurate.

[“To the west of Narin-Kaleh, a fortress which from the top of a promontory rises above the city, the wall, strengthened from distance to distance by large towers, follows the ridge of the mountains, descends into the ravines, and ascends the slopes to take root on some remote peak. If the natives were to be believed, this wall, which, however, no longer has any strategical importance, had formerly its towers bristling upon the Caucasus chain from one sea to another; at least, this

rampart did protect all the plains at the foot of the eastern Caucasus, since vestiges were found up to 30 kilometres from Derbend." (*Reclus, Asie russe*, p. 160.) It has belonged to Russia since 1813. The first European traveller who mentions it is Benjamin of Tudela.

Bretschneider (II. p. 117) observes: "Yule complains that he was not able to find any modern information regarding the famous Caucasian Wall which begins at Derbend. I may therefore observe that interesting details on the subject are found in Legkobytov's *Survey of the Russian Dominions beyond the Caucasus* (in Russian), 1836, vol. iv. pp. 158-161, and in Dubois de Montpéroux's *Voyage autour du Caucase*, 1840, vol. iv. pp. 291-298, from which I shall give here an abstract."

(He then proceeds to give an abstract, of which the following is a part:)

"The famous *Dagh bary* (mountain wall) now begins at the village of *Djelgan*, 4 versts south-west of Derbend, but we know that as late as the beginning of the last century it could be traced down to the southern gate of the city. This ancient wall then stretches westward to the high mountains of Tabasseran (it seems the Tabarestan of Mas'údi) . . . Dubois de Montpéroux enumerates the following sites of remains of the wall:—In the famous defile of *Dariel*, north-east of Kazbek. In the valley of the *Assai* river, near Wapila, about 35 versts north-east of Dariel. In the valley of the Kizil river, about 15 versts north-west of Kazbek. Farther west, in the valley of the *Piag* or *Pog* river, between *Lacz* and *Khilak*. From this place farther west about 25 versts, in the valley of the *Arredon* river, in the district of *Valaghir*. Finally, the westernmost section of the Caucasian Wall has been preserved, which was evidently intended to shut up the maritime defile of *Gagry*, on the Black Sea."—H. C.]

There is another wall claiming the title of *Sadd-i-Iskandar* at the S.E. angle of the Caspian. This has been particularly spoken of by Vámbéry, who followed its traces from S.W. to N.E. for upwards of 40 miles. (See his *Travels in C. Asia*, 54 *seq.*, and *Julius Braun* in the *Ausland*, No. 22, of 1869.)

Yule (II. pp. 537-538) says, "To the same friendly correspondent [Professor Bruun] I owe the following additional particulars on this interesting subject, extracted from *Eichwald, Periplus des Kasp. M. I.* 128.

"At the point on the mountain, at the extremity of the fortress (of Derbend), where the double wall terminates, there begins a single wall constructed in the same style, only this no longer runs in a straight line, but accommodates itself to the contour of the hill, turning now to the north and now to the south. At first it is quite destroyed, and showed the most scanty vestiges, a few small heaps of stones or traces of towers, but all extending in a general bearing from east to west. . . . It is not till you get 4 versts from Derbend, in traversing the mountains, that you come upon a continuous wall. Thenceforward you can follow it over the successive ridges . . . and through several villages chiefly occupied by the Tartar hill-people. The wall . . . makes many windings, and every $\frac{3}{4}$ verst it exhibits substantial towers like those of the city-wall, crested with loop-holes. Some of these are still in tolerably good condition; others have fallen, and with the wall itself have left but slight vestiges."

"Eichwald altogether followed it up about 18 versts (12 miles) not venturing to proceed further. In later days this cannot have been difficult, but my kind correspondent had not been able to lay his hand on information.

"A letter from Mr. Eugene Schuyler communicates some notes regarding inscriptions that have been found at and near Derbend, embracing Cufic of A.D. 465, Pehlvi, and even Cuneiform. Alluding to the fact that the other *Iron-gate*, south of Shahr-sabz, was called also *Kalugah*, or *Köhlugah*, he adds: 'I don't know what that means, nor do I know if the Russian Kaluga, south-west of Moscow, has anything to do with it, but I am told there is a Russian popular song, of which two lines run:

"Ah Derbend, Derbend Kaluga,
Derbend my little Treasure!"



View of Derbend.

“Alexandre ne peut passer quand il veut aller au Ponent . . . car de l’un les est la mer, et de l’autre est gran montagne que ne se peut cabaucher. La vie est mout estroit entre la montagne et la mer.”

“ I may observe that I have seen it lately pointed out that *Kvünga* is a Mongol word signifying a *barrier*; and I see that Timkowski (I. 288) gives the same explanation of *Kalgan*, the name applied by Mongols and Russians to the gate in the Great Wall, called Chang-kia-Kau by the Chinese, leading to Kiakhta.”

The story alluded to by Polo is found in the mediæval romances of Alexander, and in the Pseudo-Callisthenes on which they are founded. The hero chases a number of impure cannibal nations within a mountain barrier, and prays that they may be shut up therein. The mountains draw together within a few cubits, and Alexander then builds up the gorge and closes it with gates of brass or iron. There were in all twenty-two nations with their kings, and the names of the nations were Göth, Magöth, Anugi, Egës, Exenach, etc. Godfrey of Viterbo speaks of them in his rhyming verses :—

“ Finibus Indorum species fuit una virorum ;
Goth erat atque Magoth dictum cognomen eorum

* * * * *

Narrat Esias, Isidorus et Apocalypsis,
Tangit et in titulis Magna Sibylla suis.
Patribus ipsorum tumulus fuit venter eorum,” etc.

Among the questions that the Jews are said to have put, in order to test Mahommed's prophetic character, was one series : “ Who are Gog and Magog ? Where do they dwell ? What sort of rampart did Zu'l-karnain build between them and men ? ” And in the Koran we find (ch. xviii. *The Cavern*) : “ They will question thee, O Mahommed, regarding Zu'l-karnain. Reply : I will tell you his history ”—and then follows the story of the erection of the Rampart of Yájúj and Májúj. In ch. xxi. again there is an allusion to their expected issue at the latter day. This last expectation was one of very old date. Thus the *Cosmography of Aethicus*, a work long believed (though erroneously) to have been abridged by St. Jerome, and therefore to be as old at least as the 4th century, says that the *Turks* of the race of Gog and Magog, a polluted nation, eating human flesh and feeding on all abominations, never washing, and never using wine, salt, nor wheat, shall come forth in the Day of Antichrist from where they lie shut up behind the Caspian Gates, and make horrid devastation. No wonder that the irruption of the Tartars into Europe, heard of at first with almost as much astonishment as such an event would produce now, was connected with this prophetic legend ! * The Emperor Frederic II., writing to Henry III. of England, says of the Tartars : “ 'Tis said they are descended from the Ten Tribes who abandoned the Law of Moses, and worshipped the Golden Calf. They are the people whom Alexander Magnus shut up in the Caspian Mountains.”

[See the chapter *Gog et Magog dans le roman en alexandrins*, in Paul Meyer's *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature française*, Paris, 1886, II. pp. 386-389.—H. C.]:

“ Gos et Margos i vienent de la tiere des Turs
Et. cccc. m. hommes amenerent u plus,
Il en jurent la mer dont sire est Neptunus
Et le porte d'infer que garde Cerberus
Que l'orguel d'Alexandre torneront a reits
Por çou les enclot puis es estres desus.
Dusc' al tans Antecrist n'en istera mais nus.”

According to some chroniclers, the Emperor Heraclius had already let loose the Shut-up Nations to aid him against the Persians, but it brought him no good, for he was beaten in spite of their aid, and died of grief.

* See Letter of Frederic to the Roman Senate, of 20th June, 1241, in *Bréholles*. Mahomedan writers, contemporary with the Mongol invasions, regarded these as a manifest sign of the approaching end of the world. (See Elliot's *Historians*, II. p. 265.)

The theory that the Tartars were Gog and Magog led to the Rampart of Alexander being confounded with the Wall of China (see *infra*, Bk. I. ch. lix.), or being relegated to the extreme N.E. of Asia, as we find it in the Carta Catalana.

These legends are referred to by Rabbi Benjamin, Hayton, Rubruquis, Ricold, Matthew Paris, and many more. Josephus indeed speaks of the Pass which Alexander fortified with gates of steel. But his saying that the King of Hyrcania was Lord of this Pass points to the Hyrcanian Gates of Northern Persia, or perhaps to the Wall of Gomushtapah, described by Vámbéry.

Ricold of Montecroce allows two arguments to connect the Tartars with the Jews who were shut up by Alexander; one that the Tartars hated the very name of Alexander, and could not bear to hear it; the other, that their manner of writing was very like the Chaldean, meaning apparently the Syriac (*anté*, p. 29). But he points out that they had no resemblance to Jews, and no knowledge of the law.

Edrisi relates how the Khalif Wathek sent one Salem the Dragoman to explore the Rampart of Gog and Magog. His route lay by Tiflis, the Alan country, and that of the Bashkirds, to the far north or north-east, and back by Samarkand. But the report of what he saw is pure fable.

In 1857, Dr. Bellew seems to have found the ancient belief in the legend still held by Afghan gentlemen at Kandahar.

At Gelath in Imeretia there still exists one valve of a large iron gate, traditionally said to be the relic of a pair brought as a trophy from Derbend by David, King of Georgia, called the Restorer (1089-1130). M. Brosset, however, has shown it to be the gate of Ganja, carried off in 1139.

(*Bayer in Comment. Petropol.* I. 401 *seqq.*; *Pseudo-Callisth.* by Müller, p. 138; *Gott. Viterb.* in *Pistorii Nidani Script. Germ.* II. 228; *Alexandriade*, pp. 310-311; *Pereg.* IV. p. 118; *Acad. des Insc. Divers Savans*, II. 483; *Edrisi*, II. 416-420, etc.)

NOTE 4.—The box-wood of the Abkhasian forests was so abundant, and formed so important an article of Genoese trade, as to give the name of *Chao de Bux* (Cavo di Bussi) to the bay of Bambor, N.W. of Sukum Kala', where the traffic was carried on. (See *Elie de Laprim.* 243.) Abulfeda also speaks of the Forest of Box (*Sharā ul-buḡs*) on the shores of the Black Sea, from which box-wood was exported to all parts of the world; but his indication of the exact locality is confused. (*Reinaud's Abulf.* I. 289.)

At the present time "Boxwood abounds on the southern coast of the Caspian, and large quantities are exported from near Resht to England and Russia. It is sent up the Volga to Tsaritzin, from thence by rail to the Don, and down that river to the Black Sea, from whence it is shipped to England." (*MS. Note*, H. Y.)

[Cf. V. Helm's *Cultivated Plants*, edited by J. S. Stallybrass, Lond., 1891, *The Box Tree*, pp. 176-179.—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—Jerome Cardan notices that "the best and biggest goshawks come from Armenia," a term often including Georgia and Caucasus. The name of the bird is perhaps the same as *'Aḡī*, "*Falco montanus*." (See *Casiri*, I. 320.) Major St. John tells me that the *Terlān*, or goshawk, much used in Persia, is still generally brought from Caucasus. (*Cardan, de Rer. Varietate*, VII. 35.)

NOTE 6.—A letter of Warren Hastings, written shortly before his death, and after reading Marsden's Marco Polo, tells how a fish-breeder of Banbury warned him against putting pike into his fish-pond, saying, "If you should leave them where they are *till Shrove Tuesday* they will be sure to spawn, and then you will never get any other fish to breed in it." (*Romance of Travel*, I. 255.) Edward Webbe in his *Travels* (1590, reprinted 1868) tells us that in the "Land of Siria there is a River having great store of fish like unto Salmon-trouts, but no Jew can catch them, though either Christian and Turk shall catch them in abundance with great ease." The circumstance of fish being got only for a limited time in spring is noticed with reference to Lake Van both by Tavernier and Mr. Brant.

But the exact legend here reported is related (as M. Pauthier has already noticed) by Wilibrand of Oldenburg of a stream under the Castle of Adamodana, belonging to the Hospitallers, near Naversa (the ancient *Anazarbus*), in Cilicia under Taurus. And Khanikoff was told the same story of a lake in the district of Akhaltziké in Western Georgia, in regard to which he explains the substance of the phenomenon as a result of the rise of the lake's level by the melting of the snows, which often coincides with Lent. I may add that Moorcroft was told respecting a sacred pond near Sir-i-Chashma, on the road from Kabul to Bamian, that the fish in the pond were not allowed to be touched, but that they were accustomed to desert it for the rivulet that ran through the valley regularly every year *on the day of the vernal equinox*, and it was then lawful to catch them.

Like circumstances would produce the same effect in a variety of lakes, and I have not been able to identify the convent of St. Leonard's. Indeed Leonard (*Saint Lienard*, G. T.) seems no likely name for an Armenian Saint; and the patroness of the convent (as she is of many others in that country) was perhaps Saint *Nina*, an eminent personage in the Armenian Church, whose tomb is still a place of pilgrimage; or possibly St. *Helena*, for I see that the Russian maps show a place called *Elenovka* on the shores of Lake Sevan, N.E. of Erivan. Ramusio's text, moreover, says that the lake was *four days in compass*, and this description will apply, I believe, to none but the lake just named. This is, according to Monteith, 47 miles in length and 21 miles in breadth, and as far as I can make out he travelled round it in three very long marches. Convents and churches on its shores are numerous, and a very ancient one occupies an island on the lake. The lake is noted for its fish, especially magnificent trout.

(*Tavern*. Bk. III. ch. iii.; *J. R. G. S.* X. 897; *Pereg. Quat.* p. 179; *Khanikoff*, 15; *Moorcroft*, II. 382; *J. R. G. S.* III. 40 *seqq.*)

Ramusio has: "In this province there is a fine city called TIFLIS, and round about it are many castles and walled villages. It is inhabited by Christians, Armenians, Georgians, and some Saracens and Jews, but not many."

NOTE 7.—The name assigned by Marco to the Caspian, "Mer de Gheluchelan" or "Ghelachelan," has puzzled commentators. I have no doubt that the interpretation adopted above is the correct one. I suppose that Marco said that the sea was called "La Mer de Ghel ou (de) Ghelan," a name taken from the districts of the ancient *Gelae* on its south-western shores, called indifferently *Gil* or *Gillán*, just as many other regions of Asia have like duplicate titles (singular and plural), arising, I suppose, from the change of a *gentile* into a *local* name. Such are *Lár*, *Larán*, *Khutl*, *Khutlán*, etc., a class to which *Badakhshán*, *Wakhán*, *Shaghán*, *Mungán*, *Chaghán*, *Bámián*, and many others have formerly belonged, as the adjectives in some cases surviving, *Badakhshi*, *Shaghni*, *Wákhi*, etc., show.* The change exemplified in the induration of these *gentile plurals* into *local singulars* is everywhere traced in the passage from earlier to later geography. The old Indian geographical lists, such as are preserved in the *Puránas*, and in Pliny's extracts from Megasthenes, are, in the main, lists of *peoples*, not of provinces, and even where the real name seems to be local a *gentile* form is often given. So also *Tochari* and *Sogdi* are replaced by *Tokháristán* and *Sughd*; the *Veneti* and *Taurini* by Venice and Turin; the *Remi* and the *Parisii*, by Rheims and Paris; *East-Saxons* and *South-Saxons* by Essex and Sussex; not to mention the countless *-ings* that mark the tribal settlement of the Saxons in Britain.

Abulfeda, speaking of this territory, uses exactly Polo's phrase, saying that the districts in question are properly called *Kil-o-Kilán*, but by the Arabs *Jil-o-Jilán*. Teixeira gives the Persian name of the sea as *Darya Ghiláni*. (See *Abulf.* in *Büsching*, v. 329.)

* When the first edition was published, I was not aware of remarks to like effect regarding names of this character by Sir H. Rawlinson in the *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. xi. pp. 64 and 103.

[The province of Gíl (Gflán), which is situated between the mountains and the Caspian Sea, and between the provinces of Azerbaïján and Mazandéran (H. C.)], gave name to the silk for which it was and is still famous, mentioned as *Ghelle* (*Gill*) at the end of this chapter. This *Seta Ghella* is mentioned also by Pegolotti (pp. 212, 238, 301), and by Uzzano, with an odd transposition, as *Seta Leggi*, along with *Seta Masandroni*, i.e. from the adjoining province of Mazandéran (p. 192). May not the Spanish *Gelíz*, "a silk-dealer," which seems to have been a puzzle to etymologists, be connected with this? (See *Dozy and Engelmann*, 2nd ed. p. 275.) [Prof. F. de Filippi (*Viaggio in Persia nel 1862*, . . . Milan, 1865, 8vo) speaks of the silk industry of Ghflán (pp. 295-296) as the principal product of the entire province.—H. C.]

The dimensions assigned to the Caspian in the text would be very correct if length were meant, but the Geog. Text with the same figure specifies *circuit* (*zire*). Ramusio again has "a circuit of 2800 miles." Possibly the original reading was 2700; but this would be in excess.

NOTE 8.—The Caspian is termed by Vincent of Beauvais *Mare Seruanicum*, the Sea of Shirwan, another of its numerous Oriental names, rendered by Marino Sanuto as *Mare Salvanicum*. (III. xi. ch. ix.) But it was generally known to the Franks in the Middle Ages as the SEA OF BACU. Thus Berni :—

" Fuor del deserto la diritta strada
Lungo il Mar di Bacu miglior pareva."
(*Orl. Innam.* xvii. 60.)

And in the *Sfera* of Lionardo Dati (*circa* 1390) :—

" Da Tramontana di quest' Asia Grande
Tartari son sotto la fredda Zona,
Gente bestial di bestie e vivande,
Fin dove l'Onda di Baccù risuona," etc. (p. 10.)

This name is introduced in Ramusio, but probably by interpolation, as well as the correction of the statement regarding Euphrates, which is perhaps a branch of the notion alluded to in *Prologue*, ch. ii. note 5. In a later chapter Marco calls it the *Sea of Sarai*, a title also given in the *Carta Catalana*. [Odorico calls it *Sea of Bacuc* (*Cathay*) and *Sea of Bascon* (Cordicr). The latter name is a corruption of Abeskun, a small town and island in the S.E. corner of the Caspian Sea, not far from Ashurada.—H. C.]

We have little information as to the Genoese navigation of the Caspian, but the great number of names exhibited along its shores in the map just named (1375) shows how familiar such navigation had become by that date. See also *Cathay*, p. 50, where an account is given of a remarkable enterprise by Genoese buccaneers on the Caspian about that time. Mas'údi relates an earlier history of how about the beginning of the 9th century a fleet of 500 Russian vessels came out of the Volga, and ravaged all the populous southern and western shores of the Caspian. The unhappy population was struck with astonishment and horror at this unlooked-for visitation from a sea that had hitherto been only frequented by peaceful traders or fishermen. (II. 18-24.)

NOTE 9.—[The enormous quantity of fish found in the Caspian Sea is ascribed to the mass of vegetable food to be found in the shallower waters of the North and the mouth of the Volga. According to Reclus, the Caspian fisheries bring in fish to the annual value of between three and four millions sterling.—H. C.]

CHAPTER V.

OF THE KINGDOM OF MAUSUL.

ON the frontier of Armenia towards the south-east is the kingdom of MAUSUL. It is a very great kingdom, and inhabited¹ by several different kinds of people whom we shall now describe.

First there is a kind of people called ARABI, and these worship Mahommet. Then there is another description of people who are NESTORIAN and JACOBITE Christians. These have a Patriarch, whom they call the JATOLIC, and this Patriarch creates Archbishops, and Abbots, and Prelates of all other degrees, and sends them into every quarter, as to India, to Baudas, or to Cathay, just as the Pope of Rome does in the Latin countries. For you must know that though there is a very great number of Christians in those countries, they are all Jacobites and Nestorians; Christians indeed, but not in the fashion enjoined by the Pope of Rome, for they come short in several points of the Faith.²

All the cloths of gold and silk that are called *Mosolins* are made in this country; and those great Merchants called *Mosolins*, who carry for sale such quantities of spicery and pearls and cloths of silk and gold, are also from this kingdom.³

There is yet another race of people who inhabit the mountains in that quarter, and are called CURDS. Some of them are Christians, and some of them are Saracens; but they are an evil generation, whose delight it is to plunder merchants.⁴

[Near this province is another called MUS and MERDIN, producing an immense quantity of cotton, from which they

make a great deal of buckram⁵ and other cloth. The people are craftsmen and traders, and all are subject to the Tartar King.]

NOTE 1.—Polo could scarcely have been justified in calling MOSUL a very great kingdom. This is a bad habit of his, as we shall have to notice again. Badruddin Lúlu, the last Atabeg of Mosul of the race of Zenghi had at the age of 96 taken sides with Hulaku, and stood high in his favour. His son Malik Sálih, having revolted, surrendered to the Mongols in 1261 on promise of life; which promise they kept in Mongol fashion by torturing him to death. Since then the kingdom had ceased to exist as such. Coins of Badruddin remain with the name and titles of Mangku Kaan on their reverse, and some of his and of other atabegs exhibit curious imitations of Greek art. (*Quat. Rash.* p. 389; *Jour. As.* IV. VI. 141.).—H. Y. and H. C. [Mosul was pillaged by Timur at the end of the 14th century; during the 15th it fell into the hands of the Turkomans, and during the 16th, of Ismail, Shah of Persia.—H. C.]



Coin of Badruddin of Mausul.

[The population of Mosul is to-day 61,000 inhabitants—(48,000 Musulmans, 10,000 Christians belonging to various churches, and 3000 Jews).—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The Nestorian Church was at this time and in the preceding centuries diffused over Asia to an extent of which little conception is generally entertained, having a chain of Bishops and Metropolitans from Jerusalem to Peking. The Church derived its name from Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who was deposed by the Council of Ephesus in 431. The chief "point of the Faith" wherein it came short, was (at least in its most tangible form) the doctrine that in Our Lord there were two Persons, one of the Divine Word, the other of the Man Jesus; the former dwelling in the latter as in a Temple, or uniting with the latter "as fire with iron." *Nestorin*, the term used by Polo, is almost a literal transcript of the Arab form *Nastúri*. A notice of the Metropolitan sees, with a map, will be found in *Cathay*, p. ccxlv.

Játhalk, written in our text (from G. T.) *Jatolic*, by Fr. Burchard and Ricold *Jaselic*, stands for *Καθολικός*. No doubt it was originally *Gáthalik*, but altered in pronunciation by the Arabs. The term was applied by Nestorians to their Patriarch; among the Jacobites to the *Mafrián* or Metropolitan. The Nestorian Patriarch at this time resided at Baghdad. (*Assemani*, vol. iii. pt. 2; *Per. Quat.* 91, 127.)

The Jacobites, or Jacobins, as they are called by writers of that age (Ar. *Ya'úbkiy*), received their name from Jacob Baradaeus or James Zanzale, Bishop of Edessa (so called, Mas'údi says, because he was a maker of *bard'at* or saddle-cloths), who gave a great impulse to their doctrine in the 6th century. [At some time between the years 541 and 578, he separated from the Church and became a follower of the doctrine of Eutyches.—H. C.] The Jacobites then formed an independent Church, which at one time spread over the East at least as far as Sfstán, where they had a see under the Sassanian Kings. Their distinguishing tenet was *Monophysitism*, viz., that Our Lord had but one Nature, the Divine. It was in fact a rebound from Nestorian doctrine, but, as might be expected in such a case, there was a vast number of shades of opinion among both bodies. The chief locality of the Jacobites was in the districts of Mosul, Tekrit, and Jazfrah, and their Patriarch was at this time settled at the Monastery of St. Matthew, near Mosul, but afterwards, and to the present day, at or near Mardin. [They have at present two patriarchates: the Monastery of Zapharan near Baghdad and Etchmiadzin.—H. C.] The Armenian, Coptic, Abyssinian,

and Malabar Churches all hold some shade of the Jacobite doctrine, though the first two at least have Patriarchs apart.

(*Assemani*, vol. ii. ; *Le Quieu*, II. 1596 ; *Mas'ûdi*, II. 329-330 ; *Per. Quat.* 124-129.)

* NOTE 3.—We see here that *mosolin* or *muslin* had a very different meaning from what it has now. A quotation from Ives by Marsden shows it to have been applied in the middle of last century to a strong cotton cloth made at Mosul. Dozy says the Arabs use *Mauçili* in the sense of muslin, and refers to passages in 'The Arabian Nights.' [Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* II. p. 122) observes "that in the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un's travels to the west in 1221, it is stated that in Samarkand the men of the lower classes and the priests wrap their heads about with a piece of white *mo-sze*. There can be no doubt that *mo-sze* here denotes 'muslin,' and the Chinese author seems to understand by this term the same material which we are now used to call muslin."—H. C.] I have found no elucidation of Polo's application of *mosolini* to a class of merchants. But, in a letter of Pope Innocent IV. (1244) to the Dominicans in Palestine, we find classed as different bodies of Oriental Christians, "*Jacobitæ, Nestoritæ, Georgiani, Graeci, Armeni, Maronitæ, et Mosolini.*" (*Le Quieu*, III. 1342.)

NOTE 4.—"The Kurds," says Ricold, "exceed in malignant ferocity all the barbarous nations that I have seen. . . . They are called *Curti*, not because they are curt in stature, but from the Persian word for *Wolves*. . . . They have three principal vices, viz., Murder, Robbery, and Treachery." Some say they have not mended since, but his etymology is doubtful. *Kürt* is Turkish for a wolf, not Persian, which is *Gurg*; but the name (*Karduchi, Kordiaei*, etc.) is older, I imagine, than the Turkish language in that part of Asia. Quatremère refers it to the Persian *gurd*, "strong, valiant, hero." As regards the statement that some of the Kurds were Christians, *Mas'ûdi* states that the Jacobites and certain other Christians in the territory of Mosul and Mount Judi were reckoned among the Kurds. (*Not. et Ext.* XIII. i. 304.) [The Kurds of Mosul are in part nomadic and are called *Kotcheres*, but the greater number are sedentary and cultivate cereals, cotton, tobacco, and fruits. (*Cuinet.*) Old Kurdistan had Shehrizor (Kerkuk, in the sanjak of that name) as its capital.—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—Ramusio here, as in all passages where other texts have *Bucherani* and the like, puts *Bocassini*, a word which has become obsolete in its turn. I see both *Bochayrani* and *Bochasini* coupled, in a Genoese fiscal statute of 1339, quoted by Pardessus. (*Lois Maritimes*, IV. 456.)

MUSH and MARDIN are in very different regions, but as their actual interval is only about 120 miles, they may have been under one provincial government. Mush is essentially Armenian, and, though the seat of a Pashalik, is now a wretched place. Mardin, on the verge of the Mesopotamian Plain, rises in terraces on a lofty hill, and there, says Hammer, "Sunnis and Shias, Catholic and Schismatic Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Chaldaeans, Sun-, Fire-, Calf-, and Devil-worshippers dwell one over the head of the other." (*Mélan.* I. 191.)

Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini (b. 1883 - d. 1945), il Duce del Fascismo, was descended from an old Bolognese family who for several generations were traders in muslin (mussoline). His real style was H. E. Cavallieri Benito Mussolini. Curiously enough, Dr. Ernest ("Putzi") Hanfstaengl, former Bavarian Nazi, remarks on il Duce's "Mussolini" appearance, and claims that Ernest Reuben once described him as an "Abyssinian".

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE GREAT CITY OF BAUDAS, AND HOW IT WAS TAKEN.

BAUDAS is a great city, which used to be the seat of the Calif of all the Saracens in the world, just as Rome is the seat of the Pope of all the Christians.¹ A very great river flows through the city, and by this you can descend to the Sea of India. There is a great traffic of merchants with their goods this way; they descend some eighteen days from Baudas, and then come to a certain city called KISI, where they enter the Sea of India.² There is also on the river, as you go from Baudas to Kisi, a great city called BASTRA, surrounded by woods, in which grow the best dates in the world.³

In Baudas they weave many different kinds of silk stuffs and gold brocades, such as *nasich*, and *nac*, and *cramoisy*, and many another beautiful tissue richly wrought with figures of beasts and birds. It is the noblest and greatest city in all those regions.⁴

Now it came to pass on a day in the year of Christ 1255, that the Lord of the Tartars of the Levant, whose name was Alaü, brother to the Great Kaan now reigning, gathered a mighty host and came up against Baudas and took it by storm.⁵ It was a great enterprise! for in Baudas there were more than 100,000 horse, besides foot soldiers. And when Alaü had taken the place he found therein a tower of the Calif's, which was full of gold and silver and other treasure; in fact the greatest accumulation of treasure in one spot that ever was known.⁶ When he beheld that great heap of treasure he was astonished, and, summoning the Calif to his presence, he said to him: "Calif, tell me now why thou

hast gathered such a huge treasure? What didst thou mean to do therewith? Knewest thou not that I was thine enemy, and that I was coming against thee with so great an host to cast thee forth of thine heritage? Wherefore didst thou not take of thy gear and employ it in paying knights and soldiers to defend thee and thy city?"

The Calif wist not what to answer, and said never a word. So the Prince continued, "Now then, Calif, since I see what a love thou hast borne thy treasure, I will e'en give it thee to eat!" So he shut the Calif up in the Treasure Tower, and bade that neither meat nor drink should be given him, saying, "Now, Calif, eat of thy treasure as much as thou wilt, since thou art so fond of it; for never shalt thou have aught else to eat!"

So the Calif lingered in the tower four days, and then died like a dog. Truly his treasure would have been of more service to him had he bestowed it upon men who would have defended his kingdom and his people, rather than let himself be taken and deposed and put to death as he was.⁷ Howbeit, since that time, there has been never another Calif, either at Baudas or anywhere else.⁸

Now I will tell you of a great miracle that befell at Baudas, wrought by God on behalf of the Christians.

NOTE 1.—This form of the Mediæval Frank name of BAGHDAD, *Baudas* [the Chinese traveller, Ch'ang Te, *Si Shi Ki*, XIII. cent., says, "the kingdom of *Bao-da*," H. C.], is curiously like that used by the Chinese historians, *Paota* (*Pauthier*; *Gaubil*), and both are probably due to the Mongol habit of slurring gutturals. (See *Prologue*, ch. ii. note 3.) [Baghdad was taken on the 5th of February, 1258, and the Khalif surrendered to Hulaku on the 10th of February.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Polo is here either speaking without personal knowledge, or is so brief as to convey an erroneous impression that the Tigris flows to Kisi, whereas three-fourths of the length of the Persian Gulf intervene between the river mouth and Kisi. The latter is the island and city of *RISH* or *KAIS*, about 200 miles from the mouth of the Gulf, and for a long time one of the chief ports of trade with India and the East. The island, the *Cataea* of Arrian, now called *Ghes* or *Kenn*, is singular among the islands of the Gulf as being wooded and well supplied with fresh water. The ruins of a city [called *Harira*, according to Lord Curzon,] exist on the north side. According to

Wassáf, the island derived its name from one Kais, the son of a poor widow of Sráf (then a great port of Indian trade on the northern shore of the Gulf), who on a voyage to India, about the 10th century, made a fortune precisely as Dick Whittington did. The proceeds of the cat were invested in an establishment on this island. Modern attempts to nationalise Whittington may surely be given up! It is one of the tales which, like Tell's shot, the dog Gellert, and many others, are common to many regions. (*Hammer's Ilch.* I. 239; *Ouseley's Travels*, I. 170; *Notes and Queries*, 2nd s. XI. 372.)

Mr Badger, in a postscript to his translation of the History of Omán (*Hak. Soc.* 1871), maintains that Kish or Kais was at this time a city on the mainland, and identical from Sráf. He refers to Ibn Batuta (II. 244), who certainly does speak of visiting "the city of Kais, called also Sráf." And Polo, neither here nor in Bk. III. ch. xl., speaks of Kisi as an island. I am inclined, however, to think that this was from not having visited it. Ibn Batuta says nothing of Sráf as a seat of trade; but the historian Wassáf, who had been in the service of Jamáluddín al-Thaibi, the Lord of Kais, in speaking of the export of horses thence to India, calls it "the Island of Kais." (Elliot, III. 34.) Compare allusions to this horse trade in ch. xv. and in Bk. III. ch. xvii. Wassáf was precisely a contemporary of Polo.

NOTE 3.—The name is *Basera* in the MSS., but this is almost certainly the common error of *c* for *t*. BASRA is still noted for its vast date-groves. "The whole country from the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris to the sea, a distance of 30 leagues, is covered with these trees." (*Tav.* Bk. II. ch. iii.)

NOTE 4.—From Baudas, or Baldac, *i.e.* Baghdad, certain of these rich silk and gold brocades were called *Baldachini*, or in English *Baudekins*. From their use in the state canopies and umbrellas of Italian dignitaries, the word *Baldacchino* has come to mean a canopy, even when architectural. [*Baldekin*, *baldacchino*, was at first entirely made of silk, but afterwards silk was mixed (*sericum mixtum*) with cotton or thread. When Hulaku conquered Baghdad part of the tribute was to be paid with that kind of stuff. Later on, says Heyd (II. p. 697), it was also manufactured in the province of Ahwaz, at Damas and at Cyprus; it was carried as far as France and England. Among the articles sent from Baghdad to Okkodai Khan, mentioned in the *Yüan ch'ao pi shi* (made in the 14th century), quoted by Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* II. p. 124), we note: *Nakhut* (a kind of gold brocade), *Nachidut* (a silk stuff interwoven with gold), *Dardas* (a stuff embroidered in gold). Bretschneider (p. 125) adds: "With respect to *nakhut* and *nachidut*, I may observe that these words represent the Mongol plural form of *nakh* and *nachetti*. . . . I may finally mention that in the *Yüan shi*, ch. lxxviii. (on official dresses), a stuff, *na-shi-shi*, is repeatedly named, and the term is explained there by *kin kin* (gold brocade)." —H. C.] The stuffs called *Nasich* and *Nac* are again mentioned by our traveller below (ch. lix.). We only know that they were of silk and gold, as he implies here, and as Ibn Batuta tells us, who mentions *Nakh* several times and *Nasfj* once. The latter is also mentioned by Rubruquis (*Nasich*) as a present made to him at the Kaa'n's court. And Pegolotti speaks of both *nacchi* and *nacchetti* of silk and gold, the latter apparently answering to *Nasich*. *Nac*, *Nacques*, *Nachiz*, *Naciz*, *Nasiz*, appear in accounts and inventories of the 14th century, French and English. (See *Dictionnaire des Tissus*, II. 199, and *Douet d'Arçq*, *Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France*, etc., 334.) We find no mention of *Nakh* or *Nasfj* among the stuffs detailed in the *Ain Akbari*, so they must have been obsolete in the 16th century. [Cf. Heyd, *Com. du Levant*, II. p. 698; *Nacco*, *nachetto*, comes from the Arabic *nakh* (*nekh*); *nassit* (*nasith*) from the Arabic *néciđj*.—H. C.] *Quermesis* or Cramoisy derived its name from the Kermes insect (Ar. *Kirmiz*) found on *Quercus coccifera*, now supplanted by cochineal. The stuff so called is believed to have been originally a crimson velvet, but apparently, like the mediæval *Purpura*, if not identical with it, it came to indicate a tissue rather than a colour. Thus Fr. Michel quotes velvet of vermeil cramoisy, of

violet, and of blue cramoisy, and *pourpres* of a variety of colours, though he says he has never met with *pourpre blanche*. I may, however, point to Plano Carpini (p. 755), who describes the courtiers at Karakorum as clad in white *purpura*.

The London prices of *Chermisi* and *Baldacchini* in the early part of the 15th century will be found in Uzzano's work, but they are hard to elucidate.

Babylon, of which Baghdad was the representative, was famous for its variegated textures in very early days. We do not know the nature of the goodly Babylonish garment which tempted Achan in Jericho, but Josephus speaks of the affluence of rich stuffs carried in the triumph of Titus, "gorgeous with life-like designs from the Babylonian loom," and he also describes the memorable Veil of the Temple as a *πέπλος Βαβυλώνιος* of varied colours marvellously wrought. Pliny says King Attalus invented the intertexture of cloth with gold; but the weaving of damasks of a variety of colours was perfected at Babylon, and thence they were called Babylonian.

The brocades wrought with figures of animals in gold, of which Marco speaks, are still a *spécialité* at Benares, where they are known by the name of *Shikārgdh* or hunting-grounds, which is nearly a translation of the name *Thard-wahsh* "beast-hunts," by which they were known to the mediæval Saracens. (See *Q. Makrizi*, IV. 69-70.) Plautus speaks of such patterns in carpets, the produce of Alexandria—"Alexandrina belluata conchyliata tapetia." Athenæus speaks of Persian carpets of like description at an extravagant entertainment given by Antiochus Epiphanes; and the same author cites a banquet given in Persia by Alexander, at which there figured costly curtains embroidered with animals. In the 4th century Asterius, Bishop of Amasia in Pontus, rebukes the Christians who indulge in such attire: "You find upon them lions, panthers, bears, huntsmen, woods, and rocks; whilst the more devout display Christ and His disciples, with the stories of His miracles," etc. And Sidonius alludes to upholstery of like character:

"Peregrina det supellex

* * * *

Ubi torvus, et per artem

Resupina flexus ora,

It equo reditque telo

Simulacra bestiarum

Fugiens fugansque Parthus." (*Epist.* ix. 13.)

A modern Kashmīr example of such work is shown under ch. xvii.

(*D'Arcezac*, p. 524; *Pegolotti*, in *Cathay*, 295, 306; *I. B.* II. 309, 388, 422; III. 81; *Della Decima*, IV. 125-126; *Fr.-Michel*, *Recherches*, etc., II. 10-16, 204-206; *Joseph. Bell. Jud.* VII. 5, 5, and V. 5, 4; *Pliny*, VIII. 74 (or 48); *Plautus*, *Pseudolus*, I. 2; *Yonge's Athenæus*, V. 26 and XII. 54; *Mongez* in *Mém. Acad.* IV. 275-276.)

NOTE 5.—[Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* I. p. 114) says: "Hulagu left Karakorum, the residence of his brother, on the 2nd May, 1253, and returned to his ordo, in order to organize his army. On the 19th October of the same year, all being ready, he started for the west." He arrived at Samarkand in September, 1255. For this chapter and the following of Polo, see: *Hulagu's Expedition to Western Asia, after the Mohammedan Authors*, pp. 112-122, and the *Translation of the Si Shi Ki* (Ch'ang Te), pp. 122-156, in Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches*, I.—H.C.]

NOTE 6.—["Hulagu proceeded to the lake of *Ormia* (Urmia), when he ordered a castle to be built on the island of *Tala*, in the middle of the lake, for the purpose of depositing here the immense treasures captured at Baghdad. A great part of the booty, however, had been sent to Mangu Khan." (*Hulagu's Exp.*, Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* I. p. 120.) Ch'ang Te says (*Si Shi Ki*, p. 139): "The palace of the Ha-li-fa was built of fragrant and precious woods. The walls of it were constructed of black and white jade. It is impossible to imagine the quantity of gold and precious stones found there."—H.C.]

NOTE 7.—

“ I said to the Kalif : ‘ Thou art old,
 Thou hast no need of so much gold.
 Thou shouldst not have heaped and hidden it here,
 Till the breath of Battle was hot and near,
 But have sown through the land these useless hoards
 To spring into shining blades of swords,
 And keep thine honour sweet and clear.

* * * * *

Then into his dungeon I locked the drone,
 And left him to feed there all alone
 In the honey-cells of his golden hive :
 Never a prayer, nor a cry, nor a groan
 Was heard from those massive walls of stone,
 Nor again was the Kalif seen alive.’

This is the story, strange and true,
 That the great Captain Alaü
 Told to his brother, the Tartar Khan,
 When he rode that day into Cambalu.
 By the road that leadeth to Ispahan.” (*Longfellow.*) *

The story of the death of Mosta'sim Billah, the last of the Abbaside Khalifs, is told in much the same way by Hayton, Ricold, Pachymeres, and Joinville. The memory of the last glorious old man must have failed him, when he says the facts were related by some merchants who came to King Lewis, when before Siette (or Sidon), viz. in 1253, for the capture of Baghdad occurred five years later. Mar. Sanuto says melted gold was poured down the Khalif's throat—a transfer, no doubt, from the old story of Crassus and the Parthians. Contemporary Armenian historians assert that Hulaku slew him with his own hand.

All that Rashiduddin says is : “ The evening of Wednesday, the 14th of Safar, 656 (20th February, 1258), the Khalif was put to death in the village of Wakf, with his eldest son and five eunuchs who had never quitted him.” Later writers say that he was wrapt in a carpet and trodden to death by horses.

[Cf. *The Story of the Death of the last Abbaside Caliph, from the Vatican MS. of Ibn-al-Furât*, by G. le Strange (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, April, 1900, pp. 293-300). This is the story of the death of the Khalif told by Ibn-al-Furât (born in Cairo, 1335 A.D.):

“ Then Hülagü gave command, and the Caliph was left a-hungering, until his case was that of very great hunger, so that he called asking that somewhat might be given him to eat. And the accursed Hülagü sent for a dish with gold therein, and a dish with silver therein, and a dish with gems, and ordered these all to be set before the Caliph al Musta'sim, saying to him, ‘ Eat these.’ But the Caliph made answer, ‘ These be not fit for eating.’ Then said Hülagü : ‘ Since thou didst so well know that these be not fit for eating, why didst thou make a store thereof? With part thereof thou mightest have sent gifts to propitiate us, and with part thou shouldst have raised an army to serve thee and defend thyself against us! And Hülagü commanded them to take forth the Caliph and his son to a place without the camp, and they were here bound and put into two great sacks, being afterwards trampled under foot till they both died—the mercy of Allah be upon them.’—H. C.]

The foundation of the story, so widely received among the Christians, is to be found also in the narrative of Nikbi (and Mirkhond), which is cited by D'Ohsson. When the Khalif surrendered, Hulaku put before him a plateful of gold, and told him to eat it. “ But one does not eat gold,” said the prisoner. “ Why, then,”

VOL. I. * Not that Alaü (*pace* Mr. Longfellow) ever did see Cambalu.

replied the Tartar, "did you hoard it, instead of expending it in keeping up an army? Why did you not meet me at the Oxus?" The Khalif could only say, "Such was God's will!" "And that which has befallen you was also God's will," said Hulaku.

Wassáf's narrative is interesting:—"Two days after his capture the Khalif was at his morning prayer, and began with the verse (*Koran*, III. 25), 'Say God is the Possessor of Dominion! It shall be given to whom He will; it shall be taken from whom He will; whom He will He raiseth to honour; whom He will He casteth to the ground.' Having finished the regular office he continued still in prayer with tears and importunity. Bystanders reported to the Ilkhan the deep humiliation of the Khalif's prayers, and the text which seemed to have so striking an application to those two princes. Regarding what followed there are different stories. Some say that the Ilkhan ordered food to be withheld from the Khalif, and that when he asked for food the former bade a dish of gold be placed before him, etc. Eventually, after taking counsel with his chiefs, the Padishah ordered the execution of the Khalif. It was represented that the blood-drinking sword ought not to be stained with the gore of Mosta'sim. He was therefore rolled in a carpet, just as carpets are usually rolled up, insomuch that his limbs were crushed."

The avarice of the Khalif was proverbial. When the Mongol army was investing Miafaraḡain, the chief, Malik Kamál, told his people that everything he had should be at the service of those in need: "Thank God, I am not like Mosta'sim, a worshipper of silver and gold!"

(*Hayton in Ram.* ch. xxvi.; *Per. Quat.* 121; *Pachym. Mic. Palaeol.* II. 24; *Joinville*, p. 182; *Sanuto*, p. 238; *J. As. sér.* V. tom. xi. 490, and xvi. 291; *D'Ohsson*, III. 243; *Hammer's Wassáf*, 75-76; *Quat. Rashid.* 305.)

NOTE 8.—Nevertheless Froissart brings the Khalif to life again one hundred and twenty years later, as "*Le Galifre de Baudas.*" (Bk. III. ch. xxiv.)

CHAPTER VII.

HOW THE CALIF OF BAUDAS TOOK COUNSEL TO SLAY ALL THE CHRISTIANS IN HIS LAND.

I WILL tell you then this great marvel that occurred between Baudas and Mausul.

It was in the year of Christ¹ . . . that there was a Calif at Baudas who bore a great hatred to Christians, and was taken up day and night with the thought how he might either bring those that were in his kingdom over to his own faith, or might procure them all to be slain. And he used daily to take counsel about this with the devotees and priests of his faith,² for they all

bore the Christians like malice. And, indeed, it is a fact, that the whole body of Saracens throughout the world are always most malignantly disposed towards the whole body of Christians.

Now it happened that the Calif, with those shrewd priests of his, got hold of that passage in our Gospel which says, that if a Christian had faith as a grain of mustard seed, and should bid a mountain be removed, it would be removed. And such indeed is the truth. But when they had got hold of this text they were delighted, for it seemed to them the very thing whereby either to force all the Christians to change their faith, or to bring destruction upon them all. The Calif, therefore called together all the Christians in his territories, who were extremely numerous. And when they had come before him, he showed them the Gospel, and made them read the text which I have mentioned. And when they had read it he asked them if that was the truth? The Christians answered that it assuredly was so. "Well," said the Calif, "since you say that it is the truth, I will give you a choice. Among such a number of you there must needs surely be this small amount of faith; so you must either move that mountain there,"—and he pointed to a mountain in the neighbourhood—"or you shall die an ill death; unless you choose to eschew death by all becoming Saracens and adopting our Holy Law. To this end I give you a respite of ten days; if the thing be not done by that time, ye shall die or become Saracens." And when he had said this he dismissed them, to consider what was to be done in this strait wherein they were.

NOTE 1.—The date in the G. Text and Pauthier is 1275, which of course cannot have been intended. Ramusio has 1225.

[The Khalifs in 1225 were Abu'l Abbas Ahmed VII. en-Nassir lidini 'llah (1180-1225) and Abu Nasr Mohammed IX. ed-Dhahir bi-emri 'llah (1225-1226).—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—“*Cum sex regisles et cum sex casses.*” (G. T.) I suppose the former expression to be a form of *Regules*, which is used in Polo’s book for persons of a religious *rule* or order, whether Christian or Pagan. The latter word (*casses*) I take to be the Arabic *Kashsh*, properly a Christian Presbyter, but frequently applied by old travellers, and habitually by the Portuguese (*caxiz, caxix*), to Mahomedan Divines. (See *Cathay*, p. 568.) It may, however, be *Kázi*.

Pauthier’s text has simply “à ses prestres de la Loi.”

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THE CHRISTIANS WERE IN GREAT DISMAY BECAUSE OF WHAT
THE CALIF HAD SAID.

THE Christians on hearing what the Calif had said were in great dismay, but they lifted all their hopes to God, their Creator, that He would help them in this their strait. All the wisest of the Christians took counsel together, and among them were a number of bishops and priests, but they had no resource except to turn to Him from whom all good things do come, beseeching Him to protect them from the cruel hands of the Calif.

So they were all gathered together in prayer, both men and women, for eight days and eight nights. And whilst they were thus engaged in prayer it was revealed in a vision by a Holy Angel of Heaven to a certain Bishop who was a very good Christian, that he should desire a certain Christian Cobler,¹ who had but one eye, to pray to God; and that God in His goodness would grant such prayer because of the Cobler’s holy life.

Now I must tell you what manner of man this Cobler was. He was one who led a life of great uprightness and chastity, and who fasted and kept from all sin, and went daily to church to hear Mass, and gave daily a portion of his gains to God. And the way how he came to have but one eye was this. It happened one day that

a certain woman came to him to have a pair of shoes made, and she showed him her foot that he might take her measure. Now she had a very beautiful foot and leg; and the Cobler in taking her measure was conscious of sinful thoughts. And he had often heard it said in the Holy Evangel, that if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee, rather than sin. So, as soon as the woman had departed, he took the awl that he used in stitching, and drove it into his eye and destroyed it. And this is the way he came to lose his eye. So you can judge what a holy, just, and righteous man he was.

NOTE I.—Here the G. T. uses a strange word: "*Or te vais a tel cralantur.*" It does not occur again, being replaced by *chabitier* (savetier). It has an Oriental look, but I can make no satisfactory suggestion as to what the word meant.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW THE ONE-EYED COBLER WAS DESIRED TO PRAY FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

Now when this vision had visited the Bishop several times, he related the whole matter to the Christians, and they agreed with one consent to call the Cobler before them. And when he had come they told him it was their wish that he should pray, and that God had promised to accomplish the matter by his means. On hearing their request he made many excuses, declaring that he was not at all so good a man as they represented. But they persisted in their request with so much sweetness, that at last he said he would not tarry, but do what they desired.

CHAPTER X.

HOW THE PRAYER OF THE ONE-EYED COBLER CAUSED THE
MOUNTAIN TO MOVE.

AND when the appointed day was come, all the Christians got up early, men and women, small and great, more than 100,000 persons, and went to church, and heard the Holy Mass. And after Mass had been sung, they all went forth together in a great procession to the plain in front of the mountain, carrying the precious cross before them, loudly singing and greatly weeping as they went. And when they arrived at the spot, there they found the Calif with all his Saracen host armed to slay them if they would not change their faith; for the Saracens believed not in the least that God would grant such favour to the Christians. These latter stood indeed in great fear and doubt, but nevertheless they rested their hope on their God Jesus Christ.

So the Cobler received the Bishop's benison, and then threw himself on his knees before the Holy Cross, and stretched out his hands towards Heaven, and made this prayer: "Blessed LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, I pray Thee by Thy goodness that Thou wilt grant this grace unto Thy people, insomuch that they perish not, nor Thy faith be cast down, nor abused nor flouted. Not that I am in the least worthy to prefer such request unto Thee; but for Thy great power and mercy I beseech Thee to hear this prayer from me Thy servant full of sin."

And when he had ended this his prayer to God the Sovereign Father and Giver of all grace, and whilst the Calif and all the Saracens, and other people there, were looking on, the mountain rose out of its place and moved

to the spot which the Calif had pointed out! And when the Calif and all his Saracens beheld, they stood amazed at the wonderful miracle that God had wrought for the Christians, insomuch that a great number of the Saracens became Christians. And even the Calif caused himself to be baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen, and became a Christian, but in secret. Howbeit, when he died they found a little cross hung round his neck; and therefore the Saracens would not bury him with the other Califs, but put him in a place apart. The Christians exulted greatly at this most holy miracle, and returned to their homes full of joy, giving thanks to their Creator for that which He had done.¹

And now you have heard in what wise took place this great miracle. And marvel not that the Saracens hate the Christians; for the accursed law that Mahomet gave them commands them to do all the mischief in their power to all other descriptions of people, and especially to Christians; to strip such of their goods, and do them all manner of evil, because they belong not to their law. See then what an evil law and what naughty commandments they have! But in such fashion the Saracens act, throughout the world.

Now I have told you something of Baudas. I could easily indeed have told you first of the affairs and the customs of the people there. But it would be too long a business, looking to the great and strange things that I have got to tell you, as you will find detailed in this Book.

So now I will tell you of the noble city of Tauris.

NOTE 1.—We may remember that at a date only three years before Marco related this story (viz. in 1295), the cottage of Loreto is asserted to have changed its locality for the third and last time by moving to the site which it now occupies.

Some of the old Latin copies place the scene at Tauris. And I observe that a

missionary of the 16th century does the same. The mountain, he says, is between Tauris and Nakhshiwan, and is called *Manhuc*. (*Gravina, Christianità nell' Armenia*, etc., Roma, 1605, p. 91.)

The moving of a mountain is one of the miracles ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus. Such stories are rife among the Mahomedans themselves. "I know," says Khanikoff, "at least half a score of mountains which the Musulmans allege to have come from the vicinity of Mecca."

Ramusio's text adds here: "All the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians from that time forward have maintained a solemn celebration of the day on which the miracle occurred, keeping a fast also on the eve thereof."

F. Göring, a writer who contributes three articles on Marco Polo to the *Neue Züricher-Zeitung*, 5th, 6th, 8th April, 1878, says: "I heard related in Egypt a report which Marco Polo had transmitted to Baghdad. I will give it here in connection with another which I also came across in Egypt.

"Many years ago there reigned in Babylon, on the Nile, a haughty Khalif who vexed the Christians with taxes and corvées. He was confirmed in his hate of the Christians by the Khakam Chacham Bashi or Chief Rabbi of the Jews, who one day said to him: "The Christians allege in their books that it shall not hurt them to drink or eat any deadly thing. So I have prepared a potion that one of them shall taste at my hand: if he does not die on the spot then call me no more Chacham Bashi!" The Khalif immediately sent for His Holiness the Patriarch of Babylon, and ordered him to drink up the potion. The Patriarch just blew a little over the cup and then emptied it at a draught, and took no harm. His Holiness then on his side demanded that the Chacham Bashi should quaff a cup to the health of the Khalif, which he (the Patriarch) should first taste, and this the Khalif found only fair and right. But hardly had the Chacham Bashi put the cup to his lips than he fell down and expired.' Still the Musulmans and Jews thirsted for Christian blood. It happened at that time that a mass of the hill Mokattani became loose and threatened to come down upon Babylon. This was laid to the door of the Christians, and they were ordered to stop it. The Patriarch in great distress has a vision that tells him summon the saintly cobbler (of whom the same story is told as here)—the cobbler bids the rock to stand still and it does so to this day. 'These two stories may still be heard in Cairo'—from whom is not said. The hill that threatened to fall on the Egyptian Babylon is called in Turkish *Dur Dagh*, 'Stay, or halt-hill.' (*L.c.* April, 1878.)—*MS. Note*, H. Y.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE NOBLE CITY OF TAURIS.

TAURIS is a great and noble city, situated in a great province called YRAC, in which are many other towns and villages. But as Tauris is the most noble I will tell you about it.¹

The men of Tauris get their living by trade and handi-

crafts, for they weave many kinds of beautiful and valuable stuffs of silk and gold. The city has such a good position that merchandize is brought thither from India, Baudas, CREMESOR,² and many other regions; and that attracts many Latin merchants, especially Genoese, to buy goods and transact other business there; the more as it is also a great market for precious stones. It is a city in fact where merchants make large profits.³

The people of the place are themselves poor creatures; and are a great medley of different classes. There are Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, Persians, and finally the natives of the city themselves, who are worshippers of Mahommet. These last are a very evil generation; they are known as TAURIZI.⁴ The city is all girt round with charming gardens, full of many varieties of large and excellent fruits.⁵

Now we will quit Tauris, and speak of the great country of Persia. [From Tauris to Persia is a journey of twelve days.]

NOTE 1.—Abulfeda notices that TABRÍZ was vulgarly pronounced *Tauris*, and this appears to have been adopted by the Franks. In Pegolotti the name is always *Torissi*.

Tabriz is often reckoned to belong to Armenia, as by Hayton. Properly it is the chief city of *Azerbaiján*, which never was included in 'IRAK. But it may be observed that Ibn Batuta generally calls the Mongol Ilkhan of Persia *Sáhib* or *Malik ul-'Irdk*, and as Tabriz was the capital of that sovereign, we can account for the mistake, whilst admitting it to be one. [The destruction of Baghdad by Hulaku made Tabriz the great commercial and political city of Asia, and diverted the route of Indian products from the Mediterranean to the Euxine. It was the route to the Persian Gulf by Kashan, Yezd, and Kermán, to the Mediterranean by Lajazzo, and later on by Aleppo,—and to the Euxine by Trebizond. The destruction of the Kingdom of Armenia closed to Europeans the route of Tauris.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Cremesor*, as Baldelli points out, is GARM SIR, meaning a hot region, a term which in Persia has acquired several specific applications, and especially indicates the coast-country on the N.E. side of the Persian Gulf, including Hormuz and the ports in that quarter.

NOTE 3.—[Of the Italians established at Tabriz, the first whose name is mentioned is the Venetian Pietro Viglioni (Vioni); his will, dated 10th December, 1264, is still in existence. (*Archiv. Venet.* XXVI. pp. 161-165; *Heyd*, French Ed., II. p. 110.)—H. C.] At a later date (1341) the Genoese had a factory at Tabriz headed by a consul

with a council of twenty-four merchants, and in 1320 there is evidence of a Venetian settlement there. (*Elie de la Prim.* 161; *Heyd*, II. 82.)

Rashiduddin says of Tabriz that there were gathered there under the eyes of the Padishah of Islam "philosophers, astronomers, scholars, historians, of all religions, of all sects; people of Cathay, of Máchin, of India, of Kashmir, of Tibet, of the Uighúr and other Turkish nations, Arabs and Franks." Ibn Batuta: "I traversed the bazaar of the jewellers, and my eyes were dazzled by the varieties of precious stones which I beheld. Handsome slaves, superbly dressed, and girdled with silk, offered their gems for sale to the Tartar ladies, who bought great numbers. [Odoric (ed. Cordier) speaks also of the great trade of Tabriz.] Tabriz maintained a large population and prosperity down to the 17th century, as may be seen in Chardin. It is now greatly fallen, though still a place of importance." (*Quat. Rash.* p. 39; *I. B.* II. 130.)



Ghazan Khan's Mosque at Tabriz.—(From Fergusson.)

NOTE 4.—In Pauthier's text this is *Touzi*, a mere clerical error, I doubt not for *Torizi*, in accordance with the G. Text ("le peuple de la cité que sont apelés Tauriz"), with the Latin, and with Ramusio. All that he means to say is that the people are called *Tabrizis*. Not recondite information, but 'tis his way. Just so he tells us in ch. iii. that the people of Hermenia are called Hermins, and elsewhere that the people of Tebet are called Tebet. So Hayton thinks it not inappropriate to say that the people of Catay are called Cataini, that the people of Corasmia are called Corasmians, and that the people of the cities of Persia are called Persians.

NOTE 5.—Hamd Allah Mastaufi, the Geographer, not long after Polo's time, gives an account of Tabriz, quoted in Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 132. This also notices the extensive gardens round the city, the great abundance and cheapness of fruits, the vanity, insolence, and faithlessness of the *Tabrizis*, etc. (p. 132 *seqq.*). Our cut shows a relic of the Mongol Dynasty at Tabriz.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. BARSAMO ON THE BORDERS OF TAURIS.

ON the borders of (the territory of) Tauris there is a monastery called after Saint Barsamo, a most devout Saint. There is an Abbot, with many Monks, who wear a habit like that of the Carmelites, and these to avoid idleness are continually knitting woollen girdles. These they place upon the altar of St. Barsamo during the service, and when they go begging about the province (like the Brethren of the Holy Spirit) they present them to their friends and to the gentlefolks, for they are excellent things to remove bodily pain; wherefore every one is devoutly eager to possess them.¹

NOTE I.—Barsauma (“The Son of Fasting”) was a native of Samosata, and an Archimandrite of the Asiatic Church. He opposed the Nestorians, but became himself still more obnoxious to the orthodox as a spreader of the Monophysite Heresy. He was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon (451), and died in 458. He is a Saint of fame in the Jacobite and Armenian Churches, and several monasteries were dedicated to him; but by far the most celebrated, and doubtless that meant here, was near Malatia. It must have been famous even among the Mahomedans, for it has an article in Bákúí’s Geog. Dictionary. (*Dir-Barsúma*, see *N. et Ext.* II. 515.) This monastery possessed relics of Barsauma and of St. Peter, and was sometimes the residence of the Jacobite Patriarch and the meeting-place of the Synods.

A more marvellous story than Marco’s is related of this monastery by Vincent of Beauvais: “There is in that kingdom (Armenia) a place called St. Brassamus, at which there is a monastery for 300 monks. And ’tis said that if ever an enemy attacks it, the defences of the monastery move of themselves, and shoot back the shot against the besieger.”

(*Assemani* in vol. ii. *passim*; *Tournefort*, III. 260; *Vin. Bell. Spec. Historiale*, Lib. XXX. c. cxlii.; see also *Mar. Sanut.* III. xi. c. 16.)

CHAPTER XIII

OF THE GREAT COUNTRY OF PERSIA; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE
THREE KINGS.

PERSIA is a great country, which was in old times very illustrious and powerful; but now the Tartars have wasted and destroyed it.

In Persia is the city of SABA, from which the Three Magi set out when they went to worship Jesus Christ; and in this city they are buried, in three very large and beautiful monuments, side by side. And above them there is a square building, carefully kept. The bodies are still entire, with the hair and beard remaining. One of these was called Jaspar, the second Melchior, and the third Balthasar. Messer Marco Polo asked a great many questions of the people of that city as to those Three Magi, but never one could he find that knew aught of the matter, except that these were three kings who were buried there in days of old. However, at a place three days' journey distant he heard of what I am going to tell you. He found a village there which goes by the name of CALA ATAPERISTAN,¹ which is as much as to say, "The Castle of the Fire-worshippers." And the name is rightly applied, for the people there do worship fire, and I will tell you why.

They relate that in old times three kings of that country went away to worship a Prophet that was born, and they carried with them three manner of offerings, Gold, and Frankincense, and Myrrh; in order to ascertain whether that Prophet were God, or an earthly King, or a Physician. For, said they, if he take the Gold, then he is an earthly King; if he take the Incense he is God; if he take the Myrrh he is a Physician.

So it came to pass when they had come to the place where the Child was born, the youngest of the Three Kings went in first, and found the Child apparently just of his own age; so he went forth again marvelling greatly. The middle one entered next, and like the first he found the Child seemingly of his own age; so he also went forth again and marvelled greatly. Lastly, the eldest went in, and as it had befallen the other two, so it befell him. And he went forth very pensive. And when the three had rejoined one another, each told what he had seen; and then they all marvelled the more. So they agreed to go in all three together, and on doing so they beheld the Child with the appearance of its actual age, to wit, some thirteen days.² Then they adored, and presented their Gold and Incense and Myrrh. And the Child took all the three offerings, and then gave them a small closed box; whereupon the Kings departed to return into their own land.

NOTE 1.—*Kala' Atishparastán*, meaning as in the text. (*Marsden.*)

NOTE 2.—According to the Collectanea ascribed to Bede, Melchior was a hoary old man; Balthazar in his prime, with a beard; Gaspar young and beardless. (*Inchofer, Tres Magi Evangelici, Romae, 1639.*)

CHAPTER XIV.

WHAT BEFELL WHEN THE THREE KINGS RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

AND when they had ridden many days they said they would see what the Child had given them. So they opened the little box, and inside it they found a stone.

On seeing this they began to wonder what this might be that the Child had given them, and what was the import thereof. Now the signification was this: when they presented their offerings, the Child had accepted all three, and when they saw that they had said within themselves that He was the True God, and the True King, and the True Physician.¹ And what the gift of the stone implied was that this Faith which had begun in them should abide firm as a rock. For He well knew what was in their thoughts. Howbeit, they had no understanding at all of this signification of the gift of the stone; so they cast it into a well. Then straightway a fire from Heaven descended into that well wherein the stone had been cast.

And when the Three Kings beheld this marvel they were sore amazed, and it greatly repented them that they had cast away the stone; for well they then perceived that it had a great and holy meaning. So they took of that fire, and carried it into their own country, and placed it in a rich and beautiful church. And there the people keep it continually burning, and worship it as a god, and all the sacrifices they offer are kindled with that fire. And if ever the fire becomes extinct they go to other cities round about where the same faith is held, and obtain of that fire from them, and carry it to the church. And this is the reason why the people of this country worship fire. They will often go ten days' journey to get of that fire.²

Such then was the story told by the people of that Castle to Messer Marco Polo; they declared to him for a truth that such was their history, and that one of the three kings was of the city called SABA, and the second of AVA, and the third of that very Castle where they still worship fire, with the people of all the country round about.³

Having related this story, I will now tell you of the different provinces of Persia, and their peculiarities.

NOTE 1.—“*Mire*.” This was in old French the popular word for a Leech; the politer word was *Physicien*. (*N. et E. V.* 505.)

Chrysostom says that the Gold, Myrrh, and Frankincense were mystic gifts indicating King, Man, God; and this interpretation was the usual one. Thus Prudentius:—

“ Regem, Deumque adnunciant
Thesaurus et fragrans odor
Thuris Sabaci, at myrrheus
Pulvis sepulchrum praedocet.” (*Hymnus Epiphanius.*)

And the Paris Liturgy:—

“ Offert Aurum *Caritas*,
Et Myrrham *Austeritas*,
Et Thus *Desiderium*.
Auro Rex agnoscitur,
Homo Myrrha, colitur
Thure *Deus* gentium.”

And in the “Hymns, Ancient and Modern” :—

“ Sacred gifts of mystic meaning :
Incense doth their God disclose,
Gold the King of Kings proclaimeth,
Myrrh His sepulchre foreshows.”

NOTE 2.—“ Feruntque (Magi), si justum est credi, etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis focolis custodire, cujus portionem exiguam, ut faustam praeisise quondam Asiaticis Regibus dicunt.” (*Ammian. Marcell. XXIII.* 6.)

NOTE 3.—Saba or Sava still exists as SÁVAH, about 50 miles S.W. of Tehrán. It is described by Mr. Consul Abbott, who visited it in 1849, as the most ruinous town he had ever seen, and as containing about 1000 families. The people retain a tradition, mentioned by Hamd Allah Mastaufi, that the city stood on the shores of a Lake which dried up miraculously at the birth of Mahomed. Sávah is said to have possessed one of the greatest Libraries in the East, until its destruction by the Mongols on their first invasion of Persia. Both Sávah and Ávah (or Ábah) are mentioned by Abulfeda as cities of Jibal. We are told that the two cities were always at loggerheads, the former being Sunni and the latter Shiya. [We read in the *Travels* of Thévenot, a most intelligent traveller, “qu’il n’a rien écrit de l’ancienne ville de Sava qu’il trouva sur son chemin, et où il a marqué lui-même que son esprit de curiosité l’abandonna.” (*Voyages*, éd. 1727, vol. v. p. 343. He died a few days after at Miana, in Armenia, 28th November, 1667). (*MS. Note.*—H. Y.)]

As regards the position of AVAH, Abbott says that a village still stands upon the site, about 16 miles S.S.E. of Sávah. He did not visit it, but took a bearing to it. He was told there was a mound there on which formerly stood a Gueber Castle. At Sávah he could find no trace of Marco Polo’s legend. Chardin, in whose time Sávah was not quite so far gone to decay, heard of an alleged tomb of Samuel, at 4 leagues from the city. This is alluded to by Hamd Allah.

Keith Johnston and Kiepert put Ávah some 60 miles W.N.W. of Sávah, on the road between Kazvin and Hamadan. There seems to be some great mistake here.

Friar Odoric puts the locality of the Magi at *Kashan*, though one of the versions of Ramusio and the Palatine MS. (see Cordier’s Odoric, pp. xcv. and 41 of his Itinerary), perhaps corrected in this, puts it at *Saba*.—H. Y. and H. C.

We have no means of fixing the *Kalā' Atishparastān*. It is probable, however, that the story was picked up on the homeward journey, and as it seems to be implied that this castle was reached three days *after leaving* Sāvah, I should look for it between Sāvah and Abher. Ruins to which the name *Kilā'-i-Gabr*, "Gueber Castle," attaches are common in Persia.

As regards the Legend itself, which shows such a curious mixture of Christian and Parsi elements, it is related some 350 years earlier by Mas'ūdi: "In the Province of Fars they tell you of a Well called the Well of Fire, near which there was a temple built. When the Messiah was born the King Koresh sent three messengers to him, the first of whom carried a bag of Incense, the second a bag of Myrrh, and the third a bag of Gold. They set out under the guidance of the Star which the king had described to them, arrived in Syria, and found the Messiah with Mary His Mother. This story of the three messengers is related by the Christians with sundry exaggerations; it is also found in the Gospel. Thus they say that the Star appeared to Koresh at the moment of Christ's birth; that it went on when the messengers went on, and stopped when they stopped. More ample particulars will be found in our Historical Annals, where we have given the versions of this legend as current among the Guebers and among the Christians. It will be seen that Mary gave the king's messengers a round loaf, and this, after different adventures, they hid under a rock in the province of Fars. The loaf disappeared underground, and there they dug a well, on which they beheld two columns of fire to start up flaming at the surface; in short, all the details of the legend will be found in our Annals." The Editors say that Mas'ūdi had carried the story to Fars by mistaking *Shīz* in Azerbaijan (the Atropatenian Ecbatana of Sir H. Rawlinson) for *Shiraz*. A rudiment of the same legend is contained in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy. This says that Mary gave the Magi one of the bands in which the Child was swathed. On their return they cast this into their sacred fire; though wrapt in the flame it remained unharmed.

We may add that there was a Christian tradition that the Star descended into a well between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Gregory of Tours also relates that in a certain well, at Bethlehem, from which Mary had drawn water, the Star was sometimes seen, by devout pilgrims who looked carefully for it; to pass from one side to the other. But only such as merited the boon could see it.

(See *Abbott in J. R. G. S.* XXV. 4-6; *Assemani*, III. pt. 2, 750; *Chardin*, II. 407; *N. et Ext.* II. 465; *Dict. de la Perse*, 2, 56, 298; *Cathay*, p. 51; *Mas'ūdi*, IV. 80; *Greg. Turon. Libri Miraculorum*, Paris, 1858, I. 8.)

Several of the fancies that legend has attached to the brief story of the Magi in St. Matthew, such as the royal dignity of the persons; their location, now in Arabia, now (as here) at Saba in Persia, and again (as in Hayton and the Catalan Map) in Tarsia or Eastern Turkestan; the notion that one of them was a Negro, and so on, probably grew out of the arbitrary application of passages in the Old Testament, such as: *Venient legati ex Aegypto: AETHIOPIA praevenit manus ejus Deo*" (Ps. lxxviii. 31). This produced the Negro who usually is painted as one of the Three. "*Reges THARSIS et Insulae munera offerent: Reges ARABUM et SABA dona adducent*" (lxxii. 10). This made the Three into Kings, and fixed them in Tarsia, Arabia, and Sava. "*Mundatio Camelorum operiet te, dromedarii Madian et EPIHA: omnes de SABA venient aurum et thus deferentes et laudem Domino annunciantes*" (Is. lx. 6). Here were Ava and Sava coupled, as well as the gold and frankincense.

One form of the old Church Legend was that the Three were buried at *Sessania Adrumetorum* (Hadhramaut) in Arabia, whence the Empress Helena had the bodies conveyed to Constantinople, [and later to Milan in the time of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. After the fall of Milan (1162), Frederic Barbarossa gave them to Archbishop Rainald of Dassel (1159-1167), who carried them to Cologne (23rd July, 1164).—II. C.]

The names given by Polo, Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, have been accepted from an old date by the Roman Church; but an abundant variety of other names has been assigned to them. Hyde quotes a Syriac writer who calls them Aruphon,

Hurmon, and Tachshesh, but says that some call them Gudphorbus, Artachshasht, and Labudo; whilst in Persian they were termed Amad, Zad-Amad, Drust-Amad, *i.e.* *Venit, Cito Venit, Sincerus Venit*. Some called them in Greek, Apellius, Amerus, and Damascus, and in Hebrew, Magaloth, Galgalath, and Saracia, but otherwise Ator, Sator, and Petatoros! The Armenian Church used the same names as the Roman, but in Chaldee they were Kaghba, Badadilma, Badada Kharida. (*Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers.* 382-383; *Inchofer, ut supra; J. As. sér.* VI. IX. 160.)

[Just before going to press we have read Major Sykes' new book on *Persia*. Major Sykes (ch. xxiii.) does not believe that Marco visited Baghdád, and he thinks that the Venetians entered Persia near Tabriz, and travelled to Sultania, Kashán, and Yezd. Thence they proceeded to Kerman and Hormuz. We shall discuss this question in the Introduction.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE EIGHT KINGDOMS OF PERSIA, AND HOW THEY ARE NAMED.

Now you must know that Persia is a very great country, and contains eight kingdoms. I will tell you the names of them all.

The first kingdom is that at the beginning of Persia, and it is called CASVIN: the second is further to the south, and is called CURDISTAN; the third is LOR; the fourth [SUOLSTAN]; the fifth ISTANIT; the sixth SERAZY; the seventh SONCARA; the eighth TUNOCAIN, which is at the further extremity of Persia. All these kingdoms lie in a southerly direction except one, to wit, Tunocain; that lies towards the east, and borders on the (country of the) Arbre Sol.¹

In this country of Persia there is a great supply of fine horses; and people take them to India for sale, for they are horses of great price, a single one being worth as much of their money as is equal to 200 livres Tournois; some will be more, some less, according to the quality.² Here also are the finest asses in the world, one of them being worth full 30 marks of silver, for they are very large and fast, and acquire a capital amble.

Dealers carry their horses to Kisi and Curmosa, two cities on the shores of the Sea of India, and there they meet with merchants who take the horses on to India for sale.

In this country there are many cruel and murderous people, so that no day passes but there is some homicide among them. Were it not for the Government, which is that of the Tartars of the Levant, they would do great mischief to merchants; and indeed, maugre the Government, they often succeed in doing such mischief. Unless merchants be well armed they run the risk of being murdered, or at least robbed of everything; and it sometimes happens that a whole party perishes in this way when not on their guard. The people are all Saracens, *i.e.* followers of the Law of Mahomet.³

In the cities there are traders and artizans who live by their labour and crafts, weaving cloths of gold, and silk stuffs of sundry kinds. They have plenty of cotton produced in the country; and abundance of wheat, barley, millet, panick, and wine, with fruits of all kinds.

[Some one may say, "But the Saracens don't drink wine, which is prohibited by their law." The answer is that they gloss their text in this way, that if the wine be boiled, so that a part is dissipated and the rest becomes sweet, they may drink without breach of the commandment; for it is then no longer called wine, the name being changed with the change of flavour.⁴]

NOTE I.—The following appear to be Polo's Eight Kingdoms:—

I. KAZVÍN; then a flourishing city, though I know not why he calls it a kingdom. Persian 'Irák, or the northern portion thereof, seems intended. Previous to Ilulaku's invasion Kazvín seems to have been in the hands of the Ismailites or Assassins.

II. KURDISTAN. I do not understand the difficulties of Marsden, followed by Lazari and Pauthier, which lead them to put forth that Kurdistan is not Kurdistan but something else. The boundaries of Kurdistan according to Hamd Allah were Arabian 'Irak, Khuzistán, Persian 'Irak, Azerbaijan and Diarbekr. (*Dict. de la P.* 480.) [Cf. Curzon, *Persia pass.*—H. C.] Persian Kurdistan, in modern as in

medieval times, extends south beyond Kermanshah to the immediate border of Polo's next kingdom, viz.:

III. LÚR or LÚRISTÁN. [On Lúristán, see Curzon, *Persia*, II. pp. 273-303, with the pedigree of the Ruling Family of the Feili Lurs (Pusht-i-Kuh), p. 278.—H. C.] This was divided into two principalities, Great Lúr and Little Lúr, distinctions still existing. The former was ruled by a Dynasty called the *Faslúyah* Atabegs, which endured from about 1155 to 1424, [when it was destroyed by the Timurids; it was a Kurd Dynasty, founded by Emad ed-din Abu Thaher (1160-1228), and the last prince of which was Ghiyas ed-din (1424). In 1258 the general Kitubuka (Hulagu's *Exp. to Persia*, Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* I. p. 121) is reported to have reduced the country of Lúr or Lúristán and its Atabeg Teghele.—H. C.] Their territory lay in the mountainous district immediately west of Ispahan, and extended to the River of Dizfúl, which parted it from Little Lúr. The stronghold of the Atabegs was the extraordinary hill fort of Mungasht, and they had a residence also at Aidhej or Mal-Amir in the mountains south of Shashan, where Ibn Batuta visited the reigning Prince in 1327. Sir H. Rawlinson has described Mungasht, and Mr Layard and Baron de Bode have visited other parts, but the country is still very imperfectly known. Little Lúristán lay west of the R. Dizfúl, extending nearly to the Plain of Babylonia. Its Dynasty, called Kurshid, [was founded in 1184 by the Kurd Shodja ed-din Khurshid, and existed till Shah-Werdy lost his throne in 1593.—H. C.]

The Lúrs are akin to the Kurds, and speak a Kurd dialect, as do all those Ilyáts, or nomads of Persia, who are not of Turkish race. They were noted in the Middle Ages for their agility and their dexterity in thieving. The tribes of Little Lúr "do not affect the slightest veneration for Mahomed or the Koran; their only general object of worship is their great Saint Baba Buzurg," and particular disciples regard with reverence little short of adoration holy men looked on as living representatives of the Divinity. (*Ilchan*. I. 70 *seqq.*; *Rawlinson* in *J. R. G. S.* IX.; *Layard* in *Do.* XVI. 75, 94; *Ld. Strangford* in *J. R. A. S.* XX. 64; *N. et E.* XIII. i. 330, *I. B.* II. 31; *D'Ohsson*, IV. 171-172.)

IV. SHÚLISTÁN, best represented by Ramusio's *Suolstan*, whilst the old French texts have *Cielstan* (*i.e.* Shelstán); the name applied to the country of the *Shúls*, or *Shauls*, a people who long occupied a part of Lúristán, but were expelled by the Lúrs in the 12th century, and settled in the country between Shíráz and Khuzistán (now that of the Mamaseni, whom Colonel Pelly's information identifies with the Shúls), their central points being Naobanján and the fortress called Kala' Safed or "White Castle." Ibn Batuta, going from Shiraz to Kazerun, encamped the first day in the country of the Shúls, "a Persian desert tribe which includes some pious persons." (*Q. R.* p. 385; *N. et E.* XIII. i. 332-333; *Ilch.* I. 71; *J. R. G. S.* XIII. Map; *I. B.* II. 88.) ["Adjoining the Kuhgelus on the East are the tents of the Mamasenni (qy. Mohammed Huseini) Lúrs, occupying the country still known as Shúlistán, and extending as far east and south-east as Fars and the Plain of Kazerun. This tribe prides itself on its origin, claiming to have come from Seistán, and to be directly descended from Rustam, whose name is still borne by one of the Mamasenni clans." (Curzon, *Persia*, II. p. 318.)—H. C.]

V. ISPAHAN? The name is in Ramusio *Spaan*, showing at least that he or some one before him had made this identification. The unusual combination *ff*, *i.e.* *sf*, in manuscript would be so like the frequent one *ft. i.e.* *st*, that the change from Isfan to Istan would be easy. But why *Istanit*?

VI. SHÍRÁZ [(*Shir*=milk, or *Shir*=lion)—H. C.] representing the province of Fars or Persia Proper, of which it has been for ages the chief city. [It was founded after the Arab conquest in 694 A.D., by Mohammed, son of Yusuf Kekfi. (Curzon, *Persia*, II. pp. 93-110.)—H. C.] The last Dynasty that had reigned in Fars was that of the Salghur Atabegs, founded about the middle of the 12th century. Under Abubakr (1226-1260) this kingdom attained considerable power, embracing Fars, Kermán, the islands of the Gulf and its Arabian shores; and Shíráz then flourished in arts and

literature; Abubakr was the patron of Saadi. From about 1262, though a Salghurian princess, married to a son of Hulaku, had the nominal title of Atabeg, the province of Fars was under Mongol administration. (*Ilch. passim.*)

VII. SHAWÁNKÁRA or Shabánkára. The G. T. has *Soucara*, but the Crusca gives the true reading *Soncara*. It is the country of the Shawánkárs, a people coupled with the Shúls and Lúrs in mediæval Persian history, and like them of Kurd affinities. Their princes, of a family Faslúyah, are spoken of as influential before the Mahomedan conquest, but the name of the people comes prominently forward only during the Mongol era of Persian history. [Shabánkára was taken in 1056 from the Buyid Dynasty, who ruled from the 10th-century over a great part of Persia, by Fazl ibn Hassan (Fazluñeh-Hasunñeh). Under the last sovereign, Ardeshir, Shabánkára was taken in 1355 by the Modhafferians, who reigned in Irak, Fars, and Kermán, one of the Dynasties established at the expense of the Mongol Ilkhans after the death of Abu Saïd (1335), and were themselves subjugated by Timur in 1392.—II. C.] Their country lay to the south of the great salt lake east of Shíráz, and included Niriz and Darábjird, Fassa, Forg, and Tárum. Their capital was I'g or I'j, called also Irej, about 20 miles north-west of Daráb, with a great mountain fortress; it was taken by Hulaku in 1259. The son of the prince was continued in nominal authority, with Mongol administrators. In consequence of a rebellion in 1311 the Dynasty seems to have been extinguished. A descendant attempted to revive their authority about the middle of the same century. The latest historical mention of the name that I have found is in Abdurazzák's *History of Shah Rukh*, under the year H. 807 (1404). (See *Jour. As.* 3d. s. vol. ii. 355.) But a note by Colonel Pelly informs me that the name Shabánkára is still applied (1) to the district round the towns of Runiz and Gauristan near Bandar Abbas; (2) to a village near Maiman, in the old country of the tribe; (3) to a tribe and district of Dashtistan, 38 farsakhs west of Shíráz.

With reference to the form in the text, *Soncara*, I may notice that in two passages of the *Masdlak-ul-Absár*, translated by Quatremère, the name occurs as *Shankárah*. (*Q. R.* pp. 380, 440 *seqq.*; *N. et E.* XIII.; *Ilch.* I. 71 and *passim*; *Ouseley's Travels*, II. 158 *seqq.*)

VIII. TÚN-O-KÁIN, the eastern Kuhistán or Hill country of Persia, of which Tún and Káin are chief cities. The practice of indicating a locality by combining two names in this way is common in the East. Elsewhere in this book we find *Ariora-Keshemur* and *Kes-macorán* (Kij-Makrán). Upper Sind is often called in India by the Sepoys *Rori-Bakkar*, from two adjoining places on the Indus; whilst in former days, Lower Sind was often called *Diul-Sind*. *Karra-Mánikpúr*, *Uch-Multán*, *Kunduz-Baghlán* are other examples.

The exact expression *Tún-o-Káin* for the province here in question is used by Baber, and evidently also by some of Hammer's authorities. (*Baber*, pp. 201, 204; see *Ilch.* II. 190; I. 95, 104, and *Hist. de l'Ordre des Assassins*, p. 245.)

[We learn from (Sir) C. Macgregor's (1875) *Journey through Khorasan* (I. p. 127) that the same territory including Gháfn or Káin is now called by the analogous name of Tabas-o-Tún. Tún and Kaïn (Gháfn) are both described in their modern state, by Macgregor. (*Ibid.* pp. 147 and 161.)—H. C.]

Note that the identification of *Suolstan* is due to Quatremère (see *N. et E.* XIII. i. *circa* p. 332); that of *Soncara* to Defréméry (*J. As. sér.* IV. tom. xi. p. 441); and that of *Tunocain* to Malte-Brun. (*N. Ann. des V.* xviii. p. 261.) I may add that the *Lúrs*, the *Shúls*, and the *Shabánkáras* are the subjects of three successive sections in the *Masdlak-ul-Absár* of *Shihábuddín Dimishki*, a work which reflects much of Polo's geography. (See *N. et E.* XIII. i. 330-333; Curzon, *Persia*, II. pp. 248 and 251.)

NOTE 2.—The horses exported to India, of which we shall hear more hereafter, were probably the same class of "Gulf Arabs" that are now carried thither. But the Turkman horses of Persia are also very valuable, especially for endurance. Kinneir speaks of one accomplishing 900 miles in eleven days, and Ferrier states a still more extraordinary feat from his own knowledge. In that case one of those horses went

from Tehran to Tabriz, returned, and went again to Tabriz, within twelve days, including two days' rest. The total distance is about 1100 miles.

The *livre tournois* at this period was equivalent to a little over 18 francs of modern French silver. But in bringing the value to our modern gold standard we must add one-third, as the ratio of silver to gold was then 1 : 12 instead of 1 : 16. Hence the equivalent in gold of the *livre tournois* is very little less than 1*l.* sterling, and the price of the horse would be about 19*l.**

Mr Wright quotes an ordinance of Philip III. of France (1270-1285) fixing the maximum price that might be given for a palfrey at 60 *livres tournois*, and for a squire's *roncin* at 20 *livres*. Joinville, however, speaks of a couple of horses presented to St. Lewis in 1254 by the Abbot of Cluny, which he says would at the time of his writing (1309) have been worth 500 *livres* (the pair, it would seem). Hence it may be concluded in a general way that the *ordinary* price of imported horses in India approached that of the highest class of horses in Europe. (*Hist. of Dom. Manners*, p. 317; *Joinville*, p. 205.)

About 1850 a very fair Arab could be purchased in Bombay for 60*l.*, or even less; but prices are much higher now.

With regard to the donkeys, according to Tavernier, the fine ones used by merchants in Persia were imported from Arabia. The mark of silver was equivalent to about 44*s.* of our silver money, and allowing as before for the lower relative value of gold, 30 marks would be equivalent to 88*l.* sterling.

Kisi or Kish we have already heard of. *Curmosa* is Hormuz, of which we shall hear more. With a Pisan, as Rusticiano was, the sound of *c* is purely and strongly aspirate. Giovanni d'Empoli, in the beginning of the 16th century, another Tuscan, also calls it *Cormus*. (See *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* Append. III. 81.)

NOTE 3.—The character of the nomad and semi-nomad tribes of Persia in those days—Kurds, Lúrs, Shúls, Karaunahs, etc.—probably deserved all that Polo says, and it is not changed now. Take as an example Rawlinson's account of the Bakhtyáris of Luristán: "I believe them to be individually brave, but of a cruel and savage character; they pursue their blood feuds with the most inveterate and exterminating spirit. . . . It is proverbial in Persia that the Bakhtiyaris have been compelled to forego altogether the reading of the *Fatihah* or prayer for the dead, for otherwise they would have no other occupation. They are also most dextrous and notorious thieves." (*J. R. G. S.* IX. 105.)

NOTE 4.—The Persians have always been lax in regard to the abstinence from wine.

According to Athenaeus, Aristotle, in his *Treatise on Drinking* (a work lost, I imagine, to posterity), says, "If the wine be moderately boiled it is less apt to intoxicate." In the preparation of some of the sweet wines of the Levant, such as that of Cyprus, the must is boiled, but I believe this is not the case *generally* in the East. Baber notices it as a peculiarity among the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. Tavernier, however, says that at Shíráz, besides the wine for which that city was so celebrated, a good deal of *boiled wine* was manufactured, and used among the poor and by travellers. No doubt what is meant is the sweet liquor or syrup called *Dúsháb*, which Della Valle says is just the Italian *Mostocotto*, but better, clearer, and not so mawkish (I. 689). (*Yonge's Athen.* X. 34; *Baber*, p. 145; *Tavernier*, Bk. V. ch. xxi.)

* The *Encyc. Britann.*, article "Money," gives the *livre tournois* of this period as 18.17 francs. A French paper in *Notes and Queries* (4th S. IV. 485) gives it under St. Lewis and Philip III. as equivalent to 18.24 fr., and under Philip IV. to 17.95. And lastly, experiment at the British Museum, made by the kind intervention of my friend, Mr. E. Thomas, F.R.S., gave the weights of the *sols* of St. Lewis (1226-1270) and Philip IV. (1285-1314) respectively as 63 grains and 61½ grains of remarkably pure silver. These trials would give the *livres* (20 *sols*) as equivalent to 18.14 fr. and 17.70 fr. respectively.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCERNING THE GREAT CITY OF YASDI.

YASDI also is properly in Persia ; it is a good and noble city, and has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as *Yasdi*, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of. The people are worshippers of Mahommet.¹

When you leave this city to travel further, you ride for seven days over great plains, finding harbour to receive you at three places only. There are many fine woods [producing dates] upon the way, such as one can easily ride through ; and in them there is great sport to be had in hunting and hawking, there being partridges and quails and abundance of other game, so that the merchants who pass that way have plenty of diversion. There are also wild asses, handsome creatures. At the end of those seven marches over the plain you come to a fine kingdom which is called Kerman.²

NOTE I.—YEZD, an ancient city, supposed by D'Anville to be the *Isatichæ* of Ptolemy, is not called by Marco a kingdom, though having a better title to the distinction than some which he classes as such. The atabegs of Yezd dated from the middle of the 11th century, and their Dynasty was permitted by the Mongols to continue till the end of the 13th, when it was extinguished by Ghazan, and the administration made over to the Mongol Diwan.

Yezd, in pre-Mahomedan times, was a great sanctuary of the Gueber worship, though now it is a seat of fanatical Mahomedanism. It is, however, one of the few places where the old religion lingers. In 1859 there were reckoned 850 families of Guebers in Yezd and fifteen adjoining villages, but they diminish rapidly.

[Heyd (*Com. du Levant*, II. p. 109) says the inhabitants of Yezd wove the finest silk of Taberistan.—H. C.] The silk manufactures still continue, and, with other weaving, employ a large part of the population. The *Yasdi*, which Polo mentions, finds a place in the Persian dictionaries, and is spoken of by D'Herbelot as *Kumsh-i-Yezdi*, "Yezd stuff." ["He [Nadir Shah] bestowed upon the ambassador [Hakeem Ataleek, the prime minister of Abulfic Khan, King of Bokhara] a donation of a thousand mohurs of Hindostan, twenty-five pieces of *Yezdy* brocade, a rich dress, and a horse with silver harness. . . ." (*Memoirs of K'hojah Abdulkurroem, a Cash-*

merian of distinction . . . transl. from the original Persian, by Francis Gladwin . . . Calcutta, 1788, 8vo, p. 36.)—H. C.]

Yezd is still a place of important trade, and carries on a thriving commerce with India by Bandar Abbási. A visitor in the end of 1865 says: "The external trade appears to be very considerable, and the merchants of Yezd are reputed to be amongst the most enterprising and respectable of their class in Persia. Some of their agents have lately gone, not only to Bombay, but to the Mauritius, Java, and China."

(*Ilch.* I. 67-68; *Khanikoff, Mém.* p. 202; *Report by Major R. M. Smith, R.E.*)

Friar Odoric, who visited Yezd, calls it the third best city of the Persian Emperor, and says (*Cathay*, I. p. 52): "There is very great store of victuals and all other good things that you can mention; but especially is found there great plenty of figs; and raisins also, green as grass and very small, are found there in richer profusion than in any other part of the world." [He also gives from the smaller version of Ramusio's an awful description of the Sea of Sand, one day distant from Yezd. (Cf. Tavernier, 1679, I. p. 116.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—I believe Della Valle correctly generalises when he says of Persian travelling that "you always travel in a plain, but you always have mountains on either hand" (I. 462). [Compare Macgregor, I. 254: "I really cannot describe the road. Every road in Persia as yet seems to me to be exactly alike, so . . . my readers will take it for granted that the road went over a waste, with barren rugged hills in the distance, or near; no water, no houses, no people passed."—H. C.] The distance from Yezd to Kermán is, according to Khanikoff's survey, 314 *kilomètres*, or about 195 miles. Ramusio makes the time eight days, which is probably the better reading, giving a little over 24 miles a day. Westergaard in 1844, and Khanikoff in 1859, took *ten* days; Colonel Goldsmid and Major Smith in 1865 *twelve*. ["The distance from Yezd to Kermán by the present high road, 229 miles, is by caravans, generally made in nine stages; persons travelling with all comforts do it in twelve stages; travellers whose time is of some value do it easily in *seven* days." (*Houtum-Schindler, l.c.* pp. 490-491.)—H. C.]

Khanikoff observes on this chapter: "This notice of woods easy to ride through, covering the plain of Yezd, is very curious. Now you find it a plain of great extent indeed from N.W. to S.E., but narrow and arid; indeed I saw in it only thirteen inhabited spots, counting two caravanserais. Water for the inhabitants is brought from a great distance by subterraneous conduits, a practice which may have tended to desiccate the soil, for every trace of wood has completely disappeared."

Abbott travelled from Yezd to Kermán in 1849, by a road through Báfk, east of the usual road, which Khanikoff followed, and parallel to it; and it is worthy of note that he found circumstances more accordant with Marco's description. Before getting to Bafk he says of the plain that it "extends to a great distance north and south, and is probably 20 miles in breadth;" whilst Báfk "is remarkable for its *groves of date-trees*, in the midst of which it stands, and which occupy a considerable space." Further on he speaks of "wild tufts and bushes growing abundantly," and then of "thickets of the *Ghez* tree." He heard of the wild asses, but did not see any. In his report to the Foreign Office, alluding to Marco Polo's account, he says: "It is still true that wild asses and other game are found in the *wooded spots* on the road." The ass is the *Asinus Onager*, the *Gor Khar* of Persia, or *Kulan* of the Tartars. (*Khan. Mém.* p. 200; *Id. sur Marco Polo*, p. 21; *J. R. G. S.* XXV. 20-29; *Mr. Abbott's MS. Report in Foreign office.*) [The difficulty has now been explained by General Houtum-Schindler in a valuable paper published in the *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* N.S. XIII., October, 1881, p. 490. He says: "Marco Polo travelled from Yazd to Kermán *via* Báfk. His description of the road, seven days over great plains, harbour at three places only, is perfectly exact. The fine woods, producing dates, are at Báfk itself. (The place is generally called Báft.) Partridges and quails still abound; wild asses I saw several on the western road, and I was told that there were a great many on the Báfk road. Travellers and caravans now always go by the eastern road *via*

Anár and Bahrámábád. Before the Sefávíehs (*i.e.* before A.D. 1500) the Anár road was hardly, if ever, used; travellers always took the Báfk road. The country from Yazd to Anár, 97 miles, seems to have been totally uninhabited before the Sefávíehs. Anár, as late as A.D. 1340, is mentioned as the frontier place of Kermán to the north, on the confines of the Yazd desert. When Sháh Abbás had caravanserais built at three places between Yazd and Anár (Zein ud-dín, Kermán-sháhán, and Shamsh), the eastern road began to be neglected." (Cf. Major Sykes' *Persia*, ch. xxiii.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF KERMAN.

KERMAN is a kingdom which is also properly in Persia, and formerly it had a hereditary prince. Since the Tartars conquered the country the rule is no longer hereditary, but the Tartar sends to administer whatever lord he pleases.¹ In this kingdom are produced the stones called turquoises in great abundance; they are found in the mountains, where they are extracted from the rocks.² There are also plenty of veins of steel and *Ondanique*.³ The people are very skilful in making harness of war; their saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, bows, quivers, and arms of every kind, are very well made indeed according to the fashion of those parts. The ladies of the country and their daughters also produce exquisite needlework in the embroidery of silk stuffs in different colours, with figures of beasts and birds, trees and flowers, and a variety of other patterns. They work hangings for the use of noblemen so deftly that they are marvels to see, as well as cushions, pillows, quilts, and all sorts of things.⁴

In the mountains of Kerman are found the best falcons in the world. They are inferior in size to the Peregrine, red on the breast, under the neck, and between the thighs; their flight so swift that no bird can escape them.⁵

On quitting the city you ride on for seven days, always finding towns, villages, and handsome dwelling-houses, so that it is very pleasant travelling; and there is excellent sport also to be had by the way in hunting and hawking. When you have ridden those seven days over a plain country, you come to a great mountain; and when you have got to the top of the pass you find a great descent which occupies some two days to go down. All along you find a variety and abundance of fruits; and in former days there were plenty of inhabited places on the road, but now there are none; and you meet with only a few people looking after their cattle at pasture. From the city of Kerman to this descent the cold in winter is so great that you can scarcely abide it, even with a great quantity of clothing.⁶

NOTE 1.—Kermán is mentioned by Ptolemy, and also by Ammianus amongst the cities of the country so called (*Carmania*): “*inter quas nitet Carmana omnium mater.*” (XXIII. 6.)

M. Pauthier's supposition that *Sirjân* was in Polo's time the capital, is incorrect. (See *N. et E.* XIV. 208, 290.) Our Author's Kermán is the city still so called; and its proper name would seem to have been *Kuwáshír*. (See *Reinaud, Mém. sur l'Inde*, 171; also *Sprenger P. and R. R.* 77.) According to Khanikoff it is 5535 feet above the sea.

Kermán, on the fall of the Beni Búya Dynasty, in the middle of the 11th century, came into the hands of a branch of the Seljukian Turks, who retained it till the conquests of the Kings of Khwarizm, which just preceded the Mongol invasion. In 1226 the Amir Borák, a Kara Khitaian, who was governor on behalf of Jaláluddín of Khwarizm, became independent under the title of Kutlugh Sultan. [He died in 1234.] The Mongols allowed this family to retain the immediate authority, and at the time when Polo returned from China the representative of the house was a lady known as the *Pádishah Khátún* [who reigned from 1291], the wife successively of the Ilkhans Abaka and Kaikhatu; an ambitious, clever, and masterful woman, who put her own brother Siyurgutmish to death as a rival, and was herself, after the decease of Kaikhatu, put to death by her brother's widow and daughter [1294]. The Dynasty continued, nominally at least, to the reign of the Ilkhan Khodabanda (1304-13), when it was extinguished. [See Major Sykes' *Persia*, chaps. v. and xxiii.]

Kermán was a Nestorian see, under the Metropolitan of Fars. (*Ilch. passim*; *Weil*, III. 454; *Lequien*, II. 1256.)

[“There is some confusion with regard to the names of Kermán both as a town and as a province or kingdom. We have the names Kermán, Kuwáshír, Bardshír. I should say the original name of the whole country was Kermán, the ancient Karamania. A province of this was called Kúreh-i-Ardeshír, which, being contracted, became Kuwáshír, and is spoken of as the province in which Ardeshr Bábekán, the first Sassanian monarch, resided. A part of Kúreh-i-Ardeshír was called Bardshír, or

Bard-i-Ardeshr, now occasionally Bardshr, and the present city of Kermán was situated at its north-eastern corner. This town, during the Middle Ages, was called Bardshír. On a coin of Qara Arslán Beg, King of Kermán, of A.H. 462, Mr. Stanley Lane Poole reads Yazdashír instead of Bardshír. Of Al Idrís's Yazdashír I see no mention in histories; Bardshír was the capital and the place where most of the coins were struck. Yazdashír, if such a place existed, can only have been a place of small importance. It is, perhaps, a clerical error for Bardshír; without diacritical points, both words are written alike. Later, the name of the city became Kermán, the name Bardshír reverting to the district lying south-west of it, with its principal place Mashíz. In a similar manner Mashíz was often, and is so now, called Bardshír. Another old town sometimes confused with Bardshír was Sírján or Shírján, once more important than Bardshír; it is spoken of as the capital of Kermán, of Bardshír, and of Sardshír. Its name now exists only as that of a district, with principal place S'afdábád. The history of Kermán, 'Agd-ul-'Olá, plainly says Bardshír is the capital of Kermán, and from the description of Bardshír there is no doubt of its having been the present town Kermán. It is strange that Marco Polo does not give the name of the city. In Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* Kuwáshír and Bardashír are mentioned as separate cities, the latter being probably the old Mashíz, which as early as A.H. 582 (A.D. 1186) is spoken of in the *History of Kermán* as an important town. The Nestorian bishop of the province Kermán, who stood under the Metropolitan of Fars, resided at Hormúz." (*Houtum-Schindler, l.c. pp. 491-492.*)

There does not seem any doubt as to the identity of Bardashir with the present city of Kermán. (See *The Cities of Kirmán in the time of Hamid-Allah Mustawfi and Marco Polo*, by Guy le Strange, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* April, 1901, pp. 281, 290.) Hamd-Allah is the author of the Cosmography known as the *Nuzhat-al-Kúlúb* or "Heart's Delight." (Cf. Major Sykes' *Persia*, chap. xvi., and the *Geographical Journal* for February, 1902, p. 166.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—A MS. treatise on precious stones cited by Ouseley mentions *Shebavek* in Kermán as the site of a Turquoise mine. This is probably *Shahr-i-Babek*, about 100 miles west of the city of Kermán, and not far from *Párez*, where Abbott tells us there is a mine of these stones, now abandoned. Goebel, one of Khanikoff's party, found a deposit of turquoises at Taft, near Yezd. (*Ouseley's Travels*, I. 211; *J. R. G. S.* XXVI. 63-65; *Khan. Mém.* 203.)

["The province Kermán is still rich in turquoises. The mines of Páriz or Párez are at Chemen-i-mó-aspán, 16 miles from Páriz on the road to Bahrámábád (principal place of Rafsinján), and opposite the village or garden called Gód-i-Ahmer. These mines were worked up to a few years ago; the turquoises were of a pale blue. Other turquoises are found in the present Bardshír plain, and not far from Mashíz, on the slopes of the Chehel tan mountain, opposite a hill called the Bear Hill (tal-i-Khers). The Shehr-i-Bábek turquoise mines are at the small village Kárk, a mile from Medvár-i-Bálá, 10 miles north of Shehr-i-Bábek. They have two shafts, one of which has lately been closed by an earthquake, and were worked up to about twenty years ago. At another place, 12 miles from Shehr-i-Bábek, are seven old shafts now not worked for a long period. The stones of these mines are also of a very pale blue, and have no great value." (*Houtum-Schindler, l.c. 1881, p. 491.*)

The finest turquoises came from Khorasan; the mines were near Maaden, about 48 miles to the north of Nishapúr. (Heyd, *Com. du Levant*, II. p. 653; Ritter, *Erdk.* pp. 325-330.)

It is noticeable that Polo does not mention indigo at Kermán.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—Edrisi says that excellent iron was produced in the "cold mountains" N.W. of Jirúft, *i.e.* somewhere south of the capital; and the *Jihán Numá*, or Great Turkish Geography, that the steel mines of Niriz, on the borders of Kermán, were famous. These are also spoken of by Teixeira. Major St. John enables me to in-

dicating their position, in the hills east of Niriz. (*Edrisi*, vol. i. p. 430; *Hammer, Mém. sur la Perse*, p. 275; *Teixeira, Relaciones*, p. 378; and see Map of Itineraries, No. II.)

[“Marco Polo’s steel mines are probably the Parpa iron mines on the road from Kermán to Shíráz, called even to-day M’aden-i-fúlád (steel mine); they are not worked now. Old Kermán weapons, daggers, swords, old stirrups, etc., made of steel, are really beautiful, and justify Marco Polo’s praise of them.” (*Houtum-Schindler, l.c.* p. 491.)—H. C.]

Ondanique of the Geog. Text, *Andaine* of Pauthier’s, *Andanicum* of the Latin, is an expression on which no light has been thrown since Ramusio’s time. The latter often asked the Persian merchants who visited Venice, and they all agreed in stating that it was a sort of steel of such surpassing value and excellence, that in the days of yore a man who possessed a mirror, or sword, of *Andanic* regarded it as he would some precious jewel. This seems to me excellent evidence, and to give the true clue to the meaning of *Ondanique*. I have retained the latter form because it points most distinctly to what I believe to be the real word, viz. *Hundwányi*, “Indian Steel.”* (See *Johnson’s Pers. Dict.* and *De Sacy’s Chrestomathie Arabe*, II. 148.) In the *Vocabulista Arabico*, of about A.D. 1200 (Florence, 1871, p. 211), *Hundwán* is explained by *Ensis*. Vüllers explains *Hundwán* as “anything peculiar to India, especially swords,” and quotes from Firdúsi, “*Khanjar-i-Hundwán*,” a hanger of Indian steel.

The like expression appears in the quotation from Edrisi below as *Hindiah*, and found its way into Spanish in the shapes of *Alhinde*, *Alfnde*, *Alinde*, first with the meaning of *steel*, then assuming, that of *steel mirror*, and finally that of metallic foil of a glass mirror. (See *Dozy and Engelmann*, 2d ed. pp. 144-145.) *Hint* or *Al-hint* is used in Berber also for steel. (See *J. R. A. S.* IX. 255.)

The sword-blades of India had a great fame over the East, and Indian steel, according to esteemed authorities, continued to be imported into Persia till days quite recent. Its fame goes back to very old times. Ctesias mentions two wonderful swords of such material that he got from the king of Persia and his mother. It is perhaps the *ferrum candidum* of which the Malli and Oxydracæ sent a 100 talents weight as a present to Alexander.† Indian Iron and Steel (σίδηρος Ἰνδικὸς καὶ στόβωμα) are mentioned in the *Periplus* as imports into the Abyssinian ports. *Ferrum Indicum* appears (at least according to one reading) among the Oriental *species* subject to duty in the Law of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus on that matter. Salmasius notes that among surviving Greek chemical treatises there was one *περὶ βαφῆς Ἰνδικῆς σιδήρου*, “On the Tempering of Indian Steel.” Edrisi says on this subject: “The Hindus excel in the manufacture of iron, and in the preparation of those ingredients along with which it is fused to obtain that kind of soft Iron which is usually styled *Indian Steel* (HINDIAH).‡ They also have workshops wherein are forged the most famous sabres in the world. . . . It is impossible to find anything to surpass the edge that you get from Indian Steel (*al-hadid al-Hindl*).”

Allusions to the famous sword-blades of India would seem to be frequent in Arabic literature. Several will be found in Hamása’s collection of ancient Arabic poems translated by Freytag. The old commentator on one of these passages says: “*Ut optimos gladios significet . . . Indicos esse dixit*,” and here the word used in the original is *Hundwányiah*. In Manger’s version of Arabshah’s *Life of Timur*

* A learned friend objects to Johnson’s *Hundwányi*=“Indian Steel,” as too absolute; some word for *steel* being wanted. Even if it be so, I observe that in the three places where Polo uses *Ondanique* (here, ch. xxi., and ch. xlii.), the phrase is always “*steel and ondanique*.” This looks as if his mental expression were *Fúlád-i-Hundwányi*, rendered by an idiom like Virgil’s *pocula et aurum*.

† Kenrick suggests that the “bright iron” mentioned by Ezekiel among the wares of Tyre (ch. xvii. 19) can hardly have been anything else than Indian Steel, because named with cassia and *calamus*.

‡ Literally rendered by Mr Redhouse: “The Indians do well the combining of the mixtures of the chemicals with which they (smelt and) cast the soft iron, and it becomes *Indian* (steel), being referred to India (in this expression).”

are several allusions of the same kind; one, a quotation from *Antar*, recalls the *ferrum candidum* of Curtius:

“Albi (gladii) Indici meo in sanguine abluuntur.”

In the histories, even of the Mahomedan conquest of India, the Hindu infidels are sent to *Jihannam* with “the well-watered blade of the Hindi sword”; or the sword is personified as “a Hindu of good family.” Coming down to later days, Chardin says of the steel of Persia: “They combine it with Indian steel, which is more tractable . . . and is much more esteemed.” Dupré, at the beginning of this century, tells us: “I used to believe . . . that the steel for the famous Persian sabres came from certain mines in Khorasan. But according to all the information I have obtained, I can assert that no mine of steel exists in that province. What is used for these blades comes in the shape of disks from Lahore.” Pottinger names *steel* among the imports into Kermán from India. Elphinstone the Accurate, in his *Caubul*, confirms Dupré: “Indian Steel [in Afghanistan] is most prized for the material; but the best swords are made in Persia and in Syria;” and in his *History of India*, he repeats: “The steel of India was in request with the ancients; it is celebrated in the oldest Persian poem, and is still the material of the scimitars of Khorasan and Damascus.”*

Klaproth, in his *Asia Polyglotta*, gives *Andun* as the Ossetish and *Andan* as the Wotiak, for Steel. Possibly these are essentially the same with *Hundwáníy* and *Alhinde*, pointing to India as the original source of supply. [In the *Sikandar Nāma, e Bará* (or “Book of Alexander the Great,” written A. D. 1200, by Abū Muhammad bin Yusuf bin Mu, Ayyid-i-Nizāmu’d-Din), translated by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke (Lond., 1881, large 8vo), steel is frequently mentioned: Canto xix. 257, p. 202; xx. 12, p. 211; xlv. 38, p. 567; lviii. 32, pp. 695, 42, pp. 697, 62, 66, pp. 699; lix. 28, p. 703.—H. C.]

Avicenna, in his fifth book *De Animá*, according to Roger Bacon, distinguishes three very different species of iron: “1st. Iron which is good for striking or bearing heavy strokes, and for being forged by hammer and fire, but not for cutting-tools. Of this hammers and anvils are made, and this is what we commonly call *Iron* simply. 2nd. That which is purer, has more heat in it, and is better adapted to take an edge and to form cutting-tools, but is not so malleable, viz. *Steel*. And the 3rd is that which is called *ANDENA*. This is less known among the Latin nations. Its special character is that like silver it is malleable and ductile under a very low degree of heat. In other properties it is intermediate between iron and steel.” (*Fr. R. Baconis Opera Inedita*, 1859, pp. 382-383.) The same passage, apparently, of Avicenna is quoted by Vincent of Beauvais, but with considerable differences. (See *Speculum Naturale*, VII. ch. lii. lx., and *Specul. Doctrinale*, XV. ch. lxiii.) The latter author writes *Alidena*, and I have not been able to refer to Avicenna, so that I am doubtful whether his *Andena* is the same term with the *Andaine* of Pauthier and our *Ondanique*.

The popular view, at least in the Middle Ages, seems to have regarded *Steel* as a distinct natural species, the product of a necessarily different *ore*, from iron; and some such view is, I suspect, still common in the East. An old Indian officer told me of the reply of a native friend to whom he had tried to explain the conversion of iron into steel—“What! You would have me believe that if I put an ass into the furnace it will come forth a horse.” And Indian *Steel* again seems to have been regarded as a distinct natural species from ordinary steel. It is in fact made by a peculiar but simple process, by which the iron is converted *directly* into cast-steel, without passing through any intermediate stage analogous to that of *blister-steel*. When specimens were first examined in England, chemists concluded that the steel was made direct from the *ore*. The *Ondanique* of Marco no doubt was a fine steel resembling the

* In *Richardson's Pers. Dict.*, by Johnson, we have a word *Rohan*, *Rohina* (and other forms). “The finest Indian steel, of which the most excellent swords are made; also the swords made of that steel.”



Texture, with Animals, etc., from a Cashmere Scarf in the Indian Museum.

“De deberses maineres laborés à bestes et ausiaus mout richement.”

Indian article. (*Müller's Ctesias*, p. 80; *Curtius*, IX. 24; *Müller's Geog. Gr. Min.* I. 262; *Digest. Novum*, Lugd. 1551, Lib. XXXIX. Tit. 4; *Salmas. Ex. Plinian.* II. 763; *Edrisi*, I. 65-66; *J. R. S. A. A.* 387 *seqq.*; *Hamasaæ Carmina*, I. 526; *Elliot*, II. 209, 394; *Reynolds's Ulbi*, p. 216.)

NOTE 4.—Paulus Jovius in the 16th century says, I know not on what authority, that Kermán was then celebrated for the fine temper of its steel in scimitars and lance-points. These were eagerly bought at high prices by the Turks, and their quality was such that one blow of a Kermán sabre would cleave an European helmet without turning the edge. And I see that the phrase, "Kermán blade" is used in poetry by Marco's contemporary Amír Khusrú of Delhi. (*P. Jov. Hist. of his own Time*, Bk. XIV.; *Elliot*, III. 537.)

There is, or was in Pottinger's time, still a great manufacture of *matchlocks* at Kerman; but rose-water, shawls, and carpets are the staples of the place now. Polo says nothing that points to shawl-making, but it would seem from Edrisi that some such manufacture already existed in the adjoining district of Bamm. It is possible that the "hangings" spoken of by Polo may refer to the carpets. I have seen a genuine Kermán carpet in the house of my friend, Sir Bartle Frere. It is of very short pile, very even and dense; the design, a combination of vases, birds, and floral tracery, closely resembling the illuminated frontispiece of some Persian MSS.

The shawls are inferior to those of Kashmir in exquisite softness, but scarcely in delicacy of texture and beauty of design. In 1850, their highest quality did not exceed 30 *tomans* (14*l.*) in price. About 2200 looms were employed on the fabric. A good deal of Kermán wool called *Kurk*, goes *via* Bandar Abbási and Karáchi to Amritsar, where it is mixed with the genuine Tibetan wool in the shawl manufacture. Several of the articles named in the text, including *pardahs* ("cortines") are woven in shawl-fabric. I scarcely think, however, that Marco would have confounded woven shawl with needle embroidery. And Mr. Khanikoff states that the silk embroidery, of which Marco speaks, is still performed with great skill and beauty at Kermán. Our cut illustrates the textures figured with animals, already noticed at p. 66.

The Guebers were numerous here at the end of last century, but they are rapidly disappearing now. The Musulman of Kermán is, according to Khanikoff, an epicurean gentleman, and even in regard to wine, which is strong and plentiful, his divines are liberal. "In other parts of Persia you find the scribblings on the walls of Serais to consist of philosophical axioms, texts from the Koran, or abuse of local authorities. From Kermán to Yezd you find only rhymes in praise of fair ladies or good wine."

(*Pottinger's Travels*; *Khanik. Mém.* 186 *seqq.*, and *Notice*, p. 21; *Major Smith's Report*; *Abbott's MS. Report* in *F. O.*; *Notes by Major O. St. John*, R. E.)

NOTE 5.—Parez is famous for its falcons still, and so are the districts of Aktár and Sirján. Both Mr. Abbott and Major Smith were entertained with hawking by Persian hosts in this neighbourhood. The late Sir O. St. John identifies the bird described as the *Sháhin* (Falco *Peregrinator*), one variety of which, the *Fársi*, is abundant in the higher mountains of S. Persia. It is now little used in that region, the *Terlán* or goshawk being most valued, but a few are caught and sent for sale to the Arabs of Oman. (*J. R. G. S.* XXV. 50, 63, and *Major St. John's Notes*.)

[“The fine falcons, ‘with red breasts and swift of flight,’ come from Párfz. They are, however, very scarce, two or three only being caught every year. A well-trained Párfz falcon costs from 30 to 50 *tomans* (12*l.* to 20*l.*), as much as a good horse.” (*Houtum-Schindler*, *l.c.* p. 491.) Major Sykes, *Persia*, ch. xxiii., writes: “Marco Polo was evidently a keen sportsman, and his description of the *Sháhin*, as it is termed, cannot be improved upon.” Major Sykes has a list given him by a Khán of seven hawks of the province, all black and white, except the *Sháhin*, which has yellow eyes, and is the third in the order of size.—H. C.]

Note 6.—We defer geographical remarks till the traveller reaches Hormuz.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE CITY OF CAMADI AND ITS RUINS; ALSO TOUCHING THE
CARAUNA ROBBERS.

AFTER you have ridden down hill those two days, you find yourself in a vast plain, and at the beginning thereof there is a city called CAMADI, which formerly was a great and noble place, but now is of little consequence, for the Tartars in their incursions have several times ravaged it. The plain whereof I speak is a very hot region; and the province that we now enter is called REOBARLES.

The fruits of the country are dates, pistachioes, and apples of Paradise, with others of the like not found in our cold climate. [There are vast numbers of turtle-doves, attracted by the abundance of fruits, but the Saracens never take them, for they hold them in abomination.] And on this plain there is a kind of bird called francolin, but different from the francolin of other countries, for their colour is a mixture of black and white, and the feet and beak are vermilion colour.¹

The beasts also are peculiar; and first I will tell you of their oxen. These are very large, and all over white as snow; the hair is very short and smooth, which is owing to the heat of the country. The horns are short and thick, not sharp in the point; and between the shoulders they have a round hump some two palms high. There are no handsomer creatures in the world. And when they have to be loaded, they kneel like the camel; once the load is adjusted, they rise. Their load is a heavy one, for they are very strong animals. Then there are sheep here as big as asses; and their tails are so large and fat, that one tail shall weigh some 30 lbs. They are fine fat beasts, and afford capital mutton.²

In this plain there are a number of villages and towns which have lofty walls of mud, made as a defence against the banditti,³ who are very numerous, and are called CARAONAS. This name is given them because they are the sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers. And you must know that when these Caraonas wish to make a plundering incursion, they have certain devilish enchantments whereby they do bring darkness over the face of day, insomuch that you can scarcely discern your comrade riding beside you; and this darkness they will cause to extend over a space of seven days' journey. They know the country thoroughly, and ride abreast, keeping near one another, sometimes to the number of 10,000, at other times more or fewer. In this way they extend across the whole plain that they are going to harry, and catch every living thing that is found outside of the towns and villages; man, woman, or beast, nothing can escape them! The old men whom they take in this way they butcher; the young men and the women they sell for slaves in other countries; thus the whole land is ruined, and has become well-nigh a desert.

The King of these scoundrels is called NOGODAR. This Nogodar had gone to the Court of Chagatai, who was own brother to the Great Kaan, with some 10,000 horsemen of his, and abode with him; for Chagatai was his uncle. And whilst there this Nogodar devised a most audacious enterprise, and I will tell you what it was. He left his uncle who was then in Greater Armenia, and fled with a great body of horsemen, cruel unscrupulous fellows, first through BADASHAN, and then through another province called PASHAI-DIK, and then through another called ARIORA-KESHEMUR. There he lost a great number of his people and of his horses, for the roads were very narrow and perilous. And when he had conquered all those provinces, he entered India at the

extremity of a province called DALIVAR. He established himself in that city and government, which he took from the King of the country, ASEDIN SOLDAN by name, a man of great power and wealth. And there abideth Nogodar with his army, afraid of nobody, and waging war with all the Tartars in his neighbourhood.⁴

Now that I have told you of those scoundrels and their history, I must add the fact that Messer Marco himself was all but caught by their bands in such a darkness as that I have told you of; but, as it pleased God, he got off and threw himself into a village that was hard by, called CONOSALMI. Howbeit he lost his whole company except seven persons who escaped along with him. The rest were caught, and some of them sold, some put to death.⁵

NOTE 1.—Ramusio has “Adam’s apple” for apples of Paradise. This was some kind of *Citrus*, though Lindley thinks it impossible to say precisely what. According to Jacques de Vitry it was a beautiful fruit of the Citron kind, in which the bite of human teeth was plainly discernible. (Note to *Vulgar Errors*, II. 211; *Bongars*, I. 1099.) Mr. Abbott speaks of this tract as “the districts (of Kermán) lying towards the South, which are termed the Ghermseer or Hot Region, where the temperature of winter resembles that of a charming spring, and where the palm, orange, and lemon-tree flourish.” (*MS. Report*; see also *J. R. G. S.* XXV. 56.)

[“Marco Polo’s apples of Paradise are more probably the fruits of the Konár tree. There are no plantains in that part of the country. Turtle doves, now as then, are plentiful, and as they are seldom shot, and are said by the people to be unwholesome food, we can understand Marco Polo’s saying that the people do not eat them.” (*Houtum-Schindler*, l.c. pp. 492-493.)—H. C.]

The Francolin here spoken of is, as Major Smith tells me, the *Darráj* of the Persians, the *Black Partridge* of English sportsmen, sometimes called the Red-legged Francolin. The *Darráj* is found in some parts of Egypt, where its peculiar call is interpreted by the peasantry into certain Arabic words, meaning “Sweet are the corn-ears! Praised be the Lord!” In India, Baber tells us, the call of the Black Partridge was (less piously) rendered “*Shír dâram shakrak*,” “I’ve got milk and sugar!” The bird seems to be the *ἀραγὰς* of Athenæus, a fowl “speckled like the partridge, but larger,” found in Egypt and Lydia. The Greek version of its cry is the best of all: “*τρίς τοῖς κακοῦργοις κακά*” (“Threefold ills to the ill-doers!”). This is really like the call of the black partridge in India as I recollect it. [*Tetrao francolinus*.—H. C.]

(*Chrestomathie Arabe*, II. 295; *Baber*, 320; *Yongé’s Atken*. IX. 39.)

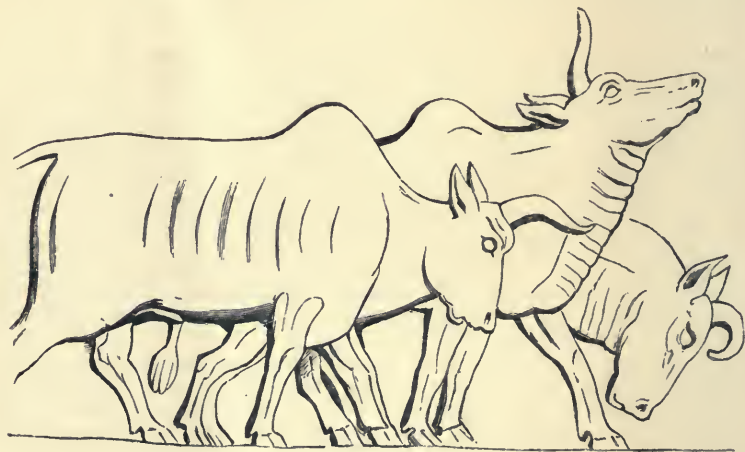
NOTE 2.—Abbott mentions the humped (though small) oxen in this part of Persia, and that in some of the neighbouring districts they are taught to kneel to receive the load, an accomplishment which seems to have struck Mas’udi (III. 27), who says he saw it exhibited by oxen at Rai (near modern Tehran). The Afn Akbari also ascribes it to a very fine breed in Bengal. The whimsical name *Zebu*, given to the

humped or Indian ox in books of Zoology, was taken by Buffon from the exhibitors of such a beast at a French Fair, who probably invented it. That the humped breeds of oxen existed in this part of Asia in ancient times is shown by sculptures at Kouyunjik. (See cut below.)

A letter from Agassiz, printed in the Proc. As. Soc. Bengal (1865), refers to wild "zebus," and calls the species a small one. There is no wild "zebu," and some of the breeds are of enormous size.

["White oxen, with short thick horns and a round hump between the shoulders, are now very rare between Kermán and Bender 'Abbás. They are, however, still to be found towards Belúchistán and Mekrán, and they kneel to be loaded like camels. The sheep which I saw had fine large tails; I did not, however, hear of any having so high a weight as thirty pounds." (*Houtum-Schindler, l.c.* p. 493.)—H. C.]

The fat-tailed sheep is well known in many parts of Asia and part of Africa. It is mentioned by Ctesias, and by Ælian, who says the shepherds used to extract the tallow from the live animal, sewing up the tail again; exactly the same story is told by the Chinese Pliny, Ma Twan-lin. Marco's statements as to size do not surpass those of the admirable Kämpfer: "In size they so much surpass the common sheep that it is not unusual to see them as tall as a donkey, whilst all are much more than three feet; and as to the tail I shall not exceed the truth, though I may exceed belief, if I say that it sometimes reaches 40 lbs. in weight." Captain Hutton was assured by an Afghan sheep-master that tails had occurred in his flocks weighing 12 Tabriz *mans*, upwards of 76 lbs. ! The Afghans use the fat as an aperient, swallowing a dose of 4 to 6 lbs ! Captain Hutton's friend testified that trucks to bear the sheep-tails were



Humped Oxen from the Assyrian Sculptures at Kouyunjik.

sometimes used among the Taimúnis (north of Herat). This may help to locate that ancient and slippery story. Josafat Barbaro says he had seen the thing, but is vague as to place. (*Ælian Nat. An.* III. 3, IV. 32; *Amoen. Exoticae*; *Ferrier, H. of Afghans*, p. 294; *J. A. S. B.* XV. 160.)

[Rabelais says (Bk. I. ch. xvi.): "Si de ce vous efmerveillez, efmerveillez vous d'avantage de la queue des béliers de la Scythie, qui pesait plus de trente livres; et des moutons de Surie, esquels fault (si Tenaud, diet vray) affuster une charrette au cul, pour la porter tant qu'elle est longue et pesante." (See G. Capus, *A travers le roy. de Tamerlan*, pp. 21-23, on the fat sheep.)—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The word rendered *banditti* is in Pauthier *Carans*, in G. Text *Carannes*, in the Latin "*a scaranis et malandrinis.*" The last is no doubt

correct, standing for the old Italian *Scherani*, bandits. (See *Cathay*, p. 287, note.)

NOTE 4.—This is a knotty subject, and needs a long note.

The *ĶARAUNAHS* are mentioned often in the histories of the Mongol regime in Persia, first as a Mongol tribe forming a *Tuman*, i.e. a division or corps of 10,000 in the Mongol army (and I suspect it was the phrase the *Tuman of the Ķaraunahs* in Marco's mind that suggested his repeated use of the number 10,000 in speaking of them); and afterwards as daring and savage freebooters, scouring the Persian provinces, and having their headquarters on the Eastern frontiers of Persia. They are described as having had their original seats on the mountains north of the Chinese wall near *Ķaraún Jidun* or *Khidun*; and their special accomplishment in war was the use of Naphtha Fire. Rashiduddin mentions the *Ķardnut* as a branch of the great Mongol tribe of the Kunguráts, who certainly had their seat in the vicinity named, so these may possibly be connected with the *Ķaraunahs*. The same author says that the *Tuman* of the *Ķaraunahs* formed the *Injú* or *peculium* of Arghún Khan.

Wassáf calls them "a kind of goblins rather than human beings, the most daring of all the Mongols"; and Mirkhond speaks in like terms.

Dr. Bird of Bombay, in discussing some of the Indo-Scythic coins which bear the word *Korano* attached to the prince's name, asserts this to stand for the name of the *Ķaraunah*, "who were a Græco-Indo-Scythic tribe of robbers in the Punjab, who are mentioned by Marco Polo," a somewhat hasty conclusion which Pauthier adopts. There is, Quatremère observes, no mention of the *Ķaraunahs* before the Mongol invasion, and this he regards as the great obstacle to any supposition of their having been a people previously settled in Persia. Reiske, indeed, with no reference to the present subject, quotes a passage from Hamza of Ispahan, a writer of the 10th century, in which mention is made of certain troops called *Ķardunahs*. But it seems certain that in this and other like cases the real reading was *Kardwinah*, people of Kazvin. (See *Reiske's Constant. Porphyrog.* Bonn. ed. II. 674; *Gottwaldt's Hamza Ispahanensis*, p. 161; and *Quatremère in J. A. sér.* V. tom. xv. 173.) Ibn Batuta only once mentions the name, saying that Tughlak Sháh of Dehli was "one of those Turks called *Ķardunas* who dwell in the mountains between Sind and Turkestan." Hammer has suggested the derivation of the word *Carbine* from *Kardwinah* (as he writes), and a link in such an etymology is perhaps furnished by the fact that in the 16th century the word *Carbine* was used for some kind of irregular horseman.

(*Gold. Horde*, 214; *Ilch.* I. 17, 344, etc.; *Erdmann*, 168, 199, etc.; *J. A. S.*, B. X. 96; *Q. R.* 130; *Not. et Ext.* XIV. 282; *I. B.* III. 201; *Ed. Webbe, his Travailes*, p. 17, 1590. Reprinted 1868.)

As regards the account given by Marco of the origin of the *Caraunas*, it seems almost necessarily a mistaken one. As Khanikoff remarks, he might have confounded them with the *Biluchis*, whose Turanian aspect (at least as regards the *Brahuis*) shows a strong infusion of Turki blood, and who might be rudely described as a cross between Tartars and Indians. It is indeed an odd fact that the word *Kardni* (vulgo *Cranny*) is commonly applied in India at this day to the mixed race sprung from European fathers and Native mothers, and this might be cited in corroboration of Marsden's reference to the Sanskrit *Karana*, but I suspect the coincidence arises in another way. *Karana* is the name applied to a particular class of mixt blood, whose special occupation was writing and accounts. But the prior sense of the word seems to have been "clever, skilled," and hence a writer or scribe. In this sense we find *Kardni* applied in Ibn Batuta's day to a ship's clerk, and it is used in the same sense in the *Ain Akbari*. Clerkship is also the predominant occupation of the East-Indians, and hence the term *Karáni* is applied to them from their business, and not from their mixt blood. We shall see hereafter that there is a Tartar term *Arghún*, applied to fair children born of a Mongol mother and white father; it is possible that there may have been a correlative word like *Ķardun* (from *Ķard*, black) applied to dark children born of Mongol father and black mother, and that this led Marco to a false theory.

[Major Sykes (*Persia*) devotes a chapter (xxiv.) to *The Karwán Expedition* in which he says: "Is it not possible that the Karwánis are the Caraoas of Marco Polo? They are distinct from the surrounding Baluchis, and pay no tribute."—H. C.]

Let us turn now to the name of Nogodar. Contemporaneously with the *Ḳaraunahs* we have frequent mention of predatory bands known as *Nigúdaris*, who seem to be distinguished from the *Ḳaraunahs*, but had a like character for truculence. Their headquarters were about *Sijistán*, and *Quatremère* seems disposed to look upon them as a tribe indigenous in that quarter. *Hammer* says they were originally the troops of



Portrait of a Hazára.

Prince *Nigudar*, grandson of *Chaghatai*, and that they were a rabble of all sorts, *Mongols*, *Turkman*s, *Kurds*, *Shúls*, and what not. We hear of their revolts and disorders down to 1319, under which date *Mirkhond* says that there had been one-and-twenty fights with them in four years. Again we hear of them in 1336 about *Herat*, whilst in *Baber's* time they turn up as *Nukdari*, fairly established as tribes in the mountainous tracts of *Karnúd* and *Ghúr*, west of *Kabul*, and coupled with the *Hazáras*, who still survive both in name and character. "Among both," says *Baber*, "there are some who speak the *Mongol* language." *Hazáras* and *Takdaris* (read *Nukdaris*) again occur coupled in the *History of Sind*. (See *Elliot*, I. 303-304.) [On the struggle against *Timur of Tumen*, veteran chief of the *Nikoudrians* (1383-84), see Major *David Price's Mahomedan History*, London, 1821, vol. iii. pp. 47-49, H. C.] In maps of the 17th century, as of *Hondius* and *Blacuw*, we find the mountains north of *Kabul* termed *Nochdarizari*, in which we cannot miss the combination *Nigudar-Hazárah*, whencesoever it was got. The *Hazáras* are eminently *Mongol* in

feature to this day, and it is very probable that they or some part of them are the descendants of the *Ḳarāunahs* or the *Nigudaris*, or of both, and that the origination of the bands so called, from the scum of the Mongol inundation, is thus in degree confirmed. The *Hazáras* generally are said to speak an old dialect of Persian. But one tribe in Western Afghanistan retains both the name of Mongols and a language of which six-sevenths (judging from a vocabulary published by Major Leech) appear to be Mongol. Leech says, too, that the *Hazáras* generally are termed *Moghals* by the *Ghilzais*. It is worthy of notice that *Abu'l Fázl*, who also mentions the *Nukdaris* among the nomad tribes of Kabul, says the *Hazáras* were the remains of the Chaghataian army which Mangu Kaan sent to the aid of Hulaku, under the command of Nigudar Oghlan. (*Not. et Ext.* XIV. 284; *Ilch.* I. 284, 309, etc.; *Baber*, 134, 136, 140; *J. As. sér.* IV. tom. iv. 98; *Ayreen Akbery*, II. 192-193.)

So far, excepting as to the doubtful point of the relation between *Ḳarāunahs* and *Nigudaris*, and as to the origin of the former, we have a general accordance with Polo's representations. But it is not very easy to identify with certainty the inroad on India to which he alludes, or the person intended by *Nogodar*, nephew of Chaghatai. It seems as if two persons of that name had each contributed something to Marco's history.

We find in Hammer and D'Ohsson that one of the causes which led to the war between Barka Khan and Hulaku in 1262 (see above, *Prologue*, ch. ii.) was the violent end that had befallen three princes of the House of Juji, who had accompanied Hulaku to Persia in command of the contingent of that House. When war actually broke out, the contingent made their escape from Persia. One party gained *Kipchak* by way of *Derbend*; another, in greater force, led by *NIGUDAR* and *Onguja*, escaped to *Khorasan*, pursued by the troops of Hulaku, and thence eastward, where they seized upon *Ghazni* and other districts bordering on India.

But again: *Nigudar Aghul*, or *Oghlan*, son of (the younger) *Juji*, son of *Chaghatai*, was the leader of the Chaghataian contingent in Hulaku's expedition, and was still attached to the Mongol-Persian army in 1269, when *Borrak Khan*, of the House of Chaghatai, was meditating war against his kinsman, *Abaka* of Persia. *Borrak* sent to the latter an ambassador, who was the bearer of a secret message to Prince *Nigudar*, begging him not to serve against the head of his own House. *Nigudar*, upon this, made a pretext of retiring to his own headquarters in *Georgia*, hoping to reach *Borrak's* camp by way of *Derbend*. He was, however, intercepted, and lost many of his people. With 1000 horse he took refuge in *Georgia*, but was refused an asylum, and was eventually captured by *Abaka's* commander on that frontier. His officers were executed, his troops dispersed among *Abaka's* army, and his own life spared under surveillance. I find no more about him. In 1278 Hammer speaks of him as dead, and of the *Nigudarian* bands as having been formed out of his troops. But authority is not given.

The second *Nigudar* is evidently the one to whom *Abu'l Fázl* alludes. *Khanikoff* assumes that the *Nigudar* who went off towards India about 1260 (he puts the date earlier) was *Nigudar*, the grandson of Chaghatai, but he takes no notice of the second story just quoted.

In the former story we have bands under *Nigudar* going off by *Ghazni*, and conquering country on the Indian frontier. In the latter we have *Nigudar*, a descendant of *Chaghatai*, trying to escape from his camp on the frontier of *Great Armenia*. Supposing the Persian historians to be correct, it looks as if Marco had rolled two stories into one.

Some other passages may be cited before quitting this part of the subject. A chronicle of *Herat*, translated by *Barbier de Meynard*, says, under 1298: "The King *Fakhruddin* (of *Herat*) had the imprudence to authorise the *Amir Nigudar* to establish himself in a quarter of the city, with 300 adventurers from *Irak*. This little troop made frequent raids in *Kuhistan*, *Sijistan*, *Farrak*, etc., spreading terror. *Khoda-banda*, at the request of his brother *Ghazan Khan*, came from *Mazanderan* to demand the immediate surrender of these brigands," etc. And in the account of the

tremendous foray of the Chaghataian Prince Kotlogh Shah, on the east and south of Persia in 1299, we find one of his captains called *Nigudar* Bahadur. (*Gold. Horde*, 146, 157, 164; *D'Ohsson*, IV. 378 *seqq.*, 433 *seqq.*, 513 *seqq.*; *Ilch.* I. 216, 261, 284; II. 104; *J. A. sér.* V. tom. xvii. 455-456, 507; *Khan. Notice*, 31.)

As regards the route taken by Prince Nogodar in his incursion into India, we have no difficulty with *BADAKHSHAN*. *PASHAI-DIR* is a copulate name; the former part, as we shall see reason to believe hereafter, representing the country between the Hindu Kush and the Kabul River (see *infra*, ch. xxx.); the latter (as Pauthier already has pointed out), *DIR*, the chief town of Panjkora, in the hill country north of Peshawar. In *Ariora-Keshemur* the first portion only is perplexing. I will mention the most probable of the solutions that have occurred to me, and a second, due to that eminent archæologist, General A. Cunningham. (1) *Ariora* may be some corrupt or Mongol form of *Aryavartta*, a sacred name applied to the Holy Lands of Indian Buddhism, of which Kashmir was eminently one to the Northern Buddhists. *Oron*, in Mongol, is a Region or Realm, and may have taken the place of *Vartta*, giving *Aryoron* or *Ariora*. (2) "*Ariora*," General Cunningham writes, "I take to be the *Harhaura* of Sanscrit—*i.e.* the Western Panjáb. *Harhaura* was the North-Western Division of the *Nava-Khanda*, or Nine Divisions of Ancient India. It is mentioned between *Sindhu-Sauvira* in the west (*i.e.* Sind), and *Madra* in the north (*i.e.* the Eastern Panjáb, which is still called *Madar-Des*). The name of *Harhaura* is, I think, preserved in the Haro River. Now, the Sind-Sagor Doab formed a portion of the kingdom of Kashmir, and the joint names, like those of *Sindhu-Sauvira*, describe only one State." The names of the Nine Divisions in question are given by the celebrated astronomer, Varaha Mihira, who lived in the beginning of the 6th century, and are repeated by Al Biruni. (See *Reinaud, Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 116.) The only objection to this happy solution seems to lie in Al Biruni's remark, that the names in question were in general no longer used even in his time (A. D. 1030).

There can be no doubt that *Asidin Soldan* is, as Khanikoff has said, Ghaiassuddin Balban, Sultan of Delhi from 1266 to 1286, and for years before that a man of great power in India, and especially in the Panjáb, of which he had in the reign of Ruknuddin (1236) held independent possession.

Firishta records several inroads of Mongols in the Panjáb during the reign of Ghaiassuddin, in withstanding one of which that King's eldest son was slain; and there are constant indications of their presence in Sind till the end of the century. But we find in that historian no hint of the chief circumstances of this part of the story, *viz.*, the conquest of Kashmir and the occupation of *Dalivar* or *Dilivar* (G. T.), evidently (whatever its identity) in the plains of India. I do find, however, in the history of Kashmir, as given by Lassen (III. 1138), that in the end of 1259, Lakshmana Deva, King of Kashmir, was killed in a campaign against the *Turushka* (Turks or Tartars), and that their leader, who is called Kajjala, got hold of the country and held it till 1287.* It is difficult not to connect this both with Polo's story and with the escapade of Nigudar about 1260, noting also that this occupation of Kashmir extended through the whole reign of Ghaiassuddin.

We seem to have a memory of Polo's story preserved in one of Elliot's extracts from Wassáf, which states that in 708 (A. D. 1308), after a great defeat of a Mongol inroad which had passed the Ganges, Sultan Ala'uddin Khilji ordered a pillar of Mongol heads to be raised before the Badáun gate, "*as was done with the Nigudari Moghuls*" (III. 48).

We still have to account for the occupation and locality of *Dalivar*; Marsden supposed it to be *Lahore*; Khanikoff considers it to be *Diráwal*, the ancient desert capital of the Bhattis, properly (according to Tod) *Deoráwal*, but by a transposition common in India, as it is in Italy, sometimes called *Diláwar*, in the modern State of Bháwalpúr. But General Cunningham suggests a more probable locality in *DILÁWAR* on the west bank of the Jelam, close to *Darápúr*, and opposite to Mung. These two

* *Khajlak* is mentioned as a leader of the Mongol raids in India by the poet Amir Khusrú (A. D. 1289; see *Elliot*, III. 527).

sites, Diláwar-Dárápúr on the west bank, and Mung on the east, are identified by General Cunningham (I believe justly) with Alexander's Bucephala and Nicaea. The spot, which is just opposite the battlefield of Chiliánwála, was visited (15th December, 1868) at my request, by my friend Colonel R. Maclagan, R.E. He writes: "The present village of Diláwar stands a little above the town of Dárápúr (I mean on higher ground), looking down on Dárápúr and on the river, and on the cultivated and wooded plain along the river bank. The remains of the Old Diláwar, in the form of quantities of large bricks, cover the low round-backed spurs and knolls of the broken rocky hills around the present village, but principally on the land side. They cover a large area of very irregular character, and may clearly be held to represent a very considerable town. There are no indications of the form of buildings, . . . but simply large quantities of large bricks, which for a long time have been carried away and used for modern buildings. . . . After rain coins are found on the surface. . . . There can be no doubt of a very large extent of ground, of very irregular and uninviting character, having been covered at some time with buildings. The position on the Jelam would answer well for the Diláwar which the Mongol invaders took and held. . . . The strange thing is that the name should not be mentioned (I believe it is not) by any of the well-known Mahomedan historians of India. So much for Diláwar. . . . The people have no traditions. But there are the remains; and there is the name, borne by the existing village on part of the old site." I had come to the conclusion that this was almost certainly Polo's Dalivar, and had mapped it as such, before I read certain passages in the *History of Ziyáuddin Barni*, which have been translated by Professor Dowson for the third volume of Elliot's *India*. When the comrades of Ghaiassuddin Balban urged him to conquests, the Sultan pointed to the constant danger from the Mongols,* saying: "These accursed wretches have heard of the wealth and condition of Hindustan, and have set their hearts upon conquering and plundering it. *They have taken and plundered Lahor within my territories, and no year passes that they do not come here and plunder the villages.* . . . They even talk about the conquest and sack of Delhi." And under a later date the historian says: "The Sultan . . . marched to Lahor, and ordered the rebuilding of the fort which the Mughals had destroyed in the reigns of the sons of Shamsuddin. The towns and villages of Lahor which the Mughals had devastated and laid waste he re-peopled." Considering these passages, and the fact that Polo had no personal knowledge of Upper India, I now think it probable that Marsden was right, and that *Dilivar* is really a misunderstanding of "*Città di Livar*" for *Lahàwar* or Lahore.

The *Magical darkness* which Marco ascribes to the evil arts of the Karaunas is explained by Khanikoff from the phenomenon of *Dry Fog*, which he has often experienced in Khorasan, combined with the *Dust Storm* with which we are familiar in Upper India. In Sind these phenomena often produce a great degree of darkness. During a battle fought between the armies of Sindh and Kachh in 1762, such a fog came on, obscuring the light of day for some six hours, during which the armies were intermixed with one another and fighting desperately. When the darkness dispersed they separated, and the consternation of both parties was so great at the events of the day that both made a precipitate retreat. In 1844 this battle was still spoken of with wonder. (*J. Bomb. Br. R. A. S. I.* 423.)

Major St. John has given a note on his own experience of these curious Kermán fogs (see *Ocean Highways*, 1872, p. 286): "Not a breath of air was stirring, and the whole effect was most curious, and utterly unlike any other fog I have seen. No deposit of dust followed, and the feeling of the air was decidedly damp. I unfortunately could not get my hygrometer till the fog had cleared away."

[*General Houtum-Schindler*, *l.c.* p. 493, writes: "The magical darkness might, as Colonel Yule supposes, be explained by the curious dry fogs or dust storms, often occurring in the neighbourhood of Kermán, but it must be remarked that Marco Polo

* Professor Cowell compares the Mongol inroads in the latter part of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, in their incessant recurrence, to the incursions of the Danes in England. A passage in Wassáf (*Elliot*, III. 38) shows that the Mongols were, *circa* 1254-55, already in occupation of Sodra on the Chenab, and districts adjoining.

was caught in one of these storms down in Jiruft, where, according to the people I questioned, such storms now never occur. On the 29th of September, 1879, at Kermán, a high wind began to blow from S.S.W. at about 5 P.M. First there came thick heavy clouds of dust with a few drops of rain. The heavy dust then settled down, the lighter particles remained in the air, forming a dry fog of such density that large objects, like houses, trees, etc., could not even faintly be distinguished at a distance of a hundred paces. The barometers suffered no change, the three I had with me remained in *statu quo*." "The heat is over by the middle of September, and after the autumnal equinox, there are a few days of what is best described as a dense dry fog. This was undoubtedly the haze referred to by Marco Polo." (*Major Sykes*, ch. iv.—H.C.]

"Richthofen's remarkable exposition of the phenomena of the *löss* in North China, and of the sub-aerial deposits of the steppes and of Central Asia throws some light on this. But this hardly applies to St John's experience of "no deposit of dust." (See Richthofen, *China*, pp. 96-97 s. *MS. Note*, H. Y.)

The belief that such opportune phenomena were produced by enchantment was a thoroughly Tartar one. D'Herbelot relates (art. *Giagathai*) that in an action with a rebel called Mahomed Tarabi, the Mongols were encompassed by a dust storm which they attributed to enchantment on the part of the enemy, and it so discouraged them that they took to flight.

NOTE 5.—The specification that only *seven* were saved from Marco's company is peculiar to Pauthier's Text, not appearing in the G. T.

Several names compounded of *Salm* or *Salmi* occur on the dry lands on the borders of Kermán. Edrisi, however (I. p. 428), names a place called *QANÁT-UL-SHÁM* as the first march in going from Jiruft to Walashjird. Walashjird is, I imagine, represented by *Galashkird*, Major R. Smith's third march from Jiruft (see my Map of Routes from Kermán to Hormuz); and as such, an indication agrees with the view taken below of Polo's route, I am strongly disposed to identify *Qanát-ul-Shám* with his *castello* or walled village of *Canosalmi*.

["Marco Polo's *Conosalmi*, where he was attacked by robbers and lost the greater part of his men, is perhaps the ruined town or village Kamasal (Kahn-i-asal = the honey canal), near Kahnúj-i-panchek and Vakflábád in Jiruft. It lies on the direct road between Shehr-i-Daqlánús (Camadi) and the Nevergún Pass. The road goes in an almost due southerly direction. The Nevergún Pass accords with Marco Polo's description of it; it is very difficult, on account of the many great blocks of sandstone scattered upon it. Its proximity to the Bashakird mountains and Mekrán easily accounts for the prevalence of robbers, who infested the place in Marco Polo's time. At the end of the Pass lies the large village Shamíl, with an old fort; the distance thence to the site of Hormúz or Bender 'Abbás (lying more to the west) is 52 miles, two days' march. The climate of Bender 'Abbás is very bad, strangers speedily fall sick, two of my men died there, all the others were seriously ill." (*Houtum-Schindler*, *l.c.* pp. 495-496.) Major Sykes (ch. xxiii.) says: "Two marches from Camadi was Kahn-i-Panchur, and a stage beyond it lay the ruins of Fariáb or Pariáb, which was once a great city, and was destroyed by a flood, according to local legend. It may have been Alexander's Salmous, as it is about the right distance from the coast, and if so, could not have been Marco's *Cono Salmi*. Continuing on, Galashkird mentioned by Edrisi, is the next stage."—H. C.]

The raids of the Mekranis and Biluchis long preceded those of the Karaunas, for they were notable even in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, and they have continued to our own day to be prosecuted nearly on the same stage and in the same manner. About 1721, 4000 horsemen of this description plundered the town of Bander Abbasi, whilst Captain Alex. Hamilton was in the port; and Abbott, in 1850, found the dread of Bilúch robbers to extend almost to the gates of Ispahan. A striking account of the Bilúch robbers and their characteristics is given by General Ferrier. (See *Hamilton*, I. 109; *J. R. G. S.* XXV.; *Khanikoff's Mémoire*; *Macd. Kinmeir*, 196; *Caravan Journeys*, p. 437 *seq.*)

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE DESCENT TO THE CITY OF HORMOS.

THE Plain of which we have spoken extends in a southerly direction for five days' journey, and then you come to another descent some twenty miles in length, where the road is very bad and full of peril, for there are many robbers and bad characters about. When you have got to the foot of this descent you find another beautiful plain called the PLAIN OF FORMOSA. This extends for two days' journey; and you find in it fine streams of water with plenty of date-palms and other fruit-trees. There are also many beautiful birds, francolins, popinjays, and other kinds such as we have none of in our country. When you have ridden these two days you come to the Ocean Sea, and on the shore you find a city with a harbour which is called HORMOS.¹ Merchants come thither from India, with ships loaded with spicery and precious stones, pearls, cloths of silk and gold, elephants' teeth, and many other wares, which they sell to the merchants of Hormos, and which these in turn carry all over the world to dispose of again. In fact, 'tis a city of immense trade. There are plenty of towns and villages under it, but it is the capital. The King is called RUOMEDAM AHOMET. It is a very sickly place, and the heat of the sun is tremendous. If any foreign merchant dies there, the King takes all his property.

In this country they make a wine of dates mixt with spices, which is very good. When any one not used to it first drinks this wine, it causes repeated and violent purging, but afterwards he is all the better for it, and gets fat upon it. The people never eat meat and wheaten bread except when they are ill, and if they take such food when they are in health it makes them ill. Their food when in health consists of dates and

salt-fish (tunny, to wit) and onions, and this kind of diet they maintain in order to preserve their health.²

Their ships are wretched affairs, and many of them get lost; for they have no iron fastenings, and are only stitched together with twine made from the husk of the Indian nut. They beat this husk until it becomes like horse-hair, and from that they spin twine, and with this stitch the planks of the ships together. It keeps well, and is not corroded by the sea-water, but it will not stand well in a storm. The ships are not pitched, but are rubbed with fish-oil. They have one mast, one sail, and one rudder, and have no deck, but only a cover spread over the cargo when loaded. This cover consists of hides, and on the top of these hides they put the horses which they take to India for sale. They have no iron to make nails of, and for this reason they use only wooden trenails in their shipbuilding, and then stitch the planks with twine as I have told you. Hence 'tis a perilous business to go a voyage in one of those ships, and many of them are lost, for in that Sea of India the storms are often terrible.³

The people are black, and are worshippers of Mahommet. The residents avoid living in the cities, for the heat in summer is so great that it would kill them. Hence they go out (to sleep) at their gardens in the country, where there are streams and plenty of water. For all that they would not escape but for one thing that I will mention. The fact is, you see, that in summer a wind often blows across the sands which encompass the plain, so intolerably hot that it would kill everybody, were it not that when they perceive that wind coming they plunge into water up to the neck, and so abide until the wind have ceased.⁴ [And to prove the great heat of this wind, Messer Mark related a case that befell when he was there. The Lord of Hormos, not having paid his tribute to the King of Kerman the

latter resolved to claim it at the time when the people of Hormos were residing away from the city. So he caused a force of 1600 horse and 5000 foot to be got ready, and sent them by the route of Reobarles to take the others by surprise. Now, it happened one day that through the fault of their guide they were not able to reach the place appointed for their night's halt, and were obliged to bivouac in a wilderness not far from Hormos. In the morning as they were starting on their march they were caught by that wind, and every man of them was suffocated, so that not one survived to carry the tidings to their Lord. When the people of Hormos heard of this they went forth to bury the bodies lest they should breed a pestilence. But when they laid hold of them by the arms to drag them to the pits, the bodies proved to be so *baked*, as it were, by that tremendous heat, that the arms parted from the trunks, and in the end the people had to dig graves hard by each where it lay, and so cast them in.]⁵

The people sow their wheat and barley and other corn in the month of November, and reap it in the month of March. The dates are not gathered till May, but otherwise there is no grass nor any other green thing, for the excessive heat dries up everything.

When any one dies they make a great business of the mourning, for women mourn their husbands four years. During that time they mourn at least once a day, gathering together their kinsfolk and friends and neighbours for the purpose, and making a great weeping and wailing. [And they have women who are mourners by trade, and do it for hire.]

Now, we will quit this country. I shall not, however, now go on to tell you about India; but when time and place shall suit we shall come round from the north and tell you about it. For the present, let us return by another road to the aforesaid city of Kerman, for we

cannot get at those countries that I wish to tell you about except through that city.

I should tell you first, however, that King Ruomedam Ahomet of Hormos, which we are leaving, is a liegeman of the King of Kerman.⁶

On the road by which we return from Hormos to Kerman you meet with some very fine plains, and you also find many natural hot baths; you find plenty of partridges on the road; and there are towns where victual is cheap and abundant, with quantities of dates and other fruits. The wheaten bread, however, is so bitter, owing to the bitterness of the water, that no one can eat it who is not used to it. The baths that I mentioned have excellent virtues; they cure the itch and several other diseases.⁷

Now, then, I am going to tell you about the countries towards the north, of which you shall hear in regular order. Let us begin.

NOTE I.—Having now arrived at HORMUZ, it is time to see what can be made of the Geography of the route from Kermán to that port.

The port of Hormuz, [which had taken the place of Kish as the most important market of the Persian Gulf (H. C.)], stood upon the mainland. A few years later it was transferred to the island which became so famous, under circumstances which are concisely related by Abulfeda:—"Hormuz is the port of Kermán, a city rich in palms, and very hot. One who has visited it in our day tells me that the ancient Hormuz was devastated by the incursions of the Tartars, and that its people transferred their abode to an island in the sea called Zarun, near the continent, and lying west of the old city. At Hormuz itself no inhabitants remain, but some of the lowest order." (In *Büsching*, IV. 261-262.) Friar Odoric, about 1321, found Hormuz "on an island some 5 miles distant from the main." Ibn Batuta, some eight or nine years later, discriminates between Hormuz or Moghistan on the mainland, and New Hormuz on the Island of Jeraun, but describes only the latter, already a great and rich city.

The site of the Island Hormuz has often been visited and described; but I could find no published trace of any traveller having verified the site of the more ancient city, though the existence of its ruins was known to John de Barros, who says that a little fort called *Cuxstac* (*Kuhestek* of P. della Valle, II. p. 300) stood on the site. An application to Colonel Pelly, the very able British Resident at Bushire, brought me from his own personal knowledge the information that I sought, and the following particulars are compiled from the letters with which he has favoured me:—

"The ruins of Old Hormuz, well known as such, stand several miles up a creek, and in the centre of the present district of Minao. They are extensive (though in large part obliterated by long cultivation over the site), and the traces of a long pier or Bandar were pointed out to Colonel Pelly. They are about 6 or 7 miles from the fort of Minao, and the Minao river, or its stony bed, winds down towards them. The creek is quite traceable, but is silted up, and to embark goods you have to go a farsakh towards the sea, where there is a custom-house on that part of the creek which

is still navigable. Colonel Pelly collected a few bricks from the ruins. From the mouth of the Old Hormuz creek to the New Hormuz town, or town of Turumpak on the island of Hormuz, is a sail of about three farsakhs. It may be a trifle more, but any native tells you at once that it is three farsakhs from Hormuz Island to the creek where you land to go up to Minao. *Hormuzdia* was the name of the region in the days of its prosperity. Some people say that Hormuzdia was known as *Jerunia*, and Old Hormuz town as *Jerun*." (In this I suspect tradition has gone astray.) "The town and fort of Minao lie to the N.E. of the ancient city, and are built upon the lowest spur of the Bashkurd mountains, commanding a gorge through which the Rudbar river debouches on the plain of Hormuzdia." In these new and interesting particulars it is pleasing to find such precise corroboration both of Edrisi and of Ibn Batuta. The former, writing in the 12th century, says that Hormuz stood on the banks of a canal or creek from the Gulf, by which vessels came up to the city. The latter specifies the breadth of sea between Old and New Hormuz as *three farsakhs*. (*Edrisi*, I. 424; *I. B.* II. 230.)

I now proceed to recapitulate the main features of Polo's Itinerary from Kermán to Hormuz. We have:—

	Marches.
1. From Kermán across a plain to the top of a mountain-pass, where <i>extreme cold was experienced</i>	7
2. A descent, occupying	2
3. A great plain, called <i>Reobarles</i> , in a much warmer climate, abounding in francolin partridge, and in dates and tropical fruit, with a ruined city of former note, called <i>Camadi</i> , near the head of the plain, which extends for	5
4. A second very bad pass, descending for 20 miles, say	1
5. A well-watered fruitful plain, which is crossed to <i>Hormuz</i> , on the shores of the Gulf.	2
Total	17

No European traveller, so far as I know, has described the most direct road from Kermán to Hormuz, or rather to its nearest modern representative Bander Abbási,—I mean the road by Báft. But a line to the eastward of this, and leading through the plain of Jiruft, was followed partially by Mr. Abbott in 1850, and completely by Major R. M. Smith, R.E., in 1866. The details of this route, except in one particular, correspond closely in essentials with those given by our author, and form an excellent basis of illustration for Polo's description.

Major Smith (accompanied at first by Colonel Goldsmid, who diverged to Mekran) left Kermán on the 15th of January, and reached Bander Abbási on the 3rd of February, but, as three halts have to be deducted, his total number of marches was exactly the same as Marco's, viz. 17. They divide as follows:—

	Marches.
1. From Kermán to the caravanserai of Deh Bakri in the pass so called. "The ground as I ascended became covered with snow, and the weather bitterly cold" (<i>Report</i>)	6
2. Two miles <i>over very deep snow</i> brought him to the top of the pass; he then descended 14 miles to his halt. Two miles to the south of the crest he passed a second caravanserai: "The two are evidently built so near one another to afford shelter to travellers who may be unable to cross the ridge during heavy snow-storms." The next march continued the descent for 14 miles, and then carried him 10 miles along the banks of the Rudkhanah-i-Shor. The approximate height of the pass above the sea is estimated at 8000 feet. We have thus for the descent the greater part of	2
3. "Clumps of date-palms growing near the village showed that I had now reached a totally different climate." (<i>Smith's Report</i> .) And Mr. Abbott says of the same region: "Partly wooded . . . and with thickets of reeds abounding with francolin and <i>Jirufti</i> partridge. . . . The lands yield grain, millet, pulse, French-	

	Marches.
horse-beans, rice, cotton, henna, Palma Christi, and dates, and in part are of great fertility. . . . Rainy season from January to March, after which a luxuriant crop of grass." Across this plain (districts of Jiruft and Rudbar), the height of which above the sea, is something under 2000 feet	6
4. 6½ hours, "nearly the whole way over a most difficult mountain-pass," called the Pass of Nevergun	1
5. Two long marches over a plain, part of which is described as "continuous cultivation for some 16 miles," and the rest as a "most uninteresting plain"	2
Total as before	17

In the previous edition of this work I was inclined to identify Marco's route *absolutely* with this Itinerary. But a communication from Major St. John, who surveyed the section from Kermán towards Deh Bakri in 1872, shows that this first section does not answer well to the description. The road is not all plain, for it crosses a mountain pass, though not a formidable one. Neither is it through a thriving, populous tract, for, with the exception of two large villages, Major St. John found the whole road to Deh Bakri from Kermán as desert and dreary as any in Persia. On the other hand, the more direct route to the south, which is that always used except in seasons of extraordinary severity (such as that of Major Smith's journey, when this route was impassable from snow), answers better, as described to Major St. John by muleteers, to Polo's account. The first *six days* are occupied by a gentle ascent through the districts of Bardesir and Kairat-ul-Arab, which are the best-watered and most fertile uplands of Kermán. From the crest of the pass reached in those six marches (which is probably more than 10,000 feet above the sea, for it was closed by snow on 1st May, 1872), an easy descent of *two days* leads to the Garmsir. This is traversed in four days, and then a very difficult pass is crossed to reach the plains bordering on the sea. The cold of this route is much greater than that of the Deh Bakri route. Hence the correspondence with Polo's description, as far as the descent to the Garmsir, or Reobarles, seems decidedly better by this route. It is admitted to be quite possible that on reaching this plain the two routes coalesced. We shall assume this provisionally, till some traveller gives us a detailed account of the Bardesir route. Meantime all the remaining particulars answer well.

[General Houtum-Schindler (*l.c.* pp. 493-495), speaking of the Itinerary from Kermán to Hormúz and back, says: "Only two of the many routes between Kermán and Bender 'Abbás coincide more or less with Marco Polo's description. These two routes are the one over the Deh Bekri Pass [see above, Colonel Smith], and the one *viâ* Sárdú. The latter is the one, I think, taken by Marco Polo. The more direct roads to the west are for the greater part through mountainous country, and have not twelve stages in plains which we find enumerated in Marco Polo's Itinerary. The road *viâ* Báft, Urzú, and the Zendán Pass, for instance, has only four stages in plains; the road, *viâ* Ráhbúr, Rúdbár and the Nevergún Pass only six; and the road *viâ* Sírván also only six."

	Marches.
The Sárdú route, which seems to me to be the one followed by Marco Polo, has five stages through fertile and populous plains to Sarvızan	5
One day's march ascends to the top of the Sarvızan Pass	1
Two days' descent to Ráhjird, a village close to the ruins of old Jírúft, now called Shehr-i-Daqtánús	2
Six days' march over the "vast plain" of Jírúft and Rúdbár to Farfáb, joining the Deh Bekri route at Kerímábád, one stage south of the Shehr-i-Daqtánús	6
One day's march through the Nevergún Pass to Shamfl, descending	1
Two days' march through the plain to Bender 'Abbás or Hormuz	2
In all	17

The Sárdú road enters the Jíruft plain at the ruins of the old city, the Deh Bekrí route does so at some distance to the eastward. The first six stages performed by Marco Polo in seven days go through fertile plains and past numerous villages. Regarding the cold, "which you can scarcely abide," Marco Polo does not speak of it as existing on the mountains only; he says, "From the city of Kermán to this descent the cold in winter is very great," that is, from Kermán to near Jíruft. The winter at Kermán itself is fairly severe; from the town the ground gradually but steadily rises, the absolute altitudes of the passes crossing the mountains to the south varying from 8000 to 11,000 feet. These passes are up to the month of March always very cold; in one it froze slightly in the beginning of June. The Sárdú Pass lies lower than the others. The name is Sárdú, not Sardú from sard, "cold." Major Sykes (*Persia*, ch. xxiii.) comes to the same conclusion: "In 1895, and again in 1900, I made a tour partly with the object of solving this problem, and of giving a geographical existence to Sárdú, which appropriately means the 'Cold Country.' I found that there was a route which exactly fitted Marco's conditions, as at Sarbizan the Sárdú plateau terminates in a high pass of 9200 feet, from which there is a most abrupt descent to the plain of Jíruft, Komádin being about 35 miles, or two days' journey from the top of the pass. Starting from Kermán, the stages would be as follows:—1. Jupár (small town); 2. Bahrámjird (large village); 3. Gudar (village); 4. Ráin (small town). . . . Thence to the Sarbizan pass is a distance of 45 miles, or three desert stages, thus constituting a total of 110 miles for the seven days. This is the camel route to the present day, and absolutely fits in with the description given. . . . The question to be decided by this section of the journey may then, I think, be considered to be finally and most satisfactorily settled, the route proving to lie between the two selected by Colonel Yule, as being the most suitable, although he wisely left the question open."—H. C.]

In the abstract of Major Smith's Itinerary as we have given it, we do not find Polo's city of *Camádi*. Major Smith writes to me, however, that this is probably to be sought in "the ruined city, the traces of which I observed in the plain of Jíruft near Kerimabad. The name of the city is now apparently lost." It is, however, known to the natives as the *City of Dakíanús*, as Mr. Abbott, who visited the site, informs us. This is a name analogous only to the Arthur's ovens or Merlin's caves of our own country, for all over Mahomedan Asia there are old sites to which legend attaches the name of *Dakianus* or the Emperor Decius, the persecuting tyrant of the Seven Sleepers. "The spot," says Abbott, "is an elevated part of the plain on the right bank of the Hali Rúd, and is thickly strewn with kiln-baked bricks, and shreds of pottery and glass. . . . After heavy rain the peasantry search amongst the ruins for ornaments of stone, and rings and coins of gold, silver, and copper. The popular tradition concerning the city is that it was destroyed by a flood long before the birth of Mahomed."

[General Houtum-Schindler, in a paper in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Jan. 1898, p. 43, gives an abstract of Dr. Houtsma's (of Utrecht) memoir, *Zur Geschichte der Saljuken von Kerman*, and comes to the conclusion that "from these statements we can safely identify Marco Polo's Camadi with the suburb Qumádin, or, as I would read it, Qamádin, of the city of Jíruft."—(Cf. *Major Sykes' Persia*, chap. xxiii.: "Camadi was sacked for the first time, after the death of Toghrul Shah of Kermán, when his four sons reduced the province to a condition of anarchy.")

Major P. Molesworth Sykes, *Recent Journeys in Persia* (*Geog. Journal*, X. 1897, p. 589), says: "Upon arrival in Rudbar, we turned northwards and left the Farman Farma, in order to explore the site of Marco Polo's 'Camadi.' . . . We came upon a huge area littered with yellow bricks eight inches square, while not even a broken wall is left to mark the site of what was formerly a great city, under the name of the Sher-i-Jíruft."—H. C.] The actual distance from Bamm to the City of Dakianus is, by Abbott's Journal, about 66 miles.

The name of REOBARLES, which Marco applies to the plain intermediate between

the two descents, has given rise to many conjectures. Marsden pointed to *Rúdbár*, a name frequently applied in Persia to a district on a river, or intersected by streams—a suggestion all the happier that he was not aware of the fact that there *is* a district of *RUDBAR* exactly in the required position. The last syllable still requires explanation. I ventured formerly to suggest that it was the Arabic *Lass*, or, as Marco would certainly have written it, *Les*, a robber. Reobarles would then be *RUDBAR-I-LASS*, "Robber's River District." The appropriateness of the name Marco has amply illustrated; and it appeared to me to survive in that of one of the rivers of the plain, which is mentioned by both Abbott and Smith under the title of *Rúdkhánah-i-Duzdi*, or Robbery River, a name also applied to a village and old fort on the banks of the stream. This etymology was, however, condemned as an inadmissible combination of Persian and Arabic by two very high authorities both as travellers and scholars—Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. Khanikoff. The *Les*, therefore, has still to be explained.*

[Major Sykes (*Geog. Journal*, 1902, p. 130) heard of robbers, some five miles from Mináb, and he adds: "However, nothing happened, and after crossing the Gardan-i-Pichal, we camped at Birinti, which is situated just above the junction of Rudkhána Duzdi, or 'River of Theft,' and forms part of the district of Rudán, in Fars."

"The Jíruft and Rúdbár plains belong to the germsfr (hot region), dates, pistachios, and konars (apples of Paradise) abound in them. Reobarles is Rúdbár or Rúdbáris." (*Houtum-Schindler*, l.c. 1881, p. 495.)—H. C.]

We have referred to Marco's expressions regarding the great cold experienced on the pass which formed the first descent; and it is worthy of note that the title of "The Cold Mountains" is applied by Edrisi to these very mountains. Mr. Abbott's MS. Report also mentions in this direction, *Sardu*, said to be a cold country (as its name seems to express [see above,—H. C.]), which its population (Iliyáts) abandon in winter for the lower plains. It is but recently that the importance of this range of mountains has become known to us. Indeed the *existence* of the chain, as extending continuously from near Kashán, was first indicated by Khanikoff in 1862. More recently Major St. John has shown the magnitude of this range, which rises into summits of 15,000 feet in altitude, and after a course of 550 miles terminates in a group of volcanic hills some 50 miles S.E. of Bamm. Yet practically this chain is ignored on all our maps!

Marco's description of the "Plain of Formosa" does not apply, now at least, to the *whole* plain, for towards Bander Abbási it is barren. But to the eastward, about Mínoa, and therefore about Old Hormuz, it has not fallen off. Colonel Pelly writes: "The district of Mínoa is still for those regions singularly fertile. Pomegranates, oranges, pistachio-nuts, and various other fruits grow in profusion. The source of its fertility is of course the river, and you can walk for miles among lanes and cultivated ground, partially sheltered from the sun." And Lieutenant Kempthorne, in his notes on that coast, says of the same tract: "It is termed by the natives the Paradise of Persia. It is certainly most beautifully fertile, and abounds in orange-groves, and orchards containing apples, pears, peaches, and apricots; with vineyards producing a delicious grape, from which was at one time made a wine called *ambar-rosolli*"—a name not easy to explain. 'Ambar-i-Rasúl, "The Prophet's Bouquet!" would be too bold a name even for Persia, though names more sacred are so profaned at Naples and on the Moselle. Sir H. Rawlinson suggests 'Ambar-'asali, "Honey Bouquet," as possible.

When Nearchus beached his fleet on the shore of *Harmozeia* at the mouth of the *Anamis* (the River of Mínoa), Arrian tells us he found the country a kindly one, and

* It is but fair to say that scholars so eminent as Professors Sprenger and Blochmann have considered the original suggestion lawful and probable. Indeed, Mr. Blochmann says in a letter: "After studying a language for years, one acquires a natural feeling for anything un-idiomatic; but I must confess I see nothing un-Persian in *rúdbár-i-duzd*, nor in *rúdbár-i-las*. . . . How common *lass* is, you may see from one fact, that it occurs in children's reading-books." We must not take *Reobarles* in Marco's French as rhyming to (French) *Charles*; every syllable sounds. It is remarkable that *Lás*, as the name of a small State near our Sind frontier, is said to mean, "in the language of the country, a level plain." (*J. A. S. B.* VIII. 195.) It is not clear what is meant by the language of the country. The chief is a Brahui, the people are Lumri or Numri Bilúchis, who are, according to Tod, of Jat descent.

very fruitful in every way except that there were no olives. The weary mariners landed and enjoyed this pleasant rest from their toils. (*Indica*, 33; *J. R. G. S. V.* 274.)

The name Formosa is probably only Rusticiano's misunderstanding of *Harmuza*, aided, perhaps, by Polo's picture of the beauty of the plain. We have the same change in the old *Mafomet* for Mahomet, and the converse one in the Spanish *hermosa* for *formosa*. Teixeira's Chronicle says that the city of Hormuz was founded by Xa Mahamed Dranku, *i.e.* Shah Mahomed Dirhem-Ko, in "a plain of the same name."

The statement in Ramusio that Hormuz stood upon an island, is, I doubt not, an interpolation by himself or some earlier transcriber.

When the ships of Nearchus launched again from the mouth of the Anamis, their first day's run carried them past a certain desert and bushy island to another which was large and inhabited. The desert isle was called *Organa*; the large one by which they anchored *Oaracta*. (*Indica*, 37.) Neither name is quite lost; the latter greater island is Kishm or *Brakht*; the former *Jerún*,* perhaps in old Persian *Gerún* or *Gerán*, now again desert though no longer bushy, after having been for three centuries the site of a city which became a poetic type of wealth and splendour. An Eastern saying ran, "Were the world a ring, Hormuz would be the jewel in it."

["The *Yüan shi* mentions several seaports of the Indian Ocean as carrying on trade with China; Hormuz is not spoken of there. I may, however, quote from the *Yüan History* a curious statement which perhaps refers to this port. In ch. cxxiii., biography of Arsz-lan, it is recorded that his grandson Hurdutai, by order of Kubilai Khan, accompanied *Bu-lo no-yen* on his mission to the country of *Ha-rh-ma-sz*. This latter name may be intended for Hormuz. I do not think that by the *Noyen Bulo*, M. Polo could be meant, for the title *Noyen* would hardly have been applied to him. But Rashid-eddin mentions a distinguished Mongol, by name *Pulad*, with whom he was acquainted in Persia, and who furnished him with much information regarding the history of the Mongols. This may be the *Bu-lo no-yen* of the *Yüan History*."] (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.* II. p. 132.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—A spirit is still distilled from dates in Persia, Mekran, Sind, and some places in the west of India. It is mentioned by Strabo and Dioscorides, according to Kämpfer, who says it was in his time made under the name of a medicinal stomachic; the rich added *Radix Chinae*, ambergris, and aromatic spices; the poor, liquorice and Persian absinth. (*Sir B. Frere; Amoen. Exot.* 750; *Macd. Kinneir*, 220.)

["The *date* wine with spices is not now made at Bender 'Abbás. *Date arrack*, however, is occasionally found. At Kermán a sort of wine or arrack is made with spices and alcohol, distilled from sugar; it is called *Má-ul-Háyát* (water of life), and is recommended as an aphrodisiac. Grain in the Shamál plain is harvested in April, dates are gathered in August."] (*Houtum-Schindler, l.c.* p. 496.)

See "Remarks on the Use of Wine and Distilled Liquors among the Mohammedans of Turkey and Persia," pp. 315-330 of *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia*. . . . By the Rev. Horatio Southgate, . . . London, 1840, vol. ii.—H. C.]

[Sir H. Yule quotes, in a MS. note, these lines from Moore's *Light of the Harem*:

"Wine, too, of every clime and hue,
Around their liquid lustre threw
Amber Rosolli †—the bright dew
From vineyards of the Green Sea gushing."]

See above, p. 114.

* Sir Henry Rawlinson objects to this identification (which is the same that Dr. Karl Müller adopts), saying that *Organa* is more probably "Angan, formerly Argan." To this I cannot assent. Nearchus sails 300 stadia from the mouth of Anamis to Oaracta, and *on his way* passes Organa. Taking 600 stadia to the degree (Dr. Müller's value), I make it just 300 stadia from the mouth of the Hormuz creek to the eastern point of Kishm. Organa must have been either Jerún or Lárek; Angan (*Hanjám* of Mas'udi) is out of the question. And as a straight run must have passed quite close to Jerún, not to Lárek, I find the former most probable. Nearchus next day proceeds 200 stadia along Oaracta, and anchors in sight of another island (Neptune's) which was separated by 40 stadia from Oaracta. This was Angan; no other island answers, and for this the distances answer with singular precision.

† Moore refers to *Persian Tales*.

The date and dry-fish diet of the Gulf people is noticed by most travellers, and P. della Valle repeats the opinion about its being the only wholesome one. Ibn Batuta



The Double or Latin Rudder, as shown in the Navicella of Giotto. (From Eastlake.)

says the people of Hormüz had a saying, "*Khormá wa máhí lút-i-Pádshahí*," i.e. "Dates and fish make an Emperor's dish!" A fish, exactly like the tunny of the

Mediterranean in general appearance and habits, is one of the great objects of fishery off the Sind and Mekran coasts. It comes in pursuit of shoals of anchovies, very much like the Mediterranean fish also. (*J. B. II.* 231; *Sir B. Frere.*)

[Friar Odoric (*Cathay*, I. pp. 55-56) says: "And there you find (before arriving at Hormuz) people who live almost entirely on dates, and you get forty-two pounds of dates for less than a gourd; and so of many other things."]

NOTE 3.—The stitched vessels of Kermán (πλοιάρια ραπτά) are noticed in the *Periplus*. Similar accounts to those of our text are given of the ships of the Gulf and of Western India by Jordanus and John of Montecorvino. (*Jord.* p. 53; *Cathay*, p. 217.) "Stitched vessels," Sir B. Frere writes, "are still used. I have seen them of 200 tons burden; but they are being driven out by iron-fastened vessels, as iron gets cheaper, except where (as on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts) the pliancy of a stitched boat is useful in a surf. Till the last few years, when steamers have begun to take all the best horses, the Arab horses bound to Bombay almost all came in the way Marco Polo describes." Some of them do still, standing over a date cargo, and the result of this combination gives rise to an extraordinary traffic in the Bombay bazaar. From what Colonel Pelly tells me, the stitched build in the Gulf is now confined to fishing-boats, and is disused for sea-going craft.

[Friar Odoric (*Cathay*, I. p. 57) mentioned these vessels: "In this country men make use of a kind of vessel which they call *Jase*, which is fastened only with stitching of twine. On one of these vessels I embarked, and I could find no iron at all therein." *Jase* is for the Arabic *Djehaz*.—H. C.]

The fish-oil used to rub the ships was whale-oil. The old Arab voyagers of the 9th century describe the fishermen of Siraf in the Gulf as cutting up the whale-blubber and drawing the oil from it, which was mixed with other stuff, and used to rub the joints of ships' planking. (*Reinaud*, I. 146.)

Both Montecorvino and Polo, in this passage, specify *one rudder*, as if it was a peculiarity of these ships worth noting. The fact is that, in the Mediterranean at least, the double rudders of the ancients kept their place to a great extent through the Middle Ages. A Marseilles MS. of the 13th century, quoted in Ducange, says: "A ship requires three rudders, two in place, and one to spare." Another: "Every two-ruddered bark shall pay a groat each voyage; every one-ruddered bark shall," etc. (See Duc. under *Timonus* and *Temo*.) Numerous proofs of the use of two rudders in the 13th century will be found in "*Documenti inediti riguardanti le due Crociate di S. Ludovico IX., Re di Francia*, etc., da L. T. Belgrano, Genova, 1859." Thus in a specification of ships to be built at Genoa for the king (p. 7), each is to have "*Timones duo*, affaiticos, grossitudinis palmorum viiii et dimidia, longitudinis cubitorum xxiiii." Extracts given by Capmany, regarding the equipment of galleys, show the same thing, for he is probably mistaken in saying that one of the *dos timones* specified was a spare one. Joinville (p. 205) gives incidental evidence of the same: "Those Marseilles ships have each two rudders, with each a tiller (? *tison*) attached to it in such an ingenious way that you can turn the ship right or left as fast as you would turn a horse. So on the Friday the king was sitting upon one of these tillers, when he called me and said to me," etc.* Francesco da Barberino, a poet of the 13th century, in the 7th part of his *Documenti d'Amore* (printed at Rome in 1640), which instructs the lover to whose lot it may fall to escort his lady on a sea-voyage (instructions carried so far as to provide even for the case of her death at sea!), alludes more than once to these plural rudders. Thus—

— se vedessi avvenire
 Che vento ti rompesse
Timoni . . .
 In luogo di timoni
 Fa spere † e in aqua poni." (P. 272-273.)

* This *tison* can be seen in the cuts from the tomb of St. Peter Martyr and the seal of Winchelsea.
 † *Spere*, bundles of spars, etc., dragged overboard.

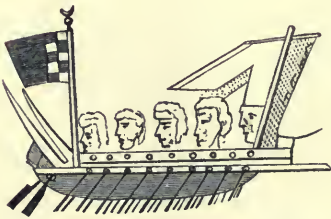
And again, when about to enter a port, it is needful to be on the alert and ready to run in case of a hostile reception, so the galley should enter stern foremost—a move-



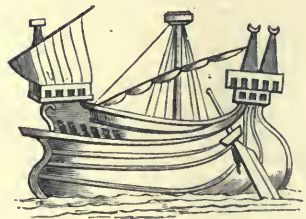
12th Century Illumination. (After Pertz.)



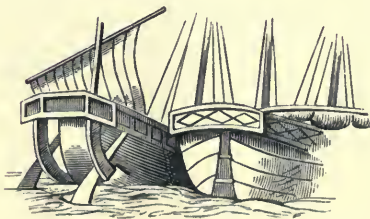
Seal of Winchelsea.



12th Century Illumination. (After Pertz.)



From Leaning Tower. (After Jal.)



After Spinello Aretini at Siena.



From Monument of St. Peter Martyr.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE DOUBLE RUDDER OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

ment which he reminds his lover involves the reversal of the ordinary use of the two rudders:—

“*L' un timon leva suso
L' altro legghier tien giuso,
Ma convien levar mano
Non mica com soleàno,
Ma per contraro, e face
Cosi 'l guidar verace.*” (P. 275.)

A representation of a vessel over the door of the Leaning Tower at Pisa shows this arrangement, which is also discernible in the frescoes of galley-fights by Spinello Aretini, in the Municipal Palace at Siena.

[Godinho de Eredia (1613), describing the smaller vessels of Malacca which he calls *bálos* in ch. 13, *De Embarcações*, says: “At the poop they have two rudders, one on each side to steer with.” E por poupa dos bálos, tem 2 lêmes, hum en cada lado pera o governo. (*Malacca, l'Inde mérid. et le Cathay*, Bruxelles, 1882, 4to, f. 26.)—H. C.]

The midship rudder seems to have been the more usual in the western seas, and the double quarter-rudders in the Mediterranean. The former are sometimes styled *Navarresques* and the latter *Latins*. Yet early seals of some of the Cinque Ports show vessels with the double rudder; one of which (that of Winchelsea) is given in the cut.

In the Mediterranean the latter was still in occasional use late in the 16th century. Captain Pantero Pantera in his book, *L'Armata Navale* (Rome, 1614, p. 44), says that the Galeasses, or great galleys, had the helm *alla Navarresca*, but also a great oar on each side of it to assist in turning the ship. And I observe that the great galeasses which precede the Christian line of battle at Lepanto, in one of the frescoes by Vasari in the Royal Hall leading to the Sistine Chapel, have the quarter-rudder very distinctly.

The Chinese appear occasionally to employ it, as seems to be indicated in a wood-cut of a vessel of war which I have traced from a Chinese book in the National Library at Paris. (See above, p. 37.) [For the Chinese words for *rudder*, see p. 126 of J. Edkins' article on *Chinese Names for Boats and Boat Gear*, *Jour. N. China Br. R. As. Soc.* N.S. XI. 1876.—H. C.] It is also used by certain craft of the Indian Archipelago, as appears from Mr. Wallace's description of the Prau in which he sailed from Macassar to the Aru Islands. And on the Caspian, it is stated in Smith's “*Dict. of Antiquities*” (art. *Gubernaculum*), the practice remained in force till late times. A modern traveller was nearly wrecked on that sea, because the two rudders were in the hands of two pilots who spoke different languages, and did not understand each other!

(Besides the works quoted see *Jal, Archéologie Navale*, II. 437-438, and *Capmany, Memorias*, III. 61.)

[Major Sykes remarks (*Persia*, ch. xxiii.): “Some unrecorded event, probably the sight of the unseaworthy craft, which had not an ounce of iron in their composition, made our travellers decide that the risks of the sea were too great, so that we have the pleasure of accompanying them back to Kermán and thence northwards to Khorasán.”—H.C.]

NOTE 4.—So also at Bander Abbási Tavernier says it was so unhealthy that foreigners could not stop there beyond March; everybody left it in April. Not a hundredth part of the population, says Kämpfer, remained in the city. Not a beggar would stop for any reward! The rich went to the towns of the interior or to the cool recesses of the mountains, the poor took refuge in the palm-groves at the distance of a day or two from the city. A place called 'Ishin, some 12 miles north of the city, was a favourite resort of the European and Hindu merchants. Here were fine gardens, spacious baths, and a rivulet of fresh and limpid water.

The custom of lying in water is mentioned also by Sir John Maundevile, and it was adopted by the Portuguese when they occupied Insular Hormuz, as P. della Valle and Linschoten relate. The custom is still common during great heats, in Sind and Mekran (Sir B. F.).

An anonymous ancient geography (*Liber Junioris Philosophi*) speaks of a people

in India who live in the Terrestrial Paradise, and lead the life of the Golden Age. . . . The sun is so hot *that they remain all day in the river!*

The heat in the Straits of Hormuz drove Abdurrazzak into an anticipation of a verse familiar to English schoolboys: "Even the bird of rapid flight was burnt up in the heights of heaven, as well as the fish in the depths of the sea!" (*Tavern. Bk. V. ch. xxiii. ; Am. Exot. 716, 762; Müller, Geog. Gr. Min. II. 514; India in XV. Cent. p. 49.*)

NOTE 5.—A like description of the effect of the *Simúm* on the human body is given by Ibn Batuta, Chardin, A. Hamilton, Tavernier, Thévenot, etc.; and the first of these travellers speaks specially of its prevalence in the desert near Hormuz, and of the many graves of its victims; but I have met with no reasonable account of its poisonous action. I will quote Chardin, already quoted at greater length by Marsden, as the most complete parallel to the text: "The most surprising effect of the wind is not the mere fact of its causing death, but its operation on the bodies of those who are killed by it. It seems as if they became decomposed without losing shape, so that you would think them to be merely asleep, when they are not merely dead, but in such a state that if you take hold of any part of the body it comes away in your hand. And the finger penetrates such a body as if it were so much dust." (III. 286.)

Burton, on his journey to Medina, says: "The people assured me that this wind never killed a man in their Allah-favoured land. I doubt the fact. At Bir Abbas the body of an Arnaut was brought in swollen, and decomposed rapidly, the true diagnosis of death by the poison-wind." Khanikoff is very distinct as to the immediate fatality of the desert wind at Khabis, near Kermán, but does not speak of the effect on the body after death. This Major St. John does, describing a case that occurred in June, 1871, when he was halting, during intense heat, at the post-house of Pasangan, a few miles south of Kom. The bodies were brought in of two poor men, who had tried to start some hours before sunset, and were struck down by the poisonous blast within half-a-mile of the post-house. "It was found impossible to wash them before burial. . . . Directly the limbs were touched they separated from the trunk." (*Oc. Highways, ut. sup.*) About 1790, when Timúr Sháh of Kabul sent an army under the Sirdár-i-Sirdarán to put down a revolt in Meshed, this force on its return was struck by Simúm in the Plain of Farrah, and the Sirdár perished, with a great number of his men. (*Ferrier, H. of the Afghans, 102; J. R. G. S. XXVI. 217; Khan. Mém. 210.*)

NOTE 6.—The History of Hormuz is very imperfectly known. What I have met with on the subject consists of—(1) An abstract by Teixeira of a chronicle of Hormuz, written by Thurán Sháh, who was himself sovereign of Hormuz, and died in 1377; (2) some contemporary notices by Wassáf, which are extracted by Hammer in his History of the Ilkhans; (3) some notices from Persian sources in the 2nd Decade of De Barros (ch. ii.). The last do not go further back than Gordun Sháh, the father of Thurán Sháh, to whom they erroneously ascribe the first migration to the Island.

One of Teixeira's Princes is called *Ruknuddin Mahmud*, and with him Marsden and Pauthier have identified Polo's Ruomedam Acomet, or as he is called on another occasion in the Geog. Text, *Maimodi Acomet*. This, however, is out of the question, for the death of Ruknuddin is assigned to A.H. 675 (A.D. 1277), whilst there can, I think, be no doubt that Marco's account refers to the period of his return from China, viz. 1293 or thereabouts.

We find in Teixeira that the ruler who succeeded in 1290 was *Anir Masa'úd*, who obtained the Government by the murder of his brother Saifuddin Nazrat. Masa'úd was cruel and oppressive; most of the influential people withdrew to Baháuddin Ayaz, whom Saifuddin had made Wazir of Kalhát on the Arabian coast. This Wazir assembled a force and drove out Masa'úd after he had reigned three years. He fled to Kermán and died there some years afterwards.

Baháuddin, who had originally been a slave of Saifuddin Nazrat's, succeeded in

establishing his authority. But about 1300 great bodies of Turks (*i.e.* Tartars) issuing from Turkestan ravaged many provinces of Persia, including Kermán and Hormuz. The people, unable to bear the frequency of such visitations, retired first to the island of Kishm, and then to that of Jerún, on which last was built the city of New Hormuz, afterwards so famous. This is Teixeira's account from Thurán Sháh, so far as we are concerned with it. As regards the transfer of the city it agrees substantially with Abulfeda's, which we have already quoted (*supra*, note 1).

Hammer's account from Wassáf is frightfully confused, chiefly I should suppose from Hammer's own fault; for among other things he assumes that Hormuz was always on an island, and he distinguishes between the Island of Hormuz and the Island of Jerún! We gather, however, that Hormuz before the Mongol time formed a government subordinate to the Salghur Atabegs of Fars (see note 1, ch. xv.), and when the power of that Dynasty was falling, the governor Mahmúd Kalhátí, established himself as Prince of Hormuz, and became the founder of a petty dynasty, being evidently identical with Teixeira's Ruknuddín Mahmud above-named, who is represented as reigning from 1246 to 1277. In Wassáf we find, as in Teixeira, Mahmúd's son Masa'úd killing his brother Nazrat, and Baháuddín expelling Masa'úd. It is true that Hammer's surprising muddle makes Nazrat kill Masa'úd; however, as a few lines lower we find Masa'úd alive and Nazrat dead, we may safely venture on this correction. But we find also that Masa'úd appears as *Ruknuddín* Masa'úd, and that Baháuddín does not assume the princely authority himself, but proclaims that of *Fakhruddín Ahmed* Ben Ibrahim At-Thaibi, a personage who does not appear in Teixeira at all. A MS. history, quoted by Ouseley, *does* mention Fakhruddín, and ascribes to him the transfer to Jerún. Wassáf seems to allude to Baháuddín as a sort of Sea Rover, occupying the islands of Larek and Jerún, whilst Fakhruddín reigned at Hormuz. It is difficult to understand the relation between the two.

It is possible that Polo's memory made some confusion between the names of RUKNUDDÍN Masa'úd and Fakhruddín AHMED, but I incline to think the latter is his RUOMEDAN AHMED. For Teixeira tells us that Masa'úd took refuge at the court of Kermán, and Wassáf represents him as supported in his claims by the Atabeg of that province, whilst we see that Polo seems to represent Ruomedan Acomat as in hostility with that prince. To add to the imbroglío I find in a passage of Wassáf Malik Fakhruddín Ahmed at-Thaibi sent by Ghazan Khan in 1297 as ambassador to Khaubalig, staying there some years, and dying off the Coromandel coast on his return in 1305. (Elliot, iii. pp. 45-47.)

Masa'úd's seeking help from Kermán to reinstate him is not the first case of the same kind that occurs in Teixeira's chronicle, so there may have been some kind of colour for Marco's representation of the Prince of Hormuz as the vassal of the Atabeg of Kermán ("*l'homme de cest roy de Creman*;" see *Prologue*, ch. xiv. note 2). M. Khanikoff denies the possibility of the existence of any royal dynasty at Hormuz at this period. That there was a dynasty of *Maliks* of Hormuz, however, at this period we must believe on the concurring testimony of Marco, of Wassáf, and of Thurán Sháh. There was also, it would seem, another quasi-independent principality in the Island of Kais. (*Hammer's Ich.* II. 50, 51; *Teixeira, Relacion de los Reyes de Hormuz; Khan. Notice*, p. 34.)

The ravages of the Tartars which drove the people of Hormuz from their city may have begun with the incursions of the Nigudaris and Karaunahs, but they probably came to a climax in the great raid in 1299 of the Chaghataian Prince Kotlogh Shah, son of Dua Khan, a part of whose bands besieged the city itself, though they are said to have been repulsed by Baháuddín Ayas.

[The Dynasty of Hormuz was founded about 1060 by a Yemen chief Mohammed Dirhem Ko, and remained subject to Kermán till 1249, when Rokn ed-din Mahmúd III. Kalhátí (1242-1277) made himself independent. The immediate successors of Rokn ed-din were Saif ed-din Nazrat (1277-1290), Masa'úd (1290-1293), Bahad ed-din Ayaz Sayfin (1293-1311). Hormuz was captured by the Portuguese in 1510 and by the Persians in 1622.—II. C.]

NOTE 7.—The indications of this alternative route to Kermán are very vague, but it may probably have been that through Finn, Tárum, and the Sírján district, passing out of the plain of Hormuz by the eastern flank of the Ginao mountain. This road would pass near the hot springs at the base of the said mountain, Sarga, Khurkhu, and Ginao, which are described by Kämpfer. Being more or less sulphureous they are likely to be useful in skin-diseases: indeed, Hamilton speaks of their efficacy in these. (I. 95.) The salt-streams are numerous on this line, and dates are abundant. The bitterness of the bread was, however, more probably due to another cause, as Major Smith has kindly pointed out to me: "Throughout the mountains in the south of Persia, which are generally covered with dwarf oak, the people are in the habit of making bread of the acorns, or of the acorns mixed with wheat or barley. It is dark in colour, and very hard, bitter, and unpalatable."

Major St. John also noticed the bitterness of the bread in Kermán, but his servants attributed it to the presence in the wheat-fields of a bitter leguminous plant, with a yellowish white flower, which the Kermánis were too lazy to separate, so that much remained in the thrashing, and imparted its bitter flavour to the grain (surely the *Tare* of our Lord's Parable!).

[General Houtum-Schindler says (*l.c.* p. 496): "Marco Polo's return journey was, I am inclined to think, *viâ* Urzú and Báft, the shortest and most direct road. The road *viâ* Tárum and Sírján is very seldom taken by travellers intending to go to Kermán; it is only frequented by the caravans going between Bender 'Abbás and Bahrámbád, three stages west of Kermán. Hot springs, 'curing itch,' I noticed at two places on the Urzú-Báft road. There were some near Qal'ah Asgher and others near Dashtáb; they were frequented by people suffering from skin-diseases, and were highly sulphureous; the water of those near Dashtáb turned a silver ring black after two hours' immersion. Another reason of my advocating the Urzú road is that the bitter bread spoken of by Marco Polo is only found on it, viz. at Báft and in Bardshír. In Sírján, to the west, and on the roads to the east, the bread is sweet. The bitter taste is from the Khúr, a bitter leguminous plant, which grows among the wheat, and whose grains the people are too lazy to pick out. There is not a single oak between Bender 'Abbás and Kermán; none of the inhabitants seemed to know what an acorn was. A person at Báft, who had once gone to Kerbelá *viâ* Kermánsháh and Baghdad, recognised my sketch of tree and fruit immediately, having seen oak and acorn between Kermánsháh and Qasr-i-Shírfn on the Baghdad road." Major Sykes writes (ch. xxiii.): "The above description undoubtedly refers to the main winter route, which runs *viâ* Sírján. This is demonstrated by the fact that under the Kuh-i-Ginao, the summer station of Bandar Abbás, there is a magnificent sulphur spring, which, welling from an orifice 4 feet in diameter, forms a stream some 30 yards wide. Its temperature at the source is 113 degrees, and its therapeutic properties are highly appreciated. As to the bitterness of the bread, it is suggested in the notes that it was caused by being mixed with acorns, but, to-day at any rate, there are no oak forests in this part of Persia, and I would urge that it is better to accept our traveller's statement, that it was due to the bitterness of the water."—However, I prefer Gen. Houtum-Schindler's theory.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE WEARISOME AND DESERT ROAD THAT HAS NOW TO BE TRAVELLED.

ON departing from the city of Kerman you find the road for seven days most wearisome ; and I will tell you how this is.¹ The first three days you meet with no water, or next to none. And what little you do meet with is bitter green stuff, so salt that no one can drink it ; and in fact if you drink a drop of it, it will set you purging ten times at least by the way. It is the same with the salt which is made from those streams ; no one dares to make use of it, because of the excessive purging which it occasions. Hence it is necessary to carry water for the people to last these three days ; as for the cattle, they must needs drink of the bad water I have mentioned, as there is no help for it, and their great thirst makes them do so. But it scours them to such a degree that sometimes they die of it. In all those three days you meet with no human habitation ; it is all desert, and the extremity of drought. Even of wild beasts there are none, for there is nothing for them to eat.²

After those three days of desert [you arrive at a stream of fresh water running underground, but along which there are holes broken in here and there, perhaps undermined by the stream, at which you can get sight of it. It has an abundant supply, and travellers, worn with the hardships of the desert, here rest and refresh themselves and their beasts.]³

You then enter another desert which extends for four days ; it is very much like the former except that you do see some wild asses. And at the termination of these four days of desert the kingdom of Kerman comes to an end, and you find another city which is called Cobinan.

NOTE 1. ["The present road from Kermán to Kúbenán is to Zerend about 50 miles, to the Sár i Benán 15 miles, thence to Kúbenán 30 miles—total 95 miles. Marco Polo cannot have taken the direct road to Kúbenán, as it took him seven days to reach it. As he speaks of waterless deserts, he probably took a circuitous route to the east of the mountains, *viâ* Kúhpáyeḥ and the desert lying to the north of Khabis." (*Houtum-Schindler, l.c.* pp. 496-497.) (Cf. *Major Sykes, ch. xxiii.*)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—This description of the Desert of Kermán, says Mr. Khanikoff, "is very correct. As the only place in the Desert of Lút where water is found is the dirty, salt, bitter, and green water of the rivulet called *Shor-Rúd* (the Salt River), we can have no doubt of the direction of Marco Polo's route from Kermán so far." Nevertheless I do not agree with Khanikoff that the route lay N.E. in the direction of Ambar and Kain, for a reason which will appear under the next chapter. I imagine the route to have been nearly due north from Kermán, in the direction of Tabbas or of Tún. And even such a route would, according to Khanikoff's own map, pass the *Shor-Rúd*, though at a higher point.

I extract a few lines from that gentleman's narrative: "In proportion as we got deeper into the desert, the soil became more and more arid; at daybreak I could still discover a few withered plants of *Caligonum* and *Salsola*, and not far from the same spot I saw a lark and another bird of a whitish colour, the last living things that we beheld in this dismal solitude. . . . The desert had now completely assumed the character of a land accursed, as the natives call it. Not the smallest blade of grass, no indication of animal life vivified the prospect; no sound but such as came from our own caravan broke the dreary silence of the void." (*Mém. p. 176.*)

[Major P. Molesworth Sykes (*Geog. Jour. X. p. 578*) writes: "At Tun, I was on the northern edge of the great Dash-i-Lut (Naked Desert), which lay between us and Kerman, and which had not been traversed, in this particular portion, since the illustrious Marco Polo crossed it, in the opposite direction, when travelling from Kerman to 'Tonocain' *viâ* Cobinan." Major Sykes (*Persia, ch. iii.*) seems to prove that geographers have, without sufficient grounds, divided the great desert of Persia into two regions, that to the north being termed Dasht-i-Kavir, and that further south the Dasht-i-Lut—and that Lut is the one name for the whole desert, Dash-i-Lut being almost a redundancy, and that *Kavir* (the arabic *Kāfir*) is applied to every saline swamp. "This great desert stretches from a few miles out of Tehrán practically to the British frontier, a distance of about 700 miles."—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—I can have no doubt of the genuineness of this passage from Ramusio. Indeed some such passage is necessary; otherwise why distinguish between three days of desert and four days more of desert? The underground stream was probably a subterraneous canal (called *Kandt* or *Kárez*), such as is common in Persia; often conducted from a great distance. Here it may have been a relic of abandoned cultivation. Khanikoff, on the road between Kermán and Yezd, not far west of that which I suppose Marco to be travelling, says: "At the fifteen inhabited spots marked upon the map, they have water which has been brought from a great distance, and at considerable cost, by means of subterranean galleries, to which you descend by large and deep wells. Although the water flows at some depth, its course is tracked upon the surface by a line of more abundant vegetation." (*Ib. p. 200.*) Elphinstone says he has heard of such subterranean conduits 36 miles in length. (I. 398.) Polybius speaks of them: "There is no sign of water on the surface; but there are many underground channels, and these supply tanks in the desert, that are known only to the initiated. . . . At the time when the Persians got the upper hand in Asia, they used to concede to such persons as brought spring-water to places previously destitute of irrigation, the usufruct for five generations. And Taurus being rife with springs, they incurred all the expense and trouble that was needed to form these underground channels to great distances, insomuch that in these days even the people who make use of the water don't know where the channels begin, or whence the water comes." (X. 28.)

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF COBINAN AND THE THINGS THAT ARE
MADE THERE.

COBINAN is a large town.¹ The people worship Mahommet. There is much Iron and Steel and *Ondanique*, and they make steel mirrors of great size and beauty. They also prepare both *Tutia* (a thing very good for the eyes) and *Spodium*; and I will tell you the process.

They have a vein of a certain earth which has the required quality, and this they put into a great flaming furnace, whilst over the furnace there is an iron grating. The smoke and moisture, expelled from the earth of which I speak, adhere to the iron grating, and thus form *Tutia*, whilst the slag that is left after burning is the *Spodium*.²

NOTE 1.—KUH-BANÁN is mentioned by Moḡaddasi (A.D. 985) as one of the cities of Bardesfr, the most northerly of the five circles into which he divides Kermán. (See *Sprenger, Post-und Reise-routen des Orients*, p. 77.) It is the subject of an article in the Geog. Dictionary of Yáḡút, though it has been there mistranscribed into *Kubiyán* and *Kukiyán*. (See Leipzig ed. 1869, iv. p. 316, and *Barbier de Meynard, Dict. de la Perse*, p. 498.) And it is also indicated by Mr. Abbott (*J. R. G. S.* XXV. 25) as the name of a district of Kermán, lying some distance to the east of his route when somewhat less than half-way between Yezd and Kermán. It would thus, I apprehend, be on or near the route between Kermán and Tabbas; one which I believe has been traced by no modern traveller. We may be certain that there is now no place at Kuh-Banán deserving the title of *une cité grant*, nor is it easy to believe that there was in Polo's time; he applies such terms too profusely. The meaning of the name is perhaps "Hill of the Terebinths, or Wild Pistachioes," "a tree which grows abundantly in the recesses of bleak, stony, and desert mountains, e.g. about Shamákhí, about Shiraz, and in the deserts of Luristan and Lar." (*Kämpfer*, 409, 413.)

[“It is strange that Marco Polo speaks of Kúbenán only on his return journey from Kermán; on the down journey he must have been told that Kúbenán was in close proximity; it is even probable that he passed there, as Persian travellers of those times, when going from Kermán to Yazd, and *vice versa*, always called at Kúbenán.” (*Houtum-Schindler, l.c.* p. 490.) In all histories this name is written Kúbenán, not Kúhbenán; the pronunciation to-day is Kóbenán and Kobenán.—H. C.]

I had thought my identification of *Cobinan* original, but a communication from Mr. Abbott, and the opportunity which this procured me of seeing his MS. Report already referred to, showed that he had anticipated me many years ago. The following is an extract: “*Districts of Kerman* * * * *Kooh Benan*. This is a hilly district abounding in fruits, such as grapes, peaches, pomegranates, *sinjid* (sweet-willow), walnuts, melons. A great deal of madder and some asafœtida is produced there. *This is no doubt the country alluded to by Marco Polo, under the name of Cobinam*, as producing iron, brass, and tutty, and which is still said to produce iron, copper, and tootea.” There appear to be lead mines also in the district, as well as asbestos and sulphur. Mr. Abbott adds the names of nine villages, which he was not able to verify by com-

parison. These are Púz, Tarz, Gújard, Aspaj, Kuh-i-Gabr, Dahnah, Búghín, Bassab, Radk. The position of Kuh Banán is stated to lie between Bahabád (a place also mentioned by Yáqút as producing *Tutia*) and Rávl, but this does not help us, and for approximate position we can only fall back on the note in Mr. Abbott's field-book, as published in the *J. R. G. S.*, viz. that the *District* lay in the mountains E.S.E. from a caravanserai 10 miles S.E. of Gudran. To get the seven marches of Polo's Itinerary we must carry the *Town* of Kuh Banán as far north as this indication can possibly admit, for Abbott made only five and a half marches from the spot where this observation was made to Kermán. Perhaps Polo's route deviated for the sake of the fresh water. That a district, such as Mr. Abbott's Report speaks of, should lie unnoticed, in a tract which our maps represent as part of the Great Desert, shows again how very defective our geography of Persia still is.

[“During the next stage to Darband, we passed ruins that I believe to be those of Marco Polo's ‘Cobinan’ as the modern Kúhbenán does not at all fit in with the great traveller's description, and it is just as well to remember that in the East the caravan routes seldom change.” (Captain P. M. Sykes, *Geog. Jour.* X. p. 580.—See *Persia*, ch. xxiii.)

Kuh Banán has been visited by Mr. E. Stack, of the Indian Civil Service. (*Six Months in Persia*, London, 1882, I. 230.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Tutty* (*i.e.* *Tutia*) is in modern English an impure oxide of zinc, collected from the flues where brass is made; and this appears to be precisely what Polo describes, unless it be that in his account the production of *tutia* from an ore of zinc is represented as the object and not an accident of the process. What he says reads almost like a condensed translation of Galen's account of *Pompholyx* and *Spodos*: “*Pompholyx* is produced in copper-smelting as *Cadmia* is; and it is also produced from *Cadmia* (carbonate of zinc) when put in the furnace, as is done (for instance) in Cyprus. The master of the works there, having no copper ready for smelting, ordered some *pompholyx* to be prepared from *cadmia* in my presence. Small pieces of *cadmia* were thrown into the fire in front of the copper-blast. The furnace top was covered, with no vent at the crown, and intercepted the soot of the roasted *cadmia*. This, when collected, constitutes *Pompholyx*, whilst that which falls on the hearth is called *Spodos*, a great deal of which is got in copper-smelting.” *Pompholyx*, he adds, is an ingredient in salves for eye discharges and pustules. (*Galen, De Simpl. Medic.* p. ix. in Latin ed., Venice, 1576.) Matthioli, after quoting this, says that *Pompholyx* was commonly known in the laboratories by the Arabic name of *Tutia*. I see that pure oxide of zinc is stated to form in modern practice a valuable eye-ointment.

Teixeira speaks of *tutia* as found only in Kermán, in a range of mountains twelve parasangs from the capital. The ore got here was kneaded with water, and set to bake in crucibles in a potter's kiln. When well baked, the crucibles were lifted and emptied, and the *tutia* carried in boxes to Hormuz for sale. This corresponds with a modern account in Milburne, which says that the *tutia* imported to India from the Gulf is made from an argillaceous ore of zinc, which is moulded into tubular cakes, and baked to a moderate hardness. The accurate Garcia da Horta is wrong for once in saying that the *tutia* of Kermán is no mineral, but the ash of a certain tree called *Goan*.

(*Matth. on Dioscorides*, Ven. 1565, pp. 1338-40; *Teixeira, Relacion de Persia*, p. 121; *Milburne's Or. Commerce*, I. 139; *Garcia*, f. 21 v.; *Eng. Cyc.*, art. *Zinc*.)

[General A. Houtum-Schindler (*Jour. R. As. Soc. N.S.* XIII. October, 1881, p. 497) says: “The name *Tútá* for collyrium is now not used in Kermán. *Tútá*, when the name stands alone, is sulphate of copper, which in other parts of Persia is known as *Kát-i-Kebúd*; *Tútá-i-sabz* (green *Tútá*) is sulphate of iron, also called *Záj-i-síyah*. A piece of *Tútá-i-zard* (yellow *Tútá*) shown to me was alum, generally called *Záj-i-safíd*; and a piece of *Tútá-i-safíd* (white *Tútá*) seemed to be an argillaceous zinc ore. Either of these may have been the earth mentioned by Marco Polo as being put into the furnace. The lampblack used as collyrium is always called *Surmah*. This at Kermán itself is the soot produced by the flame of wicks, steeped in castor oil or goat's fat, upon earthenware saucers. In the high mountainous districts of the province,

Kúbenán, Párfz, and others, Surmah is the soot of the Gavan plant (Garcia's goan). This plant, a species of *Astragalus*, is on those mountains very fat and succulent ; from it also exudes the *Tragacanth* gum. The soot is used dry as an eye-powder, or, mixed with tallow, as an eye-salve. It is occasionally collected on iron gratings.

"Túttá is the Arabised word *dúdhá*, Persian for smokes.

"The *Shems-ul-loghát* calls Túttá a medicine for eyes, and a stone used for the fabrication of Surmah. The *Tohfeh* says Túttá is of three kinds—yellow and blue mineral Túttá, Túttá-i-qalam (collyrium) made from roots, and Túttá resulting from the process of smelting copper ore. 'The best Túttá-i-qalam comes from Kermán.' It adds, 'Some authors say Surmah is sulphuret of antimony, others say it is a composition of iron'; I should say any *black* composition used for the eyes is Surmah, be it lampblack, antimony, iron, or a mixture of all.

"Teixeira's Túttá was an impure oxide of zinc, perhaps the above-mentioned Túttá-i-safid, baked into cakes ; it was probably the East India Company's *Lapis Túttá*, also called Tutty. The Company's *Tutenague* and *Tutenage*, occasionally confounded with Tutty, was the so-called 'Chinese Copper,' an alloy of copper, zinc, and iron, brought from China."

Major Sykes (ch. xxiii.) writes : "I translated Marco's description of *tutia* (which is also the modern Persian name), to a khán of Kúbenán, and he assured me that the process was the same to-day ; spodium he knew nothing about, but the sulphate of zinc is found in the hills to the east of Kúbenán."

Heyd (*Com.* II. p. 675) says in a note : "Il résulte de l'ensemble de ce passage que les matières désignées par Marco Polo sous le nom de 'espodie' (spodium) étaient des scories métalliques ; en général, le mot spodium désigne les résidus de la combustion des matières végétales ou des os (de Pivoire)."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXII.

OF A CERTAIN DESERT THAT CONTINUES FOR EIGHT DAYS' JOURNEY.

WHEN you depart from this City of Cobinan, you find yourself again in a Desert of surpassing aridity, which lasts for some eight days ; here are neither fruits nor trees to be seen, and what water there is is bitter and bad, so that you have to carry both food and water. The cattle must needs drink the bad water, will they nill they, because of their great thirst. At the end of those eight days you arrive at a Province which is called *TONOCAIN*. It has a good many towns and villages, and forms the extremity of Persia towards the North.¹ It also contains an immense plain on which is found the *ARBRE SOL*, which we Christians call the *Arbre Sec* ; and I will tell you what it is like. It is a tall and thick tree, having the bark on one side green and the other white ; and it

produces a rough husk like that of a chestnut, but without anything in it. The wood is yellow like box, and very strong, and there are no other trees near it nor within a hundred miles of it, except on one side, where you find trees within about ten miles' distance. And there, the people of the country tell you, was fought the battle between Alexander and King Darius.²

The towns and villages have great abundance of everything good, for the climate is extremely temperate, being neither very hot nor very cold. The natives all worship Mahommet, and are a very fine-looking people, especially the women, who are surpassingly beautiful.

NOTE 1.—All that region has been described as “a country divided into deserts that are salt, and deserts that are not salt.” (*Vigne*, I. 16.) *Tonocain*, as we have seen (ch. xv. note 1), is the Eastern Kuhistan of Persia, but extended by Polo, it would seem to include the whole of Persian Khorasan. No city in particular is indicated as visited by the traveller, but the view I take of the position of the *Arbre Sec*, as well as his route through Kuh-Banán, would lead me to suppose that he reached the Province of TUN-O-KAIN about Tabbas.

[“Marco Polo has been said to have traversed a portion of (the Dash-i-Kavir, great Salt Desert) on his supposed route from Tabbas to Damghan, about 1272; although it is more probable that he marched further to the east, and crossed the northern portion of the Dash-i-Lut, Great Sand Desert, separating Khorasan in the south-east from Kermán, and occupying a sorrowful parallelogram between the towns of Neh and Tabbas on the north, and Kermán and Yezd on the south.” (Curzon, *Persia*, II. pp. 248 and 251.) Lord Curzon adds in a note (p. 248): “The Tunogan of the text which was originally mistaken for Damghan, is correctly explained by Yule as Tun-o- (*i.e.* and) Káin.” Major Sykes writes (ch. xxiii.): “The section of the Lut has not hitherto been rediscovered, but I know that it is desert throughout, and it is practically certain that Marco ended these unpleasant experiences at Tabas, 150 miles from Kubenán. To-day the district is known as Tun-o-Tabas, Káin being independent of it.”—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—This is another subject on which a long and somewhat discursive note is inevitable.

One of the Bulletins of the Soc. de Géographie (sér. III. tom. iii. p. 187) contains a perfectly inconclusive endeavour, by M. Roux de Rochelle, to identify the *Arbre Sec* or *Arbre Sol* with a manna-bearing oak alluded to by Q. Curtius as growing in Hyrcania. There can be no doubt that the tree described is, as Marsden points out, a *Chínár* or Oriental Plane. Mr. Ernst Meyer, in his learned *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg, 1854-57, IV. 123), objects that Polo's description of the *wood* does not answer to that tree. But, with due allowance, compare with his whole account that which Olearius gives of the Chinar, and say if the same tree be not meant. “The trees are as tall as the pine, and have very large leaves, closely resembling those of the vine. The fruit looks like a chestnut, but has no kernel, so it is not eatable. The wood is of a very brown colour, and full of veins; the Persians employ it for doors and window-shutters, and when these are rubbed with oil they are incomparably handsomer than our walnut-wood joinery.” (I. 526.) The Chinar-wood is used in Kashmir for gunstocks.

The whole tenor of the passage seems to imply that some eminent *individual*

Chinar is meant. The appellations given to it vary in the different texts. In the G. T. it is styled in this passage, "The *Arbre Seule* which the Christians call the *Arbre Sec*," whilst in ch. cci. of the same (*infra*, Bk. IV. ch. v.) it is called "*L'Arbre Sol*, which in the Book of Alexander is called *L'Arbre Seche*." Pauthier has here "*L'Arbre Solque*, que nous appelons *L'Arbre Sec*," and in the later passage "*L'Arbre Seul*, que le Livre Alexandre apelle *Arbre Sec*;" whilst Ramusio has here "*L'Albero del Sole* che si chiama per i Cristiani *L'Albor Secco*," and does not contain the later passage. So also I think all the old Latin and French printed texts, which are more or less based on Pipino's version, have "The *Tree of the Sun*, which the Latins call the *Dry Tree*."

[G. Capus says (*A travers le roy. de Tamerlan*, p. 296) that he found at Khodjakent, the remains of an enormous plane-tree or *Chinar*, which measured no less than 48 metres (52 yards) in circumference at the base, and 9 metres diameter inside the rotten trunk; a dozen tourists from Tashkent one day feasted inside, and were all at ease.—H. C.]

Pauthier, building as usual on the reading of his own text (*Solque*), endeavours to show that this odd word represents *Thoulk*, the Arabic name of a tree to which Forskal gave the title of *Ficus Vasta*, and this *Ficus Vasta* he will have to be the same as the *Chinar*. *Ficus Vasta* would be a strange name surely to give to a Plane-tree, but Forskal may be acquitted of such an eccentricity. The *Tholak* (for that seems to be the proper vocalisation) is a tree of Arabia Felix, very different from the *Chinar*, for it is the well-known Indian Banyan, or a closely-allied species, as may be seen in Forskal's description. The latter indeed says that the Arab botanists called it *Delb*, and that (or *Dulb*) is really a synonym for the *Chinar*. But De Sacy has already commented upon this supposed application of the name *Delb* to the *Tholak* as erroneous. (See *Flora Aegyptiaco-Arabica*, pp. cxxiv. and 179; *Abdallatif, Rel. de l'Egypte*, p. 80; *J. R. G. S. VIII. 275*; *Ritter, VI. 662, 679.*)

The fact is that the *Solque* of M. Pauthier's text is a mere copyist's error in the reduplication of the pronoun *que*. In his chief MS. which he cites as A (No. 10,260 of *Bibl. Nationale*, now *Fr. 5631*) we can even see how this might easily happen, for one line ends with *Solque* and the next begins with *que*. The true reading is, I doubt not, that which this MS. points to, and which the G. Text gives us in the second passage quoted above, *viz. Arbre SOL*, occurring in Ramusio as *Albero del SOLE*. To make this easier of acceptance I must premise two remarks: first, that *Sol* is "the Sun" in both Venetian and Provençal; and, secondly, that in the French of that age the prepositional sign is not *necessary* to the genitive. Thus, in Pauthier's own text we find in one of the passages quoted above, "*Le Livre Alexandre, i.e. Liber Alexandri*;" elsewhere, "*Cazan le fils Argon*," "*à la mère sa femme*," "*Le corps Monseigneur Saint Thomas si est en ceste Province*;" in Joinville, "*le commandant Mahomet*," "*ceux de la Hanlequa estoient logiez entour les héberges le soudanc, et establis pour le cors le soudanc garder*;" in Baudouin de Sebourc, "*De l'amour Bauduin esprise et enflambée*."

Moreover it is the *TREE OF THE SUN* that is prominent in the legendary History of Alexander, a fact sufficient in itself to rule the reading. A character in an old English play says:—

"*Peregrine. Drake was a didapper to Mandevil:
Candish and Hawkins, Frobisher, all our Voyagers
Went short of Mandevil. But had he reached
To this place—here—yes, here—this wilderness,
And seen the Trees of the Sun and Moon, that speak
And told King Alexander of his death;
He then
Had left a passage ope to Travellers
That now is kept and guarded by Wild Beasts.*"

(*Broom's Antipodes*, in *Lamb's Specimens*.)

The same trees are alluded to in an ancient Low German poem in honour of St. Anno of Cologne. Speaking of the Four Beasts of Daniel's Vision :—

“The third beast was a Libbard ;
Four Eagle's Wings he had ;
This signified the Grecian Alexander,
Who with four Hosts went forth to conquer lands
Even to the World's End,
Known by its Golden Pillars.
In India he the Wilderness broke through
With Trees twain he there did speak,” etc.

(In *Schilleri Thesaurus Antiq. Teuton.* tom. i.*)

These oracular Trees of the Sun and Moon, somewhere on the confines of India, appear in all the fabulous histories of Alexander, from the Pseudo-Callisthenes downwards. Thus Alexander is made to tell the story in a letter to Aristotle: “Then came some of the towns-people and said, ‘We have to show thee something passing strange, O King, and worth thy visiting; for we can show thee trees that talk with human speech.’ So they led me to a certain park, in the midst of which were the Sun and Moon, and round about them a guard of priests of the Sun and Moon. And there stood the two trees of which they had spoken, like unto cypress trees; and round about them were trees like the myrobolans of Egypt, and with similar fruit. And I addressed the two trees that were in the midst of the park, the one which was male in the Masculine gender, and the one that was female in the Feminine gender. And the name of the Male Tree was the Sun, and of the female Tree the Moon, names which were in that language *Muthu* and *Emaüsae*.† And the stems were clothed with the skins of animals; the male tree with the skins of he-beasts, and the female tree with the skins of she-beasts. . . . And at the setting of the Sun, a voice, speaking in the Indian tongue, came forth from the (Sun) Tree; and I ordered the Indians who were with me to interpret it. But they were afraid and would not,” etc. (*Pseudo-Callisth.* ed. Müller, III. 17.)

The story as related by Firdusi keeps very near to the Greek as just quoted, but does not use the term “Tree of the Sun.” The chapter of the Sháh Námeb containing it is entitled *Didan Sikandar dirakht-i-goyárd*, “Alexander's interview with the Speaking Tree.” (*Livre des Rois*, V. 229.) In the *Chanson d'Alexandre* of Lambert le Court and Alex. de Bernay, these trees are introduced as follows :—

“Signor,’ fait Alixandre, ‘je vus voel demander,
Se des merveilles d’Inde me saves rien conter.’
Cil li ont respondu : ‘Se tu vius escouter
Ja te dirons merveilles, s’es poras esprover.
La sus en ces desers pues ii Arbres trover
Qui c pies ont de haut, et de grossor sunt per.
Li Solaus et La Lunc les ont fait si serer
Que sevent tous langages et entendre et parler.’”

(Ed. 1861 (Dinan), p. 357.)

Maundeville informs us precisely where these trees are: “A 15 journeys in lengthe, gonyge be the Deserts of the tother side of the Ryvere Beumare,” if one could only

* “Daz dritte Dier was ein Lebarte
Vier arin Vederich her havite ;
Der beceichnote den Criechiskin Alexanderin,
Der mit vier Herin vür aftir Landin,
Unz her die Werilt einde,
Bi guldin Siulin bikante.
In India her die Wusti durchbrach,
Mit zwain Boumin her sich da gesprach,” etc.

† It is odd how near the word *Emaüsae* comes to the E. African *Mwezi*; and perhaps more odd that “the elders of U-nya-Mwezi (‘the Land of the Moon’) declare that their patriarchal ancestor became after death the first Tree, and afforded shade to his children and descendants. According to the Arabs the people still perform pilgrimage to a holy tree, and believe that the penalty of sacrilege in cutting off a twig would be visited by sudden and mysterious death.” (*Burton in F. R. G. S.* XXIX. 167-168.)

tell where that is! * A mediæval chronicler also tells us that Ogerus the Dane (*temp. Caroli Magni*) conquered all the parts beyond sea from Hierusalem to the Trees of the Sun. In the old Italian romance also of *Guerino detto il Meschino*, still a chap-book in S. Italy, the Hero (ch. lxxiii.) visits the Trees of the Sun and Moon. But this is mere imitation of the Alexandrian story, and has nothing of interest. (*Maundeveile*, pp. 297-298; *Fasciculus Temporum* in *Germ. Script. Pistorii Nidani*, II.)

It will be observed that the letter ascribed to Alexander describes the two oracular trees as resembling two cypress-trees. As such the Trees of the Sun and Moon are represented on several extant ancient medals, e.g. on two struck at Perga in Pamphylia in the time of Aurelian. And Eastern story tells us of two vast cypress-trees, sacred among the Magians, which grew in Khorasan, one at Kashmar near Turshiz, and the other at Farnad near Tuz, and which were said to have risen from shoots that Zoroaster brought from Paradise. The former of these was sacrilegiously cut down by the order of the Khalif Motawakkil, in the 9th century. The trunk was despatched to Baghdad on rollers at a vast expense, whilst the branches alone formed a load for 1300 camels. The night that the convoy reached within one stage of the palace, the Khalif was cut in pieces by his own guards. This tree was said to be 1450 years old, and to measure $33\frac{3}{4}$ cubits in girth. The locality of this "Arbor Sol" we see was in Khorasan, and possibly its fame may have been transferred to a representative of another species. The plane, as well as the cypress, was one of the distinctive trees of the Magian Paradise.

In the Peutingerian Tables we find in the N.E. of Asia the rubric "*Hic Alexander Responsum accepit*," which looks very like an allusion to the tale of the Oracular Trees. If so, it is remarkable as a suggestion of the antiquity of the Alexandrian Legends, though the rubric may of course be an interpolation. The Trees of the Sun and Moon appear as located in India Ultima to the east of Persia, in a map which is found in MSS. (12th century) of the *Floridus* of Lambertus; and they are indicated more or less precisely in several maps of the succeeding centuries. (*Ouseley's Travels*, I. 387; *Dabistan*, I. 307-308; *Santarem, H. de la Cosmog.* II. 189; III. 506-513, etc.)

Nothing could show better how this legend had possessed men in the Middle Ages than the fact that Vincent of Beauvais discerns an allusion to these Trees of the Sun and Moon in the blessing of Moses on Joseph (as it runs in the Vulgate), "*de pomis fructuum Solis ac Lunæ.*" (Deut. xxxiii. 14.)

Marco has mixt up this legend of the Alexandrian Romance, on the authority, as we shall see reason to believe, of some of the recompilers of that Romance, with a famous subject of *Christian Legend* in that age, the ARBRE SEC or Dry Tree, one form of which is related by Maundeveile and by Johan Schiltberger. "A lyttille fro Ebron," says the former, "is the Mount of Mambre, of the whyche the Valeye taketh his name. And there is a Tree of Oke that the Saracens clepen *Dirpe*, that is of Abraham's Tyme, the which men clepen THE DRYE TREE." [Schiltberger adds that the heathen call it *Kurru Thereck*, i.e. (Turkish) *Ḳürü Dirakht* = Dry Tree.] "And theye seye that it hathe ben there sithe the beginnyng of the World; and was sumtyme grene and bare Leves, unto the Tyme that Oure Lord dyede on the Cros; and thanne it dryede; and so dyden alle the Trees that weren thanne in the World. And summe seyn be hire Prophecyes that a Lord, a Prynce of the West syde of the World, shalle wynnen the Lond of Promysсион, i.e. the Holy Lond, withe Helpe of Cristene Men, and he schalle do synge a Masse under that Drye Tree, and than the Tree shall waxen grene and bere both Fruyt and Leves. And thorge that Myracle manye Sarazines and Jewes schulle ben turned to Cristene Feithe. And, therefore, they dou gret Worschepe thereto, and kepen it fulle besyly. And alle be it so that it be drye, nathelless yit he berethe great vertue," etc.

The tradition seems to have altered with circumstances, for a traveller of nearly two centuries later (Friar Anselmo, 1509) describes the oak of Abraham at Hebron

* "The River *Buemar*, in the furthest forests of India," appears to come up in one of the versions of Alexander's Letter to Aristotle, though I do not find it in Müller's edition. (See Zacher's *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 160.) 'Tis perhaps Ab-i-Amú!

as a tree of dense and verdant foliage: "The Saracens make their devotions at it, and hold it in great veneration, for it has remained thus green from the days of Abraham until now; and they tie scraps of cloth on its branches inscribed with some of their writing, and believe that if any one were to cut a piece off that tree he would die within the year." Indeed even before Maundevile's time Friar Burchard (1283) had noticed that though the famous old tree was dry, another had sprung from its roots. And it still has a representative.

As long ago as the time of Constantine a fair was held under the Terebinth of Mamre, which was the object of many superstitious rites and excesses. The Emperor ordered these to be put a stop to, and a church to be erected at the spot. In the time of Arculph (end of 7th century) the dry trunk still existed under the roof of this church; just as the immortal Banyan-tree of Prág exists to this day in a subterranean temple in the Fort of Allahabad.

It is evident that the story of the Dry Tree had got a great vogue in the 13th century. In the *Jus du Pelerin*, a French drama of Polo's age, the Pilgrim says:—

"S'ai puis en maint bon lieu et à maint saint esté,
S'ai esté au *Sec-Arbre* et dusc'à Duresté."

And in another play of slightly earlier date (*Le Jus de St. Nicolas*), the King of Africa, invaded by the Christians, summons all his allies and feudatories, among whom appear the Admirals of Coine (*Iconium*) and Orkenie (*Hyrcania*), and the *Amiral d'outré l'Arbre-Sec* (as it were of "the Back of Beyond") in whose country the only current coin is millstones! Friar Odoric tells us that he heard at Tabriz that the *Arbor Secco* existed in a mosque of that city; and Clavijo relates a confused story about it in the same locality. Of the *Dürre Baum* at Tauris there is also a somewhat pointless legend in a Cologne MS. of the 14th century, professing to give an account of the East. There are also some curious verses concerning a mystical *Dürre Bom* quoted by Fabricius from an old Low German Poem; and we may just allude to that other mystic *Arbor Secco* of Dante—

— "una pianta dispogliata
Di fiori e d'altra fronda in ciascun ramo,"

though the dark symbolism in the latter case seems to have a different bearing.

(*Maundevile*, p. 68; *Schiltberger*, p. 113; Anselm. in *Canisii Thesaurus*, IV. 781; *Pereg. Quat.* p. 81; *Niceph. Callist.* VIII. 30; *Théâtre Français au Moyen Age*, pp. 97, 173; *Cathay*, p. 48; *Clavijo*, p. 90; *Orient und Occident*, Göttingen, 1867, vol. i.; *Fabricii Vet. Test. Pseud.*, etc., I. 1133; *Dante, Purgat.* xxxii. 35.)

But why does Polo bring this *Arbre Sec* into connection with the Sun Tree of the Alexandrian Legend? I cannot answer this to my own entire satisfaction, but I can show that such a connection had been imagined in his time.

Paulin Paris, in a notice of MS. No. 6985 (*Fonds Ancien*) of the National Library, containing a version of the *Chansons de Geste d'Alexandre*, based upon the work of L. Le Court and Alex. de Bernay, but with additions of later date, notices amongst these latter the visit of Alexander to the Valley Perilous, where he sees a variety of wonders, among others the *Arbre des Pucelles*. Another tree at a great distance from the last is called the ARBRE SEC, and reveals to Alexander the secret of the fate which attends him in Babylon. (*Les MSS. Français de la Bibl. du Roi*, III. 105.)* Again the English version of *King Alisaundre*, published in Weber's Collection, shows clearly enough that in its French original the term *Arbre Sec* was applied to the Oracular Trees, though the word has been miswritten, and misunderstood by

* It is right to notice that there may be some error in the reference of Paulin Paris; at least I could not trace the *Arbre Sec* in the MS. which he cites, nor in the celebrated Bodleian Alexander, which appears to contain the same version of the story. [The fact is that Paulin Paris refers to the *Arbre*, but without the word *sec*, at the top of the first column of fol. 79 recto of the MS. No. Fr. 368 (late 6985).—H. C.]

Weber. The King, as in the Greek and French passages already quoted, meeting two old churls, asks if they know of any marvel in those parts :—

“ ‘Ye, par ma fay,’ quoth heo,
 ‘ A great merveille we wol telle the;
 That is hennes in even way
 The mountas of ten daies journey,
 Thou shalt find trowes * two :
 Seyntes and holy they both bo ;
 Higher than in othir countray all.
 ARBESET men heom callith.’

* * * * *
 ‘ Sire Kyng,’ quod on, ‘ by myn eyghe
 Either Trough is an hundred feet hygh,
 They stonidith up into the skye ;
 That on to the *Sonne*, sikirlye ;
 That othir, we tellith the nowe,
 Is sakret in the *Mone* vertue.’ ”

(Weber, I. 277.)

Weber’s glossary gives “ *Arbeset* = Strawberry Tree, *arbous*, *arbousier*, *arbutus* ” ; but that is nonsense.

Further, in the French Prose Romance of Alexander, which is contained in the fine volume in the British Museum known as the Shrewsbury Book (Reg. XV. e. 6), though we do not find the Arbre Sec so named, we find it described and pictorially represented. The Romance (fol. xiii. v.) describes Alexander and his chief companions as ascending a certain mountain by 2500 steps which were attached to a golden chain. At the top they find the golden Temple of the Sun and an old man asleep within. It goes on :—

“ Quant le viellart les vit si leur demanda s’ils vouloient veoir les Arbres sacrez de la Lune et du Soleil que nous annoncent les choses qui sont à avenir. Quant Alexandre ouy ce si fut rempli de mult grant ioye. Si lui respondirent, ‘ Ouye sur, nous les voulons veoir.’ Et cil lui dist, ‘ Se tu es nez de prince malle et de femelle il te convient entrer en celui lieu.’ Et Alexandre lui respondi, ‘ Nous somes nez de compagne malle et de femelle.’ Dont se leve le viellart du lit ou il gesoit, et leur dist, ‘ Hostez vos vestemens et vos chaucés.’ Et Tholomeus et Antigonus et Perdiacas le suivrent. Lors comencèrent à aler parmy la forest qui estoit en close en merueilleux labour. Illec trouvèrent les arbres semblables à loriers et oliviers. Et estoient de cent pies de haults, et decouroit d’eulz incens ypobaume † à grant quantité. Après entrèrent plus avant en la forest, et trouvèrent *une arbre durement hault qui n’avoit ne fueille ne fruit*. Si seoit sur cet arbre une grant oysel qui avoit en son chief une creste qui estoit semblable au paon, et les plumes du col resplendissants come fin or. Et avoit la couleur de rose. Dont lui dist le viellart, ‘ Cet oysel dont vous vous merveillez est appelés Fenis, lequel n’a nul pareil en tout le monde.’ Dont passèrent outre, et allèrent aux Arbres du Soleil et de la Lune. Et quant ils y furent venus, si leur dist le viellart, ‘ Regardez en haut, et pensez en votre coeur ce que vous vouldrez demander, et ne le dites de la bouche.’ Alisandre luy demanda en quel langage donnent les Arbres response aux gens. Et il lui respondi, ‘ L’Arbre du Soleil commence à parler Indien.’ Dont baisa Alexandre les arbres, et comença en son ceur à penser s’il conquisteroit tout le monde et retourneroit en Macedonie atout son ost. Dont lui respondi l’Arbre du Soleil, ‘ Alexandre tu seras Roy de tout le monde, mais Macedonie tu ne verras jamais,’ ” etc.

The appearance of the Arbre Sec in Maps of the 15th century, such as those of Andrea Bianco (1436) and Fra Mauro (1459), may be ascribed to the influence of

* Trees.

† Opopalsamum.

Polo's own work ; but a more genuine evidence of the prevalence of the legend is found in the celebrated Hereford Map constructed in the 13th century by Richard de Haldingham. This, in the vicinity of India and the Terrestrial Paradise, exhibits a Tree with the rubric "*Albor Balsami est Arbor Sicca.*"

The legends of the Dry Tree were probably spun out of the words of the Vulgate in Ezekiel xvii. 24 : "*Humiliavi lignum sublime et exaltavi lignum humile ; et siccavi lignum viride et frondescere feci lignum aridum.*" Whether the *Rue de l'Arbre Sec* in Paris derives its name from the legend I know not. [The name of the street is taken from an old sign-board ; some say it is derived from the gibbet placed in the vicinity, but this is more than doubtful.—H. C.]

The actual tree to which Polo refers in the text was probably one of those so frequent in Persia, to which age, position, or accident has attached a character of sanctity, and which are styled *Dirakht-i-Fazl*, Trees Excellence or Grace, and



Comment les arbres du soleil et de la lune prophétisent la mort aliwandze.

often receive titles appropriate to Holy Persons. Vows are made before them, and pieces torn from the clothes of the votaries are hung upon the branches or nailed to the trunks. To a tree of such a character, imposing in decay, Lucan compares Pompey :

“Stat magni nominis umbra.

Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro,
Exuvias veteres populi sacrataque gestans
Dona ducum * * * * *

—Quamvis primo nutet casura sub Euro,
Tot circum silvæ firmo se robore tollant,
Sola tamen colitur.”

(*Pharsalia*, I. 135.)

The Tree of Mamre was evidently precisely one of this class; and those who have crossed the Suez Desert before railway days will remember such a *Dirakht-i-Fazl*, an aged mimosa, a veritable *Arbre Seul* (could we accept that reading), that stood just half-way across the Desert, streaming with the *exuviae veteres* of Mecca Pilgrims. The majority of such holy trees in Persia appear to be Plane-trees. Admiration for the beauty of this tree seems to have occasionally risen into superstitious veneration from a very old date. Herodotus relates that the Carians, after their defeat by the Persians on the Marsyas, rallied in the sacred grove of Plane-trees at Labranda. And the same historian tells how, some years later, Xerxes on his march to Greece decorated a beautiful Chinar with golden ornaments. Mr. Hamilton, in the same region, came on the remains of a giant of the species, which he thought might possibly be the very same. Pliny rises to enthusiasm in speaking of some noble Plane-trees in Lycia and elsewhere. Chardin describes one grand and sacred specimen, called King Hosain's Chinar, and said to be more than 1000 years old, in a suburb of Ispahan, and another hung with amulets, rags, and tapers in a garden at Shiraz.* One sacred tree mentioned by the Persian geographer Hamd Allah as distinguishing the grave of a holy man at Bostam in Khorasan (the species is not named, at least by Ouseley, from whom I borrow this) comes into striking relation with the passage in our text. The story went that it had been the staff of Mahomed; as such it had been transmitted through many generations, until it was finally deposited in the grave of Abu Abdallah Dásitáni, where it struck root, and put forth branches. And it is explicitly called *Dirakht-i-Khushk*, i.e. literally *L'ARBRE SEC*.

This last legend belongs to a large class. The staff of Adam, which was created in the twilight of the approaching Sabbath, was bestowed on him in Paradise and handed down successively to Enoch and the line of Patriarchs. After the death of Joseph it was set in Jethro's garden, and there grew untouched, till Moses came and got his rod from it. In another form of the legend it is Seth who gets a branch of the Tree of Life, and from this Moses afterwards obtains his rod of power. These Rabbinical stories seem in later times to have been developed into the Christian legends of the wood destined to form the Cross, such as they are told in the Golden Legend or by Godfrey of Viterbo, and elaborated in Calderon's *Sibila del Oriente*. Indeed, as a valued friend who has consulted the latter for me suggests, probably all the *Arbre Sec* Legends of Christendom bore mystic reference to the Cross. In Calderon's play the Holy Rood, seen in vision, is described as a Tree:—

———“cuyas hojas,
Secas mustias y marchitas,
Desnudo el tronco dejaban
Que, entre mil copas floridas
De los árboles, el solo
Sin pompa y sin biazaria
Era cadáver del prado.”

There are several Dry-Tree stories among the wonders of Buddhism; one is that of a sacred tree visited by the Chinese pilgrims to India, which had grown from the twig which Sakya, in Hindu fashion, had used as a tooth-brush; and I think there is a like story in our own country of the Glastonbury Thorn having grown from the staff of Joseph of Arimathea.

[“St Francis' Church is a large pile, neere which, yet a little without the City, growes a tree which they report in their legend grew from the Saint's Staff, which on

* A recent traveller in China gives a perfectly similar description of sacred trees in Shansi. Many bore inscriptions in large letters. “If you pray, you will certainly be heard.”—*Rev. A. Williamson, Journeys in N. China*, I. 163, where there is a cut of such a tree near Taiyuanfu. (See this work, I. ch. xvi.) Mr. Williamson describes such a venerated tree, an ancient acacia, known as the Acacia of the T'ang, meaning that it existed under that Dynasty (7th to 10th century). It is renowned for its healing virtues, and every available spot on its surface was crowded with votive tablets and inscriptions. (*ib.* 303.)

going to sleepe he fixed in the ground, and at his waking found it had grown a large tree. They affirm that the wood of its decoction cures sundry diseases." (*Evelyn's Diary*, October, 1644.)—H. C.]

In the usual form of the mediæval legend, Adam, drawing near his end, sends Seth to the gate of Paradise, to seek the promised Oil of Mercy. The Angel allows Seth to put his head in at the gate. Doing so (as an old English version gives it)—

— “ he saw a fair Well,
Of whom all the waters on earth cometh, as the Book us doth tell ;
Over the Well stood a Tree, with bowës broad and lere
Ac it *ne bare leaf ne rind, but as it for-oldeð were* ;
A nadder it had beclipt about, all naked withouten skin,
That was the Tree and the Nadder that first made Adam do sin ! ”

The Adder or Serpent is coiled about the denuded stem ; the upper branches reach to heaven, and bear at the top a new-born wailing infant, swathed in linen, whilst (here we quote a French version)—

“ Les larmes qui de lui isoient
Contreval l'Arbre en avaloient ;
Adonc regarda l'enfant Seth
Tout contreval de L'ARBRE SECO ;
Les rachines qui le tenoient
Jusques en Enfer s'en aloient,
Les larmes qui de lui issirent
Jusques dedans Enfer cheïrent.”

The Angel gives Seth three kernels from the fruit of the Tree. Seth returns home and finds his father dead. He buries him in *the valley of Hebron*, and places the three grains under his tongue. A triple shoot springs up of Cedar, Cypress, and Pine, symbolising the three Persons of the Trinity. The three eventually unite into one stem, and this tree survives in various forms, and through various adventures in connection with the Scripture History, till it is found at the bottom of the Pool of Bethesda, to which it had imparted healing Virtue, and is taken thence to form the Cross on which Our Lord suffered.

The English version quoted above is from a MS. of the 14th century in the Bodleian, published by Dr. Morris in his collection of *Legends of the Holy Rood*. I have modernised the spelling of the lines quoted, without altering the words. The French citation is from a MS. in the Vienna Library, from which extracts are given by Sign. Adolfo Mussafia in his curious and learned tract (*Sulla Legenda del Legno della Croce*, Vienna, 1870), which gives a full account of the fundamental legend and its numerous variations. The examination of these two works, particularly Sign. Mussafia's, gives an astonishing impression of the copiousness with which such Christian Mythology, as it may fairly be called, was diffused and multiplied. There are in the paper referred to notices of between fifty and sixty different *works* (not MSS. or *copies* of works merely) containing this legend in various European languages.*

(*Santarem*, III. 380, II. 348 ; *Ouseley*, I. 359 *seqq.* and 391 ; *Herodotus*, VII. 31 ; *Pliny*, XII. 5 ; *Chardin*, VII. 410, VIII. 44 and 426 ; *Fabricius, Vet. Test. Pseud.* I. 80 *seqq.* ; *Cathay*, p. 365 ; *Beal's Fah-Hian*, 72 and 78 ; *Pèlerin's Boudhistes*, II. 292 ; *Della Valle*, I. 276-277.)

He who injured the holy tree of Bostam, we are told, perished the same day : a general belief in regard to those *Trees of Grace*, of which we have already seen instances in regard to the sacred trees of Zoroaster and the Oak of Hebron. We find the same belief in Eastern Africa, where certain trees, regarded by the natives with superstitious reverence, which they express by driving in votive nails and suspending rags, are known to the European residents by the vulgar name of *Devil Trees*.



Chinar, or Oriental Plane.

Burton relates a case of the verification of the superstition in the death of an English merchant who had cut down such a tree, and of four members of his household. It is the old story which Ovid tells; and the tree which Erisichthon felled was a *Dirakht-i-Fasl*:

“Vittae mediam, memoresque tabellae
Sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.”

(*Metamorph.* VIII. 744.)

Though the coincidence with our text of Hamd Allah's Dry Tree is very striking, I am not prepared to lay stress on it as an argument for the geographical determination of Marco's *Arbre Sec*. His use of the title more than once to characterise the whole frontier of Khorasan can hardly have been a mere whim of his own: and possibly some explanation of that circumstance will yet be elicited from the Persian historians or geographers of the Mongol era.

Meanwhile it is in the vicinity of Bostam or Damghan that I should incline to place this landmark. If no one *very* cogent reason points to this, a variety of minor ones do so; such as the direction of the traveller's journey from Kermán through Kuh Banán; the apparent vicinity of a great Ismailite fortress, as will be noticed in the next chapter; the connection twice indicated (see *Prologue*, ch. xviii. note 6, and Bk. IV. ch. v.) of the *Arbre Sec* with the headquarters of Ghazan Khan in watching the great passes, of which the principal ones debouche at Bostam, at which place also buildings erected by Ghazan still exist; and the statement that the decisive battle between Alexander and Darius was placed there by local tradition. For though no such battle took place in that region, we know that Darius was murdered near Hecatompnylos. Some place this city west of Bostam, near Damghan; others east of it, about Jah Jerm; Ferrier has strongly argued for the vicinity of Bostam itself. Firdusi indeed places the final battle on the confines of Kermán, and the death of Darius within that province. But this could not have been the tradition Polo met with.

I may add that the temperate climate of Bostam is noticed in words almost identical with Polo's by both Fraser and Ferrier.

The Chinar abounds in Khorasan (as far as any tree can be said to *abound* in Persia), and even in the Oases of Tur-o-Kain wherever there is water. Travellers quoted by Ritter notice Chinars of great size and age at Shahrúd, near Bostam, at Meyomid, and at Mehr, west of Sabzawar, which last are said to date from the time of Naoshirwan (7th century). There is a town to the N.W. of Meshid called *Chinárán*, “The Planes.” P. Della Valle, we may note, calls Tehran “la città dei platani.”

The following note by De Sacy regarding the Chinar has already been quoted by Marsden, and though it may be doubtful whether the term *Arbre Sec* had any relation to the idea expressed, it seems to me too interesting to be omitted: “Its sterility seems to have become proverbial among certain people of the East. For in a collection of sundry moral sentences pertaining to the Sabaeans or Christians of St. John . . . we find the following: ‘The vainglorious man is like a showy Plane Tree, rich in boughs but producing nothing, and affording no fruit to its owner.’” The same reproach of sterility is cast at the Plane by Ovid's Walnut:—

“At postquam platanis, *sterilem praebentibus umbram*,
Uberior quâvis arbore venit honos;
Nos quoque fructiferae, si nux modo ponor in illis,
Coepimus in patulas luxuriare comas.” (*Nux*, 17-20.)

I conclude with another passage from Khanikoff, though put forward in special illustration of what I believe to be a mistaken reading (*Arbre Seul*): “Where the Chinar is of spontaneous growth, or occupies the centre of a vast and naked plain, this tree is even in our own day invested with a quite exceptional veneration, and the

locality often comes to be called 'The Place of the Solitary Tree.'" (J. R. G. S. XXIX. 345; *Ferrier*, 69-76; *Fraser*, 343; *Ritter*, VIII. 332, XI. 512 *seqq.*; *Della Valle*, I. 703; *De Sacy's Abdallatif*, p. 81; *Khanikoff, Not.* p. 38.)

[See in Fr. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, II., in the chap. *Der Baum des Seth*, pp. 127-128, from MS. (14th century) from Cambridge, this curious passage (p. 128): "Tandem rogaverunt eum, ut arborem siccam, de qua multum saepe loqui audierant, liceret videre. Quibus dicebat: 'Non est appellata arbor sicca recto nomine, sed arbor Seth, quoniam Seth, filius Adae, primi patris nostri, eam plantavit.' Et ad arborem Seth fecit eos ducere, prohibens eos, ne arborem transmearent, sed [si?] ad patriam suam redire desiderarent. Et cum appropinquassent, de pulcritudine arboris mirati sunt; erat enim magnae immensitatis et miri decoris. Omnium enim colorum varietas inerat arbori, condensitas foliorum et fructuum diversorum; diversitas avium omnium, quae sub coelo sunt. Folia vero invicem se repercutientia dulcissimae melodiae modulamine resonabant, et aves amoenos cantus ultra quam credi potest promebant; et odor suavissimus profudit eos, ita quod paradisi amoenitate fuisse. Et cum admirantes tantam pulcritudinem aspicerent, unus sociorum aliquo eorum maior aetate, cogitans [cogitavit?] intra se, quod senior esset et, si inde rediret, cito aliquo casu mori posset. Et cum haec secum cogitasset, coepit arborem transire, et cum transisset, advocans socios, iussit eos post se ad locum amoenissimum, quem ante se videbat plenum deliciis sibi paratum [paratis?] festinare. At illi retrogressi sunt ad regem, scilicet presbiterum Iohannem. Quos donis amplis ditavit, et qui cum eo morari voluerunt libenter et honorifice detinuit. Alii vero ad patriam reversi sunt."—In common with Marsden and Yule, I have no doubt that the *Arbre Sec* is the *Chindr*. Odoric places it at Tabriz and I have given a very lengthy dissertation on the subject in my edition of this traveller (pp. 21-29), to which I must refer the reader, to avoid increasing unnecessarily the size of the present publication.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONCERNING THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN.

MULEHET is a country in which the Old Man of the Mountain dwelt in former days; and the name means "*Place of the Aram.*" I will tell you his whole history as related by Messer Marco Polo, who heard it from several natives of that region.

The Old Man was called in their language ALOADIN. He had caused a certain valley between two mountains to be enclosed, and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected pavilions and palaces the most elegant that can be imagined, all

covered with gilding and exquisite painting. And there were runnels too, flowing freely with wine and milk and honey and water; and numbers of ladies and of the most beautiful damsels in the world, who could play on all manner of instruments, and sung most sweetly, and danced in a manner that it was charming to behold. For the Old Man desired to make his people believe that this was actually Paradise. So he had fashioned it after the description that Mahommet gave of his Paradise, to wit, that it should be a beautiful garden running with conduits of wine and milk and honey and water, and full of lovely women for the delectation of all its inmates. And sure enough the Saracens of those parts believed that it *was* Paradise!

Now no man was allowed to enter the Garden save those whom he intended to be his ASHISHIN. There was a Fortress at the entrance to the Garden, strong enough to resist all the world, and there was no other way to get in. He kept at his Court a number of the youths of the country, from 12 to 20 years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering, and to these he used to tell tales about Paradise, just as Mahommet had been wont to do, and they believed in him just as the Saracens believe in Mahommet. Then he would introduce them into his garden, some four, or six, or ten at a time, having first made them drink a certain potion which cast them into a deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. So when they awoke, they found themselves in the Garden.¹

NOTE I. ←Says the venerable Sire de Joinville: "*Le Vieil de la Montaigne ne croit pas en Mahommet, ainçois croit en la Loi de Haali, qui fu Oncle Mahommet.*" This is a crude statement, no doubt, but it has a germ of truth. Adherents of the family of 'Ali as the true successors of the Prophet existed from the tragical day of the death of Husain, and among these, probably owing to the secrecy with which they were compelled to hold their allegiance, there was always a tendency to all manner of

strange and mystical doctrines; as in one direction to the glorification of 'Ali as a kind of incarnation of the Divinity, a character in which his lineal representatives were held in some manner to partake; in another direction to the development of Pantheism, and release from all positive creed and precepts. Of these Aliites, eventually called *Shi'ahs*, a chief sect, and parent of many heretical branches, were the Ismailites, who took their name, from the seventh Imam, whose return to earth they professed to expect at the end of the World. About A.D. 1090 a branch of the Ismaili stock was established by Hassan, son of Sabah, in the mountainous districts of Northern Persia; and, before their suppression by the Mongols, 170 years later, the power of the quasi-spiritual dynasty which Hassan founded had spread over the Eastern Kohistan, at least as far as Káin. Their headquarters were at Alamút ("Eagle's Nest"), about 32 miles north-east of Kazwin, and all over the territory which they held they established fortresses of great strength. De Sacy seems to have proved that they were called *Hashshiya* or *Hashshin*, from their use of the preparation of hemp called *Hashsh*; and thence, through their system of murder and terrorism, came the modern application of the word Assassin. The original aim of this system was perhaps that of a kind of *Vehmgericht*, to punish or terrify orthodox persecutors who were too strong to be faced with the sword. I have adopted in the text one of the readings of the G. Text *Asciscin*, as expressing the original word with the greatest accuracy that Italian spelling admits. In another author we find it as *Chaisii* (see *Bollandists*, May, vol. ii. p. xi.); Joinville calls them *Assacis*; whilst Nangis and others corrupt the name into *Harsacidæ*, and what not.

The explanation of the name MULEHET as it is in Ramusio, or *Mulcete* as it is in the G. Text (the last expressing in Rusticiano's Pisan tongue the strongly aspirated *Mulhë'të*), is given by the former: "This name of Mulehet is as much as to say in the Saracen tongue 'The Abode of Heretics,'" the fact being that it does represent the Arabic term *Mulhid*, pl. *Mulhidah*, "Impii, heretici," which is in the Persian histories (as of Rashiduddin and Wassáf) the title most commonly used to indicate this community, and which is still applied by orthodox Mahomedans to the Nosairis, Druses, and other sects of that kind, more or less kindred to the Ismaili. The writer of the *Tabakat-i-Násiri* calls the sectarians of Alamút *Mulhidat-ul-maut*, "Heretics of Death." * The curious reading of the G. Text which we have preserved "*vaut à dire des Aram*," should be read as we have rendered it. I conceive that Marco was here unconsciously using one Oriental term to explain another. For it seems possible to explain *Aram* only as standing for *Hardm*, in the sense of "wicked" or "reprobate."

In Pauthier's Text, instead of *des aram*, we find "*veult dire en françois Diex Terrien*," or Terrestrial God. This may have been substituted, in the correction of the original rough dictation, from a perception that the first expression was unintelligible. The new phrase does not indeed convey the meaning of *Mulhidah*, but it expresses a main characteristic of the heretical doctrine. The correction was probably made by Polo himself; it is certainly of very early date. For in the romance of Bauduin de Sebourc, which I believe dates early in the 14th century, the Caliph, on witnessing the extraordinary devotion of the followers of the Old Man (see note 1, ch. xxiv.), exclaims:

"Par Mahon
Vous estes *Diex en terre*, autre coze n'i a!" (I. p. 360.)

So also Fr. Jacopo d'Aqui in the *Imago Mundi*, says of the Assassins: "Dicitur iis quod sunt in Paradiso magno *Dei Terreni*"—expressions, no doubt, taken in both cases from Polo's book.

Khanikoff, and before him J. R. Forster, have supposed that the name *Mulehet* represents *Alamút*. But the resemblance is much closer and more satisfactory to

* Elliot, II. 290.

Mulhid or *Muláhidah*. *Mulhet* is precisely the name by which the kingdom of the Ismailites is mentioned in Armenian history, and *Mulihet* is already applied in the same way by Rabbi Benjamin in the 12th century, and by Rubruquis in the 13th. The Chinese narrative of Hulaku's expedition calls it the kingdom of *Mulahi*. (*Joinville*, p. 138; *J. As. sér. II.*, tom. xii. 285; *Benj. Tudela*, p. 106; *Rub.* p. 265; *Rémusat, Nouv. Mélanges*, I. 176; *Gaubil*, p. 128; *Pauthier*, pp. cxxxix.-cxli.; *Mon. Hist. Patr. Scriptorum*, III. 1559, Turin, 1848.) [Cf. on *Mulehet, melahideh*, Heretics, plural of *molhid*, Heretic, my note, pp. 476-482 of my ed. of Friar Odoric.—H. C.]

“Old Man of the Mountain” was the title applied by the Crusaders to the chief of that branch of the sect which was settled in the mountains north of Lebanon, being a translation of his popular Arabic title *Shaikh-ul-Jibal*. But according to Hammer this title properly belonged, as Polo gives it, to the Prince of Alamút, who never called himself Sultan, Malik, or Amir; and this seems probable, as his territory was known as the *Balad-ul-Jibal*. (See *Abulf.* in *Büsching*, V. 319.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

HOW THE OLD MAN USED TO TRAIN HIS ASSASSINS.

WHEN therefore they awoke, and found themselves in a place so charming, they deemed that it was Paradise in very truth. And the ladies and damsels dallied with them to their hearts' content, so that they had what young men would have; and with their own good will they never would have quitted the place.

Now this Prince whom we call the Old One kept his Court in grand and noble style, and made those simple hill-folks about him believe firmly that he was a great Prophet. And when he wanted one of his *Ashishin* to send on any mission, he would cause that potion whereof I spoke to be given to one of the youths in the garden, and then had him carried into his Palace. So when the young man awoke, he found himself in the Castle, and no longer in that Paradise; whereat he was not over well pleased. He was then conducted to the Old Man's presence, and bowed before him with great veneration as believing himself to be in the presence of a true

Prophet. The Prince would then ask whence he came, and he would reply that he came from Paradise! and that it was exactly such as Mahommet had described it in the Law. This of course gave the others who stood by, and who had not been admitted, the greatest desire to enter therein.

So when the Old Man would have any Prince slain, he would say to such a youth: "Go thou and slay So and So; and when thou returnest my Angels shall bear thee into Paradise. And shouldst thou die, natheless even so will I send my Angels to carry thee back into Paradise." So he caused them to believe; and thus there was no order of his that they would not affront any peril to execute, for the great desire they had to get back into that Paradise of his. And in this manner the Old One got his people to murder any one whom he desired to get rid of. Thus, too, the great dread that he inspired all Princes withal, made them become his tributaries in order that he might abide at peace and amity with them.¹

I should also tell you that the Old Man had certain others under him, who copied his proceedings and acted exactly in the same manner. One of these was sent into the territory of Damascus, and the other into Curdistan.²

NOTE 1.—Romantic as this story is, it seems to be precisely the same that was current over all the East. It is given by Odoric at length, more briefly by a Chinese author, and again from an Arabic source by Hammer in the *Mines de l'Orient*.

The following is the Chinese account as rendered by Rémusat: "The soldiers of this country (Mulahi) are veritable brigands. When they see a lusty youth, they tempt him with the hope of gain, and bring him to such a point that he will be ready to kill his father or his elder brother with his own hand. After he is enlisted, they intoxicate him, and carry him in that state into a secluded retreat, where he is charmed with delicious music and beautiful women. All his desires are satisfied for several days, and then (in sleep) he is transported back to his original position. When he awakes, they ask what he has seen. He is then informed that if he will become an Assassin, he will be rewarded with the same felicity. And with the texts and prayers that they teach him they heat him to such a pitch that whatever commission be given him he will brave death without regret in order to execute it."

The Arabic narrative is too long to extract. It is from a kind of historical romance called *The Memoirs of Hakim*, the date of which Hammer unfortunately omits to give. Its close coincidence in substance with Polo's story is quite remarkable. After a detailed description of the Paradise, and the transfer into it of the aspirant under the influence of *bang*, on his awaking and seeing his chief enter, he says, "O chief! am I awake or am I dreaming?" To which the chief: "O such an One, take heed that thou tell not the dream to any stranger. Know that Ali thy Lord hath vouchsafed to show thee the place destined for thee in Paradise. . . . Hesitate not a moment therefore in the service of the Imam who thus deigns to intimate his contentment with thee," and so on.

William de Nangis thus speaks of the Syrian Shaikh, who alone was known to the Crusaders, though one of their historians (*Jacques de Vitry*, in *Bongars*, I. 1062) shows knowledge that the headquarters of the sect was in Persia: "He was much dreaded far and near, by both Saracens and Christians, because he so often caused princes of both classes indifferently to be murdered by his emissaries. For he used to bring up in his palace youths belonging to his territory, and had them taught a variety of languages, and above all things to fear their Lord and obey him unto death, which would thus become to them an entrance into the joys of Paradise. And whosoever of them thus perished in carrying out his Lord's behests was worshipped as an angel." As an instance of the implicit obedience rendered by the *Fidáwí* or devoted disciples of the Shaikh, Fra Pipino and Marino Sanuto relate that when Henry Count of Champagne (titular King of Jerusalem) was on a visit to the Old Man of Syria, one day as they walked together they saw some lads in white sitting on the top of a high tower. The Shaikh, turning to the Count, asked if he had any subjects as obedient as his own? and without giving time for reply made a sign to two of the boys, who immediately leapt from the tower, and were killed on the spot. The same story is told in the *Cento Nouvelle Antiche*, as happening when the Emperor Frederic was on a visit (imaginary) to the Veglio. And it is introduced likewise as an incident in the Romance of Bauduin de Sebourg :

"Vollés veioir merveilles? dist li Rois Seignouris"

to Bauduin and his friends, and on their assenting he makes the signal to one of his men on the battlements, and in a twinkling

"Quant le vinrent en l'air salant de tel avis,
Et aussi liément, et aussi esjois,
Qu'il deust conquerer mil livres de parisis!
Ains qu'il venist a tière il fut mors et fenis,
Surles roches agues desrompis corps et pis,"* etc.

(*Cathay*, 153; *Rémusat*, *Nouv. Mém.* I. 178; *Mines de l'Orient*, III. 201 *seqq.*; *Nangis* in *Duchesne*, V. 332; *Pipino* in *Muratori*, IX. 705; *Defrémery* in *J. As. sér.* V. tom. v. 34 *seqq.*; *Cent. Nov. Antiche*, Firenze, 1572, p. 91; *Bauduin de Sebourg*, I. 359.)

The following are some of the more notable murders or attempts at murder ascribed to the Ismailite emissaries either from Syria or from Persia:—

A.D. 1092. Nizum-ul-Mulk, formerly the powerful minister of Malik Shah, Seljukian sovereign of Persia, and a little later his two sons. 1102. The Prince of Homs, in the chief Mosque of that city. 1113. Maudúd, Prince of Mosul, in the chief Mosque of Damascus. About 1114. Abul Muzafar 'Ali, Wazir of Sanjár Shah, and Chakar Beg, grand-uncle of the latter. 1116. Ahmed Yel, Prince of Maragha, at Baghdad, in the presence of Mahomed, Sultan of Persia. 1121. The Amir

* This story has been transferred to Peter the Great, who is alleged to have exhibited the docility of his subjects in the same way to the King of Denmark, by ordering a Cossack to jump from the Round Tower at Copenhagen, on the summit of which they were standing.

Afdhal, the powerful Wazir of Egypt, at Cairo. 1126. Kasim Aksonkor, Prince of Mosul and Aleppo, in the Great Mosque at Mosul. 1127. Moyin-uddin, Wazir of Sanjâr Shah of Persia. 1129. Amfr Billah, Khalif of Egypt. 1131. Taj-ul Mulûk Buri, Prince of Damascus. 1134. Shams-ul-Mulûk, son of the preceding. 1135-38. The Khalif Mostarshid, the Khalif Rashîd, and Daûd, Seljukian Prince of Azerbaijan. 1149. Raymond, Count of Tripoli. 1191. Kizil Arzlan, Prince of Azerbaijan. 1192. Conrad of Montferrat, titular King of Jerusalem; a murder which King Richard has been accused of instigating. 1217. Oghulmish, Prince of Hamadân.

And in 1174 and 1176 attempts to murder the great Saladin. 1271. Attempt to murder Ala'uddin Juwaini, Governor of Baghdad, and historian of the Mongols. 1272. The attempt to murder Prince Edward of England at Acre.

In latter years the *Fidâwi* or Ismailite adepts appear to have let out their services simply as hired assassins. Bibars, in a letter to his court at Cairo, boasts of using them when needful. A Mahomedan author ascribes to Bibars the instigation of the attempt on Prince Edward. (*Makrizi*, II. 100; *J. As.* XI. 150.)

NOTE 2.—Hammer mentions as what he chooses to call "Grand Priors" under the Shaikh or "Grand Master" at Alamût, the chief, in Syria, one in the Kuhistan of E. Persia (Tun-o-Kaïn), one in Kumis (the country about Damghan and Bostam), and one in Irák; he does not speak of any in Kurdistan. Colonel Monteith, however, says, though without stating authority or particulars, "There were several divisions of them (the Assassins) scattered throughout Syria, *Kurdistan* (near the Lake of Wan), and Asia Minor, but all acknowledging as Imaum or High Priest the Chief residing at Alamut." And it may be noted that Odoric, a generation after Polo, puts the Old Man at *Millescorte*, which looks like *Malasgird*, north of Lake Van. (*H. des Assass.* p. 104; *J. R. G. S.* III. 16; *Cathay*, p. ccxliii.)

CHAPTER XXV.

HOW THE OLD MAN CAME BY HIS END.

Now it came to pass, in the year of Christ's Incarnation, 1252, that Alaü, Lord of the Tartars of the Levant, heard tell of these great crimes of the Old Man, and resolved to make an end of him. So he took and sent one of his Barons with a great Army to that Castle, and they besieged it for three years, but they could not take it, so strong was it. And indeed if they had had food within it never would have been taken. But after being besieged those three years they ran short of victual, and were taken. The Old Man was put to death with all his men [and the Castle with its Garden of Paradise was

levelled with the ground]. And since that time he has had no successor; and there was an end to all his villainies.¹

Now let us go back to our journey.

NOTE 1.—The date in Pauthier is 1242; in the G. T. and in Ramusio 1262. Neither is right, nor certainly could Polo have meant the former.

When Mangku Kaan, after his enthronement (1251), determined at a great *Kurultai* or Diet, on perfecting the Mongol conquests, he entrusted his brother Kúblái with the completion of the subjugation of China and the adjacent countries, whilst his brother Hulaku received the command of the army destined for Persia and Syria. The complaints that came from the Mongol officers already in Persia determined him to commence with the reduction of the Ismailites, and Hulaku set out from Karakorum in February, 1254. He proceeded with great deliberation, and the Oxus was not crossed till January, 1256. But an army had been sent long in advance under "one of his Barons," Kitubuka Noyan, and in 1253 it was already actively engaged in besieging the Ismailite fortresses. In 1255, during the progress of the war, ALA'UDDIN MAHOMED, the reigning Prince of the Assassins (mentioned by Polo as Alaodin), was murdered at the instigation of his son Ruknuddin Khurshah, who succeeded to the authority. A year later (November, 1256) Ruknuddin surrendered to Hulaku. [Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* II. p. 109) says that Alamút was taken by Hulaku, 20th December, 1256.—H. C.] The fortresses given up, all well furnished with provisions and artillery engines, were 100 in number. Two of them, however, Lembeser and Girdkuh, refused to surrender. The former fell after a year; the latter is stated to have held out for *twenty years*—actually, as it would seem, about fourteen, or till December, 1270. Ruknuddin was well treated by Hulaku, and despatched to the Court of the Kaan. The accounts of his death differ, but that most commonly alleged, according to Rashiduddin, is that Mangku Kaan was irritated at hearing of his approach, asking why his post-horses should be fagged to no purpose, and sent executioners to put Ruknuddin to death on the road. Alamút had been surrendered without any substantial resistance. Some survivors of the sect got hold of it again in 1275-1276, and held out for a time. The dominion was extinguished, but the sect remained, though scattered indeed and obscure. A very strange case that came before Sir Joseph Arnould in the High Court at Bombay in 1866 threw much new light on the survival of the Ismailis.

Some centuries ago a *Dai* or Missionary of the Ismailis, named Sadruddin, made converts from the Hindu trading classes in Upper Sind. Under the name of *Khojas* the sect multiplied considerably in Sind, Kach'h, and Guzerat, whence they spread to Bombay and to Zanzibar. Their numbers in Western India are now probably not less than 50,000 to 60,000. Their doctrine, or at least the books which they revere, appear to embrace a strange jumble of Hindu notions with Mahomedan practices and Shiah mysticism, but the main characteristic endures of deep reverence, if not worship, of the person of their hereditary Imám. To his presence, when he resided in Persia, numbers of pilgrims used to betake themselves, and large remittances of what we may call *Ismail's Pence* were made to him. Abul Hassan, the last Imám but one of admitted lineal descent from the later Shaikhs of Alamút, and claiming (as they did) descent from the Imám Ismail and his great ancestor 'Ali Abu Tálib, had considerable estates at Meheláti, between Kúm and Hamadán, and at one time held the Government of Kermán. His son and successor, Shah Khalilullah, was killed in a brawl at Yezd in 1818. Fatteh 'Ali Sháh, fearing Ismailite vengeance, caused the homicide to be severely punished, and conferred gifts and honours on the young Imám, Agha Khan, including the hand of one of his own daughters. In 1840 Agha Khan, who

had raised a revolt at Kermán, had to escape from Persia. He took refuge in Sind, and eventually rendered good service both to General Nott at Kandahár and to Sir C. Napier in Sind, for which he receives a pension from our Government.

For many years this genuine Heir and successor of the *Viex de la Montaigne* has had his headquarters at Bombay, where he devotes, or for a long time did devote, the large income that he receives from the faithful to the maintenance of a racing stable, being the chief patron and promoter of the Bombay Turf!

A schism among the Khojas, owing apparently to the desire of part of the well-to-do Bombay community to sever themselves from the peculiarities of the sect and to set up as respectable Sunnis, led in 1866 to an action in the High Court, the object of which was to exclude Agha Khan from all rights over the Khojas, and to transfer the property of the community to the charge of Orthodox Mahomedans. To the elaborate addresses of Mr. Howard and Sir Joseph Arnould, on this most singular process before an English Court, I owe the preceding particulars. The judgment was entirely in favour of the Old Man of the Mountain.



H. H. Agha Khán Meheláti, late Representative of the Old Man of the Mountain.

“*Le Seigneur Viel, que je vous ai dit si tient sa court . . . et fait à croire à ce simple gent qui li est entour que il est un grant prophete.*”

[Sir Bartle Frere writes of Agha Khan in 1875: “Like his ancestor, the Old One of Marco Polo’s time, he keeps his court in grand and noble style. His sons, popularly known as ‘The Persian Princes,’ are active sportsmen, and age has not dulled the Agha’s enjoyment of horse-racing. Some of the best blood of Arabia is always to be found in his stables. He spares no expense on his racers, and no prejudice of religion or race prevents his availing himself of the science and skill of an English trainer or jockey when the races come round. If tidings of war or threatened

disturbance should arise from Central Asia or Persia, the Agha is always one of the first to hear of it, and seldom fails to pay a visit to the Governor or to some old friend high in office to hear the news and offer the services of a tried sword and an experienced leader to the Government which has so long secured him a quiet refuge for his old age." Agha Khan died in April, 1881, at the age of 81. He was succeeded by his son Agha Ali Sháh, one of the members of the Legislative Council. (See *The Homeward Mail, Overland Times of India*, of 14th April, 1881.)]

The *Bohras* of Western India are identified with the Imámí-Ismaílls in some books, and were so spoken of in the first edition of this work. This is, however, an error, originally due, it would seem, to Sir John Malcolm. The nature of their doctrine, indeed, seems to be very much alike, and the Bohras, like the Ismaílls, attach a divine character to their *Mullah* or chief pontiff, and make a pilgrimage to his presence once in life. But the *persons* so revered are quite different; and the Bohras recognise all the 12 Imáms of ordinary Shiah. Their first appearance in India was early, the date which they assign being A.H. 532 (A.D. 1137-1138). Their chief seat was in Yemen, from which a large emigration to India took place on its conquest by the Turks in 1538. Ibn Batuta seems to have met with Bohras at Gandár, near Baroch, in 1342. (*Voyages*, IV. 58.)

A Chinese account of the expedition of Hulaku will be found in Rémusat's *Nouveaux Mélanges* (I.), and in Pauthier's Introduction. (*Q. R.* 115-219, esp. 213; *Ilch.* vol. i.; *J. A. S. B.* VI. 842 *seqq.*) [A new and complete translation has been given by Dr. E. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* I. 112 *seqq.*—H. C.]

There is some account of the rock of Alamút and its exceedingly slender traces of occupancy, by Colonel Monteith, in *J. R. G. S.* III. 15, and again by Sir Justin Sheil in vol. viii. p. 431. There does not seem to be any specific authority for assigning the Paradise of the Shaikh to Alamút; and it is at least worthy of note that another of the castles of the Muláhidah, destroyed by Hulaku, was called *Firdús*, i.e. Paradise. In any case, I see no reason to suppose that Polo visited Alamút, which would have been quite out of the road that he is following.

It is possible that "the Castle," to which he alludes at the beginning of next chapter, and which set him off upon this digression, was *Girdkuh*.* It has not, as far as I know, been identified by modern travellers, but it stood within 10 or 12 miles of Damghan (to the west or north-west). It is probably the *Tigado* of Hayton, of which he thus speaks: "The Assassins had an impregnable castle called Tigado, which was furnished with all necessaries, and was so strong that it had no fear of attack on any side. Howbeit, Hálóön commanded a certain captain of his that he should take 10,000 Tartars who had been left in garrison in Persia, and with them lay siege to the said castle, and not leave it till he had taken it. Wherefore the said Tartars continued besieging it for seven whole years, winter and summer, without being able to take it. At last the Assassins surrendered, from sheer want of clothing, but not of victuals or other necessaries." So Ramusio; other copies read "27 years." In any case it corroborates the fact that Girdkuh was said to have held out for an extraordinary length of time. If Rashiduddin is right in naming 1270 as the date of surrender, this would be quite a recent event when the Polo party passed, and draw special attention to the spot. (*J. As. sér.* IV. tom. xiii. 48; *Ilch.* I. 93, 104, 274; *Q. R.* p. 278; *Ritter*, VIII. 336.) A note which I have from *Djihan Numa* (I. 259) connects Girdkuh with a district called *Chinar*. This may be a clue to the term *Arbre Sec*; but there are difficulties.

* [Girdkuh means "round mountain"; it was in the district of Kumis, three parasangs west of Damghan. Under the year 1257, the *Yüan shi* mentions the taking of the fortress of *Ghi-rh-du-kié* by *K'ie-di-bu-kua*. (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.* I. p. 122; II. 110.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF SAPURGAN.

ON leaving the Castle, you ride over fine plains and beautiful valleys, and pretty hill-sides producing excellent grass pasture, and abundance of fruits, and all other products. Armies are glad to take up their quarters here on account of the plenty that exists. This kind of country extends for six days' journey, with a goodly number of towns and villages, in which the people are worshippers of Mahommet. Sometimes also you meet with a tract of desert extending for 50 or 60 miles, or somewhat less, and in these deserts you find no water, but have to carry it along with you. The beasts do without drink until you have got across the desert tract and come to watering places.

So after travelling for six days as I have told you, you come to a city called SAPURGAN. It has great plenty of everything, but especially of the very best melons in the world. They preserve them by paring them round and round into strips, and drying them in the sun. When dry they are sweeter than honey, and are carried off for sale all over the country. There is also abundance of game here, both of birds and beasts.¹

NOTE I.—SAPURGAN may closely express the pronunciation of the name of the city which the old Arabic writers call *Sabūrḳān* and *Shabūrḳān*, now called *Shibrgān*, lying some 90 miles west of Balkh; containing now some 12,000 inhabitants, and situated in a plain still richly cultivated, though on the verge of the desert.* But I have seen no satisfactory solution of the difficulties as to the time assigned. This in the G. T. and in Ramusio is clearly six days. The point of departure is indeed uncertain, but even if we were to place that at Sharakhs on the extreme verge of

* The oldest form of the name is *Asapuragān*, which Rawlinson thinks traceable to its being an ancient seat of the *Asa* or *Asagartii*. (*J. R. A. S.* XI. 63.)

cultivated Khorasan, which would be quite inconsistent with other data, it would have taken the travellers something like double the time to reach Shšbrgán. Where I have followed the G. T. in its reading "*quant l'en a chevauchés six jornde tel che je vos ai contés, adunc treuve l'en une cité,*" etc., Pauthier's text has "*Et quant l'en a chevauchié les vi cités, si treuve l'en une cité qui a nom Sapurgan,*" and to this that editor adheres. But I suspect that *cités* is a mere lapsus for *journdes*, as in the reading in one of his three MSS. What could be meant by "*chevauchier les vi cités*"?

Whether the true route be, as I suppose, by Nishapúr and Meshid, or, as Khanikoff supposes, by Herat and Badghis, it is strange that no one of those famous cities is mentioned. And we feel constrained to assume that something has been misunderstood in the dictation, or has dropt out of it. As a *probable* conjecture I should apply the six days to the extent of pleasing country described in the first lines of the chapter, and identify it with the tract between Sabzawur and the cessation of fertile country beyond Meshid. The distance would agree well, and a comparison with Fraser or Ferrier will show that even now the description, allowing for the compression of an old recollection, would be well founded; e.g. on the first march beyond Nishapúr: "Fine villages, with plentiful gardens full of trees, that bear fruit of the highest flavour, may be seen all along the foot of the hills, and in the little recesses formed by the ravines whence issues the water that irrigates them. It was a rich and pleasing scene, and out of question by far the most populous and cultivated tract that I had seen in Persia. . . . Next morning we quitted Derrood . . . by a very indifferent but interesting road, the glen being finely wooded with walnut, mulberry, poplar, and willow-trees, and fruit-tree gardens rising one above the other upon the mountain-side, watered by little rills. . . . These gardens extended for several miles up the glen; beyond them the bank of the stream continued to be fringed with white sycamore, willow, ash, mulberry, poplar, and woods that love a moist situation," and so on, describing a style of scenery not common in Persia, and expressing diffusely (as it seems to me) the same picture as Polo's two lines. In the valley of Nishapúr, again (we quote Arthur Conolly): "'This is Persia!' was the vain exclamation of those who were alive to the beauty of the scene; 'this is Persia!' Bah! Bah! What grass, what grain, what water! Bah! Bah!"

[' If there be a Paradise on the face of the Earth,
This is it! This is it! This is it! ']—(I. 209.)

(See *Fraser*, 405, 432-433, 434, 436.)

With reference to the dried melons of Shšbrgán, Quatremère cites a history of Herat, which speaks of them almost in Polo's words. Ibn Batuta gives a like account of the melons of Khárizm: "The surprising thing about these melons is the way the people have of slicing them, drying them in the sun, and then packing them in baskets, just as Malaga figs are treated in our part of the world. In this state they are sent to the remotest parts of India and China. There is no dried fruit so delicious, and all the while I lived at Delhi, when the travelling dealers came in, I never missed sending for these dried strips of melon." (*Q. R.* 169; *I. B.* III. 15.) Here, in the 14th century, we seem to recognise the Afghan dealers arriving in the cities of Hindustan with their annual camel-loads of dried fruits, just as we have seen them in our own day.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE CITY OF BALC.

BALC is a noble city and a great, though it was much greater in former days. But the Tartars and other nations have greatly ravaged and destroyed it. There were formerly many fine palaces and buildings of marble, and the ruins of them still remain. The people of the city tell that it was here that Alexander took to wife the daughter of Darius.

Here, you should be told, is the end of the empire of the Tartar Lord of the Levant. And this city is also the limit of Persia in the direction between east and north-east.¹

Now, let us quit this city, and I will tell you of another country called DOGANA.²

When you have quitted the city of which I have been speaking, you ride some 12 days between north-east and east, without finding any human habitation, for the people have all taken refuge in fastnesses among the mountains, on account of the Banditti and armies that harassed them. There is plenty of water on the road, and abundance of game; there are lions too. You can get no provisions on the road, and must carry with you all that you require for these 12 days.³

NOTE 1.—BALKH, "the mother of cities," suffered mercilessly from Chinghiz. Though the city had yielded without resistance, the whole population was marched by companies into the plain, on the usual Mongol pretext of counting them, and then brutally massacred. The city and its gardens were fired, and all buildings capable of defence were levelled. The province long continued to be harried by the Chaghataian inroads. Ibn Batuta, sixty years after Marco's visit, describes the city as still in ruins, and as uninhabited: "The remains of its mosques and colleges," he says, "are still to be seen, and the painted walls traced with azure." It is no doubt the Vaeq (*Valq*) of Clavijo, "very large, and surrounded by a broad earthen wall, thirty paces across, but breached in many parts." He describes a large portion of

the area within as sown with cotton. The account of its modern state in Burnes and Ferrier is much the same as Ibn Batuta's, except that they found some population; two separate towns within the walls according to the latter. Burnes estimates the circuit of the ruins at 20 miles. The bulk of the population has been moved since 1858 to Takhtapul, 8 miles east of Balkh, where the Afghan Government is placed.

(*Erdmann*, 404-405; *I. B.* III. 59; *Clavijo*, p. 117; *Burnes*, II. 204-206; *Ferrier*, 206-207.)

According to the legendary history of Alexander, the beautiful Roxana was the daughter of Darius, and her father in a dying interview with Alexander requested the latter to make her his wife:—

“Une fille ai mult bele; se prendre le voles.
Vus en seres de l'mont tout li mius maries,” etc.

(*Lambert Le Court*, p. 256.)

NOTE 2.—The country called *Dogana* in the G. Text is a puzzle. In the former edition I suggested *Juzgána*, a name which till our author's time was applied to a part of the adjoining territory, though not to that traversed in quitting Balkh for the east. Sir H. Rawlinson is inclined to refer the name to *Dehgán*, or “villager,” a term applied in Bactria, and in Kabul, to Tajik peasantry.* I may also refer to certain passages in Baber's “Memoirs,” in which he speaks of a place, and apparently a district, called *Dehánah*, which seems from the context to have lain in the vicinity of the Ghori, or Aksarai River. There is still a village in the Ghori territory, called *Dehánah*. Though this is worth mentioning, where the true solution is so uncertain, I acknowledge the difficulty of applying it. I may add also that Baber calls the River of Ghori or Aksarai, the *Dogh-ábah*. (*Sprenger, P. und R. Routen*, p. 39 and Map; *Anderson in J. A. S. B.* XXII. 161; *Ilch.* II. 93; *Baber*, pp. 132, 134, 168, 200, also 146.)

NOTE 3.—Though Burnes speaks of the part of the road that we suppose necessarily to have been here followed from Balkh towards Taican, as barren and dreary, he adds that the ruins of *aqueducts* and houses proved that the land had at one time been peopled, though now destitute of water, and consequently of inhabitants. The country would seem to have reverted at the time of Burnes' journey, from like causes, nearly to the state in which Marco found it after the Mongol devastations.

Lions seem to mean here the real king of beasts, and not tigers, as hereafter in the book. Tigers, though found on the S. and W. shores of the Caspian, do not seem to exist in the Oxus valley. On the other hand, Rashiduddin tells us that, when Hulaku was reviewing his army after the passage of the river, several lions were started, and two were killed. The lions are also mentioned by Sidi 'Ali, the Turkish Admiral, further down the valley towards Hazárasp: “We were obliged to fight with the lions day and night, and no man dared to go alone for water.” Moorcroft says of the plain between Kunduz and the Oxus: “Deer, foxes, wolves, hogs, and *lions* are numerous, the latter resembling those in the vicinity of Hariana” (in Upper India). Wood also mentions lions in Kuláb, and at Kila'chap on the Oxus. Q. Curtius tells how Alexander killed a great lion in the country north of the Oxus towards Samarkand. [A similar story is told of Timur in *The Mulfuzat Timüry*, translated by Major Charles Stewart, 1830 (p. 69): “During the march ‘(near Balkh)’ two lions made their appearance, one of them a male, the other a female. I (Timur) resolved to kill them myself, and having shot them both with arrows, I considered this circumstance as a lucky omen.”—H. C.] (*Burnes*, II. 200; *Q. R.* 155; *Ilch.* I. 90; *J. As.* IX. 217; *Moorcroft*, II. 430; *Wood*, ed. 1872, pp. 259, 260; *Q. C.* VII. 2.)

* It may be observed that the careful Elphinstone distinguishes from this general application of *Dehgán* or *Dehkán*, the name *Deggán* applied to a tribe “once spread over the north-east of Afghanistan, but now as a separate people only in Kunar and Laghman.”

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF TAICAN, AND THE MOUNTAINS OF SALT. ALSO OF THE PROVINCE OF CASEM.

AFTER those twelve days' journey you come to a fortified place called TAICAN, where there is a great corn market.¹ It is a fine place, and the mountains that you see towards the south are all composed of salt. People from all the countries round, to some thirty days' journey, come to fetch this salt, which is the best in the world, and is so hard that it can only be broken with iron picks. 'Tis in such abundance that it would supply the whole world to the end of time. [Other mountains there grow almonds and pistachioes, which are exceedingly cheap.]²

When you leave this town and ride three days further between north-east and east, you meet with many fine tracts full of vines and other fruits, and with a goodly number of habitations, and everything to be had very cheap. The people are worshippers of Mahomet, and are an evil and a murderous generation, whose great delight is in the wine shop; for they have good wine (albeit it be boiled), and are great toppers; in truth, they are constantly getting drunk. They wear nothing on the head but a cord some ten palms long twisted round it. They are excellent huntsmen, and take a great deal of game; in fact they wear nothing but the skins of the beasts they have taken in the chase, for they make of them both coats and shoes. Indeed, all of them are acquainted with the art of dressing skins for these purposes.³

When you have ridden those three days, you find a town called CASEM,⁴ which is subject to a count. His other towns and villages are on the hills, but through this

town there flows a river of some size. There are a great many porcupines hereabouts, and very large ones too. When hunted with dogs, several of them will get together and huddle close, shooting their quills at the dogs, which get many a serious wound thereby.⁵

This town of Casem is at the head of a very great province, which is also called Casem. The people have a peculiar language. The peasants who keep cattle abide in the mountains, and have their dwellings in caves, which form fine and spacious houses for them, and are made with ease, as the hills are composed of earth.⁶

After leaving the town of Casem, you ride for three days without finding a single habitation, or anything to eat or drink, so that you have to carry with you everything that you require. At the end of those three days you reach a province called Badashan, about which we shall now tell you.⁷

NOTE 1.—The *Taican* of Polo is the still existing TALIKAN in the province of Kataghan or Kunduz, but it bears the former name (*Tháikán*) in the old Arab geographies. Both names are used by Baber, who says it lay in the *Ulugh Bágh*, or Great Garden, a name perhaps acquired by the Plains of Talikan in happier days, but illustrating what Polo says of the next three days' march. The Castle of Talikan resisted Chinghiz for seven months, and met with the usual fate (1221). [In the *Travels of Sidi Ali*, son of Housaïn (*Jour. Asiat.*, October, 1826, p. 203), "Talikan, in the country of Badakhschan" is mentioned.—H. C.] Wood speaks of Talikan in 1838 as a poor place of some 300 or 400 houses, mere hovels; a recent account gives it 500 families. Market days are not usual in Upper India or Kabul, but are universal in Badakhshan and the Oxus provinces. The bazaars are only open on those days, and the people from the surrounding country then assemble to exchange goods, generally by barter. Wood chances to note: "A market was held at Talikan. . . . The thronged state of the roads leading into it soon apprised us that the day was no ordinary one." (*Abulf.* in *Büsching*, V. 352; *Sprenger*, p. 50; *P. de la Croix*, I. 63; *Baber*, 38, 130; *Burnes*, III. 8; *Wood*, 156; *Pandit Manphul's Report*.)

The distance of Talikan from Balkh is about 170 miles, which gives very short marches, if twelve days be the correct reading. Ramusio has *two* days, which is certainly wrong. XII. is easily miswritten for VII., which would be a just number.

NOTE 2.—In our day, as I learn from Pandit Manphul, the mines of rock salt are at Ak Bulák, near the Lataband Pass, and at Darúná, near the Kokcha, and these supply the whole of Badakhshan, as well as Kunduz and Chitrál. These sites are due east of Talikan, and are in Badakhshan. But there is a mine at *Chál*, S.E. or S.S.E. of Talikan and within the same province. There are also mines of rock-salt near the famous "stone bridge" in Kuláb, north of the Oxus, and again on the south

of the Alaï steppe. (Papers by *Manphul* and by *Faiz Baksh*; also *Notes* by *Feachenko*.)

Both pistachioes and wild almonds are mentioned by Pandit Manphul; and see *Wood* (p. 252) on the beauty and profusion of the latter.

NOTE 3.—Wood thinks that the Tajik inhabitants of Badakhshan and the adjoining districts are substantially of the same race as the Kafir tribes of Hindu Kúsh. At the time of Polo's visit it would seem that their conversion to Islam was imperfect. They were probably in that transition state which obtains in our own day for some of the Hill Mahomedans adjoining the Kafirs on the south side of the mountains the reproachful title of *Nimchah Musulmán*, or Half-and-halves. Thus they would seem to have retained sundry Kafir characteristics; among others that love of wine which is so strong among the Kafirs. The boiling of the wine is noted by Baber (a connoisseur) as the custom of Nijrao, adjoining, if not then included in, Kafir-land; and Elphinstone implies the continuance of the custom when he speaks of the Kafirs as having wine of *the consistence of jelly*, and very strong. The wine of *Kápisht*, the Greek Kapisa, immediately south of Hindu Kúsh, was famous as early as the time of the Hindu grammarian Pánini, say three centuries B.C. The cord twisted round the head was probably also a relic of Kafir costume: "Few of the Kafirs cover the head, and when they do, it is with a narrow band or fillet of goat's hair . . . about a yard or a yard and a half in length, wound round the head." This style of head-dress seems to be very ancient in India, and in the Sanchi sculptures is that of the supposed Dasyas. Something very similar, *i.e.* a scanty turban cloth twisted into a mere cord, and wound two or three times round the head, is often seen in the Panjab to this day.

The *Postín* or sheepskin coat is almost universal on both sides of the Hindu Kúsh; and Wood notes: "The shoes in use resemble half-boots, made of goatskin, and mostly of home manufacture." (*Baber*, 145; *J. A. S. B.* XXVIII. 348, 364; *Elphinst.* II. 384; *Ind. Antiquary*, I. 22; *Wood*, 174, 220; *J. R. A. S.* XIX. 2.)

NOTE 4.—Marsden was right in identifying *Scassem* or *Casem* with the *Kechem* of D'Anville's Map, but wrong in confounding the latter with the *Kishnabad* of Elphinstone—properly, I believe, *Kishnabad*—in the Anderab Valley. Kashm, or Keshm, found its way into maps through Pétis de la Croix, from whom probably D'Anville adopted it; but as it was ignored by Elphinstone (or by Macartney, who constructed his map), and by Burnes, it dropped out of our geography. Indeed, Wood does not notice it except as giving name to a high hill called the Hill of Kishm, and the position even of that he omits to indicate. The frequent mention of Kishm in the histories of Timur and Humayun (*e.g.* *P. de la Croix*, I. 167; *N. et E.* XIV. 223, 491; *Erskine's Baber and Humayun*, II. 330, 355, etc.) had enabled me to determine its position within tolerably narrow limits; but desiring to fix it definitely, application was made through Colonel Maclagan to Pandit Manphul, C.S.I., a very intelligent Hindu gentleman, who resided for some time in Badakhshan as agent of the Panjab Government, and from him arrived a special note and sketch, and afterwards a MS. copy of a Report,* which set the position of Kishm at rest.

KISHM is the *Kilissemo*, *i.e.* Karisma or Krishma, of Hiuen Tsang; and Sir H. Rawlinson has identified the Hill of Kishm with the Mount Kharesem of the Zend-Avesta, on which Jamshid placed the most sacred of all the fires. It is now a small town or large village on the right bank of the Varsach river, a tributary of the Kokcha. It was in 1866 the seat of a district ruler under the Mír of Badakhshan, who was styled the Mír of Kishm, and is the modern counterpart of Marco's *Quens* or Count. The modern caravan-road between Kunduz and Badakhshan does not pass through Kishm, which is left some five miles to the right, but through the town of Mashhad, which stands on the same river. Kishm is the warmest district of Badakhshan. Its

* Since published in *J. K. G. S.* vol. xlii.

fruits are abundant, and ripen a month earlier than those at Faizabad, the capital of that country. The Varsach or Mashhad river is Marco's "*Flum auques grant.*" Wood (247) calls it "the largest stream we had yet forded in Badakhshan."

It is very notable that in Ramusio, in Pipino, and in one passage of the G. Text, the name is written *Scasem*, which has led some to suppose the *Ish-Kāshm* of Wood to be meant. That place is much too far east—in fact, beyond the city which forms the subject of the next chapter. The apparent hesitation, however, between the forms *Casem* and *Scasem* suggests that the Kishm of our note may formerly have been termed S'kāshm or Ish-Kāshm, a form frequent in the Oxus Valley, e.g. *Ish-Kimish*, *Ish-Kāshm*, *Ishtrakh*, *Ishpingao*. General Cunningham judiciously suggests (*Ladak*, 34) that this form is merely a vocal corruption of the initial *S* before a consonant, a combination which always troubles the Musulman in India, and converts every Mr. Smith or Mr. Sparks into Ismit or Ispak Sahib.

[There does not seem to me any difficulty about this note: "Shibarkhan (Afghan Turkistan), Balkh, Kunduz, Khanabad, Talikan, Kishm, Badakhshan." I am tempted to look for Dogana at Khanabad.—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—The belief that the porcupine *projected* its quills at its assailants was an ancient and persistent one—"cum intendit cutem missiles," says Pliny (VIII. 35, and see also *Aelian. de Nat. An.* I. 31), and is held by the Chinese as it was held by the ancients, but is universally rejected by modern zoologists. The huddling and coiling appears to be a true characteristic, for the porcupine always tries to shield its head.

NOTE 6.—The description of Kishm as a "very great" province is an example of a bad habit of Marco's, which recurs in the next chapter. What he says of the cave-dwellings may be illustrated by Burnes's account of the excavations at Bamian, in a neighbouring district. These "still form the residence of the greater part of the population. . . . The hills at Bamian are formed of indurated clay and pebbles, which renders this excavation a matter of little difficulty." Similar occupied excavations are noticed by Moorcroft at Heibak and other places towards Khulm.

Curiously, Pandit Manphul says of the districts about the Kokcha: "Both their hills and plains are productive, the former *being mostly composed of earth, having very little of rocky substance.*"

NOTE 7.—The capital of Badakhshan is now Faizabad, on the right bank of the Kokcha, founded, according to Manphul, by Yarbeg, the first Mír of the present dynasty. When this family was displaced for a time, by Murad Beg of Kunduz, about 1829, the place was abandoned for years, but is now re-occupied. The ancient capital of Badakhshan stood in the Dasht (or Plain) of Bahárák, one of the most extensive pieces of level in Badakhshan, in which the rivers Vardoj, Zardeo, and Sarghalan unite with the Kokcha, and was apparently termed *Jauzgún*. This was probably the city called Badakhshan by our traveller.* As far as I can estimate, by the help of Wood and the map I have compiled, this will be from 100 to 110 miles distant from Talikan, and will therefore suit fairly with the six marches that Marco lays down.

Wood, in 1838, found the whole country between Talikan and Faizabad nearly as depopulated as Marco found that between Kishm and Badakhshan. The modern depopulation was due—in part, at least—to the recent oppressions and *razzias* of the Uzbeks of Kunduz. On their decline, between 1840 and 1850, the family of the native Mírs was reinstated, and these now rule at Faizabad, under an acknowledgment, since 1859, of Afghan supremacy.

* Wilford, in the end of the 18th century, speaks of Faizabad as "the new capital of Badakhshan, built near the site of the old one." The Chinese map (*ride J. R. G. S.* vol. xli.) represents the city of *Badakhshan* to the east of Faizabad. Faiz Bakhsh, in an unpublished paper, mentions a tradition that the Lady Zobeidah, dear to English children, the daughter of Al-Mansúr and wife of Ar-Rashid, delighted to pass the spring at *Jauzgún*, and built a palace there, "the ruins of which are still visible."

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF THE PROVINCE OF BADASHAN.

BADASHAN is a Province inhabited by people who worship Mahomet, and have a peculiar language. It forms a very great kingdom, and the royalty is hereditary. All those of the royal blood are descended from King Alexander and the daughter of King Darius, who was Lord of the vast Empire of Persia. And all these kings call themselves in the Saracen tongue ZULCARNIAIN, which is as much as to say *Alexander*; and this out of regard for Alexander the Great.¹

It is in this province that those fine and valuable gems the Balas Rubies are found. They are got in certain rocks among the mountains, and in the search for them the people dig great caves underground, just as is done by miners for silver. There is but one special mountain that produces them, and it is called SYGHINAN. The stones are dug on the king's account, and no one else dares dig in that mountain on pain of forfeiture of life as well as goods; nor may any one carry the stones out of the kingdom. But the king amasses them all, and sends them to other kings when he has tribute to render, or when he desires to offer a friendly present; and such only as he pleases he causes to be sold. Thus he acts in order to keep the Balas at a high value; for if he were to allow everybody to dig, they would extract so many that the world would be glutted with them, and they would cease to bear any value. Hence it is that he allows so few to be taken out, and is so strict in the matter.²

There is also in the same country another mountain, in which azure is found; 'tis the finest in the world, and is got in a vein like silver. There are also other

mountains which contain a great amount of silver ore, so that the country is a very rich one; but it is also (it must be said) a very cold one.³ It produces numbers of excellent horses, remarkable for their speed. They are not shod at all, although constantly used in mountainous country, and on very bad roads. [They go at a great pace even down steep descents, where other horses neither would nor could do the like. And Messer Marco was told that not long ago they possessed in that province a breed of horses from the strain of Alexander's horse Bucephalus, all of which had from their birth a particular mark on the forehead. This breed was entirely in the hands of an uncle of the king's; and in consequence of his refusing to let the king have any of them, the latter put him to death. The widow then, in despite, destroyed the whole breed, and it is now extinct.⁴]

The mountains of this country also supply Saker falcons of excellent flight, and plenty of Lanners likewise. Beasts and birds for the chase there are in great abundance. Good wheat is grown, and also barley without husk. They have no olive oil, but make oil from sesamé, and also from walnuts.⁵

[In the mountains there are vast numbers of sheep—400, 500, or 600 in a single flock, and all of them wild; and though many of them are taken, they never seem to get aught the scarcer.⁶

Those mountains are so lofty that 'tis a hard day's work, from morning till evening, to get to the top of them. On getting up, you find an extensive plain, with great abundance of grass and trees, and copious springs of pure water running down through rocks and ravines. In those brooks are found trout and many other fish of dainty kinds; and the air in those regions is so pure, and residence there so healthful, that when the men who dwell below in the towns, and in the valleys and plains, find

themselves attacked by any kind of fever or other ailment that may hap, they lose no time in going to the hills ; and after abiding there two or three days, they quite recover their health through the excellence of that air. And Messer Marco said he had proved this by experience : for when in those parts he had been ill for about a year, but



Ancient Silver Patera of debased Greek art, formerly in the possession of the Princes of Badakhsan, now in the India Museum. (Four-ninths of the diameter of the Original.)

as soon as he was advised to visit that mountain, he did so and got well at once.]

In this kingdom there are many strait and perilous passes, so difficult to force that the people have no fear of invasion. Their towns and villages also are on lofty hills,

and in very strong positions.⁸ They are excellent archers, and much given to the chase; indeed, most of them are dependent for clothing on the skins of beasts, for stuffs are very dear among them. The great ladies, however, are arrayed in stuffs, and I will tell you the style of their dress! They all wear drawers made of cotton cloth, and into the making of these some will put 60, 80, or even 100 ells of stuff. This they do to make themselves look large in the hips, for the men of those parts think that to be a great beauty in a woman.⁹

NOTE 1.—“The population of Badakhshan Proper is composed of Tajiks, Turks, and Arabs, who are all Sunnis, following the orthodox doctrines of the Mahomedan law, and speak Persian and Turki, whilst the people of the more mountainous tracts are Tajiks of the Shiá creed, having separate provincial dialects or languages of their own, the inhabitants of the principal places combining therewith a knowledge of Persian. Thus, the *Shighnání* [sometimes called *Shighni*] is spoken in Shighnán and Roshán, the *Ishkákshami* in Ishkáksham, the *Wakhi* in Wakhán, the *Sanglichí* in Sanglich and Zebák, and the *Minjáni* in Minján. All these dialects materially differ from each other.” (*Pand. Manphul.*) It may be considered almost certain that Badakhshan Proper also had a peculiar dialect in Polo’s time. Mr. Shaw speaks of the strong resemblance to *Kashmírís* of the Badakhshán people whom he had seen.

The Legend of the Alexandrian pedigree of the Kings of Badakhshan is spoken of by Baber, and by earlier Eastern authors. This pedigree is, or was, claimed also by the chiefs of Karátégín, Darwáz, Roshán, Shighnán, Wakhán, Chitrál, Gilgít, Swát, and Khapolor in Bálti. Some samples of those genealogies may be seen in that strange document called “Gardiner’s Travels.”

In Badakhshan Proper the story seems now to have died out. Indeed, though Wood mentions one of the modern family of Mírs as vaunting this descent, these are in fact *Sáhibzádahs* of Samarkand, who were invited to the country about the middle of the 17th century, and were in no way connected with the old kings.

The traditional claims to Alexandrian descent were probably due to a genuine memory of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, and might have had an origin analogous to the Sultan’s claim to be “Caesar of Rome”; for the real ancestry of the oldest dynasties on the Oxus was to be sought rather among the Tochari and Ephthalites than among the Greeks whom they superseded.

The cut on p. 159 presents an interesting memorial of the real relation of Bactria to Greece, as well as of the pretence of the Badakhshan princes to Grecian descent. This silver patera was sold by the family of the Mírs, when captives, to the Minister of the Uzbek chief of Kunduz, and by him to Dr. Percival Lord in 1838. It is now in the India Museum. On the bottom is punched a word or two in Pehlvi, and there is also a word incised in Syriac or Uighúr. It is curious that a *pair* of paterae were acquired by Dr. Lord under the circumstances stated. The other, similar in material and form, but apparently somewhat larger, is distinctly Sassanian, representing a king spearing a lion.

Zu-l’karnain, “the Two-Horned,” is an Arabic epithet of Alexander, with which legends have been connected, but which probably arose from the horned portraits on his coins. [Capus, *l.c.* p. 121, says, “Iskandr Zoulcarnein or Alexander *le Cornu*,

horns being the emblem of strength."—H. C.] The term appears in Chaucer (*Troil. and Cress.* III. 931) in the sense of *non plus*:—

"I am, till God me better minde send,
At *dulcarnon*, right at my wittes end."

And it is said to have still colloquial existence in that sense in some corners of England. This use is said to have arisen from the Arabic application of the term (*Bicornue*) to the 47th Proposition of Euclid. (*Barber*, 13; *N. et E.* XIV. 490; *N. An. des V.* xxvi. 296; *Burnes*, III. 186 *seqq.*; *Wood*, 155, 244; *J. A. S. B.* XXII. 300; *Ayeen Akbery*, II. 185; see *N. and Q.* 1st Series, vol. v.)

NOTE 2.—I have adopted in the text for the name of the country that one of the several forms in the G. Text which comes nearest to the correct name, viz. *Badasian*. But *Balacian* also appears both in that and in Panthier's text. This represents *Balakhshán*, a form also sometimes used in the East. Hayton has *Balaxcen*, Clavijo *Balaxia*, the Catalan Map *Baldassia*. From the form *Balakhsh* the Balas Ruby got its name. As Ibn Batuta says: "The Mountains of Badakhshan have given their name to the Badakhshi Ruby, vulgarly called *Al Balakhsh*." Albertus Magnus says the *Balagins* is the female of the Carbuncle or Ruby Proper, "and some say it is his house, and hath thereby got the name, quasi *Palatium Carbunculi*!" The Balais or Balas Ruby is, like the Spinel, a kind inferior to the real Ruby of Ava. The author of the *Masdlak al Absár* says the finest Balas ever seen in the Arab countries was one presented to Malek 'Adil Ketboga, at Damascus; it was of a triangular form and weighed 50 drachms. The prices of *Balasci* in Europe in that age may be found in Pegolotti, but the needful problems are hard to solve.

"No sapphire in Inde, no Rubie rich of price,
There lacked than, nor Emerald so greene,
Balls, Turkès, ne thing to my device."
(Chaucer, 'Court of Love.')

"L'altra letizia, che m'era già nota,
Preclara cosa mi si fece in vista,
Qual fin *balascio* in che lo Sol percuoto."
(Paradiso, ix. 67.)

Some account of the Balakhsh from Oriental sources will be found in *J. As. sér.* V. tom. xi. 109.

(*J. B.* III. 59, 394; *Alb. Mag. de Mineralibus*; *Pegol.* p. 307; *N. et E.* XIII. i. 246.)

["The Mohammedan authors of the Mongol period mention Badakhshan several times in connection with the political and military events of that period. Guchluk, the 'gurkhan of Karakhitai,' was slain in Badakhshan in 1218 (*d'Ohsson*, I. 272). In 1221, the Mongols invaded the country (*l.c.* I. 272). On the same page, *d'Ohsson* translates a short account of Badakhshan by Yakut (+ 1229), stating that this mountainous country is famed for its precious stones, and especially rubies, called *Balakhsh*." (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.* II. p. 66.)—H. C.]

The account of the royal monopoly in working the mines, etc., has continued accurate down to our own day. When Murad Beg of Kunduz conquered Badakhshan some forty years ago, in disgust at the small produce of the mines, he abandoned working them, and sold nearly all the population of the place into slavery! They continue still unworked, unless clandestinely. In 1866 the reigning Mir had one of them opened at the request of Pandit Manphul, but without much result.

The locality of the mines is on the right bank of the Oxus, in the district of Ish Káshm and on the borders of SHIGNAN, the *Syghinan* of the text. (*P. Manph.*; *Wood*, 206; *N. Ann. des V.* xxvi. 300.)

[The ruby mines are really in the Gháran country, which extends along both banks

of the Oxus. Barshar is one of the deserted villages; the boundary between Gháran and Shignán is the Kuguz Parin (in Shighai dialect means "holes in the rock"); the Persian equivalent is "Rafak-i-Somakh." (Cf. Captain Trotter, *Forsyth's Mission*, p. 277.)—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The mines of *Ládjwurd* (whence *l'Azur* and *Lazuli*) have been, like the Ruby mines, celebrated for ages. They lie in the Upper Valley of the Kokcha, called Korán, within the Tract called *Yamgán*, of which the popular etymology is *Hamah-Kán*, or "All-Mines," and were visited by Wood in 1838. The produce now is said to be of very inferior quality, and in quantity from 30 to 60 *poods* (36 lbs each) annually. The best quality sells at Bokhara at 30 to 60 tillas, or 12*l.* to 24*l.* the *pood* (*Manphúl*). Surely it is ominous when a British agent writing of Badakhshan products finds it natural to express weights in Russian poods!

The *Yamgán* Tract also contains mines of iron, lead, alum, salammoniac, sulphur, ochre, and copper. The last are not worked. But I do not learn of any silver mines nearer than those of Paryán in the Valley of Panjshir, south of the crest of the Hindu-Kúsh, much worked in the early Middle Ages. (See *Cathay*, p. 595.)

NOTE 4.—The Kataghan breed of horses from Badakhshan and Kunduz has still a high reputation. They do not often reach India, as the breed is a favourite one among the Afghan chiefs, and the horses are likely to be appropriated in transit. (*Lumsden, Mission to Kandahar*, p. 20.)

[The Kirghiz between the Yangi Hissar River and Sirikol are the only people using the horse generally in the plough, oxen being employed in the plains, and yaks in Sirikol. (Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, p. 222, *Forsyth's Mission*.)—H. C.]

What Polo heard of the Bucephalid strain was perhaps but another form of a story told by the Chinese, many centuries earlier, when speaking of this same region. A certain cave was frequented by a wonderful stallion of supernatural origin. Hither the people yearly brought their mares, and a famous breed was derived from the foals. (*Rém. N. Mèl. As. I.* 245.)

NOTE 5.—The huskless barley of the text is thus mentioned by Burnes in the vicinity of the Hindu-Kúsh: "They rear a barley in this elevated country which has no husk, and grows like wheat; but it is barley." It is not properly *huskless*, but when ripe it bursts the husk and remains so loosely attached as to be dislodged from it by a slight shake. It is grown abundantly in Ladak and the adjoining Hill States. Moorcroft details six varieties of it cultivated there. The kind mentioned by Marco and Burnes is probably that named by Royle *Hordeum Ægiceras*, and which has been sent to England under the name of Tartarian Wheat, though it is a genuine barley. *Naked barley* is mentioned by Galen as grown in Cappadocia; and Matthioli speaks of it as grown in France in his day (middle of 16th century). It is also known to the Arabs, for they have a name for it—*Sult*. (*Burnes*, III. 205; *Moorc.* II. 148 *seqq.*; *Galen, de Aliment. Facult.* Lat. ed. 13; *Matthioli*, Ven. 1585, p. 420; *Eng. Cyc.* art. *Hordeum*.)

Sesamé is mentioned by P. Manphul as one of the products of Badakhshan; linseed is another, which is also used for oil. Walnut-trees abound, but neither he nor Wood mention the oil. We know that walnut oil is largely manufactured in Kashmir. (*Moorcroft*, II. 148.)

[See on Saker and Lanner Falcons (*F. Sakar*, Briss.; *F. lanarius*, Schlegel) the valuable paper by Edouard Blanc, *Sur l'utilisation des Oiseaux de proie en Asie centrale* in *Rev. des Sciences natur. appliquées*, 20th June, 1895.

"Hawking is the favourite sport of Central Asian Lords," says G. Capus. (*A travers le royaume de Tamerlan*, p. 132. See pp. 132-134.)

The Mirza says (*l.c.* p. 157) that the mountains of Wakhán "are only noted for producing a breed of hawks or falcons which the hardy Wákhânis manage to catch among the cliffs. These hawks are much esteemed by the chiefs of Badakhshan,

Bokhara, etc. They are celebrated for their swiftness, and known by their white colour."—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—These wild sheep are probably the kind called *Kachkár*, mentioned by Baber, and described by Mr. Blyth in his Monograph of Wild Sheep, under the name of *Ovis Vignei*. It is extensively diffused over all the ramifications of Hindu-Kúsh, and westward perhaps to the Persian Elburz. "It is gregarious," says Wood, "congregating in herds of several hundreds." In a later chapter Polo speaks of a wild sheep apparently different and greater. (See *J. A. S. B.*, X. 858 *seqq.*)

NOTE 7.—This pleasant passage is only in Ramusio, but it would be heresy to doubt its genuine character. Marco's recollection of the delight of convalescence in such a climate seems to lend an unusual enthusiasm and felicity to his description of the scenery. Such a region as he speaks of is probably the cool Plateau of Shewá, of which we are told as extending about 25 miles eastward from near Faizabad, and forming one of the finest pastures in Badakhshan. It contains a large lake called by the frequent name Sar-i-Kol. No European traveller in modern times (unless Mr. Gardner) has been on those glorious table-lands. Burnes says that at Kunduz both natives and foreigners spoke rapturously of the vales of Badakhshan, its rivulets, romantic scenes and glens, its fruits, flowers, and nightingales. Wood is reticent on scenery, naturally, since nearly all his journey was made in winter. When approaching Faizabad on his return from the Upper Oxus, however, he says: "On entering the beautiful lawn at the gorge of its valley I was enchanted at the quiet loveliness of the scene. Up to this time, from the day we left Talikan, we had been moving in snow; but now it had nearly vanished from the valley, and the fine sward was enamelled with crocuses, daffodils, and snowdrops." (*P. Manphul; Burnes*, III. 176; *Wood*, 252.)

NOTE 8.—Yet scarcely any country in the world has suffered so terribly and repeatedly from invasion. "Enduring decay probably commenced with the wars of Chinghiz, for many an instance in Eastern history shows the permanent effect of such devastations. . . . Century after century saw only progress in decay. Even to our own time the progress of depopulation and deterioration has continued." In 1759, two of the Khojas of Kashgar, escaping from the dominant Chinese, took refuge in Badakhshan; one died of his wounds, the other was treacherously slain by Sultan Shah, who then ruled the country. The holy man is said in his dying moments to have invoked curses on Badakhshan, and prayed that it might be three times depopulated; a malediction which found ample accomplishment. The misery of the country came to a climax about 1830, when the Uzbek chief of Kunduz, Murad Beg Kataghan, swept away the bulk of the inhabitants, and set them down to die in the marshy plains of Kunduz. (*Cathay*, p. 542; *Fais Bakhsh*, etc.)

NOTE 9.—This "bombastically dissimulation of their garments," as the author of *Anthropometamorphosis* calls such a fashion, is no longer affected by the ladies of Badakhshan. But a friend in the Panjab observes that it still survives *there*. "There are ladies' trousers here which might almost justify Marco's very liberal estimate of the quantity of stuff required to make them;" and among the Afghan ladies, Dr. Bellew says, the silken trousers almost surpass crinoline in amplitude. It is curious to find the same characteristic attaching to female figures on coins of ancient kings of these regions, such as Agathocles and Pantaleon. (The last name is appropriate!)

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE PROVINCE OF PASHAI

You must know that ten days' journey to the south of Badashan there is a Province called PASHAI, the people of which have a peculiar language, and are Idolaters, of a brown complexion. They are great adepts in sorceries and the diabolic arts. The men wear earrings and brooches of gold and silver set with stones and pearls. They are a pestilent people and a crafty; and they live upon flesh and rice. Their country is very hot.¹

Now let us proceed and speak of another country which is seven days' journey from this one towards the south-east, and the name of which is KESHIMUR.

NOTE 1.—The name of PASHAI has already occurred (see ch. xviii.) linked with DIR, as indicating a tract, apparently of very rugged and difficult character, through which the partizan leader Nigúdar passed in making an incursion from Badakhshan towards Káshmir. The difficulty here lies in the name *Pashai*, which points to the south-west, whilst *Dir* and all other indications point to the south-east. But Pashai seems to me the reading to which all texts tend, whilst it is clearly expressed in the G. T. (*Pasciai*), and it is contrary to all my experience of the interpretation of Marco Polo to attempt to torture the name in the way which has been common with commentators professed and occasional. But dropping this name for a moment, let us see to what the other indications do point.

In the meagre statements of this and the next chapter, interposed as they are among chapters of detail unusually ample for Polo, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that the Traveller ever personally visited the countries of which these two chapters treat. I believe we have here merely an amplification of the information already sketched of the country penetrated by the Nigudarian bands whose escapade is related in chapter xviii., information which was probably derived from a Mongol source. And these countries are in my belief *both* regions famous in the legends of the Northern Buddhists, viz. UDYÁNA and KÁSHMIR.

Udyána lay to the north of Pesháwar on the Swát River, but from the extent assigned to it by Hiuen Tsang, the name probably covered a large part of the whole hill-region south of the Hindu-Kúsh from Chitrál to the Indus, as indeed it is represented in the Map of Vivien de St. Martin (*Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, II.). It is regarded by Fahian as the most northerly Province of India, and in his time the food and clothing of the people were similar to those of Gangetic India. It was the native country of Padma Sambhava, one of the chief apostles of Lamaism, *i.e.* of Tibetan Buddhism, and a great master of enchantments. The doctrines of Sakya, as they prevailed in Udyána in old times, were probably strongly tinged with Sivaitic magic,

and the Tibetans still regard that locality as the classic ground of sorcery and witchcraft.

Hiuen Tsang says of the inhabitants: "The men are of a soft and pusillanimous character, naturally inclined to craft and trickery. They are fond of study, but pursue it with no ardour. The science of magical formulæ is become a regular professional business with them. They generally wear clothes of white cotton, and rarely use any other stuff. Their spoken language, in spite of some differences, has a strong resemblance to that of India."

These particulars suit well with the slight description in our text, and the Indian atmosphere that it suggests; and the direction and distance ascribed to Pashai suit well with Chitrál, which may be taken as representing Udyána when approached from Badakhshan. For it would be quite practicable for a party to reach the town of Chitrál in ten days from the position assigned to the old capital of Badakhshan. And from Chitrál the road towards Káshmir would lie over the high Lahori pass to DIR, which from its mention in chapter xviii. we must consider an obligatory point. (*Fah-hian*, p. 26; *Koeppen*, I. 70; *Plerins Boud*. II. 131-132.)

["Tao-lin (a Buddhist monk like Hiuen Tsang) afterwards left the western regions and changed his road to go to Northern India; he made a pilgrimage to *Kia-che-milow* (Káshmir), and then entered the country of *U-ch'ang-na* (Udyána). . ." (Ed. Chavannes, *I-tsing*, p. 105.)—H.C.]

We must now turn to the name *Pashai*. The Pashai Tribe are now Mahomedan, but are reckoned among the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, which the Afghans are not. Baber mentions them several times, and counts their language as one of the dozen that were spoken at Kabul in his time. Burnes says it resembles that of the Kafirs. A small vocabulary of it was published by Leech, in the seventh volume of the *J. A. S. B.*, which I have compared with vocabularies of Siah-posh Kafir, published by Raverty in vol. xxxiii. of the same journal, and by Lumsden in his *Report of the Mission to Kandahar*, in 1837. Both are Aryan, and seemingly of Professor Max Müller's class *Indic*, but not very close to one another.*

Ibn Batuta, after crossing the Hindu-Kúsh by one of the passes at the head of the Panjshir Valley, reaches the Mountain BASHÁI (Pashai). In the same vicinity the Pashais are mentioned by Sidi 'Ali, in 1554. And it is still in the neighbourhood of Panjshir that the tribe is most numerous, though they have other settlements in the hill-country about Nijrao, and on the left bank of the Kabul River between Kabul and Jalalabad. *Pasha* and *Pasha-gar* is also named as one of the chief divisions of the Kafirs, and it seems a fair conjecture that it represents those of the Pashais who resisted or escaped conversion to Islam. (See *Leech's Reports* in Collection pub. at Calcutta in 1839; *Baber*, 140; *Elphinstone*, I. 411; *J. A. S. B.* VII. 329, 731, XXVIII. 317 *seqq.*, XXXIII. 271-272; *I. B.* III. 86; *J. As.* IX. 203, and *J. R. A. S.* n.s. V. 103, 278.)

The route of which Marco had heard must almost certainly have been one of those leading by the high Valley of Zebák, and by the Doráh or the Nuksán Pass, over the watershed of Hindu-Kúsh into Chitrál, and so to Dir, as already noticed. The difficulty remains as to how he came to apply the name *Pashai* to the country south-east of Badakhshan. I cannot tell. But it is at least possible that the name of the Pashai tribe (of which the branches even now are spread over a considerable extent of country) may have once had a wide application over the southern spurs of the Hindu-Kúsh.† Our Author, moreover, is speaking here from hearsay, and hearsay geography without maps is much given to generalising. I apprehend that, along with characteristics specially referable to the Tibetan and Mongol traditions of Udyána, the term Pashai, as Polo uses it, vaguely covers the whole tract from the southern boundary of Badakhshan to the Indus and the Kabul River.

* The Kafir dialect of which Mr. Trumpp collected some particulars shows in the present tense of the substantive verb these remarkable forms:—*Ei süm, Tü st, siga sé; Ima süm, WI sik, Sigé sin.*

† In the *Tabakát-i-Násiri* (*Elliot*, II. 317) we find mention of the Highlands of *Pasha-Afroz*, but nothing to define their position.

But even by extending its limits to Attok, we shall not get within seven marches of Káshmir. It is 234 miles by road from Attok to Srinagar; more than twice seven marches. And, according to Polo's usual system, the marches should be counted from Chitrál, or some point thereabouts.

Sir H. Rawlinson, in his *Monograph on the Oxus*, has indicated the probability that the name *Pashai* may have been originally connected with *Aprasin* or *Paresin*, the Zendavestian name for the Indian Caucasus, and which occurs in the Babylonian version of the Behistun Inscription as the equivalent of *Gadára* in the Persian, *i.e.* *Gandhára*, there applied to the whole country between Bactria and the Indus. (See *J. R. G. S.* XLII. 502.) Some such traditional application of the term *Pashai* might have survived.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE PROVINCE OF KESHIMUR.

KESHIMUR also is a Province inhabited by a people who are Idolaters and have a language of their own.¹ They have an astonishing acquaintance with the devilries of enchantment; insomuch that they make their idols to speak. They can also by their sorceries bring on changes of weather and produce darkness, and do a number of things so extraordinary that no one without seeing them would believe them.² Indeed, this country is the very original source from which Idolatry has spread abroad.³

In this direction you can proceed further till you come to the Sea of India.

The men are brown and lean, but the women, taking them as brunettes, are very beautiful. The food of the people is flesh, and milk, and rice. The clime is finely tempered, being neither very hot nor very cold. There are numbers of towns and villages in the country, but also forests and desert tracts, and strong passes, so that the people have no fear of anybody, and keep their independence, with a king of their own to rule and do justice.⁴

There are in this country Eremites (after the fashion of those parts), who dwell in seclusion and practise great abstinence in eating and drinking. They observe strict

chastity, and keep from all sins forbidden in their law, so that they are regarded by their own folk as very holy persons. They live to a very great age.⁵

There are also a number of idolatrous abbeys and monasteries. [The people of the province do not kill animals nor spill blood; so if they want to eat meat they get the Saracens who dwell among them to play the butcher.⁶] The coral which is carried from our parts of



Ancient Buddhist Temple at Pandrethan in Káshmir.

the world has a better sale there than in any other country.⁷

Now we will quit this country, and not go any further in the same direction; for if we did so we should enter India; and that I do not wish to do at present. For, on our return journey, I mean to tell you about India: all in regular order. Let us go back therefore to Badashan, for we cannot otherwise proceed on our journey.

NOTE 1.—I apprehend that in this chapter Marco represents Buddhism (which is to be understood by his expression *Idolatry*, not always, but usually) as in a position of greater life and prosperity than we can believe it to have enjoyed in Káshmir at the end of the 13th century, and I suppose that his knowledge of it was derived in great part from tales of the Mongol and Tibetan Buddhists about its past glories.

I know not if the spelling *Kesciemur* represents any peculiar Mongol pronunciation of the name. Plano Carpini, probably the first modern European to mention this celebrated region, calls it *Casmir* (p. 708).

“The Cashmeerians,” says Abu'l Fazl, “have a language of their own, but their books are written in the Shanskrit tongue, although the character is sometimes Cashmeerian. They write chiefly upon *Tooz* [birch-bark], which is the bark of a tree; it easily divides into leaves, and remains perfect for many years.” (*Ayeen Akbery*, II. 147.) A sketch of Kashmiri Grammar by Mr. Edgeworth will be found in vol. x. of the *J. A. S. B.*, and a fuller one by Major Leech in vol. xiii. Other contributions on the language are in vol. xxxv. pt. i. p. 233 (Godwin-Austen); in vol. xxxix. pt. i. p. 95 (Dr. Elmslie); and in *Proceedings* for 1866, p. 62, *seqq.* (Sir G. Campbell and Bábu Rájendra Lál Mitra). The language, though in large measure of Sanskrit origin, has words and forms that cannot be traced in any other Indian vernacular. (*Campbell*, pp. 67, 68). The character is a modification of the Panjáb Nagari.

NOTE 2.—The Kashmirian conjurers had made a great impression on Marco, who had seen them at the Court of the Great Kaan, and he recurs in a later chapter to their weather sorceries and other enchantments, when we shall make some remarks. Meanwhile let us cite a passage from Bernier, already quoted by M. Pauthier. When crossing the Pfr Panjál (the mountain crossed on entering Káshmir from Lahore) with the camp of Aurangzáb, he met with “an old Hermit who had dwelt upon the summit of the Pass since the days of Jehangir, and whose religion nobody knew, although it was said that he could work miracles, and used at his pleasure to produce extraordinary thunderstorms, as well as hail, snow, rain, and wind. There was something wild in his countenance, and in his long, spreading, and tangled hoary beard. He asked alms fiercely, allowing the travellers to drink from earthen cups that he had set out upon a great stone, but signing to them to go quickly by without stopping. He scolded those who made a noise, ‘for,’ said he to me (after I had entered his cave and smoothed him down with a half rupee which I put in his hand with all humility), ‘noise here raises furious storms. Aurangzáb has done well in taking my advice and prohibiting it. Shah Jehan always did the like. But Jehangir once chose to laugh at what I said, and made his drums and trumpets sound; the consequence was he nearly lost his life.’” (*Bernier*, Amst. ed. 1699, II. 290.) A successor of this hermit was found on the same spot by P. Desideri in 1713, and another by Vigne in 1837.

NOTE 3.—Though the earliest entrance of Buddhism into Tibet was from India Proper, yet Káshmir twice in the history of Tibetan Buddhism played a most important part. It was in Káshmir that was gathered, under the patronage of the great King Kanishka, soon after our era, the Fourth Buddhistic Council, which marks the point of separation between Northern and Southern Buddhism. Numerous missionaries went forth from Káshmir to spread the doctrine in Tibet and in Central Asia. Many of the Pandits who laboured at the translation of the sacred books into Tibetan were Kashmiris, and it was even in Káshmir that several of the translations were made. But these were not the only circumstances that made Káshmir a holy land to the Northern Buddhists. In the end of the 9th century the religion was extirpated in Tibet by the Julian of the Lamas, the great persecutor Langdarma, and when it was restored, a century later, it was from Káshmir in particular that fresh missionaries were procured to reinstruct the people in the forgotten Law. (See *Koepfen*, II. 12-13, 78; *J. As. sér.* VI. tom. vi. 540.)

“The spread of Buddhism to Káshmir is an event of extraordinary importance in

the history of that religion. Thenceforward that country became a mistress in the Buddhist Doctrine and the headquarters of a particular school. . . . The influence of Káshmir was very marked, especially in the spread of Buddhism beyond India. From Káshmir it penetrated to Kandahar and Kabul, . . . and thence over Bactria. Tibetan Buddhism also had its essential origin from Káshmir; . . . so great is the importance of this region in the History of Buddhism." (*Vassilyev, Der Buddhismus*, I. 44.)

In the account which the Mahawanso gives of the consecration of the great Tope at Ruanwelli, by Dutthagamini, King of Ceylon (B.C. 157), 280,000 priests (!) come from Káshmir, a far greater number than is assigned to any other country except one. (*J. A. S. B.* VII. 165.)

It is thus very intelligible how Marco learned from the Mongols and the Lamas with whom he came in contact to regard Káshmir as "the very original source from which their Religion had spread abroad." The feeling with which they looked to Káshmir must have been nearly the same as that with which the Buddhists of Burma look to Ceylon. But this feeling towards Káshmir does not *now*, I am informed, exist in Tibet. The reverence for the holy places has reverted to Bahar and the neighbouring "cradle-lands" of Buddhism.

It is notable that the historian Firishta, in a passage quoted by Tod, uses Marco's expression in reference to Káshmir, almost precisely, saying that the Hindoos derived their idolatry from Káshmir, "the foundry of magical superstition." (*Rajasthan*, I. 219.)

NOTE 4.—The people of Káshmir retain their beauty, but they are morally one of the most degraded races in Asia. Long oppression, now under the Lords of Jamu as great as ever, has no doubt aggravated this. Yet it would seem that twelve hundred years ago the evil elements were there as well as the beauty. The Chinese traveller says: "Their manners are light and volatile, their characters effeminate and pusillanimous. . . . They are very handsome, but their natural bent is to fraud and trickery." (*Ppl. Boud.* II. 167-168.) Vigne's account is nearly the same. (II. 142-143.) "They are as mischievous as monkeys, and far more malicious," says Mr. Shaw (p. 292).

[Bernier says: "The women [of Kachemire] especially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogul, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the Indians, and pass for genuine Moguls. Unquestionably, there must be beautiful women among the higher classes, if we may judge by those of the lower orders seen in the streets and in the shops." (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, edited by Archibald Constable, 1891, p. 404.)]

NOTE 5.—In the time of Hiuen Tsang, who spent two years studying in Káshmir in the first half of the 7th century, though there were many Brahmans in the country, Buddhism was in a flourishing state; there were 100 convents with about 5000 monks. In the end of the 11th century a King (Harshadeva, 1090-1102) is mentioned *exceptionally* as a protector of Buddhism. The supposition has been intimated above that Marco's picture refers to a traditional state of things, but I must notice that a like picture is presented in the Chinese account of Hulaku's war. One of the thirty kingdoms subdued by the Mongols was "The kingdom of Fo (Buddha) called *Kishimi*. It lies to the N.W. of India. There are to be seen the men who are counted the successors of Shakia; their ancient and venerable air recalls the countenance of Bodi-dharma as one sees it in pictures. They abstain from wine, and content themselves with a gill of rice for their daily food, and are occupied only in reciting the prayers and litanies of Fo." (*Rtm. N. Mtl. Asiat.* I. 179.) Abu'l Fazl says that on his third visit with Akbar to Káshmir he discovered some old men of the religion of Buddha, but none of them were *literati*. The *Rishis*, of whom he speaks with high commendation as abstaining from meat and from female society, as chari-

table and unfettered by traditions, were perhaps a modified remnant of the Buddhist Eremites. Colonel Newall, in a paper on the Rishis of Káshmir, traces them to a number of Shiáh Sayads, who fled to Káshmir in the time of Timur. But evidently the *genus* was of much earlier date, long preceding the introduction of Islam. (*Vie et V. de H. T.* p. 390; *Lassen*, III. 709; *Ayeen Akb.* II. 147, III. 151; *J. A. S. B.* XXXIX. pt. i. 265.)

We see from the *Dabistan* that in the 17th century Káshmir continued to be a great resort of Magian mystics and sages of various sects, professing great abstinence and credited with preternatural powers. And indeed Vámbéry tells us that even in our own day the Kashmiri Dervishes are pre-eminent among their Mahomedan brethren for cunning, secret arts, skill in exorcisms, etc. (*Dab.* I. 113 *seqq.* II. 147-148; *Vámb. Sk. of Cent. Asia*, 9.)

NOTE 6.—The first precept of the Buddhist Decalogue, or Ten Obligations of the Religious Body, is not to take life. But *animal food* is not forbidden, though restricted. Indeed it is one of the circumstances in the *Legendary History of Sakya Muni*, which looks as if it *must* be true, that he is related to have aggravated his fatal illness by eating a dish of pork set before him by a hospitable goldsmith. Giorgi says the butchers in Tibet are looked on as infamous; and people selling sheep or the like will make a show of exacting an assurance that these are not to be slaughtered. In Burma, when a British party wanted beef, the owner of the bullocks would decline to make one over, but would point one out that might be shot by the foreigners.

In Tibetan history it is told of the persecutor Langdarma that he compelled members of the highest orders of the clergy to become hunters and butchers. A Chinese collection of epigrams, dating from the 9th century, gives a facetious list of *Incongruous Conditions*, among which we find a poor Parsi, a sick Physician, a fat Bride, a Teacher who does not know his letters, and a *Butcher who reads the Scriptures* (of Buddhism)! (*Alph. Tib.* 445; *Koeppen*, I. 74; *N. and Q., C. and J.* III. 33.)

NOTE 7.—Coral is still a very popular adornment in the Himalayan countries. The merchant Tavernier says the people to the north of the Great Mogul's territories and in the mountains of Assam and Tibet were the greatest purchasers of coral. (*Tr. in India*, Bk. II. ch. xxiii.)

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THE GREAT RIVER OF BADASHAN.

IN leaving Badashan you ride twelve days between east and north-east, ascending a river that runs through land belonging to a brother of the Prince of Badashan, and containing a good many towns and villages and scattered habitations. The people are Mahomettans, and valiant in war. At the end of those twelve days you come to a province of no great size, extending indeed no more

than three days' journey in any direction, and this is called VOKHAN. The people worship Mahomet, and they have a peculiar language. They are gallant soldiers, and they have a chief whom they call NONE, which is as much as to say *Count*, and they are liegemen to the Prince of Badashan.¹

There are numbers of wild beasts of all sorts in this region. And when you leave this little country, and ride three days north-east, always among mountains, you get to such a height that 'tis said to be the highest place in the world! And when you have got to this height you find [a great lake between two mountains, and out of it] a fine river running through a plain clothed with the finest pasture in the world; insomuch that a lean beast there will fatten to your heart's content in ten days. There are great numbers of all kinds of wild beasts; among others, wild sheep of great size, whose horns are good six palms in length. From these horns the shepherds make great bowls to eat from, and they use the horns also to enclose folds for their cattle at night. [Messer Marco was told also that the wolves were numerous, and killed many of those wild sheep. Hence quantities of their horns and bones were found, and these were made into great heaps by the way-side, in order to guide travellers when snow was on the ground.]

The plain is called PAMIER, and you ride across it for twelve days together, finding nothing but a desert without habitations or any green thing, so that travellers are obliged to carry with them whatever they have need of. The region is so lofty and cold that you do not even see any birds flying. And I must notice also that because of this great cold, fire does not burn so brightly, nor give out so much heat as usual, nor does it cook food so effectually.²

Now, if we go on with our journey towards the east-

north-east, we travel a good forty days, continually passing over mountains and hills, or through valleys, and crossing many rivers and tracts of wilderness. And in all this way you find neither habitation of man, nor any green thing, but must carry with you whatever you require. The country is called BOLOR. The people dwell high up in the mountains, and are savage Idolaters, living only by the chase, and clothing themselves in the skins of beasts. They are in truth an evil race.³

NOTE I.—[“The length of Little Pamir, according to Trotter, is 68 miles. . . . To find the twelve days’ ride in the plain of Marco Polo, it must be admitted, says Severtsov (*Bul. Soc. Géog.* XI. 1890, pp. 588-589), that he went down a considerable distance along the south-north course of the Aksu, in the Aktash Valley, and did not turn towards Tâsh Kurgán, by the Neza Tash Pass, crossed by Gordon and Trotter. The descent from this pass to Tâsh Kurgán finishes with a difficult and narrow defile, which may well be overflowed at the great melting of snow, from the end of May till the middle of June, even to July.

“Therefore he must have left the Aksu Valley to cross the Pass of Tagharma, about 50 or 60 kilometres to the north of the Neza Tash Pass; thence to Kashgar, the distance, in a straight line, is about 200 kilometres, and less than 300 by the shortest route which runs from the Tagharma Pass to little Kara Kul, and from there down to Yangi Hissar, along the Ghidjik. And Marco Polo assigns *forty* days for this route, while he allows but *thirty* for the journey of 500 kilometres (at least) from Jerm to the foot of the Tagharma Pass.”

Professor Paquier (*Bul. Soc. Géog.* 6^e Sér. XII. pp. 121-125) remarks that the Moon-shee, sent by Captain Trotter to survey the Oxus between Ishkashm and Kila Wamar, could not find at the spot marked by Yule on his map, the mouth of the Shakh-Dara, but northward 7 or 8 miles from the junction of the Murghab with the Oxus, he saw the opening of an important water-course, the Suchnan River, formed by the Shakh-Dara and the Ghund-Dara. Marco arrived at a place between Northern Wakhán and Shihgnan; from the Central Pamir, Polo would have taken a route identical with that of the Mirza (1868-1869) by the Chichiklik Pass. Professor Paquier adds: “I have no hesitation in believing that Marco Polo was in the neighbourhood of that great commercial road, which by the *Vallis Comedarum* reached the foot of the Imaüs. He probably did not venture on a journey of fifty marches in an unknown country. At the top of the Shihgnan Valley, he doubtless found a road marked out to Little Bukharia. This was the road followed in ancient times from Bactrian to Serica; and Ptolemy has, so to speak, given us its landmarks after Marinus of Tyre, by the *Vallis Comedarum* (Valley of actual Shihgnan); the *Turris Lapidea* and the *Statio Mercatorum*, neighbourhood of Tash Kurgan, capital of the present province of Sar-i-kol.”

I must say that accepting, as I do, for Polo’s Itinerary, the route from Wakhán to Kashgar by the Taghdum-Bash Pamir, and Tâsh Kurgán, I do not agree with Professor Paquier’s theory. But though I prefer Sir H. Yule’s route from Badakhshan, by the River Vardoj, the Pass of Ishkashm, the Panja, to Wakhán, I do not accept his views for the Itinerary from Wakhán to Kashgar; see p. 175.—H. C.]

The river along which Marco travels from Badakhshan is no doubt the upper stream of the Oxus, known locally as the Panja, along which Wood also travelled, followed

of late by the Mirza and Faiz Bakhsh. It is true that the river is reached from Badakhshan Proper by ascending another river (the Vardoj) and crossing the Pass of Ishkâshm, but in the brief style of our narrative we must expect such condensation.

WAKHÂN was restored to geography by Macartney, in the able map which he compiled for Elphinstone's *Cabul*, and was made known more accurately by Wood's journey through it. [The district of Wakhân "comprises the valleys containing the two heads of the Panjah branch of the Oxus, and the valley of the Panjah itself, from the junction at Zung down to Ishkâshîm. The northern branch of the Panjah has its principal source in the Lake Victoria in the Great Pamir, which as well as the Little Pâmîr, belongs to Wakhân, the Aktash River forming the well recognized boundary between Kashgaria and Wakhân." (Captain Trotter, *Forsyth's Mission*, p. 275.) The southern branch is the Sarhadd Valley.—H. C.] The lowest part is about 8000 feet above the sea, and the highest *Kishlak*, or village, about 11,500. A few willows and poplars are the only trees that can stand against the bitter blasts that blow down the valley. Wood estimated the total population of the province at only 1000 souls, though it might be capable of supporting 5000.* He saw it, however, in the depth of winter. As to the peculiar language, see note 1, ch. xxix. It is said to be a very old dialect of Persian. A scanty vocabulary was collected by Hayward. (*J. R. G. S.* XXI. p. 29.) The people, according to Shaw, have Aryan features, resembling those of the Kashmiris, but harsher.

[Cf. Captain Trotter's *The Oxus below Wakhân, Forsyth's Mission*, p. 276.]

We appear to see in the indications of this paragraph precisely the same system of government that now prevails in the Oxus valleys. The central districts of Faizabad and Jerm are under the immediate administration of the Mîr of Badakhshan, whilst fifteen other districts, such as *Kishm*, *Rustâk*, *Zebâk*, *Ishkâshm*, *Wakhân*, are dependencies "held by the *relations of the Mîr*, or by hereditary rulers, on a feudal tenure, conditional on fidelity and military service in time of need, the holders possessing supreme authority in their respective territories, and paying little or no tribute to the paramount power." (*Pandit Manphul*.) The first part of the valley of which Marco speaks as belonging to a brother of the Prince, may correspond to Ishkâshm, or perhaps to Vardoj; the second, Wakhân, seems to have had a hereditary ruler; but both were vassals of the Prince of Badakhshan, and therefore are styled *Counts*, not kings or *Seigneurs*.

The native title which Marco gives as the equivalent of Count is remarkable. *Non* or *None*, as it is variously written in the texts, would in French form represent *Nono* in Italian. Pauthier refers this title to the "*Rao-nana* (or *nano*) *Rao*" which figures as the style of Kanerkes in the Indo-Scythic coinage. But Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 358) interprets *Raonano* as most probably a genitive plural of Rao, whilst the whole inscription answers precisely to the Greek one ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ, which is found on other coins of the same prince. General Cunningham, a very competent authority, adheres to this view, and writes: "I do not think *None* or *Non* can have any connection with the *Nana* of the coins."

It is remarkable, however, that NONO (said to signify "younger," or lesser) is in Tibet the title given to a younger brother, deputy, or subordinate prince. In Cunningham's *Ladak* (259) we read: "*Nono* is the usual term of respect which is used in addressing any young man of the higher ranks, and when prefixed to *Kahlon* it means the younger or deputy minister." And again (p. 352): "*Nono* is the title given to a younger brother. Nono Sungam was the younger brother of Chang

* "Yet this barren and inaccessible upland, with its scanty handful of wild people, finds a place in Eastern history and geography from an early period, and has now become the subject of serious correspondence between two great European Governments, and its name, for a few weeks at least, a household word in London. Indeed, this is a striking accident of the course of modern history. We see the Slav and the Englishman—representatives of two great branches of the Aryan race, but divided by such vast intervals of space and time from the original common starting-point of their migration—thus brought back to the lap of Pamir to which so many quivering lines point as the centre of their earliest seats, there by common consent to lay down limits to mutual encroachment." (*Quarterly Review*, April, 1873, p. 543.)

Raphtan, the Kahlon of Bazgo." I have recently encountered the word used independently, and precisely in Marco's application of it. An old friend, in speaking of a journey that he had made in our Tibetan provinces, said incidentally that he had accompanied the commissioner to the installation of a new NONO (I think in Spiti). The term here corresponds so precisely with the explanation which Marco gives of *None* as a Count subject to a superior sovereign, that it is difficult to regard the coincidence as accidental. The *Yuechi* or Indo-Scyths who long ruled the Oxus countries are said to have been of Tibetan origin, and Al-Biruni repeats a report that this was so. (*Elliot*. II. 9.)* Can this title have been a trace of their rule? Or is it Indian?

NOTE 2.—This chapter is one of the most interesting in the book, and contains one of its most splendid anticipations of modern exploration, whilst conversely Lieutenant John Wood's narrative presents the most brilliant confirmation in detail of Marco's narrative.

We have very old testimony to the recognition of the great altitude of the Plateau of PAMIR (the name which Marco gives it and which it still retains), and to the existence of the lake (or lakes) upon its surface. The Chinese pilgrims Hwui Seng and Sung Yun, who passed this way A.D. 518, inform us that these high lands of the Tsung Ling were commonly said to be midway between heaven and earth. The more celebrated Hiuen Tsang, who came this way nearly 120 years later (about 644) on his return to China, "after crossing the mountains for 700 *li*, arrived at the valley of *Pomilo* (Pamir). This valley is 1000 *li* (about 200 miles) from east to west, and 100 *li* (20 miles) from north to south, and lies between two snowy ranges in the centre of the Tsung Ling mountains. The traveller is annoyed by sudden gusts of wind, and the snow-drifts never cease, spring or summer. As the soil is almost constantly frozen, you see but a few miserable plants, and no crops can live. The whole tract is but a dreary waste, without a trace of human kind. In the middle of the valley is a great lake 300 *li* (60 miles) from east to west, and 500 *li* from north to south. This stands in the centre of Jambudwipa (the Buddhist *oikouménē*) on a plateau of prodigious elevation. An endless variety of creatures peoples its waters. When you hear the murmur and clash of its waves you think you are listening to the noisy hum of a great market in which vast crowds of people are mingling in excitement. . . . The lake discharges to the west, and a river runs out of it in that direction and joins the *Potsu* (Oxus) The lake likewise discharges to the east, and a great river runs out, which flows eastward to the western frontier of *K'iesha* (Káshgar), where it joins the River Sita, and runs eastward with it into the sea." The story of an eastern outflow from the lake is, no doubt, legend, connected with an ancient Hindu belief (see *Cathay*, p. 347), but Burnes in modern times heard much the same story. And the Mirza, in 1868, took up the same impression regarding the smaller lake called Pamir Kul, in which the southern branch of the Panja originates.

"After quitting the (frozen) surface of the river," says Wood, "we . . . ascended a low hill, which apparently bounded the valley to the eastward. On surmounting this, at 3 P.M. of the 19th February, 1838, we stood, to use a native expression, upon the *Bán-i-Duniyah*, or 'Roof of the World,' while before us lay stretched a noble but frozen sheet of water, from whose western end issued the infant river of the Oxus. This fine lake (Sirikol) lies in the form of a crescent, about 14 miles long from east to west, by an average breadth of 1 mile. On three sides it is bordered by swelling hills about 500 feet high, while along its southern bank they rise into mountains 3500 feet above the lake, or 19,000 feet above the sea, and covered with perpetual snow, from which never-failing source the lake is supplied. . . . Its elevation, measured by the temperature of boiling water, is 15,600 feet."

The absence of birds on Pamir, reported by Marco, probably shows that he passed very late or early in the season. Hiuen Tsang, we see, gives a different account;

* Ibn Haukal reckons Wakhán as an Indian country. It is a curious coincidence (it can scarcely be more) that *Nono* in the Garo tongue of Eastern Bengal signifies "a younger brother." (*J. A. S. B.* XXII. 153, XVIII. 208.)

Wood was there in the winter, but heard that in summer the lake swarmed with water. fowl. [Cf. Captain Trotter, p. 263, in *Forsyth's Mission.*]

The Pamir Steppe was crossed by Benedict Goës late in the autumn of 1603, and the narrative speaks of the great cold and desolation, and the difficulty of breathing. We have also an abstract of the journey of Abdul Mejid, a British Agent, who passed Pamir on his way to Kokan in 1861:—"Fourteen weary days were occupied in crossing the steppe; the marches were long, depending on uncertain supplies of grass and water, which sometimes wholly failed them; food for man and beast had to be carried with the party, for not a trace of human habitation is to be met with in those inhospitable wilds. . . . The steppe is interspersed with tamarisk jungle and the wild willow, and in the summer with tracts of high grass." (*Neumann, Pilgerfahrten Buddh. Priester*, p. 50; *V. et V. de H. T.* 271-272; *Wood*, 232; *Proc. R. G. S. X.* 150.)

There is nothing absolutely to decide whether Marco's route from Wakhán lay by Wood's Lake "Sirikol," or Victoria, or by the more southerly source of the Oxus in Pamir Kul. These routes would unite in the valley of Táshkurgán, and his road thence to Kashgar was, I apprehend, nearly the same as the Mirza's in 1868-1869, by the lofty Chichiklik Pass and Kin Valley. But I cannot account for the forty days of wilderness. The Mirza was but thirty-four days from *Faizabad to Kashgar*, and Faiz Bakhsh only twenty-five.

[Severtsof (*Bul. Soc. Géog.* XI. 1890, p. 587), who accepts Trotter's route, by the Pamir Khurd (Little Pamir), says there are three routes from Wakhán to Little Pamir, going up the Sarhadd: one during the winter, by the frozen river; the two others available during the spring and the summer, up and down the snowy chain along the right bank of the Sarhadd, until the valley widens out into a plain, where a swelling is hardly to be seen, so flat is it; this chain is the dividing ridge between the Sarhadd and the Aksu. From the summit, the traveller, looking towards the west, sees *at his feet* the mountains he has crossed; to the east, the Pamir Kul and the Aksu, the river flowing from it. The pasture grounds around the Pamir Kul and the sources of the Sarhadd are magnificent; but lower down, the Aksu valley is arid, dotted only with pasture grounds of little extent, and few and far between. It is to this part of Pamir that Marco Polo's description applies; more than any other part of this *ensemble* of high valleys, this line of water parting, of the Sarhadd and the Aksu, has the aspect of a *Roof of the World* (*Bam-i-dunya*, Persian name of Pamir).—H. C.]

[We can trace Marco Polo's route from Wakhán, on comparing it with Captain Younghusband's Itinerary from Kashgar, which he left on the 22nd July, 1891, for Little Pamir: Little Pamir at Bozai-Gumbaz, joins with the Pamir-i-Wakhán at the Wakhijrui Pass, first explored by Colonel Lockhart's mission. Hence the route lies by the old fort of Kurgan-i-Ujadbai at the junction of the two branches of the Taghdum-bash Pamir (Supreme Head of the Mountains), the Taghdum-bash Pamir, Táshkurgán, Bulun Kul, the Gez Defile and Kashgar. (*Proc. R. G. S. XIV.* 1892, pp. 205-234.)—H. C.]

We may observe that Severtsof asserts *Pamir* to be a generic term, applied to all high plateaux in the Thian Shan.*

[“The Pámír plateau may be described as a great, broad, rounded ridge, extending north and south, and crossed by thick mountain chains, between which lie elevated valleys, open and gently sloping towards the east, but narrow and confined, with a rapid fall towards the west. The waters which run in all, with the exception of the eastern flow from the Tághdúngbásh, collect in the Oxus; the Áksú from the Little Pámír lake receiving the eastern drainage, which finds an outlet in the Áktásh Valley, and joining the Múrghásh, which obtains that from the Alichór and Síríz Pámirs. As the eastern Tághdúngbásh stream finds its way into the Yarkand river,

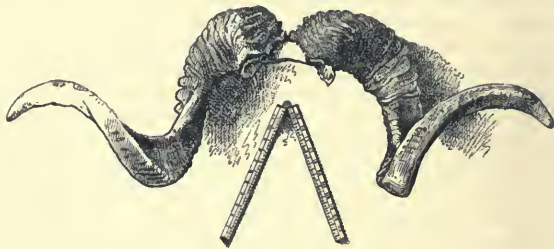
* According to Colonel Tod, the Hindu bard Chand speaks of “Pamer, chief of mountains.” (*I. p. 24.*) But one may like and respect Colonel Tod without feeling able to rely on such quotations of his unconfirmed.

the watershed must be held as extending from that Pámír, down the range dividing it from the Little Pámír, and along the Neza Táš mountains to the Kizil Art Pass, leading to the Alái." (Colonel Gordon, *Forsyth's Mission*, p. 231.)

Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon (*Forsyth's Mission*, p. 231) says also: "Regarding the name 'Pámír,' the meaning appears to be wilderness—a place depopulated, abandoned, waste, yet capable of habitation. I obtained this information on the Great Pámír from one of our intelligent guides, who said in explanation—"In former days, when this part was inhabited by Kirghiz, as is shown by the ruins of their villages and burial-grounds, the valley was not all called Pámír, as it is now. It was known by its village names, as is the country beyond Sirikol, which being now occupied by Kirghiz is not known by one name, but partly as Chárling, Bas Robát, etc. If deserted it would be Pámír." In a note Sir T. D. Forsyth adds that the same explanation of the word was given to him at Yangi-Hissar, and that it is in fact a Khokandi-Turki word.—H. C.]

It would seem, from such notices as have been received, that there is not, strictly speaking, one steppe called Pamir, but a variety of *Pamirs*, which are lofty valleys between ranges of hills, presenting luxuriant summer pasture, and with floors more or less flat, but nowhere more than 5 or 6 miles in width and often much less.

[This is quite exact; Mr. E. Delmar Morgan writes in the *Scottish Geog. Mag.* January, 1892, p. 17: "Following the terminology of Yule adopted by geographers, and now well established, we have (1) Pamir Alichur; (2) Pamir Khurd (or "Little");



Horns of *Ovis Poli*.

(3) Pamir Kalan (or "Great"); (4) Pamir Khargosi ("of the hare"); (5) Pamir Sares; (6) Pamir Rang-kul."—H. C.]

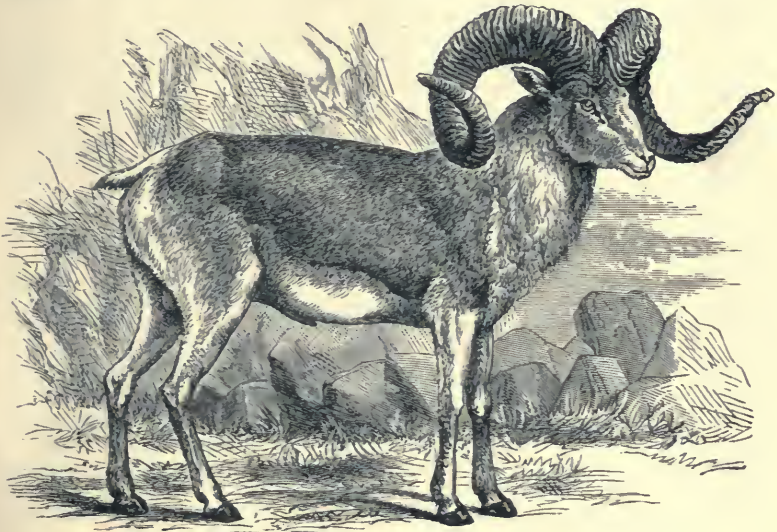
Wood speaks of the numerous wolves in this region. And the great sheep is that to which Blyth, in honour of our traveller, has given the name of *Ovis Poli*.* A pair of horns, sent by Wood to the Royal Asiatic Society, and of which a representation is given above, affords the following dimensions:—Length of one horn on the curve, 4 feet 8 inches; round the base $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches; distance of tips apart 3 feet 9 inches. This sheep appears to be the same as the *Rass*, of which Burnes heard that the horns were so big that a man could not lift a pair, and that foxes bred in them; also that the carcass formed a load for two horses. Wood says that these horns supply shoes for the Kirghiz horses, and also a good substitute for stirrup-irons. "We saw numbers of horns strewed about in every direction, the spoils of the Kirghiz hunter. Some of these were of an astonishingly large size, and belonged to an animal of a species between a goat and a sheep, inhabiting the steppes of Pamir. *The ends of the horns projecting above the snow often indicated the direction of the road; and wherever they were heaped in large quantities and disposed in a semi-circle, there our escort recognised the site of a Kirghiz summer encampment. . . . We came in sight of a rough-looking building, decked out with the horns of the wild sheep, and all but buried amongst the snow. It was a Kirghiz burying-ground.*" (Pp. 223, 229, 231.)

* Usually written *Polii*, which is nonsense.

[With reference to Wood's remark that the horns of the *Ovis Poli* supply shoes for the Kirghiz horses, Mr. Rockhill writes to me that a Paris newspaper of 24th November, 1894, observes: "Horn shoes made of the horn of sheep are successfully used in Lyons. They are especially adapted to horses employed in towns, where the pavements are often slippery. Horses thus shod can be driven, it is said, at the most rapid pace over the worst pavement without slipping."

(Cf. Rockhill, *Rubruck*, p. 69; *Chasses et Explorations dans la Région des Pamirs*, par le Vte. Ed. de Poncins, Paris, 1897, 8vo.—H. C.)]

In 1867 this great sheep was shot by M. Severtsof, on the Plateau of Aksai, in the western Thian Shan. He reports these animals to go in great herds, and to be very difficult to kill. However, he brought back two specimens. The Narin River is



Ovis Poli, the Great Sheep of Pamir. (After Severtsof.)

“El hi a grant moutitude de mouton saubages qe sunt grandisme, car ont lee cornes bien six paumes”

stated to be the northern limit of the species.* Severtsof also states that the enemies of the *Ovis Poli* are the wolves, [and Colonel Gordon says that the leopards and wolves prey almost entirely upon them. (On the *Ovis Poli*, see Captain Deasy, *In Tibet*, p. 361.)—H. C.]

Colonel Gordon, the head of the exploring party detached by Sir Douglas Forsyth, brought away a head of *Ovis Poli*, which quite bears out the account by its eponymus of horns “good 6 palms in length,” say 60 inches. This head, as I learn from a letter of Colonel Gordon's to a friend, has one horn perfect which measures 65½ inches on the curves; the other, broken at the tip, measures 64 inches; the straight line between the tips is 55 inches.

[Captain Younghusband [1886] “before leaving the Altai Mountains, picked up several heads of the *Ovis Poli*, called Argali by the Mongols. They were somewhat

* [“The Tian Shan wild sheep has since been described as the *Ovis Karvelini*, a species somewhat smaller than the true *Ovis Poli* which frequents the Pamirs.” (Colonel Gordon, *Roof of the World*, p. 83, note.)—H. C.]

different from those which I afterwards saw at Yarkand, which had been brought in from the Pamir. Those I found in the Gobi were considerably thicker at the base, there was a less degree of curve, and a shorter length of horn. A full description of the *Ovis Poli*, with a large plate drawing of the horns, may be seen in Colonel Gordon's *Roof of the World*. (See p. 81.) (*Proc. R. G. S. X.* 1888, p. 495.) Some years later, Captain Younghusband speaks repeatedly of the great sport of shooting *Ovis Poli*. (*Proc. R. G. S. XIV.* 1892, pp. 205, 234.)—H. C.]

As to the pasture, Timkowski heard that "the pasturage of Pamir is so luxuriant and nutritious, that if horses are left on it for more than forty days they die of repletion." (I. 421.) And Wood: "The grass of Pamir, they tell you, is so rich that a sorry horse is here brought into good condition in less than twenty days; and its nourishing qualities are evidenced in the productiveness of their ewes, which almost invariably bring forth two lambs at a birth." (P. 365.)

With regard to the effect upon fire ascribed to the "great cold," Ramusio's version inserts the expression "*gli fu affermato per miracolo*," "it was asserted to him as a wonderful circumstance." And Humboldt thinks it so strange that Marco should not have observed this personally that he doubts whether Polo himself passed the Pamir. "How is it that he does not say that he himself had seen how the flames disperse and leap about, as I myself have so often experienced at similar altitudes in the Cordilleras of the Andes, especially when investigating the boiling-point of water?" (*Cent. Asia*, Germ. Transl. I. 588.) But the words quoted from Ramusio do not exist in the old texts, and they are probably an editorial interpolation indicating disbelief in the statement.

MM. Huc and Gabet made a like observation on the high passes of north-eastern Tibet: "The *argols* gave out much smoke, but would not burn with any flame"; only they adopted the native idea that this as well as their own sufferings in respiration was caused by some pernicious exhalation.

Major Montgomerie, R. E., of the Indian Survey, who has probably passed more time nearer the heavens than any man living, sends me the following note on this passage: "What Marco Polo says as to fire at great altitudes not cooking so effectually as usual is perfectly correct as far as anything *boiled* is concerned, but I doubt if it is as to anything *roasted*. The want of brightness in a fire at great altitudes is, I think, altogether attributable to the poorness of the fuel, which consists of either small sticks or bits of roots, or of *argols* of dung, all of which give out a good deal of smoke, more especially the latter if not quite dry; but I have often seen a capital blaze made with the *argols* when perfectly dry. As to cooking, we found that rice, *ddl*, and potatoes would never soften properly, no matter how long they were boiled. This, of course, was due to the boiling-point being only from 170° to 180°. Our tea, moreover, suffered from the same cause, and was never good when we were over 15,000 feet. This was very marked. Some of my natives made dreadful complaints about the rice and *dál* that they got from the village-heads in the valleys, and vowed that they only gave them what was very old and hard, as they could not soften it!"

NOTE 3.—*Bolor* is a subject which it would take several pages to discuss with fulness, and I must refer for such fuller discussion to a paper in the *J. R. G. S.* vol. xlii. p. 473.

The name *Bolor* is very old, occurring in Hiuen Tsang's Travels (7th century), and in still older Chinese works of like character. General Cunningham has told us that Balti is still termed *Balor* by the Dards of Gilghit; and Mr. Shaw, that *Palor* is an old name still sometimes used by the Kirghiz for the upper part of Chitrál. The indications of Hiuen Tsang are in accordance with General Cunningham's information; and the fact that Chitrál is described under the name of *Bolor* in Chinese works of the last century entirely justifies that of Mr. Shaw. A Pushtu poem of the 17th century, translated by Major Raverty, assigns the mountains of *Bilaur-istán*, as the northern boundary of Swát. The collation of these indications shows that the

term Bolor must have been applied somewhat extensively to the high regions adjoining the southern margin of Pamir. And a passage in the *Tārkh Rashidī*, written at Kashgar in the 16th century by a cousin of the great Baber, affords us a definition of the tract to which, in its larger sense, the name was thus applied: "*Malaur* (i.e. Balaur or Bolor) . . . is a country with few level spots. It has a circuit of four months' march. The eastern frontier borders on Kashgar and Yarkand; it has Badakhshan to the north, Kabul to the west, and Kashmír to the south." The writer was thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and the region which he so defines must have embraced Sirikol and all the wild country south of Yarkand, Balti, Gilghit, Yasin, Chitrál, and perhaps Kafiristán. This enables us to understand Polo's use of the term.

The name of Bolor in later days has been in a manner a symbol of controversy. It is prominent in the apocryphal travels of George Ludwig von ———, preserved in the Military Archives at St. Petersburg. That work represents a town of Bolor as existing to the north of Badakhshan, with Wakhán still further to the north. This geography we now know to be entirely erroneous, but it is in full accordance with the maps and tables of the Jesuit missionaries and their pupils, who accompanied the Chinese troops to Kashgar in 1758-1759. The paper in the *Geographical Society's Journal*, which has been referred to, demonstrates how these erroneous data must have originated. It shows that the Jesuit geography was founded on downright accidental error, and, as a consequence, that the narratives which profess *de visu* to corroborate that geography must be downright forgeries. When the first edition was printed, I retained the belief in a Bolor where the Jesuits placed it.

[The Chinese traveller, translated by M. Gueluy (*Desc. de la Chine occid.* p. 53), speaks of Bolor, to the west of Yarkand, inhabited by Mahomedans who live in huts; the country is sandy and rather poor. Severtsof says, (*Bul. Soc. Géog.* XI. 1890, p. 591) that he believes that the name of Bolor should be expunged from geographical nomenclature as a source of confusion and error. Humboldt, with his great authority, has too definitely attached this name to an erroneous orographical system. Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon says that he "made repeated enquiries from Kirghiz and Wakhis, and from the Mír [of Wakhán], Fatteh Ali Shah, regarding 'Bólór,' as a name for any mountain, country, or place, but all professed perfect ignorance of it." (*Forsyth's Mission.*)—H. C.]

The *J. A. S. Bengal* for 1853 (vol. xxii.) contains extracts from the diary of a Mr. Gardiner in those central regions of Asia. These read more like the memoranda of a dyspeptic dream than anything else, and the only passage I can find illustrative of our traveller is the following; the region is described as lying twenty days south-west of Kashgar: "The Keiaz tribe live in caves on the highest peaks, subsist by hunting, keep no flocks, said to be anthropophagous, but have handsome women; eat their flesh raw." (P. 295; *Pèlerins Boud.* III. 316, 421, etc.; *Ladak*, 34, 45, 47; *Mag. Asiatique*, I. 92, 96-97; *Not. et Ext.* II. 475, XIV. 492; *J. A. S. B.* XXXI. 279; Mr. R. Shaw in *Geog. Proceedings*, XVI. 246, 400; *Notes regarding Bolor*, etc., *J. R. G. S.* XLII. 473.)

As this sheet goes finally to press we hear of the exploration of Pamir by officers of Mr. Forsyth's Mission. [I have made use of the information collected by them.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE KINGDOM OF CASCAR.

CASCAR is a region lying between north-east and east, and constituted a kingdom in former days, but now it



Head of a Native of Kashgar.

is subject to the Great Kaan. The people worship Mahommet. There are a good number of towns and

villages, but the greatest and finest is Cascar itself. The inhabitants live by trade and handicrafts; they have



View of Kashgar. (From Shaw's "Tartary.")

beautiful gardens and vineyards, and fine estates, and grow a great deal of cotton. From this country many

merchants go forth about the world on trading journeys. The natives are a wretched, niggardly set of people; they eat and drink in miserable fashion. There are in the country many Nestorian Christians, who have churches of their own. The people of the country have a peculiar language, and the territory extends for five days' journey.¹

NOTE I.—[There is no longer any difficulty in understanding how the travellers, after crossing Pamir, should have arrived at Kashgar if they followed the route from Táshkurgán through the Gez Defile.

The Itinerary of the Mirza from Badakhshan (Fáizabad) is the following: Zebak, Ishkashm, on the Panja, which may be considered the beginning of the Wakhán Valley, Panja Fort, in Wakhán, Raz Khan, Patur, near Lunghar (commencement of Pamir Steppe), Pamir Kul, or Barkút Yassin, 13,300 feet, Aktash, Sirikol Táshkurgán, Shukrab, Chichik Dawan, Akul, Kotul, Chahul Station (road to Yarkand) Kila Karawal, Aghiz Gah, Yangi-Hissar, Opechan, Yanga Shahr, Kashgar, where he arrived on the 3rd February, 1869. (Cf. *Report of "The Mirza's" Exploration from Caubul to Kashgar*. By Major T. G. Montgomerie, R.E. . . (*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* XLI. 1871, pp. 132-192.)

Major Montgomerie (*loc. p.* 144) says: "The alterations in the positions of Kashgar and Yarkund in a great measure explains why Marco Polo, in crossing from Badakhshan to Eastern Turkestan, went first to Kashgar and then to Yarkund. With the old positions of Yarkund and Kashgar it appeared that the natural route from Badakhshan would have led first to Yarkund; with the new positions, and guided by the light of the Mirza's route, from which it is seen that the direct route to Yarkund is not a good one, it is easy to understand how a traveller might prefer going to Kashgar first, and then to Yarkund. It is satisfactory to have elicited this further proof of the general accuracy of the great traveller's account of his journey through Central Asia."

The Itinerary of Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon (*Sirikol, the Pamirs and Wakhán*, ch. vi. of *Forsyth's Mission to Yarkund in 1873*) runs thus: "Left Káshgar (21st March), Yangi-Hissar, Kaskasú Pass, descent to Chihil Gumbaz (forty Domes), where the road branches off to Yárkand (110 miles), Torut Pass, Tangi-Tár (defile), 'to the foot of a great elevated slope leading to the Chichiklik Pass, plain, and lake (14,700 feet), below the Yámbulák and Kok-Moinok Passes, which are used later in the season on the road between Yangi-Hissár and Sirikol, to avoid the Tangi-Tár and Shindí defiles. As the season advances, these passes become free from snow, while the defiles are rendered dangerous and difficult by the rush of the melting snow torrents. From the Chichiklik plain we proceeded down the Shindí ravine, over an extremely bad stony road, to the Sirikol River, up the banks of which we travelled to Táshkurgán, reaching it on the tenth day from Yangi-Hissar. The total distance is 125 miles.' Then Táshkurgán (ancient name *Várshidí*): 'the open part of the Sirikol Valley extends from about 8 miles below Táshkurgán to apparently a very considerable distance towards the Kunjút mountain range;' left Táshkurgán for Wákhán (2nd April, 1873); leave Sirikol Valley, enter the Shindán defile, reach the Áktásh Valley, follow the Áktásh stream (called Áksú by the Kirghiz) through the Little Pamir to the Gházkul (Little Pamir) Lake or Barkat Yássín, from which it takes its rise, four days from Táshkurgán. Little Pamir 'is bounded on the south by the continuation of the Neza Tásh range, which separates it from the Tághdúngbásh Pámir,'

west of the lake, Langar, Sarhadd, 30 miles from Langar, and seven days from Sirikol, and Kila Panj, twelve days from Sirikól."—H. C.]

[I cannot admit with Professor Paquier (*l.c.* pp. 127-128) that Marco Polo did not visit Kashgar.—Grenard (II. p. 17) makes the remark that it took Marco Polo seventy days from Badakhshan to Kashgar, a distance that, in the Plain of Turkestan, he shall cross in sixteen days.—The Chinese traveller, translated by M. Gueluy (*Desc. de la Chine occidentale*, p. 45), says that the name Kashgar is made of *Kash*, fine colour, and *gar*, brick house.—H. C.]

Kashgar was the capital, from 1865 to 1877, of Ya'kúb Kúshbegi, a soldier of fortune, by descent it is said a Tajik of Shighnan, who, when the Chinese yoke was thrown off, made a throne for himself in Eastern Turkestan, and subjected the whole basin to his authority, taking the title of *Atalik Gházi*.

It is not easy to see how Kashgar should have been subject to the Great Kaan, except in the sense in which all territories under Mongol rule owed him homage. Yarkand, Polo acknowledges to have belonged to Kaidu, and the boundary between Kaidu's territory and the Kaan's lay between Karashahr and Komul [Bk. I. ch. xli.], much further east.

[Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* (II. p. 47), says: "Marco Polo states with respect to the kingdom of *Cascar* (I. 189) that it was subject to the Great Khan, and says the same regarding *Cotan* (I. 196), whilst *Yarcan* (I. 195), according to Marco Polo, belonged to Kaidu. This does not agree with Rashid's statements about the boundary between Kaidu's territory and the Khan's."—H. C.]

Kashgar was at this time a Metropolitan See of the Nestorian Church. (*Cathay*, etc. 275, ccxlv.)

Many strange sayings have been unduly ascribed to our traveller, but I remember none stranger than this by Colonel Tod: "*Marco Polo calls Cashgar, where he was in the 6th century, the birthplace of the Swedes*"! (*Rajasthan*, I. 60.) Pétis de la Croix and Tod between them are answerable for this nonsense. (See *The Hist. of Genghizcan the Great*, p. 116.)

On *cotton*, see ch. xxxvi.—On Nestorians, see Kanchau.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF THE GREAT CITY OF SAMARCAN.

SAMARCAN is a great and noble city towards the north-west, inhabited by both Christians and Saracens, who are subject to the Great Kaan's nephew, CAIDOU by name; he is, however, at bitter enmity with the Kaan.¹ I will tell you of a great marvel that happened at this city.

It is not a great while ago that SIGATAY, own brother to the Great Kaan, who was Lord of this country and of many an one besides, became a Christian.² The



View of Samarcand. (From a sketch by Mr. Ivanoff.)
"Samarcand est une grandissime cite et noble."

Christians rejoiced greatly at this, and they built a great church in the city, in honour of John the Baptist; and by his name the church was called. And they took a very fine stone which belonged to the Saracens, and placed it as the pedestal of a column in the middle of the church, supporting the roof. It came to pass, however, that Sigatay died. Now the Saracens were full of rancour about that stone that had been theirs, and which had been set up in the church of the Christians; and when they saw that the Prince was dead, they said one to another that now was the time to get back their stone, by fair means or by foul. And that they might well do, for they were ten times as many as the Christians. So they gat together and went to the church and said that the stone they must and would have. The Christians acknowledged that it was theirs indeed, but offered to pay a large sum of money and so be quit. Howbeit, the others replied that they never would give up the stone for anything in the world. And words ran so high that the Prince heard thereof, and ordered the Christians either to arrange to satisfy the Saracens, if it might be, with money, or to give up the stone. And he allowed them three days to do either the one thing or the other.

What shall I tell you? Well, the Saracens would on no account agree to leave the stone where it was, and this out of pure despite to the Christians, for they knew well enough that if the stone were stirred the church would come down by the run. So the Christians were in great trouble and wist not what to do. But they did do the best thing possible; they besought Jesus Christ that he would consider their case, so that the holy church should not come to destruction, nor the name of its Patron Saint, John the Baptist, be tarnished by its ruin. And so when the day fixed by the Prince

came round, they went to the church betimes in the morning, and lo, they found the stone removed from under the column; the foot of the column was without support, and yet it bore the load as stoutly as before! Between the foot of the column and the ground there was a space of three palms. So the Saracens had away their stone, and mighty little joy withal. It was a glorious miracle, nay, it *is* so, for the column still so standeth, and will stand as long as God pleaseth.³

Now let us quit this and continue our journey.

NOTE 1.—Of Kaidu, Kúblái Kaan's kinsman and rival, and their long wars, we shall have to speak later. He had at this time a kind of joint occupancy of SAMARKAND and Bokhara with the Khans of Chagatai, his cousins.

[On Samarkand generally see: *Samarqand*, by W. Radloff, translated into French by L. Leger, *Rec. d'Itin. dans l'Asie Centrale*, Ecole des Langues Orient., Paris, 1878, p. 284 et seq.; *A travers le royaume de Tamerlan (Asie Centrale)*. . . par Guillaume Capus. . . Paris, 1892, 8vo.—H. C.]

Marco evidently never was at Samarkand, though doubtless it was visited by his Father and Uncle on their first journey, when we know they were long at Bokhara. Having, therefore, little to say descriptive of a city he had not seen, he tells us a story:—

“So geographers, in Afric maps,
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.”

As regards the Christians of Samarkand who figure in the preceding story, we may note that the city had been one of the Metropolitan Sees of the Nestorian Church since the beginning of the 8th century, and had been a bishopric perhaps two centuries earlier. Prince Sempad, High Constable of Armenia, in a letter written from Samarkand in 1246 or 1247, mentions several circumstances illustrative of the state of things indicated in this story: “I tell you that we have found many Christians scattered all over the East, and many fine churches, lofty, ancient, and of good architecture, which have been spoiled by the Turks. Hence, the Christians of this country came to the presence of the reigning Kaan's grandfather (*i.e.* Chinghiz); he received them most honourably, and granted them liberty of worship, and issued orders to prevent their having any just cause of complaint by word or deed. *And so the Saracens, who used to treat them with contempt, have now the like treatment in double measure.*”

Shortly after Marco's time, viz. in 1328, Thomas of Mancasola, a Dominican, who had come from Samarkand with a Mission to the Pope (John XXII.) from Ilchigadai, Khan of Chagatai, was appointed Latin Bishop of that city. (*Mosheim*, p. 110, etc.; *Cathay*, p. 192.)

NOTE 2.—CHAGATAI, here called Sigatay, was Uncle, not Brother, to the Great Kaan (Kúblái). Nor was Kaidu either Chagatai's son or Kúblái's nephew, as Marco here and elsewhere represents him to be. (See Bk. IV. ch. i.) The term used to

describe Chagatai's relationship is *frère charnel*, which excludes ambiguity, cousinship, or the like (such as is expressed by the Italian *fratello cugino*), and corresponds, I believe, to the *brother german* of Scotch law documents.

NOTE 3.—One might say, These things be an allegory! We take the fine stone that belongs to the Saracens (or Papists) to build our church on, but the day of reckoning comes at last, and our (Irish Protestant) Christians are afraid that the Church will come about their ears. May it stand, and better than that of Samarkand has done!

There is a story somewhat like this in D'Herbelot, about the Karmathian Heretics carrying off the Black Stone from Mecca, and being obliged years after to bring it back across the breadth of Arabia; on which occasion the stone conducted itself in a miraculous manner.

There is a remarkable Stone at Samarkand, the *Kok-Tash* or Green Stone, on which Timur's throne was set. Tradition says that, big as it is, it was brought by him from Brusa;—but tradition may be wrong. (See *Vámbéry's Travels*, p. 206.) [Also *H. Moser, A travers l'Asie centrale*, 114-115.—H. C.]

[The Archimandrite Palladius (*Chinese Recorder*, VI. p. 108) quotes from the *Chi shun Chin-kiang chi* (Description of Chin-Kiang), 14th century, the following passage regarding the pillar: "There is a temple (in Samarcand) supported by four enormous wooden pillars, each of them 40 feet high. One of these pillars is in a hanging position, and stands off from the floor more than a foot."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF THE PROVINCE OF YARCAN.

YARCAN is a province five days' journey in extent. The people follow the Law of Mahomet, but there are also Nestorian and Jacobite Christians. They are subject to the same Prince that I mentioned, the Great Kaan's nephew. They have plenty of everything, [particularly of cotton. The inhabitants are also great craftsmen, but a large proportion of them have swoln legs, and great crops at the throat, which arises from some quality in their drinking-water.] As there is nothing else worth telling we may pass on.¹

NOTE 1.—Yarkan or Yarken seems to be the general pronunciation of the name to this day, though we write YARKAND.

[A Chinese traveller, translated by M. Gueluy (*Desc. de la Chine occidentales*, p. 41), says that the word *Yarkand* is made of *Iar*, earth, and *Kiang* (*Kand?*), large,

vast, but this derivation is doubtful. The more probable one is that Yarkand is made up of *Yar*, new, and *Kand*, *Kend*, or *Kent*, city.—H. C.]

Mir 'Izzat Ullah in modern days speaks of the prevalence of goitre at Yarkand. And Mr. Shaw informs me that during his recent visit to Yarkand (1869) he had numerous applications for iodine as a remedy for that disease. The theory which connects it with the close atmosphere of valleys will not hold at Yarkand. (*J. R. A. S.* VII. 303.)

[Dr. Sven Hedin says that three-fourths of the population of Yarkand are suffering from goitre; he ascribes the prevalence of the disease to the bad quality of the water, which is kept in large basins, used indifferently for bathing, washing, or draining. Only Hindu and "Andijdanlik" merchants, who drink well water, are free from goitre.

Lieutenant Roberovsky, the companion of Pietvsov, in 1889, says: "In the streets one meets many men and women with large goitres, a malady attributed to the bad quality of the water running in the town conduits, and drunk by the inhabitants in its natural state. It appears in men at the age of puberty, and in women when they marry." (*Proc. R. G. S.* 2 ser. XII. 1890, p. 36.)

Formerly the Mirza (*J. R. G. S.* 1871, p. 181) said: "Goitre is very common in the city [of Yarkund], and in the country round, but it is unknown in Kashgar."

General Pietvsov gives to the small oasis of Yarkand (264 square miles) a population of 150,000, that is, 567 inhabitants per square mile. He, after Prjevalsky's death, started, with V. L. Roberovsky (botanist) and P. K. Kozlov (zoologist), who were later joined by K. I. Bogdanovich (geologist), on his expedition to Tibet (1889-1890). He followed the route Yarkand, Khotan, Kiria, Nia, and Charchan.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF A PROVINCE CALLED COTAN.

COTAN is a province lying between north-east and east, and is eight days' journey in length. The people are subject to the Great Kaan,¹ and are all worshippers of Mahommet.² There are numerous towns and villages in the country, but Cotan, the capital, is the most noble of all, and gives its name to the kingdom. Everything is to be had there in plenty, including abundance of cotton, [with flax, hemp, wheat, wine, and the like]. The people have vineyards and gardens and estates. They live by commerce and manufactures, and are no soldiers.³

NOTE 1.—[The Buddhist Government of Khotan was destroyed by Boghra Khân (about 980-990); it was temporarily restored by the Buddhist Kutchluk Khân, chief

of the Naïmans, who came from the banks of the Ili, destroyed the Mahomedan dynasty of Boghra Khân (1209), but was in his turn subjugated by Chinghiz Khan.

The only Christian monument discovered in Khotan is a bronze cross brought back by Grenard (III. pp. 134-135); see also Devéria, *Notes d'Épigraphie Mongole*, p. 80.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—“*Aourent Mahomet.*” Though this is Marco’s usual formula to define Mahomedans, we can scarcely suppose that he meant it literally. But in other cases it was *very* literally interpreted. Thus in *Baudouin de Sebourc*, the Dame de Pontieu, a passionate lady who renounces her faith before Saladin, says :—

“ Et je renoië Dieu, et le pooir qu’il a ;
Et Marie, sa Mère, qu’on dist qui le porta ;
Mahom voel aourent, apotez-le-moi chà !’
* * * * Li Soudans commanda
Qu’on aportast Mahom ; et celle l’aoura.” (I. p. 72.)

The same romance brings in the story of the Stone of Samarkand, adapted from ch. xxxiv., and accounts for its sanctity in Saracen eyes because it had long formed a pedestal for Mahound !

And this notion gave rise to the use of *Mawmet* for an idol in general ; whilst from the *Mahommerie* or place of Islamite worship the name of *mummery* came to be applied to idolatrous or unmeaning rituals ; both very unjust etymologies. Thus of mosques in *Richard Cœur de Lion* :

“ Kyrkes they made of Crystene Lawe,
And her *Mawmettes* lete downe drawe.” (Weber, II. 228.)

So Correa calls a golden idol, which was taken by Da Gama in a ship of Calicut, “an image of Mahomed” (372). Don Quixote too, who ought to have known better, cites with admiration the feat of Rinaldo in carrying off, in spite of forty Moors, a golden image of Mahomed.

NOTE 3.—800 *li* (160 miles) east of *Chokiuka* or Yarkand, Hiuen Tsang comes to *Kiustanna* (Kustána) or KHOTAN. “The country chiefly consists of plains covered with stones and sand. The remainder, however, is favourable to agriculture, and produces everything abundantly. From this country are got woollen carpets, fine felts, well woven taffetas, white and black jade.” Chinese authors of the 10th century speak of the abundant grapes and excellent wine of Khotan.

Chinese annals of the 7th and 8th centuries tell us that the people of Khotan had chronicles of their own, a glimpse of a lost branch of history. Their writing, laws, and literature were modelled upon those of India.

Ilchi, the modern capital, was visited by Mr. Johnson, of the Indian Survey, in 1865. The country, after the revolt against the Chinese in 1863, came first under the rule of Habfb-ullah, an aged chief calling himself *Khân Bâdshah* of Khotan ; and since the treacherous seizure and murder of Habfb-ullah by Ya’kub Beg of Kashgar in January 1867, it has formed a part of the kingdom of the latter.

Mr. Johnson says : “The chief grains of the country are Indian corn, wheat, barley of two kinds, *bâjra*, *jowâr* (two kinds of *holcus*), buckwheat and rice, all of which are superior to the Indian grains, and are of a very fine quality. . . . The country is certainly superior to India, and in every respect equal to Kashmir, over which it has the advantage of being less humid, and consequently better suited to the growth of fruits. *Olives* (?), pears, apples, peaches, apricots, mulberries, grapes, currants, and melons, all exceedingly large in size and of a delicious flavour, are produced in great variety and abundance. . . . Cotton of valuable quality, and raw silk, are produced in very large quantities.”

[Khotan is the chief place of Turkestan for cotton manufactures; its *khàm* is to be found everywhere. This name, which means raw in Persian, is given to a stuff made with cotton thread, which has not undergone any preparation; its manufacture also two other cotton stuffs: *alatcha* with blue and red stripes, and *tchekmen*, very thick and coarse, used to make dresses and sacks; if *khàm* is better at Khotan, *alatcha* and *tchekmen* are superior at Kashgar. (*Grenard*, II. pp. 191-192.)

Grenard (II. pp. 175-177), among the fruits, mentions apricots (*ourouk*), ripe in June, and so plentiful that to keep them they are dried up to be used like garlic against mountain sickness; melons (*koghoun*); water-melons (*tarbouz*, the best are from Hami); vine (*tâl*)—the best grapes (*uzum*) come from Boghâz langar, near Keria; the best dried grapes are those from Turfan; peaches (*shaptâlou*); pomegranates (*anâr*, best from Kerghalyk), etc.; the best apples are those of Nia and Sadju; pears are very bad; cherries and strawberries are unknown. *Grenard* (II. p. 106) also says that grapes are very good, but that Khotan wine is detestable, and tastes like vinegar.

The Chinese traveller, translated by M. Gueluy (*Desc. de la Chine occidentale*, p. 45), says that all the inhabitants of Khotan are seeking for precious stones, and that melons and fruits are more plentiful than at Yarkand.—H. C.]

Mr. Johnson reports the whole country to be rich in soil and very much under-peopled. Ichi, the capital, has a population of about 40,000, and is a great place for manufactures. The chief articles produced are silks, felts, carpets (both silk and woollen), coarse cotton cloths, and paper from the mulberry fibre. The people are strict Mahomedans, and speak a Turki dialect. Both sexes are good-looking, with a slightly Tartar cast of countenance. (*V. et V. de H. T.* 278; *Rénumat*, *H. de la V. de Khotan*, 37, 73-84; *Chin. Repos.* IX. 128; *J. R. G. S.* XXXVII. 6 seqq.)

[In 1891, Dutreuil de Rhins and *Grenard* at the small village of Yotkân, about 8 miles to the west of the present Khotan, came across what they considered the most important and probably the most ancient city of southern Chinese Turkestan. The natives say that Yotkân is the site of the old Capital. (Cf. *Grenard*, III. p. 127 *et seq.* for a description and drawings of coins and objects found at this place.)

The remains of the ancient capital of Khotan were accidentally discovered, some thirty-five years ago, at Yotkân, a village of the Borazân Tract. A great mass of highly interesting finds of ancient art pottery, engraved stones, and early Khotan coins with Kharoshthi-Chinese legends, coming from this site, have recently been thoroughly examined in Dr. Hoernle's Report on the "British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities." *Stein*.—(See *Three further Collections of Ancient Manuscripts from Central Asia*, by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle. . . . Calcutta, 1897, 8vo.)

"The sacred sites of Buddhist Khotan which Hiuen Tsang and Fa-lian describe, can be shown to be occupied now, almost without exception, by Mohamedan shrines forming the object of popular pilgrimages." (M. A. Stein, *Archæological Work about Khotan*, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, April, 1901, p. 296.)

It may be justly said that during the last few years numerous traces of Hindu civilisation have been found in Central Asia, extending from Khotan, through the Takla-Makan, as far as Turfan, and perhaps further up.

Dr. Sven Hedin, in the year 1896, during his second journey through Takla-Makan from Khotan to Shah Yar, visited the ruins between the Khotan Daria and the Kiria Daria, where he found the remains of the city of Takla-Makan now buried in the sands. He discovered figures of Buddha, a piece of papyrus with unknown characters, vestiges of habitations. This Asiatic Pompei, says the traveller, at least ten centuries old, is anterior to the Mahomedan invasion led by Kuteibe Ibn-Muslim, which happened at the beginning of the 8th century. Its inhabitants were Buddhist, and of Aryan race, probably originating from Hindustan.—Dutreuil de Rhins and *Grenard* discovered in the Kumâri grottoes, in a small hill on the right bank of the Karakash Daria, a manuscript written on birch bark in Kharoshthi characters; these grottoes of Kumâri are mentioned in Hiuen Tsang. (II. p. 229.)

Dr. Sven Hedin followed the route Kashgar, Yangi-Hissar, Yarkand to Khotan,

in 1895. He made a stay of nine days at Ilchi, the population of which he estimated at 5500 inhabitants (5000 Musulmans, 500 Chinese).

(See also Sven Hedin, *Die Geog. wissenschaft. Ergebnisse meiner Reisen in Zentralasien*, 1894-1897. *Petermann's Mitt.*, Ergänz. XXVIII. (Hft. 131), Gotha, 1900.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF THE PROVINCE OF PEIN.

PEIN is a province five days in length, lying between east and north-east. The people are worshippers of Mahommet, and subjects of the Great Kaan. There are a good number of towns and villages, but the most noble is PEIN, the capital of the kingdom.¹ There are rivers in this country, in which quantities of Jasper and Chalcedony are found.² The people have plenty of all products, including cotton. They live by manufactures and trade. But they have a custom that I must relate. If the husband of any woman go away upon a journey and remain away for more than 20 days, as soon as that term is past the woman may marry another man, and the husband also may then marry whom he pleases.³

I should tell you that all the provinces that I have been speaking of, from Cascar forward, and those I am going to mention [as far as the city of Lop] belong to GREAT TURKEY.

NOTE 1.—“In old times,” says the *Haft Iklm.*, “travellers used to go from Khotan to Cathay in 14 (?) days, and found towns and villages all along the road [excepting, it may be presumed, on the terrible Gobi], so that there was no need to travel in caravans. In later days the fear of the Kalmaks caused this line to be abandoned, and the circuitous one occupied 100 days.” This directer route between Khotan and China must have been followed by Fa-hian on his way to India; by Hiuen Tsang on his way back; and by Shah Rukh's ambassadors on their return from China in 1421. The circuitous route alluded to appears to have gone north from Khotan, crossed the Tarimgol, and fallen into the road along the base of the Thian Shan, eventually crossing the Desert southward from Komul,

Former commentators differed very widely as to the position of Pein, and as to the direction of Polo's route from Khotan. The information acquired of late years leaves the latter no longer open to doubt. It must have been nearly coincident with that of Hiuen Tsang.

The perusal of Johnson's Report of his journey to Khotan, and the Itineraries attached to it, enabled me to feel tolerable certainty as to the position of Charchan (see next chapter), and as to the fact that Marco followed a direct route from Khotan to the vicinity of Lake Lop. Pein, then, was identical with PIMA,* which was the first city reached by Hiuen Tsang on his return to China after quitting Khotan, and which lay 330 *li* east of the latter city.† Other notices of Pima appear in Rémusat's history of Khotan; some of these agree exactly as to the distance from the capital, adding that it stood on the banks of a river flowing from the East and entering the sandy Desert; whilst one account seems to place it at 500 *li* from Khotan. And in the Turkish map of Central Asia, printed in the *Jahân Numâ*, as we learn from Sir H. Rawlinson, the town of *Pîm* is placed a little way north of Khotan. Johnson found Khotan rife with stories of former cities overwhelmed by the shifting sands of the Desert, and these sands appear to have been advancing for ages; for far to the north-east of Pima, even in the 7th century, were to be found the deserted and ruined cities of the ancient kingdoms of *Tuholo* and *Shemathona*. "Where anciently were the seats of flourishing cities and prosperous communities," says a Chinese author speaking of this region, "is nothing now to be seen but a vast desert; all has been buried in the sands, and the wild camel is hunted on those arid plains."

Pima cannot have been very far from *Kiria*, visited by Johnson. This is a town of 7000 houses, lying east of Ilchi, and about 69 miles distant from it. The road for the most part lies through a highly cultivated and irrigated country, flanked by the sandy desert at three or four miles to the left. After passing eastward by Kiria it is said to make a great elbow, turning north; and within this elbow lie the sands that have buried cities and fertile country. Here Mr. Shaw supposes Pima lay (perhaps upon the river of Kiria). At Pima itself, in A.D. 644, there was a story of the destruction of a city lying further north, a judgment on the luxury and impiety of the people and their king, who, shocked at the eccentric aspect of a holy man, had caused him to be buried in sand up to the mouth.

(*N. et E.* XIV. 477; *H. de la Ville de Khotan*, 63-66; *Klap. Tabl. Historiques*, p. 182; *Proc. R. G. S.* XVI. 243.)

[Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard took the road from Khotan to Charchan; they left Khotan on the 4th May, 1893, passed Kiria, Nia, and instead of going direct to Charchan through the desert, they passed Kara Say at the foot of the Altyn tâgh, a route three days longer than the other, but one which was less warm, and where water, meat, milk, and barley could be found. Having passed Kapa, they crossed the Karamuren, and went up from Achan due north to Charchan, where they stayed three months. Nowhere do they mention Pein, or Pima, for it appears to be *Kiria* itself, which is the only real town between Khotan and the Lobnor. Grenard says in a note (p. 54, vol. ii.): "*Fî-mo* (Keria) recalls the Tibetan *byé-ma*, which is pronounced *Péma*, or *Tchéma*, and which means *sand*. Such is perhaps also the origin of *Pialma*, a village near Khotan, and of the old name of Charchan, *Tché-mo-to-na*, of which the two last syllables would represent *grong* (pronounce *tong*=town), or *kr'om* (*l'om*=bazaar). Now, not only would this etymology be justified because these three places are indeed surrounded with sand remarkably deep, but as they were the first three important places with which the Tibetans met coming into the desert of Gobi, either by the route of Gurgutluk and of Polor, or by Karakoram and Sandju, or by Tsadam, and they had thus as good a pretext to call them 'towns of sand' as the

* *Pein* may easily have been miscopied for *Pem*, which is indeed the reading of some MSS. Ramusio has *Peym*.

† M. Vivien de St. Martin, in his map of Hiuen Tsang's travels, places Pima to the west of Khotan. Though one sees how the mistake originated, there is no real ground for this in either of the versions of the Chinese pilgrim's journey. (See *Vie et Voyages*, p. 288, and *Mémoires*, vol. ii. 242-243.)

Chinese had to give to T'un-hwang the name of *Shachau*, viz. City of Sand. Kiria is called *Ou-mi*, under the Han, and the name of Pi-mo is found for the first time in Hiuen Tsang, that is to say, before the Tibetan invasions of the 5th century. It is not possible to admit that the incursion of the Tu-ku-hun in the 5th century could be the cause of this change of name. The hypothesis remains that Pi-mo was really the ancient name forced by the first Tibetan invaders spoken of by legend, that *Ou-mi* was either another name of the town, or a fancy name invented by the Chinese, like Yu-t'ien for Khotan, Su-lo for Kashgar. . . ." Sir T. D. Forsyth (*J. R. G. S.*, XLVII., 1877, p. 3) writes: "I should say that Peim or Pima must be identical with Kiria."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The Jasper and Chalcedony of our author are probably only varieties of the semi-precious mineral called by us popularly *Jade*, by the Chinese *Yü*, by the Eastern Turks *Kásh*, by the Persians *Yashm*, which last is no doubt the same word with *iaspis*, and therefore with *Jasper*. The Greek *Jaspis* was in reality, according to Mr. King, a green Chalcedony.

The Jade of Turkestan is largely derived from water-rolled boulders fished up by divers in the rivers of Khotan, but it is also got from mines in the valley of the Karákásh River. "Some of the Jade," says Timkowski, "is as white as snow, some dark green, like the most beautiful emerald (?), others yellow, vermilion, and jet black. The rarest and most esteemed varieties are the white speckled with red and the green veined with gold." (I. 395.) The Jade of Khotan appears to be first mentioned by Chinese authors in the time of the Han Dynasty under Wu-ti (B.C. 140-86). In A.D. 541 an image of Buddha sculptured in Jade was sent as an offering from Khotan; and in 632 the process of fishing for the material in the rivers of Khotan, as practised down to modern times, is mentioned. The importation of Jade or *Yü* from this quarter probably gave the name of *Kia-yü Kwan* or "Jade Gate" to the fortified Pass looking in this direction on the extreme N.W. of China Proper, between Shachau and Suhchau. Since the detachment from China the Jade industry has ceased, the Musulmans having no taste for that kind of *virtù*. (*H. de la V. de Khotan*, 2, 17, 23; also see *J. R. G. S.* XXXVI. 165, and *Cathay*, 130, 564; *Ritter*, II. 213; *Shaw's High Tartary*, pp. 98, 473.)

[On the 11th January, 1895, Dr. Sven Hedin visited one of the chief places where Jade is to be found. It is to the north-east of Khotan, in the old bed of the Yurun Kash. The bed of the river is divided into *claims* like gold-fields; the workmen are Chinese for the greater part, some few are Musulmans.

Greuard (II. pp. 186-187) says that the finest Jade comes from the high Karákásh (black Jade) River and Yurungkásh (white Jade); the Jade River is called Su-tásh. At Khotan, Jade is polished up by sixty or seventy individuals belonging to twenty-five workshops.

"At 18 miles from Su-chau, Kia-yu-kwan, celebrated as one of the gates of China, and as the fortress guarding the extreme north-west entrance into the empire, is passed." (*Colonel M. S. Bell, Proc. R. G. S.* XII. 1890, p. 75.)

According to the Chinese characters, the name of Kia-yü Kwan does not mean "Jade Gate," and as Mr. Rockhill writes to me, it can only mean something like "barrier of the pleasant Valley."—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—Possibly this may refer to the custom of temporary marriages which seems to prevail in most towns of Central Asia which are the halting-places of caravans, and the morals of which are much on a par with those of seaport towns, from analogous causes. Thus at Meshid, Khanikoff speaks of the large population of young and pretty women ready, according to the accommodating rules of Shiah Mahomedanism, to engage in marriages which are perfectly lawful, for a month, a week, or even twenty-four hours. Kashgar is also noted in the East for its *chaukans*, young women with whom the traveller may readily form an alliance for the period of his stay, be it long or short. (*Khan. Mém.* p. 98; *Russ. in Central Asia*, 52; *J. A. S. B.* XXVI. 262; *Burnes*, III. 195; *Vigne*, II. 201.)

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF THE PROVINCE OF CHARCHAN.

CHARCHAN is a Province of Great Turkey, lying between north-east and east. The people worship Mahomet. There are numerous towns and villages, and the chief city of the kingdom bears its name, Charchan. The Province contains rivers which bring down Jasper and Chalcedony, and these are carried for sale into Cathay, where they fetch great prices. The whole of the Province is sandy, and so is the road all the way from Pein, and much of the water that you find is bitter and bad. However, at some places you do find fresh and sweet water. When an army passes through the land, the people escape with their wives, children, and cattle a distance of two or three days' journey into the sandy waste; and knowing the spots where water is to be had, they are able to live there, and to keep their cattle alive, whilst it is impossible to discover them; for the wind immediately blows the sand over their track.

Quitting Charchan, you ride some five days through the sands, finding none but bad and bitter water, and then you come to a place where the water is sweet. And now I will tell you of a province called Lop, in which there is a city, also called Lop, which you come to at the end of those five days. It is at the entrance of the great Desert, and it is here that travellers repose before entering on the Desert.¹

NOTE 1.—Though the *Lake of Lob* or *Lop* appears on all our maps, from Chinese authority, the latter does not seem to have supplied information as to a town so called. We have, however, indications of the existence of such a place, both mediæval and recent. The History of Mirza Haidar, called the *Tárikh-i-Rashfdí*, already referred to, in describing the Great Basin of Eastern Turkestan, says: "Formerly there were several large cities in this plain; the names of two have survived—*Lob* and *Kank*, but of the rest there is no trace or tradition; all is buried under the sand." [Forsyth (*J. R. G. S.* XLVII. 1877, p. 5) says that he thinks

that this Kank is probably the Katak mentioned by Mirza Haidar.—H. C.] In another place the same history says that a boy heir of the house of Chaghatai, to save him from a usurper, was sent away to Sárgh Uighúr and *Lob-Kanké*, far in the East. Again, in the short notices of the cities of Turkestan which Mr. Wathen collected at Bombay from pilgrims of those regions on their way to Mecca, we find the following: “*Lopp*.—Lopp is situated at a great distance from Yarkand. The inhabitants are principally Chinese; but a few Uzbeks reside there. Lopp is remarkable for a salt-water lake in its vicinity.” Johnson, speaking of a road from Tibet into Khotan, says: “This route . . . leads not only to Ilchi and Yarkand, but also *viâ Lob* to the large and important city of Karashahr.” And among the routes attached to Mr. Johnson’s original Report, we have:—

“Route No. VII. *Kiria* (see note I to last chapter) to CHACHAN and LOB (*from native information*).”

This first revealed to me the continued existence of Marco’s Charchan; for it was impossible to doubt that in the CHACHAN and LOB of this Itinerary we had his Charchan and Lop; and his route to the verge of the Great Desert was thus made clear.

Mr. Johnson’s information made the journey from Kiria to Charchan to be 9 marches, estimated by him to amount to 154 miles, and adding 69 miles from Ilchi to Kiria (which he actually traversed) we have 13 marches or 223 miles for the distance from Ilchi to Charchan. Mr. Shaw has since obtained a route between Ilchi and Lob on very good authority. This makes the distance to Charchan, or *Charchand*, as it is called, 22 marches, which Mr. Shaw estimates at 293 miles. Both give 6 marches from Charchand to Lob, which is in fair accordance with Polo’s 5, and Shaw estimates the whole distance from Ilchi to Lob at 373, or by another calculation at 384 miles, say roundly 380 miles. This higher estimate is to be preferred to Mr. Johnson’s for a reason which will appear under next chapter.

Mr. Shaw’s informant, Rozi of Khotan, who had lived twelve years at Charchand, described the latter as a small town with a district extending on both sides of a stream which flows to Lob, and which affords Jade. The people are Musulmans. They grow wheat, Indian corn, pears, and apples, etc., but no cotton or rice. It stands in a great plain, but the mountains are not far off. The nature of the products leads Mr. Shaw to think it must stand a good deal higher than Ilchi (4000), perhaps at about 6000 feet. I may observe that the Chinese hydrography of the Kashgar Basin, translated by Julien in the *N. An. des Voyages* for 1846 (vol. iii.), seems to imply that mountains from the south approach within some 20 miles of the Tarim River, between the longitude of Shayar and Lake Lop. The people of Lob are Musulman also, but very uncivilised. The Lake is salt. The hydrography calls it about 200 *li* (say 66 miles) from E. to W. and half that from N. to S., and expresses the old belief that it forms the subterranean source of the Iiwang-Ho. Shaw’s Itinerary shows “salt pools” at six of the stations between Kiria and Charchand, so Marco’s memory in this also was exact.

Nia, a town two marches from Kiria according to Johnson, or four according to Shaw, is probably the ancient city of Ni-jang of the ancient Chinese Itineraries, which lay 30 or 40 miles on the China side of Pima, in the middle of a great marsh, and formed the eastern frontier of Khotan bordering on the Desert. (*J. R. G. S.* XXXVII. pp. 13 and 44; also Sir H. Rawlinson in XLII. p. 503; *Erskine’s Baber and Humayun*, I. 42; *Proc. R. G. S.* vol. xvi. pp. 244-249; *J. A. S. B.* IV. 656; *H. de la V. de Khotan*, u. s.)

[The Charchan of Marco Polo seems to have been built to the west of the present oasis, a little south of the road to Kiria, where ruined houses have been found. It must have been destroyed before the 16th century, since Mirza Haidar does not mention it. It was not anterior to the 7th century, as it did not exist at the time of Hiuen Tsang. (Cf. *Grenard*, III. p. 146.)

Grenard says (pp. 183-184) that he examined the remains of what is called the old town of Charchan, traces of the ancient canal, ruins of dwellings deep into the sand, of

which the walls built of large and solid-baked bricks, are pretty well preserved. Save these bricks, "I found hardly anything, the inhabitants have pillaged everything long ago. I attempted some excavating, which turned out to be without result, as far as I was concerned; but the superstitious natives declared that they were the cause of a violent storm which took place soon after. There are similar ruins in the environs, at Yantak Koudouk, at Tatrang, one day's march to the north, and at Ouadjchahari at five days to the north-east, which corresponds to the position assigned to Lop by Marco Polo." (See *Grenard's Haute Asie on Nia.*)

Palladius is quite mistaken (*l.c.* p. 3) in saying that the "Charchan" of Marco Polo is to be found in the present province of Karashar. (Cf. *T. W. Kingsmill's Notes on Marco Polo's Route from Khoten to China, Chinese Recorder*, VII. pp. 338-343; *Notes on Doctor Sven Hedin's Discoveries in the Valley of the Tarim, its Cities and Peoples, China Review*, XXIV. No. II. pp. 59-64.)—II. C.]

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF THE CITY OF LOP AND THE GREAT DESERT.

LOP is a large town at the edge of the Desert, which is called the Desert of Lop, and is situated between east and north-east. It belongs to the Great Kaan, and the people worship Mahommet. Now, such persons as propose to cross the Desert take a week's rest in this town to refresh themselves and their cattle; and then they make ready for the journey, taking with them a month's supply for man and beast. On quitting this city they enter the Desert.

The length of this Desert is so great that 'tis said it would take a year and more to ride from one end of it to the other. And here, where its breadth is least, it takes a month to cross it. 'Tis all composed of hills and valleys of sand, and not a thing to eat is to be found on it. But after riding for a day and a night you find fresh water, enough mayhap for some 50 or 100 persons with their beasts, but not for more. And all across the Desert you will find water in like manner, that is to say, in some 28 places altogether you will find good water,

but in no great quantity ; and in four places also you find brackish water.¹

Beasts there are none ; for there is nought for them to eat. But there is a marvellous thing related of this Desert, which is that when travellers are on the move by night, and one of them chances to lag behind or to fall asleep or the like, when he tries to gain his company again he will hear spirits talking, and will suppose them to be his comrades. Sometimes the spirits will call him by name ; and thus shall a traveller oftentimes be led astray so that he never finds his party. And in this way many have perished. [Sometimes the stray travellers will hear as it were the tramp and hum of a great cavalcade of people away from the real line of road, and taking this to be their own company they will follow the sound ; and when day breaks they find that a cheat has been put on them and that they are in an ill plight.²] Even in the day-time one hears those spirits talking. And sometimes you shall hear the sound of a variety of musical instruments, and still more commonly the sound of drums. [Hence in making this journey 'tis customary for travellers to keep close together. All the animals too have bells at their necks, so that they cannot easily get astray. And at sleeping-time a signal is put up to show the direction of the next march.]

So thus it is that the Desert is crossed.³

NOTE 1.—LOP appears to be the *Nafopo*, i.e. *Navapa*, of Hiuen Tsang, called also the country of *Leulan*, in the Desert. (*Mém.* II. p. 247.) *Navapa* looks like Sanskrit. If so, this carries ancient Indian influence to the verge of the great Gobi. [See *supra*, p. 190.] It is difficult to reconcile with our maps the statement of a thirty days' journey across the Desert from Lop to Shachau. Ritter's extracts, indeed, regarding this Desert, show that the constant occurrence of sandhills and deep drifts (our traveller's "hills and valleys of sand") makes the passage extremely difficult for carts and cattle. (III. 375.) But I suspect that there is some material error in the longitude of Lake Lop as represented in our maps, and that it should be placed *something like three degrees* more to the westward than we find it (e.g.) in Kiepert's Map of Asia. By that map Khotan is not far short of 600 miles from the western extremity of Lake Lop. By

Johnson's Itinerary (including his own journey to Kiria) it is only 338 miles from Ilchi to Lob. Mr. Shaw, as we have seen, gives us a little more, but it is only even then 380. Polo unfortunately omits his usual estimate for the extent of the "Province of Charchan," so he affords us no complete datum. But his distance between Charchan and Lob agrees fairly, as we have seen, with that both of Johnson and of Shaw, and the elbow on the road from Kiria to Charchan (*supra*, p. 192) necessitates our still further abridging the longitude between Khotan and Lop. (See Shaw's remarks in *Proc. R. G. S.* XVI. 243.)

["This desert was known in China of old by the name of *Lew-sha*, i.e. "Quick-sand," or literally, "Flowing sands." (*Palladius, Jour. N. China B. R. As. Soc.* N.S. X. 1875, p. 4.)

A most interesting problem is connected with the situation of Lob-nor which led to some controversy between Baron von Richthofen and Prjevalsky. The latter placed the lake one degree more to the south than the Chinese did, and found that its water was sweet. Richthofen agreed with the Chinese Topographers and wrote in a letter to Sir Henry Yule: "I send you two tracings; one of them is a true copy of the Chinese map, the other is made from a sketch which I constructed to-day, and on which I tried to put down the Chinese Topography together with that of Prjevalsky. It appears evident—(1) That Prjevalsky travelled by the ancient road to a point south of the true Lop-nor; (2) that long before he reached this point he found the river courses quite different from what they had been formerly; and (3) that following one of the new rivers which flows due south by a new road, he reached the two sweet-water lakes, one of which answers to the ancient Khas-omo. I use the word 'new' merely by way of comparison with the state of things in Kien-long's time, when the map was made. It appears that the Chinese map shows the Khas Lake too far north to cover the Kara-Koshun. The bifurcation of the roads south of the lake nearly resembles that which is marked by Prjevalsky." (Preface of E. D. Morgan's transl. of *From Kulja across the Tian Shan to Lob-nor*, by Colonel N. Prjevalsky, London, 1879, p. iv.) In this same volume Baron von Richthofen's remarks are given (pp. 135-159, with a map, p. 144), showing comparison between Chinese and Prjevalsky's Geography from tracings by Baron von Richthofen and (pp. 160-165) a translation of Prjevalsky's replies to the Baron's criticisms.

Now the Swedish traveller, Dr. Sven Hedin, claims to have settled this knotty point. Going from Korla, south-west of Kara-shahr, by a road at the foot of the Kurugh-tagh and between these mountains and the Konchek Daria, he discovered the ruins of two fortresses, and a series of milestones (potaïs). These tall pyramids of clay and wood, indicating distances in *lis*, show the existence at an ancient period of a road with a large traffic between Korla and an unknown place to the south-east, probably on the shores of the Chinese Lob-nor. Prjevalsky, who passed between the Lower Tarim and the Konchek Daria, could not see a lake or the remains of a lake to the east of this river. The Konchek Daria expands into a marshy basin, the Malta Kul, from which it divides into two branches, the Kuntiekkich Tarim (East River) and the Ilek (river) to the E.S.E. Dr. Sven Hedin, after following the course of the Ilek for three days (4th April, 1896) found a large sheet of water in the valley at the very place marked by the Chinese Topographers and Richthofen for the Lob-nor. This mass of water is divided up by the natives into Avullu Kul, Kara Kul, Tayek Kul, and Arka Kul, which are actually almost filled up with reeds. Dr. Sven Hedin afterwards visited the Lob-nor of Prjevalsky, and reached its western extremity, the Kara-buran (black storm) on the 17th April. In 1885, Prjevalsky had found the Lob-nor an immense lake; four years later Prince Henri d'Orleans saw it greatly reduced in size, and Dr. Sven Hedin discovered but pools of water. In the meantime, since 1885, the northern (Chinese) Lob-nor has gradually filled up, so the lake is somewhat vagrant. Dr. Sven Hedin says that from his observations he can assert that Prjevalsky's lake is of recent formation.

So Marco Polo's Lob-nor should be the northern or Chinese lake.

Another proof of this given by Dr. Sven Hedin is that the Chinese give the name of

Lob to the region between Arghan and Tikkenlik, unknown in the country of the southern lake. The existence of two lakes shows what a quantity of water from the Thian Shan, the Eastern Pamir, and Northern Tibet flows into the basin of the Tarim. The Russian Lieutenant K. P. Kozlov has tried since to prove that the Chinese Lob-nor is the Kara-Koshun (Black district), which is a second lake formed by the Tarim, which discharges into and issues from the lake Kara-buran. Kozlov's arguments are published in the *Isvestia* of the Russian Geographical Society, and in a separate pamphlet. *The Geog. Jour.* (June, 1898, pp. 652-658) contains *The Lob-nor Controversy*, a full statement of the case, summarising Kozlov's pamphlet. Among the documents relating to the controversy, Kozlov "quotes passages from the Chinese work *Si-yui-shui-dao-tsi*, published in 1823, relative to the region, and gives a reduced copy of the Chinese Map published by Dr. Georg Wegener in 1863, upon which map Richthofen and Sven Hedin based their arguments." Kozlov's final conclusions (*Geog. Jour. l.c.* pp. 657-658) are the following: "The Koncheh-daria, since very remote times till the present day, has moved a long way. The spot Gherelgan may be taken as a spot of relative permanence of its bed, while the basis of its delta is a line traced from the farthest northern border of the area of salt clays surrounding the Lob-nor to the Tarim. At a later period the Koncheh-daria mostly influenced the lower Tarim, and each time a change occurred in the latter's discharge, the Koncheh took a more westward course, to the detriment of its old eastern branch (Ilek). Always following the gradually receding humidity, the vegetable life changed too, while moving sands were taking its place, conquering more and more ground for the desert, and marking their conquest by remains of old shore-lines. . . .

"The facts noticed by Sven Hedin have thus another meaning—the desert to the east of the lakes, which he discovered, was formed, not by Lob-nor, which is situated 1° southwards, but by the Koncheh-daria, in its unremitting deflection to the west. The old bed Ilek, lake-shaped in places, and having a belt of salt lagoons and swamps along its eastern shores, represents remains of waters belonging, not to Lob-nor, but to the shifting river which has abandoned this old bed.

"These facts and explanations refute the second point of the arguments which were brought forward by Sven Hedin in favour of his hypothesis, asserting the existence of some other Lob-nor.

"I accept the third point of his objections, namely, that the grandfathers of the present inhabitants of the Lob-nor lived by a lake whose position was more to the north of Lob-nor; that was mentioned already by Pievtsov, and the lake was Uchu-Kul.

"Why Marco Polo never mentioned the Lob-nor, I leave to more competent persons to decide.

"The only inference which I can make from the preceding account is that the Kara-Koshun-Kul is not only the Lob-nor of my lamented teacher, N. M. Prjevalsky, but also *the ancient, the historical, and the true Lob-nor* of the Chinese geographers. So it was during the last thousand years, and so will it remain, if 'the river of time' in its running has not effaced it from the face of the Earth."

To Kozlov's query: "Why Marco Polo never mentioned the Lob-nor, I leave to more competent persons to decide," I have little hesitation in replying that he did not mention the Lob-nor because he did not see it. From Charchan, he followed, I believe, neither Prjevalsky's nor Pievtsov's route, but the old route from Khotan to Si-ngan fu, in the old bed of the Charchan daria, above and almost parallel to the new bed, to the Tarim,—then between Sven Hedin's and Prjevalsky's lakes, and across the desert to Shachau to join the ancient Chinese road of the Han Dynasty, partly explored by M. Bonin from Shachau.

There is no doubt as to the discovery of Prjevalsky's Lob-nor, but this does not appear to be the old Chinese Lob-nor; in fact, there may have been several lakes co-existent; probably there was one to the east of the mass of water described by Dr. Sven Hedin, near the old route from Korla to Shachau; there is no fixity in these waterspreads and the soil of this part of Asia, and in the course of a few years some

discrepancies will naturally arise between the observations of different travellers. But as I think that Marco Polo did not see one of the Lob-nor, but travelled between them, there is no necessity to enlarge on this question, fully treated of in this note.

See besides the works mentioned above : *Nord—Tibet und Lob-nur Gebiet*. . . herausg. von Dr. G. Wegener. Berlin, 1893. (Sep. abd. *Zeit. Ges. f. Erdk.*)—*Die Geog. wiss. Ergebnisse meiner Reisen in Zentralasien*, 1894-1897, von Dr. Sven Hedin, Gotha, J. Perthes, 1900.

Bonvalot and Prince Henri d'Orléans (*De Paris au Tonkin, à travers le Tibet inconnu*, Paris, 1892) followed this Itinerary : Semipalatinsk, Kulja, Korla, Lob-nor, Charkalyk, Altyn Tagh, almost a straight line to Tengri Nor, then to Batang, Ta Tsien lu, Ning-yuan, Yun-nan-fu, Mong-tsu, and Tung-King.

Bonvalot (28th October, 1889) describes Lob in this manner : "The village of Lob is situated at some distance from [the Charchan daria]; its inhabitants come to see us; they are miserable, hungry, *étiques*; they offer us for sale smoked fish, duck taken with *lacet*. Some small presents soon make friends of them. They apprise us that news has spread that Pietvsov, the Russian traveller, will soon arrive" (*l.c.* p. 75). From Charkalyk, Prince Henri d'Orléans and Father Dedeken visited Lob-nor (*l.c.* p. 77 *et seq.*), but it was almost dry; the water had receded since Prjevalsky's visit, thirteen years before. The Prince says the Lob-nor he saw was not Prjevalsky's, nor was the latter's lake the mass of water on Chinese maps; an old sorceress gave confirmation of the fact to the travellers. According to a tradition known from one generation to another, there was at this place a large inland sea without reeds, and the elders had seen in their youth large ponds; they say that the earth impregnated with saltpetre absorbs the water. The Prince says, according to tradition, *Lob* is a local name meaning "wild animals," and it was given to the country at the time it was crossed by Kalmuk caravans; they added to the name *Lob* the Mongol word *Nor* (Great Lake). The travellers (p. 109) note that in fact the name Lob-nor does not apply to a Lake, but to the whole marshy part of the country watered by the Tarim, from the village of Lob to end of the river.

The Pietvsov expedition "visited the Lob-nor (2650 feet) and the Tarim, whose proper name is Yarkend-daria (*tarim* means 'a tilled field' in Kashgarian). The lake is rapidly drying up, and a very old man, 110 years old, whom Pietvsov spoke to (his son, 52 years old, was the only one who could understand the old man), said that he would not have recognized the land if he had been absent all this time. Ninety years ago there was only a narrow strip of rushes in the south-west part of the lake, and the Yarkend-daria entered it 2½ miles to the west of its present mouth, where now stands the village of Abdal. The lake was then much deeper, and several villages, now abandoned, stood on its shores. There was also much more fish, and otters, which used to live there, but have long since disappeared. As to the Yarkend-daria, tradition says that two hundred years ago it used to enter another smaller lake, Uchukul, which was connected by a channel with the Lob-nor. This old bed, named Shirga-chapkan, can still be traced by the trees which grew along it. The greater previous extension of the Lob-nor is also confirmed by the freshwater molluscs (*Limnaea uricularia*, var. *ventricosa*, *L. stagnalis*, *L. peregra*, and *Planorbis sibiricus*), which are found at a distance from its present banks. Another lake, 400 miles in circumference, Kara-boyon (*black isthmus*), lies, as is known, 27 miles to the south-west of Lob-nor. To the east of the lake, a salt desert stretches for a seven days' march, and further on begin the Kum-tagh sands, where wild camels live." (*Geog. Jour.* IX. 1897, p. 552.)

Grenard (III. pp. 194-195) discusses the Lob-nor question and the formation of four new lakes by the Konchek-daria called by the natives beginning at the north; Kara Kul, Tayek Kul, Sugut Kul, Tokum Kul. He does not accept Baron v. Richthofen's theory, and believes that the old Lob is the lake seen by Prjevalsky.

He says (p. 149): "Lop must be looked for on the actual road from Charchan to Charkalyk. Ouash Shahri, five days from Charchan, and where small ruins are to be found,

corresponds well to the position of Lop according to Marco Polo, a few degrees of the compass near. But the stream which passes at this spot could never be important enough for the wants of a considerable centre of habitation and the ruins of Ouash Shahri are more of a hamlet than of a town. Moreover, Lop was certainly the meeting point of the roads of Kashgar, Urumtsi, Shachau, L'Hasa, and Khotan, and it is to this fact that this town, situated in a very poor country, owed its relative importance. Now, it is impossible that these roads crossed at Ouash Shahri. I believe that Lop was built on the site of Charkalyk itself. The Venetian traveller gives five days' journey between Charchan and Lop, whilst Charkalyk is really seven days from Charchan; but the objection does not appear sufficient to me: Marco Polo may well have made a mistake of two days." (III. pp. 149-150.)

The Chinese Governor of Urumtsi found some years ago to the north-west of the Lob-nor, on the banks of the Tarim, and within five days of Charkalyk, a town bearing the same name, though not on the same site as the Lop of Marco Polo.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—“The waste and desert places of the Earth are, so to speak, the characters which sin has visibly impressed on the outward creation; its signs and symbols there. . . . Out of a true feeling of this, men have ever conceived of the Wilderness as the haunt of evil spirits. In the old Persian religion Ahriman and his evil Spirits inhabit the steppes and wastes of Turan, to the north of the happy Iran, which stands under the dominion of Ormuzd; exactly as with the Egyptians, the evil Typhon is the Lord of the Libyan sand-wastes, and Osiris of the fertile Egypt.” (*Archbp. Trench, Studies in the Gospels*, p. 7.) Terror, and the seeming absence of a beneficent Providence, are suggestions of the Desert which must have led men to associate it with evil spirits, rather than the figure with which this passage begins; no spontaneous conception surely, however appropriate as a moral image.

“According to the belief of the nations of Central Asia,” says I. J. Schmidt, “the earth and its interior, as well as the encompassing atmosphere, are filled with Spiritual Beings, which exercise an influence, partly beneficent, partly malignant, on the whole of organic and inorganic nature. . . . Especially are Deserts and other wild or uninhabited tracts, or regions in which the influences of nature are displayed on a gigantic and terrible scale, regarded as the chief abode or rendezvous of evil Spirits. . . . And hence the steppes of Turan, and in particular the great sandy Desert of Gobi have been looked on as the dwelling-place of malignant beings, from days of hoar antiquity.”

The Chinese historian Ma Twan-lin informs us that there were two roads from China into the Uighur country (towards Karashahr). The longest but easiest road was by Kamul. The other was much shorter, and apparently corresponded, as far as Lop, to that described in this chapter. “By this you have to cross a plain of sand, extending for more than 100 leagues. You see nothing in any direction but the sky and the sands, without the slightest trace of a road; and travellers find nothing to guide them but the bones of men and beasts and the droppings of camels. During the passage of this wilderness you hear sounds, sometimes of singing, sometimes of wailing; and it has often happened that travellers going aside to see what those sounds might be have strayed from their course and been entirely lost; for they were voices of spirits and goblins. 'Tis for these reasons that travellers and merchants often prefer the much longer route by Kamul.” (*Visdelou*, p. 139.)

“In the Desert” (this same desert), says Fa-hian, “there are a great many evil demons; there are also sirocco winds, which kill all who encounter them. There are no birds or beasts to be seen; but so far as the eye can reach, the route is marked out by the bleached bones of men who have perished in the attempt to cross.”

[“The Lew-sha was the subject of various most exaggerated stories. We find more trustworthy accounts of it in the *Chow shu*; thus it is mentioned in that history, that there sometimes arises in this desert a ‘burning wind,’ pernicious to men and cattle; in such cases the old camels of the caravan, having a presentiment of its approach, flock shrieking to one place, lie down on the ground and hide their heads

in the sand. On this signal, the travellers also lie down, close nose and mouth, and remain in this position until the hurricane abates. Unless these precautions are taken, men and beasts inevitably perish." (*Palladius, l.c.* p. 4.)

A friend writes to me that he thinks that the accounts of strange noises in the desert would find a remarkable corroboration in the narratives of travellers through the central desert of Australia. They conjecture that they are caused by the sudden falling of cliffs of sand as the temperature changes at night time.—H. C.]

Htuen Tsang, in his passage of the Desert, both outward and homeward, speaks of visual illusions; such as visions of troops marching and halting with gleaming arms and waving banners, constantly shifting, vanishing, and reappearing, "imagery created by demons." A voice behind him calls, "Fear not! fear not!" Troubled by these fantasies on one occasion, he prays to Kwan-yin (a Buddhist divinity); still he could not entirely get rid of them; but as soon as he had pronounced a few words from the *Prajna* (a holy book), they vanished in the twinkling of an eye.

These Goblins are not peculiar to the Gobi, though that appears to be their most favoured haunt. The awe of the vast and solitary Desert raises them in all similar localities. Pliny speaks of the phantoms that appear and vanish in the deserts of Africa; Aethicus, the early Christian cosmographer, speaks, though incredulous, of the stories that were told of the voices of singers and revellers in the desert; Mas'údi tells of the *Ghúls*, which in the deserts appear to travellers by night and in lonely hours; the traveller, taking them for comrades, follows and is led astray. But the wise revile them and the Ghúls vanish. Thus also Apollonius of Tyana and his companions, in a desert near the Indus by moonlight, see an *Empusa* or Ghúl taking many forms. They revile it, and it goes off uttering shrill cries. Mas'údi also speaks of the mysterious voices heard by lone wayfarers in the Desert, and he gives a rational explanation of them. Ibn Batuta relates a like legend of the Western Sahara: "If the messenger be solitary, the demons sport with him and fascinate him, so that he strays from his course and perishes." The Afghan and Persian wildernesses also have their *Ghúl-i-Bedban* or Goblin of the Waste, a gigantic and fearful spectre which devours travellers; and even the Gael of the West Highlands have the *Direach Ghlinn Eitidh*, the Desert Creature of Glen Eiti, which, one-handed, one-eyed, one-legged, seems exactly to answer to the Arabian *Nesnás* or *Empusa*. Nicòlo Conti in the Chaldaean desert is aroused at midnight by a great noise, and sees a vast multitude pass by. The merchants tell him that these are demons who are in the habit of traversing the deserts. (*Schmidt's San. Setzen*, p. 352; *V. et V. de H. T.* 23, 28, 289; *Pliny*, VII. 2; *Philostratus*, Bk. II. ch. iv.; *Prairies d'Or*, III. 315, 324; *Bealé's Fahian*; *Campbell's Popular Tales of the W. Highlands*, IV. 326; *I. B.* IV. 382; *Elphinstone*, I. 291; *Chodzko's Pop. Poetry of Persia*, p. 48; *Conti*, p. 4; *Forsyth*, J. R. G. S. XLVII. 1877, p. 4.)

The sound of musical instruments, chiefly of drums, is a phenomenon of another class, and is really produced in certain situations among sandhills when the sand is disturbed. [See *supra*.] A very striking account of a phenomenon of this kind regarded as supernatural is given by Friar Odoric, whose experience I fancy I have traced to the *Reg Ruwán* or "Flowing Sand" north of Kabul. Besides this celebrated example, which has been described also by the Emperor Baber, I have noted that equally well-known one of the *Jibal Nakús*, or "Hill of the Bell," in the Sinai Desert; Wadi Hamade, in the vicinity of the same Desert; the *Jibal-ul-Thabíl*, or "Hill of the Drums," between Medina and Mecca; one on the Island of Eigg, in the Hebrides, discovered by Hugh Miller; one among the Medanos or Sandhills of Arequipa, described to me by Mr. C. Markham; the Bramador or rumbling mountain of Tarapaca; one in hills between the Ulba and the Irtish, in the vicinity of the Altai, called the Almanac Hills, because the sounds are supposed to prognosticate weather-changes; and a remarkable example near Kolberg on the shore of Pomerania. A Chinese narrative of the 10th century mentions the phenomenon as known near Kwachau, on the eastern border of the Lop Desert, under the name of the "Singing Sands"; and Sir F. Goldsmid has recently made us acquainted with a second *Reg Ruwán*, on a hill near the Perso-Afghan frontier,

a little to the north of Sístán. The place is frequented in pilgrimage. (See *Cathay*, pp. ccxlv. 156, 398; *Ritter*, II. 204; *Aus der Natur*, Leipzig, No. 47 [of 1868], p. 752; *Rémusat*, *H. de Khotan*, p. 74; *Proc. R. G. S.* XVII. 91.)

NOTE 3.—[We learn from Joseph Martin, quoted by Grenard, p. 170 (who met this unfortunate French traveller at Khotan, on his way from Peking to Marghelan, where he died), that from Shachau to Abdal, on the Lob-nor, there are twelve days of desert, sandy only during the first two days, stony afterwards. Occasionally a little grass is to be found for the camels; water is to be found everywhere. M. Bonin went from Shachau to the north-west towards the Kara-nor, then to the west, but lack of water compelled him to go back to Shachau. Along this road, every five *lis*, are to be found towers built with clay, and about 30 feet high, abandoned by the Chinese, who do not seem to have kept a remembrance of them in the country; this route seems to be a continuation of the Kan Suh Imperial highway. A wall now destroyed connected these towers together. "There is no doubt," writes M. Bonin, "that all these remains are those of the great route, vainly sought after till now, which, under the Han Dynasty, ran to China through Bactria, Pamir, Eastern Turkestan, the Desert of Gobi, and Kan Suh: it is in part the route followed by Marco Polo, when he went from Charchan to Shachau, by the city of Lob." The route of the Han has been also looked for, more to the south, and it was believed that it was the same as that of the Astyn Tagh, followed by Mr. Littledale in 1893, who travelled one month from Abdal (Lob-nor) to Shachau; M. Bonin, who explored also this route, and was twenty-three days from Shachau to Lob-nor, says it could not be a commercial road. Dr. Sven Hedin saw four or five towers eastward of the junction of the Tarim and the Konchek-daria; it may possibly have been another part of the road seen by M. Bonin. (See *La Géographie*, 15th March, 1901, p. 173.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XL.

CONCERNING THE GREAT PROVINCE OF TANGUT.

AFTER you have travelled thirty days through the Desert, as I have described, you come to a city called SACHIU, lying between north-east and east; it belongs to the Great Kaan, and is in a province called TANGUT.¹ The people are for the most part Idolaters, but there are also some Nestorian Christians and some Saracens. The Idolaters have a peculiar language, and are no traders, but live by their agriculture.² They have a great many abbeys and minsters full of idols of sundry fashions, to which they pay great honour and reverence, worshipping them and sacrificing to them with much ado. For example, such as have children will feed up a sheep

in honour of the idol, and at the New Year, or on the day of the Idol's Feast, they will take their children and the sheep along with them into the presence of the idol with great ceremony. Then they will have the sheep slaughtered and cooked, and again present it before the idol with like reverence, and leave it there before him, whilst they are reciting the offices of their worship and their prayers for the idol's blessing on their children. And, if you will believe them, the idol feeds on the meat that is set before it! After these ceremonies they take up the flesh and carry it home, and call together all their kindred to eat it with them in great festivity [the idol-priests receiving for their portion the head, feet, entrails, and skin, with some part of the meat]. After they have eaten, they collect the bones that are left and store them carefully in a hutch.³

And you must know that all the Idolaters in the world burn their dead. And when they are going to carry a body to the burning, the kinsfolk build a wooden house on the way to the spot, and drape it with cloths of silk and gold. When the body is going past this building they call a halt and set before it wine and meat and other eatables; and this they do with the assurance that the defunct will be received with the like attentions in the other world. All the minstrelsy in the town goes playing before the body; and when it reaches the burning-place the kinsfolk are prepared with figures cut out of parchment and paper in the shape of men and horses and camels, and also with round pieces of paper like gold coins, and all these they burn along with the corpse. For they say that in the other world the defunct will be provided with slaves and cattle and money, just in proportion to the amount of such pieces of paper that has been burnt along with him.⁴

But they never burn their dead until they have [sent

for the astrologers, and told them the year, the day, and the hour of the deceased person's birth, and when the astrologers have ascertained under what constellation, planet, and sign he was born, they declare the day on which, by the rules of their art, he ought to be burnt]. And till that day arrive they keep the body, so that 'tis sometimes a matter of six months, more or less, before it comes to be burnt.⁵

Now the way they keep the body in the house is this: They make a coffin first of a good span in thickness, very carefully joined and daintily painted. This they fill up with camphor and spices, to keep off corruption [stopping the joints with pitch and lime], and then they cover it with a fine cloth. Every day as long as the body is kept, they set a table before the dead covered with food; and they will have it that the soul comes and eats and drinks: wherefore they leave the food there as long as would be necessary in order that one should partake. Thus they do daily. And worse still! Sometimes those soothsayers shall tell them that 'tis not good luck to carry out the corpse by the door, so they have to break a hole in the wall, and to draw it out that way when it is taken to the burning.⁶ And these, I assure you, are the practices of all the Idolaters of those countries.

However, we will quit this subject, and I will tell you of another city which lies towards the north-west at the extremity of the desert.

NOTE I.—[The Natives of this country were called by the Chinese *T'ang-hiang*, and by the Mongols *T'angu* or *T'ang-wu*, and with the plural suffix *Tangut*. The kingdom of Tangut, or in Chinese, *Si Hia* (Western Hia), or *Ho si* (West of the Yellow River), was declared independent in 982 by Li Chi Ch'ien, who had the dynastic title or *Miao Hao* of Tai Tsu. "The rulers of Tangut," says Dr. Bushell, "were scions of the Toba race, who reigned over North China as the Wei Dynasty (A.D. 386-557), as well as in some of the minor dynasties which succeeded. Claiming descent from the ancient Chinese Hsia Dynasty of the second millennium B.C., they adopted the title of *Ta Hsia* ('Great Hsia'), and the dynasty

is generally called by the Chinese Hsi Hsia, or Western Hsia." This is a list of the Tangut sovereigns, with the date of their accession to the throne: Tai Tsu (982), Tai Tsung (1002), Ching Tsung (1032), Yi Tsung (1049), Hui Tsung (1068), Ch'ung Tsung (1087), Jen Tsung (1140), Huan Tsung (1194), Hsiang Tsung (1206), Shên Tsung (1213), Hien Tsung (1223), Mo Chu (1227). In fact, the real founder of the Dynasty was Li Yuan-hao, who conquered in 1031, the cities of Kanchau and Suhchau from the Uighúr Turks, declaring himself independent in 1032, and who adopted in 1036 a special script of which we spoke when mentioning the archway at Kiu-yung Kwan. His capital was Hia chau, now Ning hia, on the Yellow River. Chinghiz invaded Tangut three times, in 1206, 1217, and at last in 1225; the final struggle took place the following year, when Kanchau, Liangchau, and Suhchau fell into the hands of the Mongols. After the death of Chinghiz (1227), the last ruler of Tangut, Li H'ien, who surrendered the same year to Okkodaï, son of the conqueror, was killed. The dominions of Tangut in the middle of the 11th century, according to the *Si Hsia Chi Shih Pên Mo*, quoted by Dr. Bushell, "were bounded, according to the map, by the Sung Empire on the south and east, by the Liao (Khitan) on the north-east, the Tartars (Tata) on the north, the Uighúr Turks (Hui-hu) on the west, and the Tibetans on the south-west. The Alashan Mountains stretch along the northern frontier, and the western extends to the Jade Gate (Yü Mên Kwan) on the border of the Desert of Gobi." Under the Mongol Dynasty, Kan Suh was the official name of one of the twelve provinces of the Empire, and the popular name was Tangut.

(Dr. S. W. Bushell: *Inscriptions in the Juchen and Allied Scripts* and *The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut*. See above, p. 29.)

"The word Tangutan applied by the Chinese and by Colonel Prjevalsky to a Tibetan-speaking people around the Koko-nor has been explained to me in a variety of ways by native Tangutans. A very learned lama from the Gserdkog monastery, south-east of the Koko-nor, told me that Tangutan, Amdoans, and Sifan were interchangeable terms, but I fear his geographical knowledge was a little vague. The following explanation of the term Tangut is taken from the *Hsi-tsang-fu*. 'The Tangutans are descendants of the *Tang-tu-chüeh*. The origin of this name is as follows: In early days, the Tangutans lived in the Central Asian Chin-shan, where they were workers of iron. They made a model of the Chin-shan, which, in shape, resembled an iron helmet. Now, in their language, "iron helmet" is *Tang-küeh*, hence the name of the country. To the present day, the Tangutans of the Koko-nor wear a hat shaped like a pot, high crowned and narrow, rimmed with red fringe sewn on it, so that it looks like an iron helmet, and this is a proof of [the accuracy of the derivation].' Although the proof is not very satisfactory, it is as good as we are often offered by authors with greater pretension to learning.

"If I remember rightly, Prjevalsky derives the name from two words meaning 'black tents.'" (*W. W. Rockhill, China Br. R. As. Soc.*, XX. pp. 278-279.)

"Chinese authorities tell us that the name [Tangut] was originally borne by a people living in the Altaï, and that the word is Turkish. . . . The population of Tangut was a mixture of Tibetans, Turks, Uighúrs, Tukuhuns, Chinese, etc." (*Rockhill, Rubruck*, p. 150, note.—H. C.)

Sachiu is SHACHAU, "Sand-district," an outpost of China Proper, at the eastern verge of the worst part of the Sandy Desert. It is recorded to have been fortified in the 1st century as a barrier against the Hiongnu.

[The name of Shachau dates from A. D. 622, when it was founded by the first emperor of the Tang Dynasty. Formerly, Shachau was one of the Chinese colonies established by the Han, at the expense of the Hiongnu; it was called T'ung hoang (B. C. 111), a name still given to Shachau; the other colonies were Kiu-kaan (Suhchau, B. C. 121) and Chang-yé (Kanchau, B. C. 111). (See *Bretschneider, Med. Res.* II. 18.)

"Sha-chow, the present *Tun-hwang-hien* (a few *li* east of the ancient town). . . . In 1820, or about that time, an attempt was made to re-establish the ancient direct way between Sha-chow and Khotan. With this object in view, an exploring party of ten men was sent from Khotan towards Sha-chow; this party wandered in the

desert over a month, and found neither dwellings nor roads, but pastures and water everywhere. M. Polo omits to mention a remarkable place at Sha-chow, a sandy hillock (a short distance south of this town) known under the name of *Ming-sha shan*—the ‘rumbling sandhill.’ The sand, in rolling down the hill, produces a particular sound, similar to that of distant thunder. In M. Polo’s time (1292), Khubilai removed the inhabitants of Sha-chow to the interior of China; fearing, probably, the aggression of the seditious princes; and his successor, in 1303, placed there a garrison of ten thousand men.” (*Palladius, l.c.* p. 5.)

“Sha-chau is one of the best oases of Central Asia. It is situated at the foot of the Nan-shan range, at a height of 3700 feet above the sea, and occupies an area of about 200 square miles, the whole of which is thickly inhabited by Chinese. Sha-chau is interesting as the meeting-place of three expeditions started independently from Russia, India, and China. Just two months before Prjevalsky reached this town, it was visited by Count Szechényi [April, 1879], and eighteen months afterwards Pundit A-k, whose report of it agrees fairly well with that of our traveller, also stayed here. Both Prejevalsky and Szechényi remark on some curious caves in a valley near Sha-chau containing Buddhistic clay idols.* These caves were in Marco Polo’s time the resort of numerous worshippers, and are said to date back to the Han Dynasty.” (*Prejevalsky’s Journeys . . .* by E. Delmar Morgan, *Proc. R. G. S.* IX. 1887, pp. 217-218.)—H. C.]

(*Ritter*, II. 205; *Neumann*, p. 616; *Cathay*, 269, 274; *Erdmann*, 155; *Erman*, II. 267; *Mag. Asiat.* II. 213.)

NOTE 2.—By *Idolaters*, Polo here means Buddhists, as generally. We do not know whether the Buddhism here was a recent introduction from Tibet, or a relic of the old Buddhism of Khotan and other Central Asian kingdoms, but most probably it was the former, and the “peculiar language” ascribed to them may have been, as Neumann supposes, Tibetan. This language in modern Mongolia answers to the Latin of the Mass Book, indeed with a curious exactness, for in both cases the holy tongue is not that of the original propagators of the respective religions, but that of the hierarchy which has assumed their government. In the Lamaitic convents of China and Manchuria also the Tibetan only is used in worship, except at one privileged temple at Peking. (*Koepfen*, II. 288.) The language intended by Polo may, however, have been a Chinese dialect. (See notes 1 and 4.) The Nestorians must have been tolerably numerous in Tangut, for it formed a metropolitan province of their Church.

NOTE 3.—A practice resembling this is mentioned by Pallas as existing among the Buddhist Kalmaks, a relic of their old Shaman superstitions, which the Lamas profess to decry, but sometimes take part in. “Rich Kalmaks select from their flock a ram for dedication, which gets the name of *Tengri Tockho*, ‘Heaven’s Ram.’ It must be a white one with a yellow head. He must never be shorn or sold, but when he gets old, and the owner chooses to dedicate a fresh one, then the old one must be sacrificed. This is usually done in autumn, when the sheep are fattest, and the neighbours are called together to eat the sacrifice. A fortunate day is selected, and the ram is slaughtered amid the cries of the sorcerer directed towards the sunrise, and the diligent sprinkling of milk for the benefit of the Spirits of the Air. The flesh is eaten, but the skeleton with a part of the fat is burnt on a turf altar erected on four pillars of an ell and a half high, and the skin, with the head and feet, is then hung up in the way practised by the Buraets.” (*Sammlungen*, II. 346.)

NOTE 4.—Several of the customs of Tangut mentioned in this chapter are essentially Chinese, and are perhaps introduced here because it was on entering Tangut that the traveller first came in contact with Chinese peculiarities. This is true of the manner of forming coffins, and keeping them with the body in the house, serving food

* M. Bonin visited in 1899 these caves which he calls “Grottoes of Thousand Buddhas” (*Tsien Fo tung*). (*La Géographie*, 15th March, 1901, p. 171.) He found a stèle dated 1348, bearing a Buddhist prayer in six different scripts like the inscription at Kiu Yung Kwan. (*Rev. Hist. des Religions*, 1901, p. 393.)—H. C.

before the coffin whilst it is so kept, the burning of paper and papier-maché figures of slaves, horses, etc., at the tomb. Chinese settlers were very numerous at Shachau and the neighbouring Kwachau, even in the 10th century. (*Ritter*, II. 213.) ["Keeping a body unburied for a considerable time is called *khūng koan*, 'to conceal or store away a coffin,' or *thīng koan*, 'to detain a coffin.' It is, of course, a matter of necessity in such cases to have the cracks and fissures, and especially the seam where the case and the lid join, hermetically caulked. This is done by means of a mixture of chunam and oil. The seams, sometimes even the whole coffin, are pasted over with linen, and finally everything is varnished black, or, in case of a mandarin of rank, red. In process of time, the varnishing is repeated as many times as the family think desirable or necessary. And in order to protect the coffin still better against dust and moisture, it is generally covered with sheets of oiled paper, over which comes a white pall." (*De Groot*, I. 106.)—H. C.] Even as regards the South of China many of the circumstances mentioned here are strictly applicable, as may be seen in *Doolittle's Social Life of the Chinese*. (See, for example, p. 135; also *Astley*, IV. 93-95, or Marsden's quotations from *Duhalde*.) The custom of burning the dead has been for several centuries disused in China, but we shall see hereafter that Polo represents it as general in his time. On the custom of burning gilt paper in the form of gold coin, as well as of paper clothing, paper houses, furniture, slaves, etc., see also *Medhurst*, p. 213, and *Kidd*, 177-178. No one who has read Père Huuc will forget his ludicrous account of the Lama's charitable distribution of paper horses for the good of disabled travellers. The manufacture of mock money is a large business in Chinese cities. In Fuchau there are more than thirty large establishments where it is kept for sale. (*Doolittle*, 541.) [The Chinese believe that sheets of paper, partly tinned over on one side, are, "according to the prevailing conviction, turned by the process of fire into real silver currency available in the world of darkness, and sent there through the smoke to the soul; they are called *gūn-tsoá*, 'silver paper.' Most families prefer to previously fold every sheet in the shape of a hollow ingot, a 'silver ingot,' *gūn-khò*, as they call it. This requires a great amount of labour and time, but increases the value of the treasure immensely." (*De Groot*, I. 25.) "Presenting paper money when paying a visit of condolence is a custom firmly established, and accordingly complied with by everybody with great strictness. . . . The paper is designed for the equipment of the coffin, and, accordingly, always denoted by the term *koan-thaò-tsoá*, 'coffin paper.' But as the receptacle of the dead is, of course, not spacious enough to hold the whole mass offered by so many friends, it is regularly burned by lots by the side of the corpse, the ashes being carefully collected to be afterwards wrapped in paper and placed in the coffin, or at the side of the coffin, in the tomb." (*De Groot*, I. 31-32.)—H. C.] There can be little doubt that these latter customs are symbols of the ancient sacrifices of human beings and valuable property on such occasions; so Manetho states that the Egyptians in days of yore used human sacrifices, but a certain King Amosis abolished them and substituted images of wax. Even when the present Manchu Dynasty first occupied the throne of China, they still retained the practice of human sacrifice. At the death of Kanghi's mother, however, in 1718, when four young girls offered themselves for sacrifice on the tomb of their mistress, the emperor would not allow it, and prohibited for the future the sacrifice of life or the destruction of valuables on such occasions. (*Dequignes*, *Voy.* I. 304.)

NOTE 5.—Even among the Tibetans and Mongols burning is only one of the modes of disposing of the dead. "They sometimes bury their dead: often they leave them exposed in their coffins, or cover them with stones, paying regard to the sign under which the deceased was born, his age, the day and hour of his death, which determine the mode in which he is to be interred (or otherwise disposed of). For this purpose they consult some books which are explained to them by the Lamas." (*Timk.* II. 312.) The extraordinary and complex absurdities of the books in question are given in detail by Pallas, and curiously illustrate the paragraph in the text. (See *Sammlungen*, II.

254 *seqq.*) ["The first seven days, including that on which the demise has taken place, are generally deemed to be lucky for the burial, especially the odd ones. But when they have elapsed, it becomes requisite to apply to a day-professor. . . . The popular almanac which chiefly wields sway in Amoy and the surrounding country, regularly stigmatises a certain number of days as *t'ing-sng jit*: 'days of reduplication of death,' because encoffining or burying a dead person on such a day will entail another loss in the family shortly afterwards." (*De Groot*, I. 103, 99-100.)—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—The Chinese have also, according to Duhalde, a custom of making a new opening in the wall of a house by which to carry out the dead; and in their prisons a special hole in the wall is provided for this office. This same custom exists among the Esquimaux, as well as, according to Sonnerat, in Southern India, and it used to exist in certain parts both of Holland and of Central Italy. In the "clean village of Broek," near Amsterdam, those special doors may still be seen. And in certain towns of Umbria, such as Perugia, Assisi, and Gubbio, this opening was common, elevated some feet above the ground, and known as the "Door of the Dead."

I find in a list, printed by Liebrecht, of popular French superstitions, amounting to 479 in number, condemned by Maupas du Tour, Bishop of Evreux in 1664, the following: "When a woman lies in of a dead child, it must not be taken out by the door of the chamber but by the window, for if it were taken out by the door the woman would never lie in of any but dead children." The Samoyedes have the superstition mentioned in the text, and act exactly as Polo describes.

["The body [of the Queen of Bali, 17th century] was drawn out of a large aperture made in the wall to the right hand side of the door, in the absurd opinion of *cheating the devil*, whom these islanders believe to lie in wait in the ordinary passage." (*John Crawfurd*, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, II. p. 245.)—H. C.]

And the Rev. Mr. Jaeschke writes to me from Lahaul, in British Tibet: "Our Lama (from Central Tibet) tells us that the owner of a house and the members of his family when they die are carried through the house-door; but if another person dies in the house his body is removed by some other aperture, such as a window, or the smokehole in the roof, or a hole in the wall dug expressly for the purpose. Or a wooden frame is made, fitting into the doorway, and the body is then carried through; it being considered that by this contrivance the evil consequences are escaped that might ensue, were it carried through the ordinary, and, so to say, *undisguised* house-door! Here, in Lahaul and the neighbouring countries, we have not heard of such a custom."

(*Duhalde*, quoted by Marsden; *Semedo*, p. 175; *Mr. Sala* in *N. and Q.*, 2nd S. XI. 322; *Lubbock*, p. 500; *Sonnerat*, I. 86; *Liebrecht's Gervasius of Tilbury*, Hanover, 1856, p. 224; *Mag. Asiat.* II. 93.)

CHAPTER XLI.

OF THE PROVINCE OF CAMUL.

CAMUL is a province which in former days was a kingdom. It contains numerous towns and villages, but the chief city bears the name of CAMUL. The province lies between the two deserts; for on the one side is the

Great Desert of Lop, and on the other side is a small desert of three days' journey in extent.¹ The people are all Idolaters, and have a peculiar language. They live by the fruits of the earth, which they have in plenty, and dispose of to travellers. They are a people who take things very easily, for they mind nothing but playing and singing, and dancing and enjoying themselves.²

And it is the truth that if a foreigner comes to the house of one of these people to lodge, the host is delighted, and desires his wife to put herself entirely at the guest's disposal, whilst he himself gets out of the way, and comes back no more until the stranger shall have taken his departure. The guest may stay and enjoy the wife's society as long as he lists, whilst the husband has no shame in the matter, but indeed considers it an honour. And all the men of this province are made wittols of by their wives in this way.³ The women themselves are fair and wanton.

Now it came to pass during the reign of MANGU KAAAN, that as lord of this province he came to hear of this custom, and he sent forth an order commanding them under grievous penalties to do so no more [but to provide public hostelries for travellers]. And when they heard this order they were much vexed thereat. [For about three years' space they carried it out. But then they found that their lands were no longer fruitful, and that many mishaps befell them.] So they collected together and prepared a grand present which they sent to their Lord, praying him graciously to let them retain the custom which they had inherited from their ancestors; for it was by reason of this usage that their gods bestowed upon them all the good things that they possessed, and without it they saw not how they could continue to exist.⁴ When the Prince had heard their petition his reply was "Since ye must needs keep your shame, keep it then,"

and so he left them at liberty to maintain their naughty custom. And they always have kept it up, and do so still.

Now let us quit Camul, and I will tell you of another province which lies between north-west and north, and belongs to the Great Kaan.

NOTE 1.—Kamul (or Komul) does not fall into the great line of travel towards Cathay which Marco is following. His notice of it, and of the next province, forms a digression like that which he has already made to Samarkand. It appears very doubtful if Marco himself had visited it; his father and uncle may have done so on their first journey, as one of the chief routes to Northern China from Western Asia lies through this city, and has done so for many centuries. This was the route described by Pegolotti as that of the Italian traders in the century following Polo; it was that followed by Marignolli, by the envoys of Shah Rukh at a later date, and at a much later by Benedict Goës. The people were in Polo's time apparently Buddhist, as the Uighúrs inhabiting this region had been from an old date: in Shah Rukh's time (1420) we find a mosque and a great Buddhist Temple cheek by jowl; whilst Ramusio's friend Hajji Mahomed (*circa* 1550) speaks of Kamul as the first Mahomedan city met with in travelling from China.

Kamul stands on an oasis carefully cultivated by aid of reservoirs for irrigation, and is noted in China for its rice and for some of its fruits, especially melons and grapes. It is still a place of some consequence, standing near the bifurcation of two great roads from China, one passing north and the other south of the Thian Shan, and it was the site of the Chinese Commissariat depôts for the garrisons to the westward. It was lost to the Chinese in 1867.

Kamul appears to have been the see of a Nestorian bishop. A Bishop of Kamul is mentioned as present at the inauguration of the Catholicos Denha in 1266. (*Russians in Cent. Asia*, 129; Ritter, II. 357 *seqq.*; *Cathay, passim*; *Assemani*, II. 455-456.)

[*Kamul* is the Turkish name of the province called by the Mongols *Khamil*, by the Chinese *Hami*; the latter name is found for the first time in the *Yuen Shi*, but it is first mentioned in Chinese history in the 1st century of our Era under the name of *I-wu-lu* or *I-wu* (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.* II. p. 20); after the death of Chinghiz, it belonged to his son Chagatai. From the Great Wall, at the Pass of Kia Yü, to Hami there is a distance of 1470 *li*. (*C. Imbault-Huart. Le Pays de Hami ou Khamil . . . d'après les auteurs chinois, Bul. de Géog. hist. et desc.*, Paris, 1892, pp. 121-195.) The Chinese general Chang Yao was in 1877 at Hami, which had submitted in 1867 to the Athalik Ghazi, and made it the basis of his operations against the small towns of Chightam and Pidjam, and Yakúb Khan himself stationed at Turfan. The Imperial Chinese Agent in this region bears the title of *K'u lun Pan She Ta Ch'en* and resides at K'urun (Urga); of lesser rank are the agents (*Pan She Ta Ch'en*) of Kashgar, Kharashar, Kuché, Aksu, Khotan, and Hami. (See a description of Hami by Colonel M. S. Bell, *Proc. R. G. S.* XII. 1890, p. 213.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Expressed almost in the same words is the character attributed by a Chinese writer to the people of Kuché in the same region. (*Chin. Repos.* IX. 126.) In fact, the character seems to be generally applicable to the people of East Turkestan, but sorely kept down by the rigid Islam that is now enforced. (See *Shaw, passim*, and especially the Mahrambáshi's lamentations over the jolly days that were no more, pp. 319, 376.)

NOTE 3.—Pauthier's text has "*sont si honni de leur moliers comme vous avez ouy.*" Here the Crusca has "*sono bozzi delle loro moglie,*" and the Lat. Geog. "*sunt bezzi de suis uxoribus.*" The Crusca Vocab. has inserted *bozzo* with the meaning we have given, on the strength of this passage. It occurs also in Dante (*Paradiso*, XIX. 137), in the general sense of *disgraced*.

The shameful custom here spoken of is ascribed by Polo also to a province of Eastern Tibet, and by popular report in modern times to the Hazaras of the Hindu-Kush, a people of Mongolian blood, as well as to certain nomad tribes of Persia, to say nothing of the like accusation against our own ancestors which has been drawn from Laonicus Chalcondylas. The old Arab traveller Ibn Muhalhal (10th century) also relates the same of the Hazlakh (probably *Kharlikh*) Turks: "*Ducis alicujus uxor vel filia vel soror, quum mercatorum agmen in terram venit, eos adit, eorumque lustrat faciem. Quorum siquis earum afficit admiratione hunc domum suam ducit, eumque apud se hospitio excipit, eique benigne facit. Atque marito suo et filio fratrique rerum necessariorum curam demandat; neque dum hospes apud eam habitat, nisi necessarium est, maritus eam adit.*" A like custom prevails among the Chukchis and Koryaks in the vicinity of Kamtchatka. (*Elphinstone's Caubul*; Wood, p. 201; *Burnes*, who discredits, II. 153, III. 195; *Laon. Chalcond.* 1650, pp. 48-49; *Kurd de Schloezer*, p. 13; *Erman*, II. 530.)

[“It is remarkable that the Chinese author, *Hung Hao*, who lived a century before M. Polo, makes mention in his memoirs nearly in the same words of this custom of the Uighurs, with whom he became acquainted during his captivity in the kingdom of the *Kin*. According to the chronicle of the Tangut kingdom of Si-hia, Hami was the nursery of Buddhism in Si-hia, and provided this kingdom with Buddhist books and monks.” (*Palladius*, *l.c.* p. 6.)—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—So the Jewish rabble to Jeremiah: “Since we left off to burn incense to the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings to her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by famine.” (*Jerem.* xlv. 18.)

CHAPTER XLII.

OF THE PROVINCE OF CHINGINTALAS.

CHINGINTALAS is also a province at the verge of the Desert, and lying between north-west and north. It has an extent of sixteen days' journey, and belongs to the Great Kaan, and contains numerous towns and villages. There are three different races of people in it—Idolaters, Saracens, and some Nestorian Christians.¹ At the northern extremity of this province there is a mountain in which are excellent veins of steel and ondanique.² And you must know that in the same mountain there is a vein of the substance from which Salamander is made.³

For the real truth is that the Salamander is no beast, as they allege in our part of the world, but is a substance found in the earth ; and I will tell you about it.

Everybody must be aware that it can be no animal's nature to live in fire, seeing that every animal is composed of all the four elements.⁴ Now I, Marco Polo, had a Turkish acquaintance of the name of Zurficar, and he was a very clever fellow. And this Turk related to Messer Marco Polo how he had lived three years in that region on behalf of the Great Kaan, in order to procure those Salamanders for him.⁵ He said that the way they got them was by digging in that mountain till they found a certain vein. The substance of this vein was then taken and crushed, and when so treated it divides as it were into fibres of wool, which they set forth to dry. When dry, these fibres were pounded in a great copper mortar, and then washed, so as to remove all the earth and to leave only the fibres like fibres of wool. These were then spun, and made into napkins. When first made these napkins are not very white, but by putting them into the fire for a while they come out as white as snow. And so again whenever they become dirty they are bleached by being put in the fire.

Now this, and nought else, is the truth about the Salamander, and the people of the country all say the same. Any other account of the matter is fabulous nonsense. And I may add that they have at Rome a napkin of this stuff, which the Grand Kaan sent to the Pope to make a wrapper for the Holy Sudarium of Jesus Christ.⁶

We will now quit this subject, and I will proceed with my account of the countries lying in the direction between north-east and east.

NOTE 1.—The identification of this province is a difficulty, because the geographical definition is vague, and the name assigned to it has not been traced in other authors. It is said to lie *between north-west and north*, whilst Kamul was said to lie *towards the north-west*. The account of both provinces forms a digression, as is clear from the last words of the present chapter, where the traveller returns to take up his regular route “in the direction between north-east and east.” The point from which he digresses, and to which he reverts, is Shachan, and 'tis presumably from Shachan that he assigns bearings to the two provinces forming the subject of the digression. Hence, as Kamul lies *vers maistre*, *i.e.* north-west, and Chingintalas *entre maistre et tramontaine*, *i.e.* nor²-nor²-west, Chingintalas can scarcely lie due west of Kamul, as M. Pauthier would place it, in identifying it with an obscure place called *Saiyintala*, in the territory of Urumtsi. Moreover, the province is said to belong to the Great Kaan. Now, *Urumtsi* or Bishbalik seems to have belonged, not to the Great Kaan, but to the empire of Chagatai, or possibly at this time to Kaidu. Rashiduddin, speaking of the frontier between the Kaan and Kaidu, says:—“From point to point are posted bodies of troops under the orders of princes of the blood or other generals, and they often come to blows with the troops of Kaidu. Five of these are cantoned on the verge of the Desert; a sixth in Tangut, near Chagan-Nor (White Lake); a seventh in the vicinity of Karakhoja, a city of the Uighurs, which lies between the two States, and maintains neutrality.”

Karakhoja, this neutral town, is near Turfan, to the south-east of Urumtsi, which thus would lie *without* the Kaan's boundary; Kamul and the country north-east of it would lie *within* it. This country, to the north and north-east of Kamul, has remained till quite recently unexplored by any modern traveller, unless we put faith in Mr. Atkinson's somewhat hazy narrative. But it is here that I would seek for Chingintalas.

Several possible explanations of this name have suggested themselves or been suggested to me. I will mention two.

1. Klaproth states that the Mongols applied to Tibet the name of *Baron-tala*, signifying the “Right Side,” *i.e.* the south-west or south quarter, whilst Mongolia was called *Dzöhn* (or *Dzegun*) *Tala*, *i.e.* the “Left,” or north-east side. It is possible that *Chigin-talas* might represent *Dzegun Tala* in some like application. The etymology of *Dzungaria*, a name which in modern times covers the territory of which we are speaking, is similar.

2. Professor Vámbéry thinks that it is probably *Chingin Tala*, “The Vast Plain.” But nothing can be absolutely satisfactory in such a case except historical evidence of the application of the name.

I have left the identity of this name undecided, though pointing to the general position of the region so-called by Marco, as indicated by the vicinity of the Tangnula Mountains (p. 215). A passage in the *Journey of the Taouist Doctor, Changchun*, as translated by Dr. Bretschneider (*Chinese Recorder and Miss. Journ.*, Shanghai, Sept.-Oct., 1874, p. 258), suggests to me the strong probability that it may be the *Kem-kém-jút* of Rashiduddin, called by the Chinese teacher *Kien-kien-chau*.

Rashiduddin couples the territory of the Kirghiz with *Kemkenjút*, but defines the country embracing both with some exactness: “On one side (south-east?), it bordered on the Mongol country; on a second (north-east?), it was bounded by the Selenga; on a third (north), by the ‘great river called Angara, which flows on the confines of Ibir-Sibir’ (*i.e.* of Siberia); on a fourth side by the territory of the Naimans. This great country contained *many towns and villages*, as well as many nomad inhabitants.” Dr. Bretschneider's Chinese Traveller speaks of it as a country where *good iron was found*, where (grey) squirrels abounded, and wheat was cultivated. Other notices quoted by him show that it lay to the south-east of the Kirghiz country, and had its name from the *Kien* or *Ken R.* (*i.e.* the Upper Yenisei).

The name (*Kienkien*), the general direction, the existence of good iron (“steel and ondanique”), the many towns and villages in a position where we should little look for such an indication, all point to the identity of this region with the Chingintalas of

our text. The only alteration called for in the Itinerary Map (No. IV.) would be to spell the name *Hinkin*, or *Ghinghin* (as it is in the Geographic Text), and to shift it a very little further to the north.

(See *Chingin* in *Kovalevski's Mongol Dict.*, No. 2134; and for *Baron-tala*, etc., see *Della Penna, Breve Notisia del Regno del Thibet*, with Klaproth's notes, p. 6; *D'Avezac*, p. 568; *Relation* prefixed to D'Anville's Atlas, p. 11; *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, 454; and *Kircher, China Illustrata*, p. 65.)

Since the first edition was published, Mr. Ney Elias has traversed the region in question from east to west; and I learn from him that at Kobdo he found the most usual name for that town among Mongols, Kalmaks, and Russians to be SANKIN-hoto. He had not then thought of connecting this name with Chinghin-talas, and has therefore no information as to its origin or the extent of its application. But he remarks that Polo's bearing of between north and north-west, if understood to be from *Kamul*, would point exactly to Kobdo. He also calls attention to the Lake *Sankin-dalai*, to the north-east of Uliasut'ai, of which Atkinson gives a sketch. The recurrence of this name over so wide a tract may have something to do with the Chinghin-talas of Polo. But we must still wait for further light.*

[“Supposing that M. Polo mentions this place on his way from Sha-chow to Su-chow, it is natural to think that it is *Chi-kin-talas*, i.e. ‘Chi-kin plain’ or valley; Chi-kin was the name of a lake, called so even now, and of a defile, which received its name from the lake. The latter is on the way from Kia-yü kwan to Ansi chow.” (*Palladius, l.c.* p. 7.) “*Chikin*, or more correctly *Chigin*, is a Mongol word meaning ‘ear.’” (*Ibid.*) Palladius (p. 8) adds: “The Chinese accounts of Chi-kin are not in contradiction to the statements given by M. Polo regarding the same subject; but when the distances are taken into consideration, a serious difficulty arises; Chi-kin is two hundred and fifty or sixty *li* distant from Su-chow, whilst, according to M. Polo's statement, ten days are necessary to cross this distance. One of the three following explanations of this discrepancy must be admitted: either Chingintalas is not Chi-kin, or the traveller's memory failed, or, lastly, an error crept into the number of days' journey. The two last suppositions I consider the most probable; the more so that similar difficulties occur several times in Marco Polo's narrative.” (*L.c.* p. 8.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—[*Ondanique*.—We have already referred to this word, *Kermán*, p. 90. *Cobinan*, p. 124. La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (*Dict.*), F. Godefroy (*Dict.*), Du Cange (*Gloss.*), all give to *andain* the meaning of *enjambée*, from the Latin *andare*. Godefroy, s.v. *andaine*, calls it *sorte d'acier ou de fer*, and quotes besides Marco Polo:

“I. espiel, ou ot fer d'andaine,
Dont la lamele n'iert pas trouble.”

(Huon de Mery, *Le Tornoient de l'Antechrist*, p. 3, Tarbé.)

There is a forest in the department of Orne, arrondissement of Domfront, which belonged to the Crown before 1669, and is now State property, called Forêt d'Andaine; it is situated near some bed of iron. Is this the origin of the name?—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The Altai, or one of its ramifications, is probably the mountain of the text, but so little is known of this part of the Chinese territory that we can learn scarcely anything of its mineral products. Still Martini does mention that asbestos is found “in the Tartar country of *Tangu*,” which probably is the *Tangnu Oola* branch of the Altai to the south of the Upper Yenisei, and in the very region we have indicated as Chingintalas. Mr. Elias tells me he inquired for asbestos by its Chinese name at Uliasut'ai, but without success.

* The late Mr. Atkinson has been twice alluded to in this note. I take the opportunity of saying that Mr. Ney Elias, a most competent judge, who has travelled across the region in question whilst admitting, as every one must, Atkinson's vagueness and sometimes very careless statements, is not at all disposed to discredit the truth of his narrative.

NOTE 4.—

“Degli elementi quattro principali,
Che son la Terra, e l'Acqua, e l'Aria, e'l Foco,
Composti sono gli universi Animalì,
Pigliando di ciascuno assai o poco.”

(*Dati, La Sfera*, p. 9.)

Zurficar in the next sentence is a Mahomedan name, *Zu'lfikâr*, the title of [the edge of] Ali's sword.

NOTE 5.—Here the G. Text adds: “*Et je meisme le vi,*” intimating, I conceive, his having himself seen specimens of the asbestos—not to his having been at the place.

NOTE 6.—The story of the Salamander passing unhurt through fire is at least as old as Aristotle. But I cannot tell when the fable arose that asbestos was a substance derived from the animal. This belief, however, was general in the Middle Ages, both in Asia and Europe. “The fable of the Salamander,” says Sir Thomas Browne, “hath been much promoted by stories of incombustible napkins and textures which endure the fire, whose materials are called by the name of Salamander's wool, which many, too literally apprehending, conceive some investing part or integument of the Salamander. . . . Nor is this Salamander's wool desumed from any animal, but a mineral substance, metaphorically so called for this received opinion.”

Those who knew that the Salamander was a lizard-like animal were indeed perplexed as to its woolly coat. Thus the Cardinal de Vitry is fain to say the creature “*profert ex cute quasi quamdam lanam de quâ zonae contextae comburi non possunt igne.*” A Bestiary, published by Cahier and Martin, says of it: “*De lui naist une cose qui n'est ne soie ne lin ne laine.*” Jerome Cardan looked in vain, he says, for hair on the Salamander! Albertus Magnus calls the incombustible fibre *pluma Salamandri*; and accordingly Bold Bauduin de Sebourc finds the Salamander in the Terrestrial Paradise a kind of bird covered with the whitest plumage; of this he takes some, which he gets woven into a cloth; this he presents to the Pope, and the Pontiff applies it to the purpose mentioned in the text, viz. to cover the holy napkin of St. Veronica.

Gervase of Tilbury writes: “I saw, when lately at Rome, a broad strap of Salamander skin, like a girdle for the loins, which had been brought thither by Cardinal Peter of Capua. When it had become somewhat soiled by use, I myself saw it cleaned perfectly, and without receiving harm, by being put in the fire.”

In Persian the creature is called *Samandar*, *Samandal*, etc., and some derive the word from *Sam*, “fire,” and *Andar*, “within.” Doubtless it is a corruption of the Greek *Σαλαμάνδρα*, whatever be the origin of that. Bakui says the animal is found at Ghur, near Herat, and is like a mouse. Another author, quoted by D'Herbelot, says it is like a marten.

[Sir T. Douglas Forsyth, in his *Introductory Remarks* to *Prjevalsky's Travels to Lob-nor* (p. 20), at Aksu says: “The asbestos mentioned by Marco Polo as a utilized product of this region is not even so known in this country.”—H. C.]

+ Interesting details regarding the fabrication of cloth and paper from amianth or asbestos are contained in a report presented to the French Institute by M. Sage (*Mém. Ac. Sciences*, 2e Sem., 1806, p. 102), of which large extracts are given in the *Diction. général des Tissus*, par M. Bezon, 2e éd. vol. ii. Lyon, 1859, p. 5. He mentions that a *Sudarium* of this material is still shown at the Vatican; we hope it is the cover which Kúblái sent.

[This hope is not to be realized. Mgr. Duchesne, of the Institut de France, writes to me from Rome, from information derived from the keepers of the Vatican Museum, that there is no sudarium from the Great Khan, that indeed part of a sudarium made of asbestos is shown (under glass) in this Museum, about 20 inches long, but it is ancient, and was found in a Pagan tomb of the Appian Way.—H. C.]

M. Sage exhibited incombustible paper made from this material, and had himself seen a small furnace of Chinese origin made from it. Madame Perpenté, an Italian lady, who experimented much with asbestos, found that from a crude mass of that substance threads could be elicited which were ten times the length of the mass itself, and were indeed sometimes several metres in length, the fibres seeming to be involved, like silk in a cocoon. Her process of preparation was much like that described by Marco. She succeeded in carding and reeling the material, made gloves and the like, as well as paper, from it, and sent to the Institute a work printed on such paper.

The Rev. A. Williamson mentions asbestos as found in Shantung. The natives use it for making stoves, crucibles, and so forth.

(*Sir T. Browne*, I. 293; *Bongars*, I. 1104; *Cahier et Martin*, III. 271; *Cardan, de Rer. Varietate*, VII. 33; *Alb. Mag. Opera*, 1551, II. 227, 233; *Fr. Michel, Recherches*, etc., II. 91; *Gerv. of Tilbury*, p. 13; *N. et E.* II. 493; *D. des Tissus*, II. 1-12; *J. N. China Branch R.A.S.*, December, 1867, p. 70.) [*Berger de Xivrey, Traditions t̄ratologiques*, 457-458, 460-463.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XLIII.

OF THE PROVINCE OF SŪKCHUR.

ON leaving the province of which I spoke before,¹ you ride ten days between north-east and east, and in all that way you find no human dwelling, or next to none, so that there is nothing for our book to speak of.

At the end of those ten days you come to another province called SŪKCHUR, in which there are numerous towns and villages. The chief city is called SŪKCHU.² The people are partly Christians and partly Idolaters, and all are subject to the Great Kaan.

The great General Province to which all these three provinces belong is called TANGUT.

Over all the mountains of this province rhubarb is found in great abundance, and thither merchants come to buy it, and carry it thence all over the world.³ [Travellers, however, dare not visit those mountains with any cattle but those of the country, for a certain plant grows there which is so poisonous that cattle which eat it lose their hoofs. The cattle of the country

know it and eschew it.^{4]} The people live by agriculture, and have not much trade. [They are of a brown complexion. The whole of the province is healthy.]

NOTE 1.—Referring apparently to Shachau; see Note 1 and the closing words of last chapter.

NOTE 2.—There is no doubt that the province and city are those of SUHCHIAU, but there is a great variety in the readings, and several texts have a marked difference between the name of the province and that of the city, whilst others give them as the same. I have adopted those to which the resultants of the readings of the best texts seem to point, viz. *Succiur* and *Succiu*, though with considerable doubt whether they should not be identical. Pauthier declares that *Suctur*, which is the reading of his favourite MS., is the exact pronunciation, after the vulgar Mongol manner, of *Suh-chau-lu*, the *Lu* or circuit of Suhchau; whilst Neumann says that the Northern Chinese constantly add an euphonic particle *or* to the end of words. I confess to little faith in such refinements, when no evidence is produced.

[Suhchau had been devastated and its inhabitants massacred by Chinghiz Khan in 1226.—H. C.]

Suhchau is called by Rashiduddin, and by Shah Rukh's ambassadors, *Sukchú*, in exact correspondence with the reading we have adopted for the name of the city, whilst the Russian Envoy Boikoff, in the 17th century, calls it "*Suktsey*, where the rhubarb grows"; and Anthony Jenkinson, in Hakluyt, by a slight metathesis, *Sowchick*. Suhchau lies just within the extreme north-west angle of the Great Wall. It was at Suhchau that Benedict Goës was detained, waiting for leave to go on to Peking, eighteen weary months, and there he died just as aid reached him.

NOTE 3.—The real rhubarb [*Rheum palmatum*] grows wild, on very high mountains. The central line of its distribution appears to be the high range dividing the head waters of the Hwang-Ho, Yalung, and Min-Kiang. The chief markets are Siningfu (see ch. lvii.), and Kwan-Kian in Szechwan. In the latter province an inferior kind is grown in fields, but the genuine rhubarb defies cultivation. (See *Richtofen*, Letters, No. VII. p. 69.) Till recently it was almost all exported by Kiakhta and Russia, but some now comes *viâ* Hankau and Shanghai.

[“See, on the preparation of the root in China, Gemelli-Careri. (*Churchill's Collect.*, Bk. III. ch. v. 365.) It is said that when Chinghiz Khan was pillaging Tangut, the only things his minister, Yeh-liú Ch'u-ts'ai, would take as his share of the booty were a few Chinese books and a supply of rhubarb, with which he saved the lives of a great number of Mongols, when, a short time after, an epidemic broke out in the army.” (*D'Ohsson*, I. 372.—*Rockhill*, *Rubruck*, p. 193, note.)

“With respect to rhubarb . . . the *Suchowchi* also makes the remark, that the best rhubarb, with golden flowers in the breaking, is gathered in this province (district of *Shan-tan*), and that it is equally beneficial to men and beasts, preserving them from the pernicious effects of the heat.” (*Palladius*, *l.c.* p. 9.)—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—*Erba* is the title applied to the poisonous growth, which may be either “plant” or “grass.” It is not unlikely that it was a plant akin to the *Andromeda ovalifolia*, the tradition of the poisonous character of which prevails everywhere along the Himalaya from Nepal to the Indus.

It is notorious for poisoning sheep and goats at Simla and other hill sanitaría; and Dr. Cleghorn notes the same circumstance regarding it that Polo heard of the plant in Tangut, viz. that its effects on flocks imported from the plains are highly injurious, whilst those of the hills do not appear to suffer, probably because they shun the young leaves, which alone are deleterious. Mr. Marsh attests the like fact regard-

ing the *Kalmia angustifolia* of New England, a plant of the same order (*Ericaceae*). Sheep bred where it abounds almost always avoid browsing on its leaves, whilst those brought from districts where it is unknown feed upon it and are poisoned.

Firishta, quoting from the *Zafar-Namah*, says: "On the road from Kashmir towards Tibet there is a plain on which no other vegetable grows but a poisonous grass that destroys all the cattle that taste of it, and therefore no horsemen venture to travel that route." And Abbé Desgodins, writing from E. Tibet, mentions that sheep and goats are poisoned by rhododendron leaves. (*Dr. Hugh Cleghorn* in *J. Agricultural and Hortic. Society of India*, XIV. part 4; *Marsh's Man and Nature*, p. 40; *Brigg's Firishhta*, IV. 449; *Bul. de la Soc. de Géog.* 1873, I. 333.)

["This poisonous plant seems to be the *Stipa inebrians* described by the late Dr. Hance in the *Journal of Bot.* 1876, p. 211, from specimens sent to me by Belgian Missionaries from the Ala Shan Mountains, west of the Yellow River." (*Bretschneider, Hist. of Bot. Disc.* I. p. 5.)

"M. Polo notices that the cattle not indigenous to the province lose their hoofs in the Suh-chau Mountains; but that is probably not on account of some poisonous grass, but in consequence of the stony ground." (*Palladius, l.c.* p. 9.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF THE CITY OF CAMPICHU.

CAMPICHU is also a city of Tangut, and a very great and noble one. Indeed it is the capital and place of government of the whole province of Tangut.¹ The people are Idolaters, Saracens, and Christians, and the latter have three very fine churches in the city, whilst the Idolaters have many minsters and abbeys after their fashion. In these they have an enormous number of idols, both small and great, certain of the latter being a good ten paces in stature; some of them being of wood, others of clay, and others yet of stone. They are all highly polished, and then covered with gold. The great idols of which I speak lie at length.² And round about them there are other figures of considerable size, as if adoring and paying homage before them.

Now, as I have not yet given you particulars about the customs of these Idolaters, I will proceed to tell you about them.

You must know that there are among them certain religious recluses who lead a more virtuous life than the rest. These abstain from all lechery, though they do not indeed regard it as a deadly sin; howbeit if any one sin against nature they condemn him to death. They have an Ecclesiastical Calendar as we have; and there are five days in the month that they observe particularly; and on these five days they would on no account either slaughter any animal or eat flesh meat. On those days, moreover, they observe much greater abstinence altogether than on other days.³

Among these people a man may take thirty wives, more or less, if he can but afford to do so, each having wives in proportion to his wealth and means; but the first wife is always held in highest consideration. The men endow their wives with cattle, slaves, and money, according to their ability. And if a man dislikes any one of his wives, he just turns her off and takes another. They take to wife their cousins and their fathers' widows (always excepting the man's own mother), holding to be no sin many things that we think grievous sins, and, in short, they live like beasts.⁴

Messer Maffeo and Messer Marco Polo dwelt a whole year in this city when on a mission.⁵

Now we will leave this and tell you about other provinces towards the north, for we are going to take you a sixty days' journey in that direction.

NOTE I.—Campichiu is undoubtedly Kanchau, which was at this time, as Pauthier tells us, the chief city of the administration of *Kansuh*, corresponding to Polo's Tangut. *Kansuh* itself is a name compounded of the names of the two cities *Kanchau* and *Suh-chau*.

[Kanchau fell under the Tangut dominion in 1208. (*Palladius*, p. 10.) The Muslims mentioned by Polo at Shachau and Kanchau probably came from Khotan.—H. C.]

The difficulties that have been made about the form of the name *Campiciou*, etc., in Polo, and the attempts to explain these, are probably alike futile. Quatremère writes the Persian form of the name after Abdurrazak as *Kamtcheou*, but I see that Erdmann

writes it after Rashid, I presume on good grounds, as *Kamidschu*, i.e. *Kamiju* or *Kamichu*. And that this was the Western pronunciation of the name is shown by the form which Pegolotti uses, *Camexu*, i.e. *Camechu*. The *p* in Polo's spelling is probably only a superfluous letter, as in the occasional old spelling of *dampnum*, *contempnere*, *hympnus*, *tirampnus*, *sompnour*, *Dampne Deu*. In fact, Marignolli writes Polo's *Quinsai* as *Campsay*.

It is worthy of notice that though Ramusio's text prints the names of these two cities as *Succuir* and *Campion*, his own pronunciation of them appears to have been quite well understood by the Persian traveller Hajji Mahomed, for it is perfectly clear that the latter recognized in these names *Suhchau* and *Kanchau*. (See *Ram.* II. f. 14v.) The second volume of the *Navigazioni*, containing Polo, was published after Ramusio's death, and it is possible that the names as he himself read them were more correct (e.g. *Succuir*, *Campjou*).

NOTE 2.—This is the meaning of the phrase in the G. T. : “*Ceste grande ydre gigent*,” as may be seen from Ramusio's *giaciono distesi*. Lazari renders the former expression, “*giganteggia un idolo*,” etc., a phrase very unlike Polo. The circumstance is interesting, because this recumbent Colossus at Kanchau is mentioned both by Hajji Mahomed and by Shah Rukh's people. The latter say : “In this city of Kanchú there is an Idol-Temple 500 cubits square. In the middle is an idol lying at length which measures 50 paces. The sole of the foot is nine paces long, and the in-step is 21 cubits in girth. Behind this image and overhead are other idols of a cubit (?) in height, besides figures of *Bakshis* as large as life. The action of all is hit off so admirably that you would think they were alive.” These great recumbent figures are favourites in Buddhist countries still, e.g. in Siam, Burma, and Ceylon. They symbolise Sakyá Buddha entering *Nirvána*. Such a recumbent figure, perhaps the prototype of these, was seen by Hiuen Tsang in a Vihara close to the Sál Grove at Kusinára, where Sakyá entered that state, i.e. died. The stature of Buddha was, we are told, 12 cubits; but Brahma, Indra, and the other gods vainly tried to compute his dimensions. Some such rude metaphor is probably embodied in these large images. I have described one 69 feet long in Burma (represented in the cut), but others exist of much greater size, though probably none equal to that which Hiuen Tsang, in the 7th century, saw near Bamian, which was 1000 feet in length! I have heard of but one such image remaining in India, viz. in one of the caves at Dhamnár in Málwa. This is 15 feet long, and is popularly known as “*Bhim's Baby*.” (*Cathay*, etc., pp. cciii., cexviii.; *Mission to Ava*, p. 52; *V. et V. de H. T.*, p. 374; *Cunningham's Archæol. Reports*, ii. 274; *Tod*, ii. 273.)



Colossal Figure, Buddha entering Nirvana.

“*Et si vos di qu'il ont de ydres que sunt grant dix pas. . . Ceste grant ydres gigent.*” . . .

[“The temple, in which M. Polo saw an idol of Buddha, represented in a lying position, is evidently *Wo-fo-sze*, i.e. ‘Monastery of the lying Buddha.’ It was built in 1103 by a Tangut queen, to place there three idols representing Buddha in this posture, which have since been found in the ground on this very spot.” (*Palladius*, l.c. p. 10.)

Rubruck (p. 144) says: "A Nestorian, who had come from Cathay told me that in that country there is an idol so big that it can be seen from two days off." Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 144, *note*) writes: "The largest stone image I have seen is in a cave temple at Yung-kán, about 10 miles north-west of Ta-t'ung Fu in Shan-si. Père Gerbillon says the Emperor K'ang-hsi measured it himself and found it to be 57 *chih* high (61 feet). (*Duhalde*, *Description*, IV. 352.) I have seen another colossal statue in a cave near Pinchou in north-west Shan-si; and there is another about 45 miles south of Ning-hsia Fu, near the left bank of the Yellow River. (*Rockhill*, *Land of the Lamas*, 26, and *Diary*, 47.) The great recumbent figure of the 'Sleeping Buddha' in the Wo Fo ssü, near Peking, is of clay."

King Haythou (Brosset's ed. p. 181) mentions the statue in clay, of an extraordinary height, of a God (Buddha) aged 3040 years, who is to live 370,000 years more, when he will be superseded by another god called *Madri* (Maitreya).—H. C.]



Great Lama Monastery.

NOTE 3.—Marco is now speaking of the Lamas, or clergy of Tibetan Buddhism. The customs mentioned have varied in details, both locally and with the changes that the system has passed through in the course of time.

The institutes of ancient Buddhism set apart the days of new and full moon to be observed by the *Sramanas* or monks, by fasting, confession, and listening to the reading of the law. It became usual for the laity to take part in the observance, and the number of days was increased to three and then to four, whilst Hiuen Tsang himself speaks of "the six fasts of every month," and a Chinese authority quoted by Julien gives the days as the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and 30th. Fabian says that in Ceylon preaching took place on the 8th, 14th, and 15th days of the month. Four

is the number now most general amongst Buddhist nations, and the days may be regarded as a kind of Buddhist Sabbath. In the southern countries and in Nepal they occur at the moon's changes. In Tibet and among the Mongol Buddhists they are not at equal intervals, though I find the actual days differently stated by different authorities. Pallas says the Mongols observed the 13th, 14th, and 15th, the three days being brought together, he thought, on account of the distance many Lamas had to travel to the temple—just as in some Scotch country parishes they used to give two sermons in one service for like reason! Koeppen, to whose work this note is much indebted, says the Tibetan days are the 14th, 15th, 29th, 30th, and adds as to the manner of observance: "On these days, by rule, among the Lamas, nothing should be tasted but farinaceous food and tea; the very devout refrain from all food from sunrise to sunset. The Temples are decorated, and the altar tables set out with the holy symbols, with tapers, and with dishes containing offerings in corn, meal, tea, butter, etc., and especially with small pyramids of dough, or of rice or clay, and accompanied by much burning of incense-sticks. The service performed by the priests is more solemn, the music louder and more exciting, than usual. The laity make their offerings, tell their beads, and repeat *Om mani padma hom*," etc. In the *concordat* that took place between the Dalai-Lama and the Altun Khaghan, on the re-conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism in the 16th century, one of the articles was the entire prohibition of hunting and the slaughter of animals on the monthly fast days. The practice varies much, however, even in Tibet, with different provinces and sects—a variation which the Ramusian text of Polo implies in these words: "For five days, or *four days*, or *three* in each month, they shed no blood," etc.

In Burma the Worship Day, as it is usually called by Europeans, is a very gay scene, the women flocking to the pagodas in their brightest attire. (*H. T. Mémoires*, I. 6, 208; *Koeppen*, I. 563-564, II. 139, 307-308; *Pallas, Samml.* II. 168-169).

NOTE 4.—These matrimonial customs are the same that are afterwards ascribed to the Tartars, so we defer remark.

NOTE 5.—So Pauthier's text, "*en legation*." The G. Text includes Nicolo Polo, and says, "on business of theirs that is not worth mentioning," and with this Ramusio agrees.

CHAPTER XLV.

OF THE CITY OF ETZINA.

WHEN you leave the city of Campichu you ride for twelve days, and then reach a city called ETZINA, which is towards the north on the verge of the Sandy Desert; it belongs to the Province of Tangut.¹ The people are Idolaters, and possess plenty of camels and cattle, and the country produces a number of good falcons, both Sakers and Lanners. The inhabitants live by their cultivation and their cattle, for they have no trade.

At this city you must needs lay in victuals for forty days, because when you quit Etzina, you enter on a desert which extends forty days' journey to the north, and on which you meet with no habitation nor baiting-place.² In the summer-time, indeed, you will fall in with people, but in the winter the cold is too great. You also meet with wild beasts (for there are some small pine-woods here and there), and with numbers of wild asses.³ When you have travelled these forty days across the Desert you come to a certain province lying to the north. Its name you shall hear presently.

NOTE 1.—Deguignes says that YETSINA is found in a Chinese Map of Tartary of the Mongol era, and this is confirmed by Pauthier, who reads it *Itsinaï*, and adds



Wild Ass of Mongolia.

that the text of the Map names it as one of the seven *Lu* or Circuits of the Province of Kansuh (or Tangut). Indeed, in D'Anville's Atlas we find a river called *Etsina Pira*, running northward from Kanchau, and a little below the 41st parallel joining

another from Suhchau. Beyond the junction is a town called *Hoa-tsiang*, which probably represents Etzina. Yetsina is also mentioned in Gaubil's History of Chinghiz as taken by that conqueror in 1226, on his last campaign against Tangut. This capture would also seem from Pétis de la Croix to be mentioned by Rashiduddin. Gaubil says the Chinese Geography places Yetsina north of Kanchau and north-east of Suhchau, at a distance of 120 leagues from Kanchau, but observes that this is certainly too great. (*Gaubil*, p. 49.)

[I believe there can be no doubt that Etzina must be looked for on the river *Hei-shui*, called *Etsina* by the Mongols, east of Suhchau. This river empties its waters into the two lakes Soho-omo and Sopo-omo. Etzina would have been therefore situated on the river on the border of the Desert, at the top of a triangle whose bases would be Suhchau and Kanchau. This river was once part of the frontier of the kingdom of Tangut. (Cf. *Devéria, Notes d'épigraphie mongolo-chinoise*, p. 4.) Reclus (*Géog. Univ., Asie Orientale*, p. 159) says: "To the east [of Hami], beyond the Chukur Gobi, are to be found also some permanent villages and the remains of cities. One of them is perhaps the 'cité d'Etzina' of which Marco Polo speaks, and the name is to be found in that of the river Az-sind."

"Through Kanchau was the shortest, and most direct and convenient road to *I-tsi-nay*. . . . *I-tsi-nay*, or *Echiné*, is properly the name of a lake. Khubilai, disquieted by his factious relatives on the north, established a military post near lake *I-tsi-nay*, and built a town, or a fort on the south-western shore of this lake. The name of *I-tsi-nay* appears from that time; it does not occur in the chronicle of the Tangut kingdom; the lake had then another name. Vestiges of the town are seen to this day; the buildings were of large dimensions, and some of them were very fine. In Marco Polo's time there existed a direct route from *I-tsi-nay* to Karakorum; traces of this road are still noticeable, but it is no more used. This circumstance, *i.e.* the existence of a road from *I-tsi-nay* to Karakorum, probably led Marco Polo to make an excursion (a mental one, I suppose) to the residence of the Khans in Northern Mongolia." (*Palladius, l.c.* pp. 10-11.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—"Erberge" (G. T.). Pauthier has *Herbage*.

NOTE 3.—The Wild Ass of Mongolia is the *Dshiggetai* of Pallas (*Asinus hemionus* of Gray), and identical with the Tibetan *Kyang* of Moorcroft and Trans-Himalayan sportsmen. It differs, according to Blyth, only in shades of colour and unimportant markings from the *Ghor Khar* of Western India and the Persian Deserts, the *Kulan* of Turkestan, which Marco has spoken of in a previous passage (*suprà*, ch. xvi.; *J. A. S. B.* XXVIII. 229 *seqq.*). There is a fine *Kyang* in the Zoological Gardens, whose portrait, after Wolf, is given here. But Mr. Ney Elias says of this animal that he has little of the aspect of his nomadic brethren. [The wild ass (Tibetan *Kyang*, Mongol *Holu* or *Hulan*) is called by the Chinese *yeh ma*, "wild horse," though "every one admits that it is an ass, and should be called *yeh lo-tzü*." (*Rockhill, Land of the Lamas*, 151, note.)—H. C.]

[Captain Younghusband (1886) saw in the Altaï Mountains "considerable numbers of wild asses, which appeared to be perfectly similar to the *Kyang* of Ladak and Tibet, and wild horses too—the *Equus Prejvalskii*—roaming about these great open plains." (*Proc. R. G. S.* X. 1888, p. 495.) Dr. Sven Hedin says the *habitat* of the *Kulan* is the heights of Tibet as well as the valley of the Tarim; it looks like a mule with the mane and tail of an ass, but shorter ears, longer than those of a horse; he gives a picture of it.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XLVI.

OF THE CITY OF CARACORON.

CARACORON is a city of some three miles in compass. [It is surrounded by a strong earthen rampart, for stone is scarce there. And beside it there is a great citadel wherein is a fine palace in which the Governor resides.] 'Tis the first city that the Tartars possessed after they issued from their own country. And now I will tell you all about how they first acquired dominion and spread over the world.¹

Originally the Tartars² dwelt in the north on the borders of CHORCHA.³ Their country was one of great plains; and there were no towns or villages in it, but excellent pasture-lands, with great rivers and many sheets of water; in fact it was a very fine and extensive region. But there was no sovereign in the land. They did, however, pay tax and tribute to a great prince who was called in their tongue UNC CAN, the same that we call Prester John, him in fact about whose great dominion all the world talks.⁴ The tribute he had of them was one beast out of every ten, and also a tithe of all their other gear.

Now it came to pass that the Tartars multiplied exceedingly. And when Prester John saw how great a people they had become, he began to fear that he should have trouble from them. So he made a scheme to distribute them over sundry countries, and sent one of his Barons to carry this out. When the Tartars became aware of this they took it much amiss, and with one consent they left their country and went off across a desert to a distant region towards the north, where Prester John could not get at them to annoy

them. Thus they revolted from his authority and paid him tribute no longer. And so things continued for a time.

NOTE 1.—KARÁKORUM, near the upper course of the River Orkhon, is said by Chinese authors to have been founded by Búkú Khan of the Hœi-Hu or Uigúrs, in the 8th century. In the days of Chinghiz, we are told that it was the headquarters of his ally, and afterwards enemy, Togrul Wang Khan, the Prester John of Polo. ["The name of this famous city is Mongol, *Kara*, 'black,' and *Kuren*, 'a camp,' or properly 'pailing.'"] It was founded in 1235 by Okkodai, who called it Ordu Balik, or "the City of the Ordu," otherwise "The Royal City." Mohammedan authors say it took its name of Karákorum from the mountains to the south of it, in which the Orkhon had its source. (*D'Ohsson*, ii. 64.) The Chinese mention a range of mountains from which the Orkhon flows, called *Wu-tê kien shan*. (*T'ang shu*, bk. 43*b*.) Probably these are the same. Rashiduddin speaks of a tribe of Utikien Uigúrs living in this country. (*Bretschneider*, *Med. Geog.* 191; *D'Ohsson*, i. 437. *Rockhill*, *Rubruck*, 220, note.)—Karákorum was called by the Chinese *Ho-lin* and was chosen by Chinghiz, in 1206, as his capital; the full name of it, *Ha-la Ho-lin*, was derived from a river to the west. (*Yuen shi*, ch. lviii.) Gaubil (*Holin*, p. 10) says that the river, called in his days in Tartar *Karoha*, was, at the time of the Mongol Emperors, named by the Chinese *Ha-la Ho-lin*, in Tartar language *Ka la Ko lin*, or *Cara korin*, or *Kara Koran*. In the spring of 1235, Okkodai had a wall raised round *Ho-lin* and a palace called *Wang an*, built inside the city. (*Gaubil*, *Gentchiscan*, 89.) After the death of Kúblái, *Ho-lin* was altered into *Ho-Ning*, and, in 1320, the name of the province was changed into *Ling-pé* (mountainous north, *i.e.* the *Yin-shan* chain, separating China Proper from Mongolia). In 1256, Mangu Kaan decided to transfer the seat of government to Kaiping-fu, or Shangtu, near the present Dolonnor, north of Peking. (*Suprà* in Prologue, ch. xiii. note 1.) In 1260, Kúblái transferred his capital to *Ta-Tu* (Peking).

Plano Carpini (1246) is the first Western traveller to mention it by name which he writes *Caracoron*; he visited the Sira Orda, at half a day's journey from Karákorum, where Okkodai used to pass the summer; it was situated at a place Ormektua. (*Rockhill*, *Rubruck*, 21, 111.) Rubruquis (1253) visited the city itself; the following is his account of it: "As regards the city of Caracoron, you must understand that if you set aside the Kaan's own Palace, it is not as good as the Borough of St. Denis; and as for the Palace, the Abbey of St. Denis is worth ten of it! There are two streets in the town; one of which is occupied by the Saracens, and in that is the market-place. The other street is occupied by the Cathayans, who are all craftsmen. Besides these two streets there are some great palaces occupied by the court secretaries. There are also twelve idol temples belonging to different nations, two Mahummeries in which the Law of Mahomet is preached, and one church of the Christians at the extremity of the town. The town is enclosed by a mud-wall and has four gates. At the east gate they sell millet and other corn, but the supply is scanty; at the west gate they sell rams and goats; at the south gate oxen and waggons; at the north gate horses. . . . Mangu Kaan has a great Court beside the Town Rampart, which is enclosed by a brick wall, just like our priories. Inside there is a big palace, within which he holds a drinking-bout twice a year; . . . there are also a number of long buildings like granges, in which are kept his treasures and his stores of victual" (345-6; 334).

Where was Karákorum situated?

The Archimandrite Palladius is very prudent (*l.c.* p. 11): "Everything that the studious Chinese authors could gather and say of the situation of Karakhorum is collected in two Chinese works, *Lo fung low wen kao* (1849), and *Mungku yew mu ki*

(1859). However, no positive conclusion can be derived from these researches, chiefly in consequence of the absence of a tolerably correct map of Northern Mongolia."

Abel Rémusat (*Mém. sur Géog. Asie Centrale*, p. 20) made a confusion between Karábalgasun and Karákorum which has misled most writers after him.

Sir Henry Yule says: "The evidence adduced in Abel Rémusat's paper on Karákorum (*Mém. de l'Acad. R. des Insc.* VII. 288) establishes the site on the north bank of the Orkhon, and about five days' journey above the confluence of the Orkhon and Tula. But as we have only a very loose knowledge of these rivers, it is impossible to assign the geographical position with accuracy. Nor is it likely that ruins exist beyond an outline perhaps of the Kaan's Palace walls."

In the *Geographical Magazine* for July, 1874 (p. 137), Sir Henry Yule has been enabled, by the kind aid of Madame Fedtchenko in supplying a translation from the Russian, to give some account of Mr. Paderin's visit to the place, in the summer of 1873, along with a sketch-map.

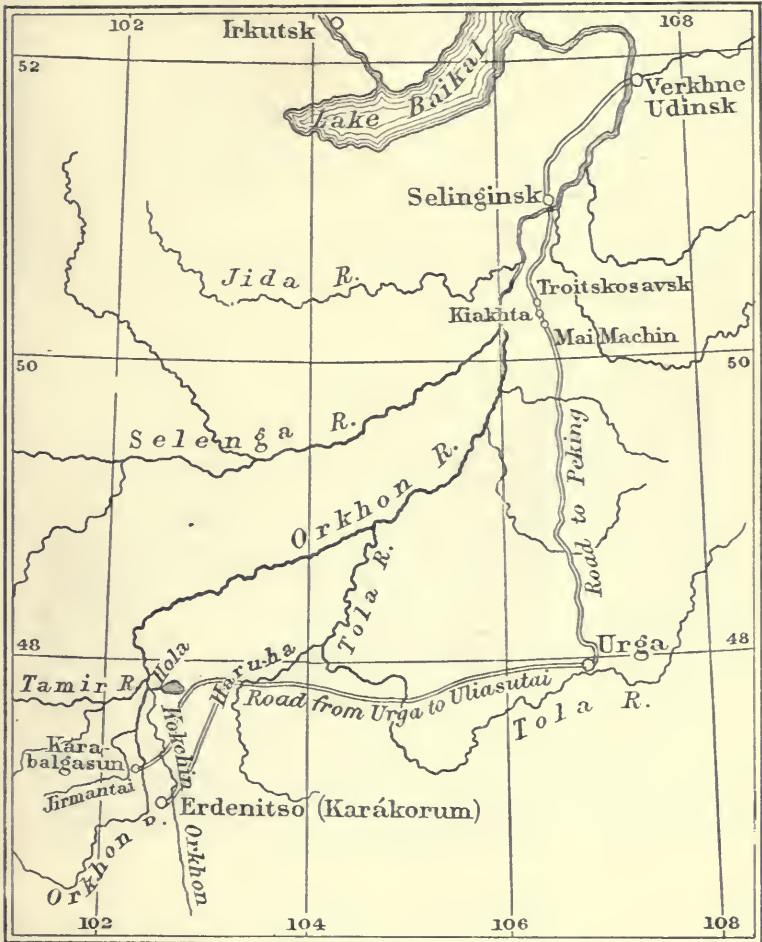
"The site visited by Mr. Paderin is shown, by the particulars stated in that paper, to be sufficiently identified with Karákorum. It is precisely that which Rémusat indicated, and which bears in the Jesuit maps, as published by D'Anville, the name of *Talarho Hara Palhassoun* (i.e. Kará Balghásun), standing 4 or 5 miles from the left bank of the Orkhon, in lat. (by the Jesuit Tables) $47^{\circ} 32' 24''$. It is now known as Kara-Khäräm (Rampart) or Kara Balghasun (city). The remains consist of a quadrangular rampart of mud and sun-dried brick, of about 500 paces to the side, and now about 9 feet high, with traces of a higher tower, and of an inner rampart parallel to the other. But these remains probably appertain to the city as re-occupied by the descendants of the Yuen in the end of the 14th century, after their expulsion from China."

Dr. Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* I. p. 123) rightly observes: "It seems, however, that Paderin is mistaken in his supposition. At least it does not agree with the position assigned to the ancient Mongol residence in the Mongol annals *Erdeniz erikhe*, translated into Russian, in 1883, by Professor Pozdniev. It is there positively stated (p. 110, note 2) that the monastery of *Erdenidsu*, founded in 1585, was erected on the ruins of that city, which once had been built by order of Ogotai Khan, and where he had established his residence; and where, after the expulsion of the Mongols from China, Togontemur again had fixed the Mongol court. This vast monastery still exists, one English mile, or more, east of the Orkhon. It has even been astronomically determined by the Jesuit missionaries, and is marked on our maps of Mongolia. Pozdniev, who visited the place in 1877, obligingly informs me that the square earthen wall surrounding the monastery of Erdenidsu, and measuring about an English mile in circumference, may well be the very wall of ancient Karákorum."

Recent researches have fully confirmed the belief that the Erdeni Tso, or Erdeni Chao, Monastery occupies the site of Karákorum, near the bank of the Orkhon, between this river and the Kokchin (old) Orkhon. (See map in *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, Helsingfors, 1892; a plan of the vicinity and of the Erdeni Tso is given (plate 36) in *W. Radloff's Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei*, St. Pet., 1892.)

According to a work of the 13th century quoted by the late Professor G. Devéria, the distance between the old capital of the Uighúr, Kara Balgasún, on the left bank of the Orkhon, north of Erdeni Tso, and the Ho-lin or Karákorum of the Mongols, would be 70 *li* (about 30 miles), and such is the space between Erdeni Tso and Kara Balgasún. M. Marcel Monnier (*Itinéraires*, p. 107) estimates the bird's-eye distance from Erdeni Tso to Kara Balgasún at 33 kilom. (about 20½ miles). "When the brilliant epoch of the power of the Chinghizkhanides," says Professor Axel Heikel, "was at an end, the city of Karákorum fell into oblivion, and towards the year 1590 was founded, in the centre of this historically celebrated region of the Orkhon, the most ancient of Buddhist monasteries of Mongolia, this of Erdeni Tso [Erdeni Chao]. It was built, according to a Mongol chronicle, on the ruins of the town built by Okkodaï, son of Chinghiz Khan, that is to say, on the ancient Karákorum."

(*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon.*) So Professor Heikel, like Professor Pozdniev, concludes that Erdeni Tso was built on the site of Karákorum and cannot be mistaken for Karabalgásun. Indeed it is highly probable that one of the walls of the actual convent belonged to the old Mongol capital. The travels and researches by expeditions from Finland and Russia have made these questions pretty clear. Some most interesting inscriptions have been brought home and have been studied by a number of Orientalists: G. Schlegel, O. Donner, G. Devéria, Vasiliev,



G. von der Gabelentz, Dr. Hirth, G. Huth, E. H. Parker, W. Bang, etc., and especially Professor Vilh. Thomsen, of Copenhagen, who deciphered them (*Déchiffrement des Inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Énisei*, Copenhagen, 1894, 8vo; *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, par V. Thomsen, Helsingfors, 1894, 8vo), and Professor W. Radloff of St. Petersburg (*Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei*, 1892-6, fol. ; *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 1894-7, etc.). There is an immense literature on these inscriptions, and for the bibliography, I must refer the reader to

H. Cordier, Etudes Chinoises (1891-1894), Leide, 1895, 8vo; *Id.* (1895-1898), Leide, 1898, 8vo. The initiator of these discoveries was N. Iarindsev, of Irkutsk, who died at Barnaoul in 1894, and the first great expedition was started from Finland in 1890, under the guidance of Professor Axel Heikel. (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon recueillies par l'expédition finnoise, 1890, et publiées par la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsingfors, 1892, fol.*) The Russian expedition left the following year, 1891, under the direction of the Academician W. Radloff.

M. Chaffanjon (*Nouv. Archiv. des Missions Scient. IX.*, 1899, p. 81), in 1895, does not appear to know that there is a difference between Kará Korum and Kará Balgásun, as he writes: "Forty kilometres south of Kara Korum or Kara Balgásun, the convent of Erdeni Zoun."

A plan of Kara Balgásun is given (plate 27) in *Radloff's Atlas*. See also *Henri Cordier et Gaubil, Situation de Holin en Tartarie*, Leide, 1893.

In Rubruquis's account of Karákorum there is one passage of great interest: "Then master William [Guillaume L'Orfèvre] had made for us an iron to make wafers . . . he made also a silver box to put the body of Christ in, with relics in little cavities made in the sides of the box." Now M. Marcel Monnier, who is one of the last, if not the last traveller who visited the region, tells me that he found in the large temple of Erdeni Tso an iron (the cast bore a Latin cross; had the wafer been Nestorian, the cross should have been Greek) and a silver box, which are very likely the objects mentioned by Rubruquis. It is a new proof of the identity of the sites of Erdeni Tso and Karákorum.—H. C.]



Entrance to the Erdeni Tso Great Temple.

NOTE 2.—[Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, 113, note) says: "The earliest date to which I have been able to trace back the name Tartar is A.D. 732. We find mention made in a Turkish inscription found on the river Orkhon and bearing that date, of the *Tokuz Tatar*, or 'Nine (tribes of) Tatars,' and of the *Otuz Tatar*, or 'Thirty (tribes of) Tatars.' It is probable that these tribes were then living between the Oguz or Uigür Turks on the west, and the Kitan on the east. (*Thomsen, Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, 98, 126, 140.) Mr. Thos. Waters tells me that the Tartars are first mentioned by the Chinese in the period extending from A.D. 860 to 874; the earliest mention I have discovered, however, is under date of A.D. 880. (*Wu tai shih*, Bk. 4.)

We also read in the same work (Bk. 74, 2) that 'The Ta-ta were a branch of the Mo-ho (the name the Nū-chên Tartars bore during the Sui and T'ang periods: *Ma Tuan-lin*, Bk. 327, 5). They first lived to the north of the Kitan. Later on they were conquered by this people, when they scattered, a part becoming tributaries of the Kitan, another to the P'o-hai (a branch of the Mo-ho), while some bands took up their abode in the Yin Shan in Southern Mongolia, north of the provinces of Chih-li and Shan-si, and took the name of *Ta-ta*.' In 981 the Chinese ambassador to the Prince of Kao-chang (Karakhodjo, some 20 miles south-east of Turfan) traversed the Ta-ta country. They then seem to have occupied the northern bend of the Yellow River. He gives the names of some nine tribes of Ta-ta living on either side of the river. He notes that their neighbours to the east were Kitan, and that for a long time they had been fighting them after the occupation of Kan-chou by the Uigûrs. (*Ma Tuan-lin*, Bk. 336, 12-14.) We may gather from this that these Tartars were already settled along the Yellow River and the Yin Shan (the valley in which is now the important frontier mart of Kwei-hua Ch'eng) at the beginning of the ninth century, for the Uigûrs, driven southward by the Kirghiz, first occupied Kan-chou in north-western Kan-suh, somewhere about A.D. 842."]

NOTE 3.—CHORCHA (*Ciorcia*) is the Manchu country, whose people were at that time called by the Chinese *Yuché* or *Niuché*, and by the Mongols *Churché*, or as it is in Sanang Setzen, *Jurchid*. The country in question is several times mentioned by Rashiduddin as Churché. The founders of the *Kin* Dynasty, which the Mongols superseded in Northern China, were of Churché race. [It was part of Nayan's appanage. (See Bk. II. ch. v.)—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—The idea that a Christian potentate of enormous wealth and power, and bearing this title, ruled over vast tracts in the far East, was universal in Europe from the middle of the 12th to the end of the 13th century, after which time the Asiatic story seems gradually to have died away, whilst the Royal Presbyter was assigned to a locus in Abyssinia; the equivocal application of the term *India* to the East of Asia and the East of Africa facilitating this transfer. Indeed I have a suspicion, contrary to the view now generally taken, that the term may from the first have belonged to the Abyssinian Prince, though circumstances led to its being applied in another quarter for a time. It appears to me almost certain that the letter of Pope Alexander III., preserved by R. Hoveden, and written in 1177 to the *Magnificus Rex Indorum, Sacerdotum sanctissimus*, was meant for the King of Abyssinia.

Be that as it may, the inordinate report of Prester John's magnificence became especially diffused from about the year 1165, when a letter full of the most extravagant details was circulated, which purported to have been addressed by this potentate to the Greek Emperor Manuel, the Roman Emperor Frederick, the Pope, and other Christian sovereigns. By the circulation of this letter, glaring fiction as it is, the idea of this Christian Conqueror was planted deep in the mind of Europe, and twined itself round every rumour of revolution in further Asia. Even when the din of the conquests of Chinghiz began to be audible in the West, he was invested with the character of a Christian King, and more or less confounded with the mysterious Prester John.

The first notice of a conquering Asiatic potentate so styled had been brought to Europe by the Syrian Bishop of Gabala (*Jibal*, south of Laodicea in Northern Syria), who came, in 1145, to lay various grievances before Pope Eugene III. He reported that not long before a certain John, inhabiting the extreme East, king and Nestorian priest, and claiming descent from the Three Wise Kings, had made war on the *Samiard* Kings of the Medes and Persians, and had taken Ecbatana their capital. He was then proceeding to the deliverance of Jerusalem, but was stopped by the Tigris, which he could not cross, and compelled by disease in his host to retire.

M. d'Avezac first showed to whom this account must apply, and the subject has more recently been set forth with great completeness and learning by Dr. Gustavus Oppert. The conqueror in question was the founder of Kara Khitai, which existed as

a great Empire in Asia during the last two-thirds of the 12th century. This chief was a prince of the Khitan dynasty of Liao, who escaped with a body of followers from Northern China on the overthrow of that dynasty by the *K'in* or Niuchen about 1125. He is called by the Chinese historians Yeliu Tashi; by Abulghazi, Nuzi Taigrî Ili; and by Rashiduddin, Nushi (or Fushi) Taifu. Being well received by the Uighûrs and other tribes west of the Desert who had been subject to the Khitan Empire, he gathered an army and commenced a course of conquest which eventually extended over Eastern and Western Turkestan, including Khwarizm, which became tributary to him. He took the title of *Gurkhan*, said to mean Universal or Suzerain Khan, and fixed at Bala Sagun, north of the Thian Shan, the capital of his Empire, which became known as *Karâ* (Black) *Khitai*.* [The dynasty being named by the Chinese *Si-Liao* (Western Liao) lasted till it was destroyed in 1218.—H. C.] In 1141 he came to the aid of the King of Khwarizm against *Sanjar* the Seljukian sovereign of Persia (whence the *Saniard* of the Syrian Bishop), who had just taken Samarkand, and defeated that prince with great slaughter. Though the Gurkhan himself is not described to have extended his conquests into Persia, the King of Khwarizm followed up the victory by an invasion of that country, in which he plundered the treasury and cities of Sanjar.

Admitting this Karacathayan prince to be the first conqueror (in Asia, at all events) to whom the name of Prester John was applied, it still remains obscure how that name arose. Oppert supposes that *Gurkhan* or *Kurkhan*, softened in West Turkish pronunciation into *Yurkan*, was confounded with *Yochanan* or *Johannes*; but he finds no evidence of the conqueror's profession of Christianity except the fact, notable certainly, that the daughter of the last of his brief dynasty is recorded to have been a Christian. Indeed, D'Ohsson says that the first Gurkhan was a Buddhist, though on what authority is not clear. There seems a probability at least that it was an error in the original ascription of Christianity to the Karacathayan prince, which caused the confusions as to the identity of Prester John which appear in the next century, of which we shall presently speak. Leaving this doubtful point, it has been plausibly suggested that the title of Presbyter Johannes was connected with the legends of the immortality of John the Apostle (*ὁ πρεσβύτερος*, as he calls himself in the 2nd and 3rd epistles), and the belief referred to by some of the Fathers that he would be the Forerunner of our Lord's second coming, as John the Baptist had been of His first.

A new theory regarding the original Prester John has been propounded by Professor Bruun of Odessa, in a Russian work entitled *The Migrations of Prester John*. The author has been good enough to send me large extracts of this essay in (French) translation; and I will endeavour to set forth the main points as well as the small space that can be given to the matter will admit. Some remarks and notes shall be added, but I am not in a position to do justice to Professor Bruun's views, from the

* A passage in Mirkhond extracted by Erdmann (*Temudschn*, p. 532) seems to make Bálá Sáhún the same as Bishbálík, now Urumtsi, but this is inconsistent with other passages abstracted by Oppert (*Presbyter Johan*, 131-32); and Vámbéry indicates a reason for its being sought very much further west (*H. of Bokhara*, 116). [Dr. Bretschneider (*Med. Res.*) has a chapter on Kara-Khitai (I. 208 *seqq.*), and in a long note on Bala Sagun, which he calls Belasagun, he says (p. 226) that "according to the Tarikh Djihan Kúshai (*d'Ohsson*, i. 433), the city of Belasagun had been founded by Buku Khan, sovereign of the Uigurs, in a well-watered plain of Turkestan with rich pastures. The Arabian geographers first mention Belasagun, in the ninth or tenth century, as a city beyond the Sihun or Yaxartes, depending on *Isfidjab* (Sairam, according to Lerch), and situated east of Taras. They state that the people of Turkestan considered Belasagun to represent 'the navel of the earth,' on account of its being situated in the middle between east and west, and likewise between north and south." (*Sprenger's Poststr. d. Or., Mavarannahar*). Dr. Bretschneider adds (p. 227): "It is not improbable that ancient Belasagun was situated at the same place where, according to the T'ang history, the Khan of one branch of the Western T'u Kué (Turks) had his residence in the seventh century. It is stated in the T'ang shu that *Ibi Shabolo Shehu Khan*, who reigned in the first half of the seventh century, placed his ordo on the northern border of the river *Sui ye*. This river, and a city of the same name, are frequently mentioned in the T'ang annals of the seventh and eighth centuries, in connection with the warlike expeditions of the Chinese in Central Asia. *Sui ye* was situated on the way from the river *Ili* to the city of Ta-lo-sz' (Talas). In 679 the Chinese had built on the *Sui ye* River a fortress; but in 748 they were constrained to destroy it." (Comp. *Visdelou in Suppl. Bibl. Orient.* pp. 110-114; *Gaubil's Hist. de la Dyn. des Thang*, in *Mém. conc. Chin.* xv. p. 403 *seqq.*).—H. C.]

want of access to some of his most important authorities, such as Brosset's *History of Georgia*, and its appendices.

It will be well, before going further, to give the essential parts of the passage in the History of Bishop Otto of Freisingen (referred to in vol. i. p. 229), which contains the first allusion to a personage styled Prester John :

"We saw also there [at Rome in 1145] the afore-mentioned Bishop of Gabala, from Syria. . . . We heard him bewailing with tears the peril of the Church beyond-sea since the capture of Edessa, and uttering his intention on that account to cross the Alps and seek aid from the King of the Romans and the King of the Franks. He was also telling us how, not many years before, 'one JOHN, KING and PRIEST, who dwells in the extreme Orient beyond Persia and Armenia, and is (with his people) a Christian, but a Nestorian, had waged war against the brother Kings of the Persians and Medes who are called the Samiards, and had captured Ecbatana, of which we have spoken above, the seat of their dominion. The said Kings having met him with their forces made up of Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, the battle had been maintained for 3 days, either side preferring death to flight. But at last PRESBYTER JOHN (for so they are wont to style him), having routed the Persians, came forth the victor from a most sanguinary battle. After this victory (he went on to say) the aforesaid John was advancing to fight in aid of the Church at Jerusalem ; but when he arrived at the Tigris, and found there no possible means of transport for his army, he turned northward, as he had heard that the river in that quarter was frozen over in winter-time. Halting there for some years* in expectation of a frost, which never came, owing to the mildness of the season, he lost many of his people through the unaccustomed climate, and was obliged to return homewards. This personage is said to be of the ancient race of those Magi who are mentioned in the Gospel, and to rule the same nations that they did, and to have such glory and wealth that he uses (they say) only an emerald sceptre. It was (they say) from his being fired by the example of his fathers, who came to adore Christ in the cradle, that he was proposing to go to Jerusalem, when he was prevented by the cause already alleged."

Professor Bruun will not accept Oppert's explanation, which identifies this King and Priest with the Gur-Khan of Karacathay, for whose profession of Christianity there is indeed (as has been indicated—*supra*) no real evidence ; who could not be said to have made an attack upon any pair of brother Kings of the Persians and the Medes, nor to have captured Ecbatana (a city, whatever its identity, of Media) ; who could never have had any intention of coming to Jerusalem ; and whose geographical position in no way suggested the mention of Armenia.

Professor Bruun thinks he finds a warrior much better answering to the indications in the Georgian prince John Orbelian, the general-in-chief under several successive Kings of Georgia in that age.

At the time when the Gur-Khan defeated Sanjar the real brothers of the latter had been long dead ; Sanjar had withdrawn from interference with the affairs of Western Persia ; and Hamadán (if this is to be regarded as Ecbatana) was no residence of his. But it was the residence of Sanjar's nephew Mas'úd, in whose hands was now the dominion of Western Persia ; whilst Mas'úd's nephew, Dáúd, held Media, *i.e.* Azerbaiján, Arrán, and Armenia. It is in these two princes that Professor Bruun sees the *Samiardi fratres* of the German chronicler.

Again the expression "extreme Orient" is to be interpreted by local usage. And with the people of Little Armenia, through whom probably such intelligence reached the Bishop of Gabala, the expression the *East* signified specifically Great Armenia (which was then a part of the kingdom of Georgia and Abkhasia), as Dulaurier has stated.†

It is true that the Georgians were not really Nestorians, but followers of the Greek Church. It was the fact, however, that in general, the Armenians, whom the

* Sic : *per aliquot annos*, but an evident error.

† *J. As. sér. V. tom. xi. 449.*

Greeks accused of following the Jacobite errors, retorted upon members of the Greek Church with the reproach of the opposite heresy of Nestorianism. And the attribution of Nestorianism to a Georgian Prince is, like the expression "*extreme East*," an indication of the Armenian channel through which the story came.

The intention to march to the aid of the Christians in Palestine is more like the act of a Georgian General than that of a Karacathayan Khan; and there are in the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem several indications of the proposal at least of Georgian assistance.

The personage in question is said to have come from the country of the Magi, from whom he was descended. But these have frequently been supposed to come from Great Armenia. *E.g.* Friar Jordanus says they came from Moghán.*

The name *Ecbatana* has been so variously applied that it was likely to lead to ambiguities. But it so happens that, in a previous passage of his History, Bishop Otto of Freisingen, in rehearsing some Oriental information gathered apparently from the same Bishop of Gabala, has shown what was the place that he had been taught to identify with Ecbatana, viz. the old Armenian city of ANI.† Now this city was captured from the Turks, on behalf of the King of Georgia, David the Restorer, by his great *sbasalar*,‡ John Orbelian, in 1123-24.

Professor Bruun also lays stress upon a passage in a German chronicle of date some years later than Otho's work :

"1141. Liupoldus dux Bawariorum obiit, Henrico fratre ejus succedente in ducatu. Iohannes Presbyter Rex Armeniæ et Indiæ cum duobus regibus fratribus Persarum et Medorum pugnavit et vicit."§

He asks how the Gur-Khan of Karakhitai could be styled King of *Armenia* and of *India*? It may be asked, *per contra*, how either the King of Georgia or his *Peshwa* (to use the Mahratta analogy of John Orbelian's position) could be styled King of *Armenia* and of *India*? In reply to this, Professor Bruun adduces a variety of quotations which he considers as showing that the term *India* was applied to some Caucasian region.

My own conviction is that the report of Otto of Freisingen is not merely the *first mention* of a great Asiatic potentate called Prester John, but that his statement is the whole and sole basis of good faith on which the story of such a potentate rested; and I am quite as willing to believe, on due evidence, that the nucleus of fact to which his statement referred, and on which such a pile of long-enduring fiction was erected, occurred in Armenia as that it occurred in Turan. Indeed in many respects the story would thus be more comprehensible. One cannot attach any value to the quotation from the Annalist in Pertz, because there seems no reason to doubt that the passage is a mere adaptation of the report by Bishop Otto, of whose work the Annalist makes other use, as is indeed admitted by

* The Great Plain on the Lower Araxes and Cyrus. The word Moghán = *Magi*; and Abulfeda quotes this as the etymology of the name. (*Reinaud's Abulf.* I. 300.)—Y. [*Cordier, Odoric*, 36.]

† Here is the passage, which is worth giving for more reasons than one:

"That portion of ancient Babylon which is still occupied is (as we have heard from persons of character from beyond sea) styled BALDACH, whilst the part that lies, according to the prophecy, deserted and pathless extends some ten miles to the Tower of Babel. The inhabited portion called Baldach is very large and populous; and though it should belong to the Persian monarchy it has been conceded by the Kings of the Persians to their High Priest, whom they call the *Caliph*; in order that in this also a certain analogy (*quædam habitudo*), such as has been often remarked before, should be exhibited between Babylon and Rome. For the same (privilege) that here in the city of Rome has been made over to our chief Pontiff by the Christian Emperor, has there been conceded to their High Priest by the Pagan Kings of Persia, to whom Babylonia has for a long time been subject. But the Kings of the Persians (just as our Kings have their royal city, like Aachen) have themselves established the seat of their kingdom at Egbatana, which, in the Book of Judith, Arphaxat is said to have founded, and which in their tongue is called HANI, containing as they allege 100,000 or more fighting men, and have reserved to themselves nothing of Babylon except the nominal dominion. Finally, the place which is now vulgarly called Babylonia, as I have mentioned, is not upon the Euphrates (at all) as people suppose, but on the Nile, about 6 days' journey from Alexandria, and is the same as Memphis, to which Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, anciently gave the name of Babylon."—Ottoton Frising. Lib. VII. cap. 3, in *Germanic Hist. Illust. etc. Christiani Urstisii Basilienis*, Francof. 1585.—Y.

‡ *Sbasalar*, or "General-in-chief," = Pers. *Sipahsaldar*.—Y.

§ *Continuatio Ann. Admontensium*, in Pertz, *Scriptores*, IX. 580

Professor Bruun, who (be it said) is a pattern of candour in controversy. But much else that the Professor alleges is interesting and striking. The fact that Azerbaijan and the adjoining regions were known as "the East" is patent to the readers of this book in many a page, where the Khan and his Mongols in occupation of that region are styled by Polo *Lord of the LEVANT, Tartars of the LEVANT* (i.e. of the East), even when the speaker's standpoint is in far Cathay.* The mention of *Ani* as identical with the Ecbatana of which Otto had heard is a remarkable circumstance which I think even Oppert has overlooked. That this Georgian hero was a Christian and that his name was John are considerable facts. Oppert's conversion of Korkhan into Yokhanan or John is anything but satisfactory. The identification proposed again makes it quite intelligible how the so-called Prester John should have talked about coming to the aid of the Crusaders; a point so difficult to explain on Oppert's theory, that he has been obliged to introduce a duplicate John in the person of a Greek Emperor to solve that knot; another of the weaker links in his argument. In fact, Professor Bruun's thesis seems to me more than fairly successful in *paving the way* for the introduction of a Caucasian Prester John; the barriers are removed, the carpets are spread, the trumpets sound royally—but the conquering hero comes not!

He does very nearly come. The almost royal power and splendour of the Orbelians at this time is on record: "They held the office of *Sbasalar* or Generalissimo of all Georgia. All the officers of the King's Palace were under their authority. Besides that they had 12 standards of their own, and under each standard 1000 warriors mustered. As the custom was for the King's flag to be white and the pennon over it red, it was ruled that the Orpelian flag should be red and the pennon white. . . . At banquets they alone had the right to couches whilst other princes had cushions only. Their food was served on silver; and to them it belonged to crown the kings."† Orpel Ivané, i.e. John Orbelian, Grand *Sbasalar*, was for years the pride of Georgia and the hammer of the Turks. In 1123-1124 he wrested from them Tiflis and the whole country up to the Araxes, including *Ani*, as we have said. His King David, the Restorer, bestowed on him large additional domains from the new conquests; and the like brilliant service and career of conquest was continued under David's sons and successors, Demetrius and George; his later achievements, however, and some of the most brilliant, occurring after the date of the Bishop of Gabala's visit to Rome. But still we hear of no actual conflict with the chief princes of the Seljukian house, and of no event in his history so important as to account for his being made to play the part of Presbyter Johannes in the story of the Bishop of Gabala. Professor Bruun's most forcible observation in reference to this rather serious difficulty is that the historians have transmitted to us extremely little detail concerning the reign of Demetrius II., and do not even agree as to its duration. *Carebat vate sacro*: "It was," says Brosset, "long and glorious, but it lacked a commemorator." If new facts can be alleged, the identity may still be proved. But meantime the conquests of the Gur-Khan and his defeat of Sanjar, just at a time which suits the story, are indubitable, and this great advantage Oppert's thesis retains. As regards the claim to the title of *Presbyter* nothing worth mentioning is alleged on either side.

When the Mongol Conquests threw Asia open to Frank travellers in the middle of the 13th century, their minds were full of Prester John; they sought in vain for an adequate representative, but it was not in the nature of things but they should find some representative. In fact they found several. Apparently no real tradition existed among the Eastern Christians of any such personage, but the persistent demand produced a supply, and the honour of identification with Prester John, after hovering over one head and another, settled finally upon that of the King of the Keraites, whom we find to play the part in our text.

Thus in Plano Carpini's single mention of Prester John as the King of the

* E.g. ii. 42

† St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, II. 77.

Christians of India the Greater, who defeats the Tartars by an elaborate stratagem, Oppert recognizes Sultan Jaláluddín of Khwarizm and his temporary success over the Mongols in Afghanistan. In the Armenian Prince Sempad's account, on the other hand, this Christian King of India is aided by the Tartars to defeat and harass the neighbouring Saracens, his enemies, and becomes the Mongol's vassal. In the statement of Rubruquis, though distinct reference is made to the conquering Gurkhan (under the name of Coir Cham of Caracatay), the title of *King John* is assigned to the Naiman Prince (*Kushluk*), who had married the daughter of the last lineal sovereign of Karakhitai, and usurped his power, whilst, with a strange complication of confusion, UNC, Prince of the Crit and Merkit (Kerait and Merkit, two great tribes of Mongolia)* and Lord of Karákorum, is made the brother and successor of this Naiman Prince. His version of the story, as it proceeds, has so much resemblance to Polo's, that we shall quote the words. The Crit and Merkit, he says, were Nestorian Christians. "But their Lord had abandoned the worship of Christ to follow idols, and kept by him those priests of the idols who are all devil-raisers and sorcerers. Beyond his pastures, at the distance of ten or fifteen days' journey, were the pastures of the MOAL (Mongol), who were a very poor people, without a leader and without any religion except sorceries and divinations, such as all the people of those parts put so much faith in. Next to Moal was another poor tribe called TARTAR. King John having died without an heir, his brother Unc got his wealth, and caused himself to be proclaimed Cham, and sent out his flocks and herds even to the borders of Moal. At that time there was a certain blacksmith called Chinghis among the tribe of Moal, and he used to lift the cattle of Unc Chan as often as he had a chance, insomuch that the herdsmen of Unc Chan made complaint to their master. The latter assembled an army, and invaded the land of the Moal in search of Chinghis, but he fled and hid himself among the Tartars. So Unc, having plundered the Moal and Tartars, returned home. And Chinghis addressed the Tartars and Moal, saying: 'It is because we have no leader that we are thus oppressed by our neighbours.' So both Tartars and Moal made Chinghis himself their leader and captain. And having got a host quietly together, he made a sudden onslaught upon Unc and conquered him, and compelled him to flee into Cathay. On that occasion his daughter was taken, and given by Chinghis to one of his sons, to whom she bore Mangu, who now reigneth. . . . The land in which they (the Mongols) first were, and where the residence of Chinghis still exists, is called *Onan Kerule*.† But because Caracoran is in the country which was their first conquest, they regard it as a royal city, and there hold the elections of their Chan."

Here we see plainly that the Unc Chan of Rubruquis is the Unc Can or Uncan of Polo. In the narrative of the former, Unc is only connected with King or Prester John; in that of the latter, rehearsing the story as heard some 20 or 25 years later, the two are identified. The shadowy rôle of Prester John has passed from the Ruler of Kara Khitai to the Chief of the Keraits. This transfer brings us to another history.

* ["The Keraits," says Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, 111, note), "lived on the Orkhon and the Tula, south-east of Lake Baikal; Abulfaraj relates their conversion to Christianity in 1007 by the Nestorian Bishop of Merv. Rashideddin, however, says their conversion took place in the time of Chingis Khan. (*D'Ohsson*, I. 48; *Chabot, Mar Jabalaha*, III. 14.) D'Arvezeac (536) identifies, with some plausibility, I think, the Keraits with the *Kt-lé* (or *T'eh-lé*) of the early Chinese annals. The name K'i-lé was applied in the 3rd century A.D. to all the Turkish tribes, such as the *Hui-hu* (Uigúrs), *Kieh-ku* (Kirghiz) Alans, etc., and they are said to be the same as the *Kao-ch'é*, from whom descended the *Cangle* of Rubruck. (*T'ang shu*, Bk. 217, i.; *Ma Tuan-lin*, Bk. 344, 9, Bk. 347, 4.) As to the Merkits, or Merkites, they were a nomadic people of Turkish stock, with a possible infusion of Mongol blood. They are called by Mohammedan writers Uduyut, and were divided into four tribes. They lived on the Lower Selinga and its feeders. (*D'Ohsson*, i. 54; *Howorth, History*, I., pt. i. 22, 698.)"—H. C.]

† [*Onan Kerule* is "the country watered by the Orkhon and Kerulun Rivers, i.e. the country to the south and south-east of Lake Baikal. The headquarters (*ya-chang*) of the principal chief of the Uigurs in the eighth century was 500 *li* (about 165 miles) south-west of the confluence of the Wen-kun ho (Orkhon) and the Tu-lo ho (Tura). Its ruins, sometimes, but wrongly, confounded with those of the Mongol city of Karakorum, some 20 miles from it, built in 1235 by Ogodai, are now known by the name of Kara Balgasun, 'Black City.'" [See p. 228.] The name *Onan Kerule* seems to be taken from the form *Onan-ou-Keloran*, which occurs in Mohammedan writer. (*Quatremère*, 115 et seq.; see also *T'ang shu*, Bk. 436; *Rockhill, Rubruck*, 116, note.)—H. C.]

We have already spoken of the extensive diffusion of Nestorian Christianity in Asia during the early and Middle Ages. The Christian historian Gregory Abulfaraj relates a curious history of the conversion, in the beginning of the 11th century, of the King of *Kerith* with his people, dwelling in the remote north-east of the land of the Turks. And that the Keraites continued to profess Christianity down to the time of Chinghiz is attested by Rashiduddin's direct statement, as well as by the numerous Christian princesses from that tribe of whom we hear in Mongol history. It is the chief of this tribe of whom Rubruquis and Polo speak under the name of Unc Khan, and whom the latter identifies with Prester John. His proper name is called Tuli by the Chinese, and Togrul by the Persian historians, but the Kin sovereign of Northern China had conferred on him the title of *Wang* or King, from which his people gave him

the slightly corrupted cognomen of **اونك خان**, which some scholars read *Awang*,

and *Avenk* Khan, but which the spelling of Rubruquis and Polo shows probably to have been pronounced as *Aung* or *Ung* Khan.* The circumstance stated by Rubruquis of his having abandoned the profession of Christianity, is not alluded to by Eastern writers; but in any case his career is not a credit to the Faith. I cannot find any satisfactory corroboration of the claims of supremacy over the Mongols which Polo ascribes to Aung Khan. But that his power and dignity were considerable, appears from the term *Pádsháh* which Rashiduddin applies to him. He had at first obtained the sovereignty of the Keraites by the murder of two of his brothers and several nephews. Yessugai, the father of Chinghiz, had been his staunch friend, and had aided him effectually to recover his dominion from which he had been expelled. After a reign of many years he was again ejected, and in the greatest necessity sought the help of Temujin (afterwards called Chinghiz Khan), by whom he was treated with the greatest consideration. This was in 1196. For some years the two chiefs conducted their forays in alliance, but differences sprang up between them; the son of Aung Khan entered into a plot to kill Temujin, and in 1202-1203 they were in open war. The result will be related in connection with the next chapters.

We may observe that the idea which Joinville picked up in the East about Prester John corresponds pretty closely with that set forth by Marco. Joinville represents him as one of the princes to whom the Tartars were tributary in the days of their oppression, and as "their ancient enemy"; one of their first acts, on being organized under a king of their own, was to attack him and conquer him, slaying all that bore arms, but sparing all monks and priests. The expression used by Joinville in speaking of the original land of the Tartars, "*une grande berrie de sablon*," has not been elucidated in any edition that I have seen. It is the Arabic **برية**, *Bárlıya*, "a Desert." No doubt Joinville learned the word in Palestine. (See *Joinville*, p. 143 *seqq.*; see also *Oppert, Der Presb. Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*, and *Cathay*, etc., pp. 173-182.) [*Fried. Zarucke, Der Priester Johannes; Cordier, Odoric*.—H. C.]

* Vámbéry makes *Ong* an Uighúr word, signifying "right." [Palladius (*l.c.* 23) says: "The consonance of the names of Wang-Khan and Wang-Ku (Ung-Khan and Ongu—Ongot of Rashiduddin, a Turkish Tribe) led to the confusion regarding the tribes and persons, which at M. Polo's time seems to have been general among the Europeans in China; M. Polo and Johannes de Monte Corvino transfer the title of Prester John from Wang-Khan, already perished at that time, to the distinguished family of Wang-Ku."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XLVII.

OF CHINGHIS, AND HOW HE BECAME THE FIRST KAAAN OF THE
TARTARS.

Now it came to pass in the year of Christ's Incarnation 1187 that the Tartars made them a King whose name was CHINGHIS KAAAN.¹ He was a man of great worth, and of great ability (eloquence), and valour. And as soon as the news that he had been chosen King was spread abroad through those countries, all the Tartars in the world came to him and owned him for their Lord. And right well did he maintain the Sovereignty they had given him. What shall I say? The Tartars gathered to him in astonishing multitude, and when he saw such numbers he made a great furniture of spears and arrows and such other arms as they used, and set about the conquest of all those regions till he had conquered eight provinces. When he conquered a province he did no harm to the people or their property, but merely established some of his own men in the country along with a proportion of theirs, whilst he led the remainder to the conquest of other provinces. And when those whom he had conquered became aware how well and safely he protected them against all others, and how they suffered no ill at his hands, and saw what a noble prince he was, then they joined him heart and soul and became his devoted followers. And when he had thus gathered such a multitude that they seemed to cover the earth, he began to think of conquering a great part of the world. Now in the year of Christ 1200 he sent an embassy to Prester John, and desired to have his daughter to wife. But when Prester John heard that Chinghis Kaan demanded

his daughter in marriage he waxed very wroth, and said to the Envoys, "What impudence is this, to ask my daughter to wife! Wist he not well that he was my liegeman and serf? Get ye back to him and tell him that I had liever set my daughter in the fire than give her in marriage to him, and that he deserves death at my hand, rebel and traitor that he is!" So he bade the Envoys begone at once, and never come into his presence again. The Envoys, on receiving this reply, departed straightway, and made haste to their master, and related all that Prester John had ordered them to say, keeping nothing back.²

NOTE 1.—Temujin was born in the year 1155, according to all the Persian historians, who are probably to be relied on; the Chinese put the event in 1162. 1187 does not appear to be a date of special importance in his history. His inauguration as sovereign under the name of Chinghiz Kaan was in 1202 according to the Persian authorities, in 1206 according to the Chinese.

In a preceding note (p. 236) we have quoted a passage in which Rubruquis calls Chinghiz "a certain blacksmith." This mistaken notion seems to have originated in the resemblance of his name *Temujin* to the Turki *Temurji*, a blacksmith; but it was common throughout Asia in the Middle Ages, and the story is to be found not only in Rubruquis, but in the books of Hayton, the Armenian prince, and of Ibn Batuta, the Moor. That cranky Orientalist, Dr. Isaac Jacob Schmidt, positively reviles William Rubruquis, one of the most truthful and delightful of travellers, and certainly not inferior to his critic in mother-wit, for adopting this story, and rebukes Timkowski—not for adopting it, but for merely telling us the very interesting fact that the story was still, in 1820, current in Mongolia. (*Schmid's San. Setz.* 376, and *Timkowski*, I. 147.)

NOTE 2.—Several historians, among others Abulfaraj, represent Chinghiz as having married a daughter of Aung Khan; and this is current among some of the mediæval European writers, such as Vincent of Beauvais. It is also adopted by Pétis de la Croix in his history of Chinghiz, apparently from a comparatively late Turkish historian; and both D'Herbelot and St. Martin state the same; but there seems to be no foundation for it in the best authorities: either Persian or Chinese. (See *Abulfarajius*, p. 285; *Speculum Historiale*, Bk. XXIX. ch. lxxix.; *Hist. of Genghiz Can*, p. 29; and *Golden Horde*, pp. 61-62.) But there is a real story at the basis of Polo's, which seems to be this: About 1202, when Aung Khan and Chinghiz were still acting in professed alliance, a double union was proposed between Aung Khan's daughter Jaur Bigi and Chinghiz's son Juji, and between Chinghiz's daughter Kijin Bigi and Togrul's grandson Kush Buka. From certain circumstances this union fell through, and this was one of the circumstances which opened the breach between the two chiefs. There were, however, several marriages between the families. (*Erdmann*, 283; others are quoted under ch. lix., note 2.)

CHAPTER XLVIII.

HOW CHINGHIS MUSTERED HIS PEOPLE TO MARCH AGAINST
PRESTER JOHN.

WHEN Chinghis Kaan heard the brutal message that Prester John had sent him, such rage seized him that his heart came nigh to bursting within him, for he was a man of a very lofty spirit. At last he spoke, and that so loud that all who were present could hear him: "Never more might he be prince if he took not revenge for the brutal message of Prester John, and such revenge that insult never in this world was so dearly paid for. And before long Prester John should know whether he were his serf or no!"

So then he mustered all his forces, and levied such a host as never before was seen or heard of, sending word to Prester John to be on his defence. And when Prester John had sure tidings that Chinghis was really coming against him with such a multitude, he still professed to treat it as a jest and a trifle, for, quoth he, "these be no soldiers." Natheless he marshalled his forces and mustered his people, and made great preparations, in order that if Chinghis did come, he might take him and put him to death. In fact he marshalled such an host of many different nations that it was a world's wonder.

And so both sides gat them ready to battle. And why should I make a long story of it? Chinghis Kaan with all his host arrived at a vast and beautiful plain which was called TANDUC, belonging to Prester John, and there he pitched his camp; and so great was the multitude of his people that it was impossible to number them. And when he got tidings that Prester

John was coming, he rejoiced greatly, for the place afforded a fine and ample battle-ground, so he was right glad to tarry for him there, and greatly longed for his arrival.

But now leave we Chinghis and his host, and let us return to Prester John and his people.

CHAPTER XLIX:

HOW PRESTER JOHN MARCHED TO MEET CHINGHIS.

Now the story goes that when Prester John became aware that Chinghis with his host was marching against him, he went forth to meet him with all his forces, and advanced until he reached the same plain of Tanduc, and pitched his camp over against that of Chinghis Kaan at a distance of 20 miles. And then both armies remained at rest for two days that they might be fresher and heartier for battle.¹

So when the two great hosts were pitched on the plains of Tanduc as you have heard, Chinghis Kaan one day summoned before him his astrologers, both Christians and Saracens, and desired them to let him know which of the two hosts would gain the battle, his own or Prester John's. The Saracens tried to ascertain, but were unable to give a true answer; the Christians, however, did give a true answer, and showed manifestly beforehand how the event should be. For they got a cane and split it lengthwise, and laid one half on this side and one half on that, allowing no one to touch the pieces. And one piece of cane they called *Chinghis Kaan*, and the other piece they called *Prester John*. And then they said to Chinghis: "Now

mark! and you will see the event of the battle, and who shall have the best of it; for whose cane soever shall get above the other, to him shall victory be." He replied that he would fain see it, and bade them begin. Then the Christian astrologers read a Psalm out of the Psalter, and went through other incantations. And lo! whilst all were beholding, the cane that bore the name of Chinghis Kaan, without being touched by anybody, advanced to the other that bore the name of Prester John, and got on the top of it. When the Prince saw that he was greatly delighted, and seeing how in this matter he found the Christians to tell the truth, he always treated them with great respect, and held them for men of truth for ever after.²

NOTE 1.—Polo in the preceding chapter has stated that this plain of Tanduc was in Prester John's country. He plainly regards it as identical with the Tanduc of which he speaks more particularly in ch. lix. as belonging to Prester John's descendants, and which must be located near the Chinese Wall. He is no doubt wrong in placing the battle there. Sanang Setzen puts the battle between the two, the only one which he mentions, "at the outflow of the Onon near Kulen Buir." The same action is placed by De Mailla's authorities at Calantschan, by P. Hyacinth at Kharachin Schatu, by Erdmann after Rashid in the vicinity of Hulun Barkat and Kalanchinalt, which latter was on the borders of the Churché or Manchus. All this points to the vicinity of Buir Nor and Hulan or Kalon Nor (though the Onon is far from these). But this was *not* the final defeat of Aung Khan or Prester John, which took place some time later (in 1203) at a place called the Chacher Ondur (or Heights), which Gaubil places between the Tula and the Kerulun, therefore near the modern Urga. Aung Khan was wounded, and fled over the frontier of the Naiman; the officers of that tribe seized and killed him. (*Schmidt*, 87, 383; *Erdmann*, 297; *Gaubil*, p. 10.)

NOTE 2.—A Tartar divination by twigs, but different from that here employed, is older than Herodotus, who ascribes it to the Scythians. We hear of one something like the last among the Alans, and (from Tacitus) among the Germans. The words of Hosea (iv. 12), "My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them," are thus explained by Theophylactus: "They stuck up a couple of sticks, whilst murmuring certain charms and incantations; the sticks then, by the operation of devils, direct or indirect, would fall over, and the direction of their fall was noted," etc. The Chinese method of divination comes still nearer to that in the text. It is conducted by tossing in the air two symmetrical pieces of wood or bamboo of a peculiar form. It is described by Mendoza, and more particularly, with illustrations, by Doolittle.*

But Rubruquis would seem to have witnessed nearly the same process that Polo describes. He reprehends the conjuring practices of the Nestorian priests among the Mongols, who seem to have tried to rival the indigenous *Káms* or Medicine-men.

* [On the Chinese divining-twig, see *Dennys*, *Folk-lore of China*, 57.—H. C.]

Visiting the Lady Kuktai, a Christian Queen of Mangu Kaan, who was ill, he says: "The Nestorians were repeating certain verses, I know not what (they said it was part of a Psalm), over two twigs which were brought into contact in the hands of two men. The monk stood by during the operation" (p. 326).* Pétis de la Croix quotes from Thévenot's travels, a similar mode of divination as much used, before a fight, among the Barbary corsairs. Two men sit on the deck facing one another and each holding two arrows by the points, and hitching the notches of each pair of arrows into the other pair. Then the ship's writer reads a certain Arabic formula, and it is pretended that whilst this goes on, the two sets of arrows, of which one represents the *Turks* and the other the *Christians*, struggle together in spite of the resistance of the holders, and finally one rises over the other. This is perhaps the divination by arrows which is prohibited in the Koran. (*Sura*, V. v. 92.) It is related by Abulfeda that Mahomed found in the Kaaba an image of Abraham with such arrows in his hand.

P. della Valle describes the same process, conducted by a Mahomedan conjuror of Aleppo: "By his incantations he made the four points of the arrows come together without any movement of the holders, and by the way the points spontaneously placed themselves, obtained answers to interrogatories."

And Mr. Jaeschke writes from Lahaul: "There are many different ways of divination practised among the Buddhists; and that also mentioned by Marco Polo is known to our Lama, but in a slightly different way, making use of *two arrows* instead of a cane split up, wherefore this kind is called *da-mo*, 'Arrow-divination.'" Indeed the practice is not extinct in India, for in 1833 Mr. Vigne witnessed its application to detect the robber of a government chest at Lodiana.

As regards Chinghiz's respect for the Christians there are other stories. Abulfaragius has one about Chinghiz seeing in a dream a religious person who promised him success. He told the dream to his wife, Aung Khan's daughter, who said the description answered to that of the bishop who used to visit her father. Chinghiz then inquired for a bishop among the Uighúr Christians in his camp, and they indicated Mar Denha. Chinghiz thenceforward was milder towards the Christians, and showed them many distinctions (p. 285). Vincent of Beauvais also speaks of Rabbanta, a Nestorian monk, who lived in the confidence of Chinghiz's wife, daughter of "the Christian King David or Prester John," and who used by divination to make many revelations to the Tartars. We have already said that there seems no ground for assigning a daughter of Aung Khan as wife to Chinghiz. But there was a *niece* of the former, named Abika, among the wives of Chinghiz. And Rashiduddin *does* relate a dream of the Kaan's in relation to her. But it was to the effect that he was divinely commanded to give her away; and this he did next morning!

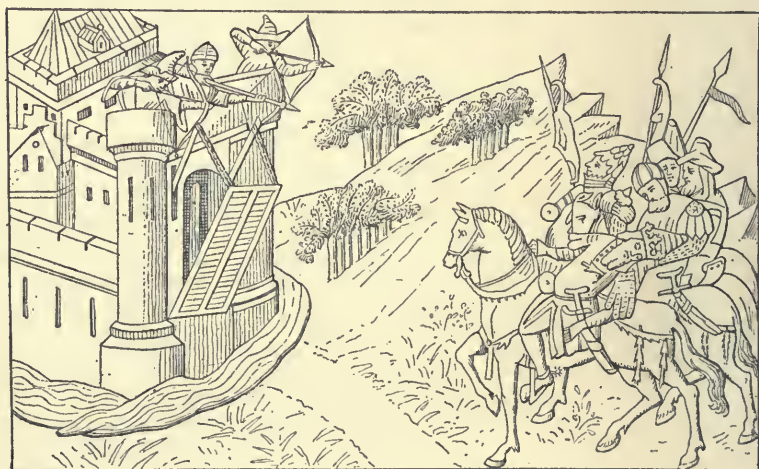
(*Rawlins*. *Herod.* IV. 67; *Amm. Marcell.* XXXI. 2; *Delvio*, *Disq. Magic.* 558; *Mendoza*, *Hak.* Soc. I. 47; *Doolittle*, 435-436; *Hist. of Genghizcan*, pp. 52-53; *Preston's al-Hariri*, p. 183; *P. della V.* II. 865-866; *Vigne*, I. 46; *D'Ohsson*, I. 418-419).

* [With reference to this passage from *Rubruck*, Mr. Rockhill says (195, note): "The mode of divining here referred to is apparently the same as that described by Polo. It must not however be confounded with rbdomancy, in which bundles of wands or arrows were used." Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI. 2. 350) says this mode of divination was practised by the Alans. "They have a singular way of divining: they take straight willow wands and make bundles of them, and on examining them at a certain time, with certain secret incantations, they know what is going to happen."—H. C.]

CHAPTER L.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN CHINGHIS KAN AND PRESTER JOHN.

AND after both sides had rested well those two days, they armed for the fight and engaged in desperate combat; and it was the greatest battle that ever was seen. The numbers that were slain on both sides were very great, but in the end Chinghis Kaan obtained the victory. And in the battle Prester John was slain.



A. Howse del.

Death of Chinghis Khan. (From a miniature in the *Livre des Merveilles*.)

And from that time forward, day by day, his kingdom passed into the hands of Chinghis Kaan till the whole was conquered.

I may tell you that Chinghis Kaan reigned six years after this battle, engaged continually in conquest, and taking many a province and city and stronghold. But at the end of those six years he went against a certain castle that was called CAAJU, and there he was shot with an arrow in the knee, so that he died of his

wound. A great pity it was, for he was a valiant man and a wise.¹

I will now tell you who reigned after Chinghis, and then about the manners and customs of the Tartars.

NOTE I.—Chinghis in fact survived Aung Khan some 24 years, dying during his fifth expedition against Tangut, 18th August 1227, aged 65 according to the Chinese accounts, 72 according to the Persian. Sanang Setzen says that Kurbeljin Goa Khatún, the beautiful Queen of Tangut, who had passed into the tents of the conqueror, did him some bodily mischief (it is not said what), and then went and drowned herself in the Karamuren (or Hwang-ho), which thenceforth was called by the Mongols the *Khátún-gol*, or Lady's River, a name which it in fact still bears. Carpini relates that Chinghis was killed by lightning. The Persian and Chinese historians, however, agree in speaking of his death as natural. Gaubil calls the place of his death Lou-pan, which he says was in lat. 38°. Rashiduddīn calls it Leung-Shan, which appears to be the mountain range still so called in the heart of Shensi.

The name of the place before which Polo represents him as mortally wounded is very variously given. According to Gaubil, Chinghis was in reality dangerously wounded by an arrow-shot at the siege of Taitongfu in 1212. And it is possible, as Oppert suggests, that Polo's account of his death before *Caagiu* (as I prefer the reading), arose out of a confusion between this circumstance and those of the death of *Mangku Kaan*, which is said to have occurred at the assault of HOCHAU in Sze-ch'uan, a name which Polo would write *Caagiu*, or nearly so. Abulfaragius specifically says that Mangku Kaan died *by an arrow*; though it is true that other authors say he died of disease, and Haiton that he was drowned; all which shows how excusable were Polo's errors as to events occurring 50 to 100 years before his time. (See *Oppert's Presbyter Johannes*, p. 76; *De Mailla*, IX. 275, and note; *Gaubil*, 18, 50, 52, 121; *Erdmann*, 443; *Ss. Setzen*, 103.)

It is only by referring back to ch. xlvii., where we are told that Chinghis "began to think of conquering a great part of the world," that we see Polo to have been really aware of the vast extent and aim of the conquests of Chinghis; the *aim* being literally the conquest of the world as he conceived it; the *extent* of the empire which he initiated actually covering (probably) one half of the whole number of the human race. (See remarks in *Koeppen, Die Relig. des Buddha*, II. 86.)

CHAPTER LI.

OF THOSE WHO DID REIGN AFTER CHINGHIS KAAAN, AND OF THE CUSTOMS OF THE TARTARS.

Now the next that reigned after Chinghis Kaan, their first Lord,¹ was CUY KAAAN, and the third Prince was BATUY KAAAN, and the fourth was ALACOU KAAAN, the fifth MONGOU KAAAN, the sixth CUBLAY KAAAN, who is

the sovereign now reigning, and is more potent than any of the five who went before him ; in fact, if you were to take all those five together, they would not be so powerful as he is² Nay, I will say yet more ; for if you were to put together all the Christians in the world, with their Emperors and their Kings, the whole of these Christians,—aye, and throw in the Saracens to boot,—would not have such power, or be able to do so much as this Cublay, who is the Lord of all the Tartars in the world, those of the Levant and of the Ponent included ; for these are all his liegemen and subjects. I mean to show you all about this great power of his in this book of ours.

You should be told also that all the Grand Kaans, and all the descendants of Chinghis their first Lord, are carried to a mountain that is called *ALTAY* to be interred. Wheresoever the Sovereign may die, he is carried to his burial in that mountain with his predecessors ; no matter an the place of his death were 100 days' journey distant, thither must he be carried to his burial.³

Let me tell you a strange thing too. When they are carrying the body of any Emperor to be buried with the others, the convoy that goes with the body doth put to the sword all whom they fall in with on the road, saying : "Go and wait upon your Lord in the other world !" For they do in sooth believe that all such as they slay in this manner do go to serve their Lord in the other world. They do the same too with horses ; for when the Emperor dies, they kill all his best horses, in order that he may have the use of them in the other world, as they believe. And I tell you as a certain truth, that when Mongou Kaan died, more than 20,000 persons, who chanced to meet the body on its way, were slain in the manner I have told.⁴

NOTE 1.—Before parting with Chinghiz let me point out what has not to my knowledge been suggested before, that the name of “*Cambuscan bold*” in Chaucer’s tale is only a corruption of the name of Chinghiz. The name of the conqueror appears in Fr. Ricold as *Camiuscan*, from which the transition to *Cambuscan* presents no difficulty. *Camius* was, I suppose, a clerical corruption out of *Canjus* or *Cianjus*. In the chronicle of St. Antonino, however, we have him called “*Chinghiscaan rectius Tamgius Cam*” (XIX. c. 8). If this is not merely the usual blunder of *t* for *c*, it presents a curious analogy to the form *Tankiz Khán* always used by Ibn Batuta. I do not know the origin of the latter, unless it was suggested by *tankis* (Ar.) “Turning upside down.” (See *Pereg. Quat.*, p. 119; *I. B.* III. 22, etc.)

NOTE 2.—Polo’s history here is inadmissible. He introduces into the list of the supreme Kaans *Batu*, who was only Khan of Kipchak (the Golden Horde), and *Hulaku*, who was Khan of Persia, whilst he omits *Okkodai*, the immediate successor of Chinghiz. It is also remarkable that he uses the form *Alacou* here instead of *Alaiü* as elsewhere; nor does he seem to mean the same person, for he was quite well aware that *Alaiü* was Lord of the Levant, who sent ambassadors to the Great Khan *Cúbláy*, and could not therefore be one of his predecessors. The real succession ran: 1. Chinghiz; 2. Okkodai; 3. Kuyuk; 4. Mangku; 5. Kúblái.

There are quite as great errors in the history of Haiton, who had probably greater advantages in this respect than Marco. And I may note that in Teixeira’s abridgment of Mirkhond, *Hulaku* is made to succeed Mangku Kaan on the throne of Chinghiz. (*Relaciones*, p. 338.)

NOTE 3.—The *ALTAI* here certainly does not mean the Great South Siberian Range to which the name is now applied. Both *Altai* and *Altun-Khan* appear sometimes to be applied by Sanang Setzen to the *Khingan* of the Chinese, or range running immediately north of the Great Wall near *Kalgan*. (See ch. lxi. note 1.) But in reference to this matter of the burial of Chinghiz, he describes the place as “the district of *Yekeh Utek*, between the shady side of the *Altai-Khan* and the sunny side of the *Kentei-Khan*.” Now the *Kentei-Khan* (*khan* here meaning “mountain”) is near the sources of the *Onon*, immediately to the north-east of *Urga*; and *Altai-Khan* in this connection cannot mean the hills near the Great Wall, 500 miles distant.

According to *Rashiduddin*, Chinghiz was buried at a place called *Bürkán Káldún* (“God’s Hill”), or *Yekeh Kírúk* (“The Great Sacred or Tabooed Place”); in another passage he calls the spot *Búdáh Undúr* (which means, I fancy, the same as *Bürkán Káldún*), near the River *Selenga*. *Bürkán Káldún* is often mentioned by *Sanang Setzen*, and *Quatremère* seems to demonstrate the identity of this place with the mountain called by *Pallas* (and *Timkowski*) *Khanoolla*. This is a lofty mountain near *Urga*, covered with dense forest, and is indeed the first woody mountain reached in travelling from *Peking*. It is still held sacred by the *Mongols* and guarded from access, though the tradition of Chinghiz’s grave seems to be extinct. Now, as this *Khanoolla* (“Mount Royal,” for *khan* here means “sovereign,” and *oolla* “mountain”) stands immediately to the south of the *Kentei* mentioned in the quotation from *S. Setzen*, this identification agrees with his statement, on the supposition that the *Khanoolla* is the *Altai* of the same quotation. The *Khanoolla* must also be the *Han* mountain which *Mongol* chiefs claiming descent from Chinghiz named to *Gaubil* as the burial-place of that conqueror. Note that the *Khanoolla*, which we suppose to be the *Altai* of *Polo*, and here of *Sanang Setzen*, belongs to a range known as *Khingan*, whilst we see that *Setzen* elsewhere applies *Altai* and *Altan-Khan* to the other *Khingan* near the Great Wall.

Erdmann relates, apparently after *Rashiduddin*, that Chinghiz was buried at the foot of a tree which had taken his fancy on a hunting expedition, and which he had then pointed out as the place where he desired to be interred. It was then conspicuous, but afterwards the adjoining trees shot up so rapidly, that a dense wood

covered the whole locality, and it became impossible to identify the spot. (*Q. R.* 117 *seqq.*; *Timk.* I. 115 *seqq.*, II. 475-476; *San. Setz.* 103, 114-115, 108-109; *Gaubil.* 54; *Erd.* 444.)

[“There are no accurate indications,” says Palladius (*l.c.* pp. 11-13), “in the documents of the Mongol period on the burial-places of Chingiz Khan and of the Khans who succeeded him. The *Yuan-shi* or ‘History of the Mongol Dynasty in China,’ in speaking of the burial of the Khans, mentions only that they used to be conveyed from Peking to the north, to their common burial-ground in the *K’i-lien* Valley. This name cannot have anything in common with the ancient *K’i-lien* of the Hiung-nu, a hill situated to the west of the Mongol desert; the *K’i-lien* of the Mongols is to be sought more to the east. When Khubilai marched out against Prince Nayan, and reached the modern Talnor, news was received of the occupation of the Khan’s burial-ground by the rebels. They held out there very long, which exceedingly afflicted Khubilai [*Yuan shi lui pien*]; and this goes to prove that the tombs could not be situated much to the west. Some more positive information on this subject is found in the diary of the campaign in Mongolia in 1410, of the Ming Emperor Yung-lo [*Pe ching lu*]. He reached the Kerulen at the place where this river, after running south, takes an easterly direction. The author of the diary notes, that from a place one march and a half before reaching the Kerulen, a very large mountain was visible to the north-east, and at its foot a solitary high and pointed hillock, covered with stones. The author says, that the sovereigns of the house of Yuan used to be buried near this hill. It may therefore be plausibly supposed that the tombs of the Mongol Khans were near the Kerulen, and that the ‘K’i-lien’ of the *Yuan shi* is to be applied to this locality; it seems to me even, that K’i-lien is an abbreviation, customary to Chinese authors, of Kerulen. The way of burying the Mongol Khans is described in the *Yuan shi* (ch. ‘On the national religious rites of the Mongols’), as well as in the *Ch’ue keng lu*, ‘Memoirs of the time of the Yuan Dynasty.’ When burying, the greatest care was taken to conceal from outside people the knowledge of the locality of the tomb. With this object in view, after the tomb was closed, a drove of horses was driven over it, and by this means the ground was, for a considerable distance, trampled down and levelled. It is added to this (probably from hearsay) in the *Ts’ao mu tze Memoirs* (also of the time of the Yuan Dynasty), that a young camel used to be killed (in the presence of its mother) on the tomb of the deceased Khan; afterwards, when the time of the usual offerings of the tomb approached, the mother of this immolated camel was set at liberty, and she came crying to the place where it was killed; the locality of the tomb was ascertained in this way.”

The Archimandrite Palladius adds in a footnote: “Our well-known Mongolist N. Golovkin has told us, that according to a story actually current among the Mongols, the tombs of the former Mongol Khans are situated near Tas-ola Hill, equally in the vicinity of the Kerulen. He states also that even now the Mongols are accustomed to assemble on that hill on the seventh day of the seventh moon (according to an ancient custom), in order to adore Chingiz Khan’s tomb. Altan tobchi (translated into Russian by Galsan Gomboeff), in relating the history of the Mongols after their expulsion from China, and speaking of the Khans’ tombs, calls them *Naiman tzagan gher*, *i.e.* ‘Eight White Tents’ (according to the number of chambers for the souls of the chief deceased Khans in Peking), and sometimes simply *Tzagan gher*, ‘the White Tent,’ which, according to the translator’s explanation, denotes only Chingiz Khan’s tomb.”

“According to the Chinese Annals (*T’ung kien kang mu*), quoted by Dr. E. Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* I. p. 157), Chingiz died near the *Liu p’an shan* in 1227, after having subdued the Tangut empire. On modern Chinese maps *Liu p’an shan* is marked south of the city of *Ku yüan chou*, department of *P’ing liang*, in *Kan suh*. The *Yüan shi*, however, implies that he died in Northern Mongolia. We read there, in the annals, *s.a.* 1227, that in the fifth intercalary month the Emperor moved to the mountain *Liu p’an shan* in order to avoid the heat of the summer. In the sixth

month the empire of the *Hia* (Tangut) submitted. Chinghiz rested on the river *Si Kiang* in the district of *Ts'ing shui* (in Kansuh; it has still the same name). In autumn, in the seventh month (August), on the day *jen rou*, the Emperor fell ill, and eight days later died in his palace *Ha-lao-l'u* on the River *Sa-li*. This river Sali is repeatedly mentioned in the *Yüan shi*, viz. in the first chapter, in connection with the first military doings of Chinghiz. Rashid reports (*D'Ohsson*, I. 58) that Chinghiz in 1199 retired to his residence *Sari Kihar*. The *Yüan chao pi shi* (Palladius' transl., 81) writes the same name *Saari Keher* (*Keher* in modern Mongol means 'a plain'). On the ancient map of Mongolia found in the *Yüan shi lei pien*, *Sa-li K'ie-rh* is marked south of the river *Wa-nan* (the *Onon* of our maps), and close to *Sa-li K'ie-rh* we read: 'Here was the original abode of the Yüan' (Mongols). Thus it seems the passage in the Yüan history translated above intimates that Chinghiz died in Mongolia, and not near the *Liu p'an shan*, as is generally believed. The *Yüan ch'ao pi shi* (Palladius' transl., 152) and the '*Ts'in cheng lu* (Palladius' transl., 195) both agree in stating that, after subduing the Tangut empire, Chinghiz returned home, and then died. Colonel Yule, in his *Marco Polo* (I. 245), states 'that Rashid calls the place of Chinghiz' death *Leung shan*, which appears to be the mountain range still so-called in the heart of Shensi.' I am not aware from what translation of Rashid, Yule's statement is derived, but d'Ohsson (I. 375, note) seems to quote the same passage in translating from Rashid: '*Liu-p'an-shan* was situated on the frontiers of the *Churche* (empire of the *Kin*), *Nangias* (empire of the *Sung*) and *Tangut*;' which statement is quite correct."

We now come to the Mongol tradition, which places the tomb of Chinghiz in the country of the Ordos, in the great bend of the Yellow River.

Two Belgian missionaries, MM. de Vos and Verlinden, who visited the tomb of Chinghiz Khan, say that before the Mahomedan invasion, on a hill a few feet high, there were two courtyards, one in front of the other, surrounded by palisades. In the second courtyard, there were a building like a Chinese dwelling-house and six tents. In a double tent are kept the remains of the *bokta* (the Holy). The neighbouring tents contained various precious objects, such as a gold saddle, dishes, drinking-cups, a tripod, a kettle, and many other utensils, all in solid silver. (*Missions Catholiques*, No. 315, 18th June, 1875.)—This periodical gives (p. 293) a sketch of the tomb of the Conqueror, according to the account of the two missionaries.

Prjevalsky (*Mongolia and Tangut*) relates the story of the *Khatün Gol* (see *supra*, p. 245), and says that her tomb is situated at 11 versts north-east of lake of Dzaïdemin Nor, and is called by the Mongols Tumir-Alku, and by the Chinese Djiou-Djin Fu; one of the legends mentioned by the Russian traveller gives the Ordo country as the burial-place of Chinghiz, 200 versts south of lake Dabasun Nor; the remains are kept in two coffins, one of wood, the other of silver; the Khan prophesied that after eight or ten centuries he would come to life again and fight the Emperor of China, and being victorious, would take the Mongols from the Ordos back to their country of Khalka; Prjevalsky did not see the tomb, nor did Potanin.

"Their holiest place [of the Mongols of Ordos] is a collection of felt tents called 'Edjen-joro,' reputed to contain the bones of Jenghiz Khan. These sacred relics are entrusted to the care of a caste of Darhats, numbering some fifty families. Every summer, on the twenty-first day of the sixth moon, sacrifices are offered up in his honour, when numbers of people congregate to join in the celebration, such gatherings being called *táilgan*." On the southern border of the Ordos are the ruins of Borobalgasun [Grey town], said to date from Jenghiz Khan's time. (*Potanin, Proc. R. G. S. IX. 1887, p. 233.*)

The last traveller who visited the tomb of Chinghiz is M. C. E. Bonin, in July 1896; he was then on the banks of the Yellow River in the northern part of the Ordo country, which is exclusively inhabited by nomadic and pastoral Mongols, forming seven tribes or hords, Djungar, Talat, Wan, Ottok, Djassák, Wushun and Hangkin, among which are eastward the Djungar and in the centre the Wan; according to their own tradition, these tribes descend from the seven armies encamped in the

country at the time of Chinghiz's death; the King of Djungar was 67 years of age, and was the chief of all the tribes, being considered the 37th descendant of the conqueror in a direct line. His predecessor was the Wushun Wang. M. Bonin gives (*Revue de Paris*, 15th February 1898) the following description of the tomb and of the country surrounding it. Between the *yamen* (palace) of the King (Wang) of Djungar and the tomb of Chinghiz-Khan, there are five or six marches made difficult by the sands of the Gobi, but horses and camels may be used for the journey. The road, southward through the desert, passes near the great lama-monastery called *Barong-tsao* or *Si-tsao* (Monastery of the West), and in Chinese *San-t'ang sse* (Three Temples). This celebrated monastery was built by the King of Djungar to hold the tablets of his ancestors—on the ruins of an old temple, said to have been erected by Chinghiz himself. More than a thousand lamas are registered there, forty of them live at the expense of the Emperor of China. Crossing afterwards the two upper branches of the Ulan Múren (Red River) on the banks of which Chinghiz was murdered, according to local tradition, close to the lake of Chahan Nor (White Lake), near which are the tents of the Prince of Wan, one arrives at last at the spot called *Yeke-Etjen-Koro*, in Mongol: the abode of the Great Lord, where the tomb is to be found. It is erected to the south-east of the village, comprising some twenty tents or tent-like huts built of earth. Two large white felt tents, placed side by side, similar to the tents of the modern Mongols, but much larger, cover the tomb; a red curtain, when drawn, discloses the large and low silver coffin, which contains the ashes of the Emperor, placed on the ground of the second tent; it is shaped like a big trunk, with great rosaces engraved upon it. The Emperor, according to local tradition, was cremated on the bank of the Ulan Muren, where he is supposed to have been slain. On the twenty-first day of the third moon the anniversary fête of Mongolia takes place; on this day of the year only are the two mortuary tents opened, and the coffin is exhibited to be venerated by people coming from all parts of Mongolia. Many other relics, dispersed all over the Ordo land, are brought thither on this occasion; these relics called in Mongol *Chinghiz Bogdo* (Sacred remains of Chinghiz) number ten; they are in the order adopted by the Mongols: the saddle of Chinghiz, hidden in the Wan territory; the bow, kept at a place named Hu-ki-ta-lao Hei, near Yeke Etjen-Koro; the remains of his war-horse, called Antegan-tsegun (more), preserved at Kebere in the Djungar territory; a fire-arm kept in the palace of the King of Djungar; a wooden and leather vase called Pao-lao-antri, kept at the place Shien-ni-chente; a wax figure containing the ashes of the Khan's equerry, called Altaquatosu, kept at Ottok (one of the seven tribes); the remains of the second wife, who lay at Kiasa, on the banks of the Yellow River, at a place called on Prjevalsky's map in Chinese Djiou-Djin-fu, and in Mongol Tumir-Alku; the tomb of the third wife of Chinghiz, who killed him, and lay to-day at Bagha-Ejen-Koro, "the abode of the little Sovereign," at a day's march to the south of the Djungar King's palace; the very tomb of Yeke-Etjen-Koro, which is supposed to contain also the ashes of the first wife of the Khan; and last, his great standard, a black wood spear planted in the desert, more than 150 miles to the south of the tomb; the iron of it never gets rusty; no one dares touch it, and therefore it is not carried to Yeke-Etjen-Koro with the other relics for the yearly festival. (See also *Rockhill, Diary*, p. 29.)—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—Rashiduddin relates that the escort, in carrying Chinghiz to his burial, slew all whom they met, and that forty noble and beautiful girls were despatched to serve him in the other world, as well as superb horses. As Mangku Kaan died in the heart of China, any attempt to carry out the barbarous rule in his case would involve great slaughter. (*Erd.* 443; *D'Ohsson*, I. 381, II. 13; and see *Cathay*, 507-508.)

Sanang Setzen ignores these barbarities. He describes the body of Chinghiz as removed to his native land on a two-wheeled waggon, the whole host escorting it, and wailing as they went: "And Kiluken Bahadur of the Sunid Tribe (one of the Khan's old comrades) lifted up his voice and sang—

Whilom Thou didst swoop like a Falcon : A rumbling waggon now trundles thee off:
 O My King !
 Hast thou in truth then forsaken thy wife and thy children and the Diet of thy People?
 O My King !
 Circling in pride like an Eagle whilom Thou didst lead us,
 O My King !
 But now Thou hast stumbled and fallen, like an unbroken Colt,
 O My King !' " (p. 108.)

[“The burying of living men with the dead was a general custom with the tribes of Eastern Asia. Favourite servants and wives were usually buried in this way. In China, the chief wives and those concubines who had already borne children, were exempted from this lot. The Tunguz and other tribes were accustomed to kill the selected victims by strangulation. In China they used to be buried alive; but the custom of burying living men ceased in A.D. 1464. [*Hwang ming ts'ung sin lu.*] In the time of the present Manchu Dynasty, the burying of living men was prohibited by the Emperor Kang-hi, at the close of the 17th century, *i.e.* the forced burying; but voluntary sepulture remained in force [*Yu chi wen*]. Notwithstanding this prohibition, cases of forced burying occurred again in remote parts of Manchuria; when a concubine refused to follow her deceased master, she was forcibly strangled with a bow-string [*Ninguta chi*]. I must observe, however, that there is no mention made in historical documents of the existence of this custom with the Mongols; it is only an hypothesis based on the analogy between the religious ideas and customs of the Mongols and those of other tribes.” (*Palladius*, p. 13.)

In his *Religious System of China*, II., Dr. J. J. M. de Groot devotes a whole chapter (ix. 721 *seqq.*), *Concerning the Sacrifice of Human Beings at Burials, and Usages connected therewith*. The oldest case on record in China dates as far back as B.C. 677, when sixty-six men were killed after the ruler Wu of the state of Ts'in died.

The Official Annals of the Tartar Dynasty of Liao, quoted by Professor J. J. M. de Groot (*Religious System of China*, vol. ii. 698), state that “in the tenth year of the T'ung hwo period (A.D. 692) the killing of horses for funeral and burial rites was interdicted, as also the putting into the tombs of coats of mail, helmets, and articles and trinkets of gold and silver.” Professor de Groot writes (*l.c.* 709): “But, just as the placing of victuals in the graves was at an early date changed into sacrifices of food outside the graves, so burying horses with the dead was also modified under the Han Dynasty into presenting them to the dead without interring them, and valueless counterfeits were on such occasions substituted for the real animals.”—H. C.]

CHAPTER LII.

CONCERNING THE CUSTOMS OF THE TARTARS.

Now that we have begun to speak of the Tartars, I have plenty to tell you on that subject. The Tartar custom is to spend the winter in warm plains, where they find good pasture for their cattle, whilst in summer they betake themselves to a cool climate among the

mountains and valleys, where water is to be found as well as woods and pastures.

Their houses are circular, and are made of wands covered with felts.¹ These are carried along with them whithersoever they go; for the wands are so strongly bound together, and likewise so well combined, that the frame can be made very light. Whenever they erect these huts the door is always to the south. They also have waggons covered with black felt so efficaciously that no rain can get in. These are drawn by oxen and camels, and the women and children travel in them.² The women do the buying and selling, and whatever is necessary to provide for the husband and household; for the men all lead the life of gentlemen, troubling themselves about nothing but hunting and hawking, and looking after their goshawks and falcons, unless it be the practice of warlike exercises.

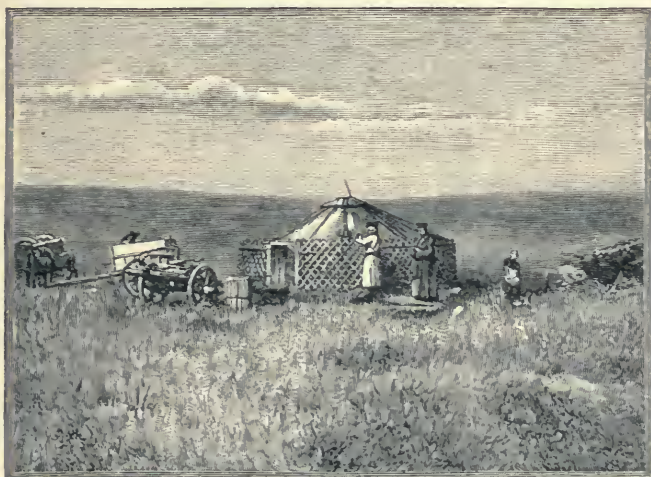
They live on the milk and meat which their herds supply, and on the produce of the chase; and they eat all kinds of flesh, including that of horses and dogs, and Pharaoh's rats, of which last there are great numbers in burrows on those plains.³ Their drink is mare's milk.

They are very careful not to meddle with each other's wives, and will not do so on any account, holding that to be an evil and abominable thing. The women too are very good and loyal to their husbands, and notable housewives withal.⁴ [Ten or twenty of them will dwell together in charming peace and unity, nor shall you ever hear an ill word among them.]

The marriage customs of Tartars are as follows. Any man may take a hundred wives an he so please, and if he be able to keep them. But the first wife is ever held most in honour, and as the most legitimate [and the same applies to the sons whom she may bear].

The husband gives a marriage payment to his wife's mother, and the wife brings nothing to her husband. They have more children than other people, because they have so many wives. They may marry their cousins, and if a father dies, his son may take any of the wives, his own mother always excepted; that is to say the eldest son may do this, but no other. A man may also take the wife of his own brother after the latter's death. Their weddings are celebrated with great ado.⁵

NOTE I.—The word here in the G. T. is "*fennes*," which seems usually to mean *ropes*; and in fact Pauthier's text reads: "*Il ont mesons de verges et les cuevrent de cordes.*" Ramusio's text has *feltroni*, and both Müller and the Latin of the S. G. have *filtra*. This is certainly the right reading. But whether *fennes* was ever used as a form of *feltres* (as *pennes* means *peltry*) I cannot discover. Perhaps some words have dropped out. A good description of a Kirghiz hut (35 feet in diameter), and exactly corresponding to Polo's account, will be found in *Atkinson's Siberia*, and another in *Vámbéry's Travels*. How comfortable and civilised the aspect of such a hut may be, can be seen also in Burnes's account of a Turkoman dwelling of this kind. This description of hut or tent is common to nearly all the nomade tribes of Central Asia. The trellis-work forming the skeleton of the tent-walls is (at least among the Turkomans) loosely pivoted, so as to draw out and compress like "*lazy-tongs*."



Dressing up a tent.

Rubruquis, Pallas, Timkowski, and others, notice the custom of turning the door to the south; the reason is obvious. (*Atkinson*, 285; *Vámb.* 316; *Burnes*, III. 51; *Conolly*, I. 96.) But throughout the Altai, Mr. Ney Elias informs me, K'alkas,

Kirghiz, and Kalmaks all pitch their tents facing east. The prevailing winter wind is there westerly.

[Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 56, note) says that he has often seen Mongol tents facing east and south-east. He adds: "It is interesting to find it noted in the *Chou Shu* (Bk. 50, 3) that the Khan of the Turks, who lived always on the Tu-kin mountains, had his tent invariably facing south, so as to show reverence to the sun's rising place."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Æschylus already knows the

"wandering Scyths who dwell
In latticed huts high-poised on easy wheels."

(*Prom. Vinct.* 709-710.)

And long before him Hesiod says Phineus was carried by the Harpies—

"To the Land of the Milk-fed nations, whose houses are waggons."

(*Strabo*, vii. 3-9.)

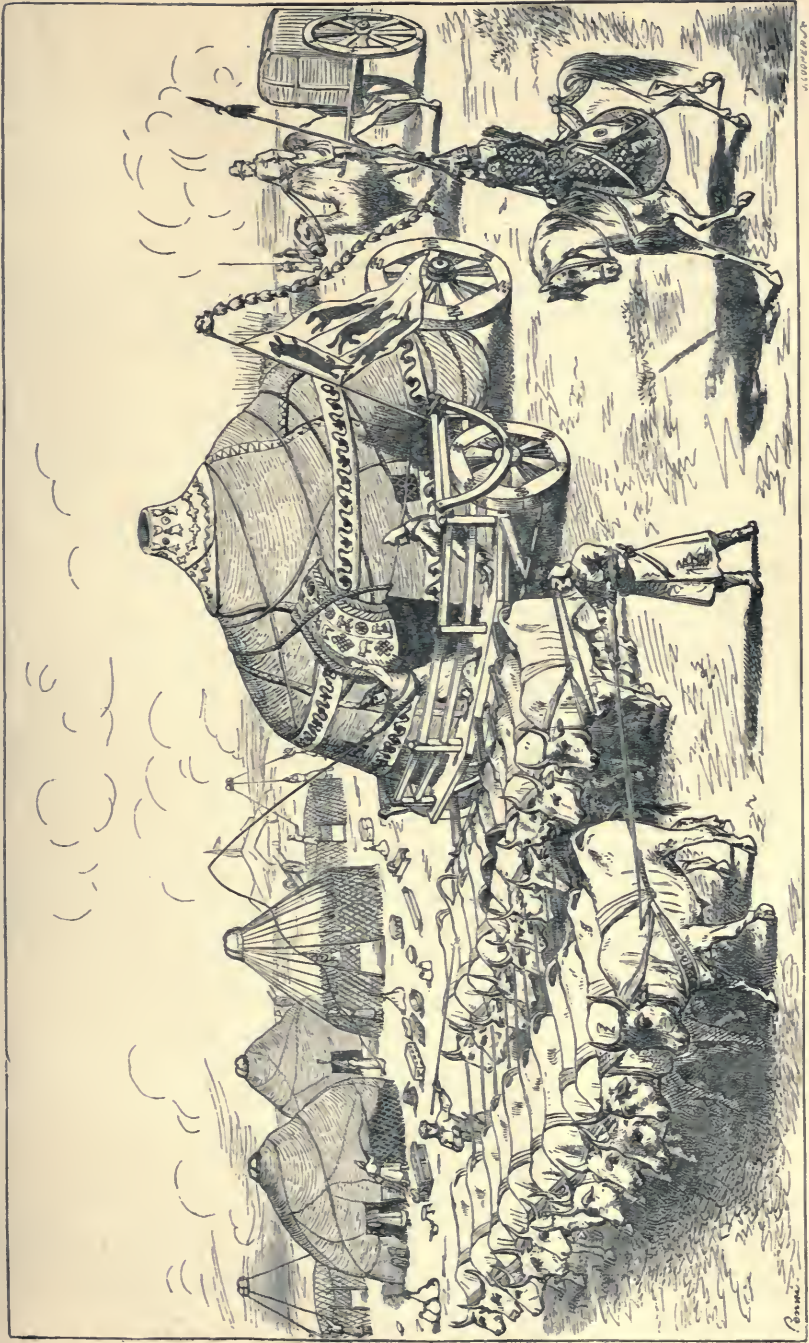
Ibn Batuta describes the Tartar waggon in which he travelled to Sarai as mounted on four great wheels, and drawn by two or more horses:—

"On the waggon is put a sort of pavilion of wands laced together with narrow thongs. It is very light, and is covered with felt or cloth, and has latticed windows, so that the person inside can look out without being seen. He can change his position at pleasure, sleeping or eating, reading or writing, during the journey." These waggons were sometimes of enormous size. Rubruquis declares that he measured between the wheel-tracks of one and found the interval to be 20 feet. The axle was like a ship's mast, and twenty-two oxen were yoked to the waggon, eleven abreast. (See opposite cut.) He describes the huts as not usually taken to pieces, but carried all standing. The waggon just mentioned carried a hut of 30 feet diameter, for it projected beyond the wheels at least 5 feet on either side. In fact, Carpini says explicitly, "Some of the huts are speedily taken to pieces and put up again; such are packed on the beasts. Others cannot be taken to pieces, but are carried bodily on the waggons. To carry the smaller tents on a waggon one ox may serve; for the larger ones three oxen or four, or even more, according to the size." The carts that were used to transport the Tartar valuables were covered with felt soaked in tallow or ewe's milk, to make them waterproof. The tilts of these were rectangular, in the form of a large trunk. The carts used in Kashgar, as described by Mr. Shaw, seem to resemble these latter. (*J. B.* II. 381-382; *Rub.* 221; *Carp.* 6, 16.)

The words of Herodotus, speaking generally of the Scyths, apply perfectly to the Mongol hordes under Chinghiz: "Having neither cities nor forts, and carrying their dwellings with them wherever they go; accustomed, moreover, one and all, to shoot from horseback; and living not by husbandry but on their cattle, their waggons the only houses that they possess, how can they fail of being unconquerable?" (Bk. IV. ch. 46, p. 41, *Rawlins.*) Scythian prisoners in their waggons are represented on the Column of Theodosius at Constantinople; but it is difficult to believe that these waggons, at least as figured in Banduri, have any really Scythian character.

It is a curious fact that the practice of carrying these *yurts* or felt tents upon waggons appears to be entirely obsolete in Mongolia. Mr. Ney Elias writes: "I frequently showed your picture [that opposite] to Mongols, Chinese, and Russian border-traders, but none had ever seen anything of the kind. The only cart I have ever seen used by Mongols is a little low, light, roughly-made bullock-dray, *certainly* of Chinese importation." The old system would, however, appear to have been kept up to our own times by the Nogai Tartars, near the Sea of Azof. (See note from Heber, in *Clark's Travels*, 8vo ed. I. 440, and Dr. Clark's vignette at p. 394 in the same volume.)

NOTE 3.—*Pharaoh's Rat* was properly the Gerboa of Arabia and North Africa,



Medieval Tartar Huts and Waggon.

which the Arabs also regard as a dainty. There is a kindred animal in Siberia, called *Alactaga*, and a kind of Kangaroo-rat (probably the same) is mentioned as very abundant on the Mongolian Steppe. There is also the *Zieselmaus* of Pallas, a Dormouse, I believe, which he says the Kalmaks, even of distinction, count a delicacy, especially cooked in sour milk. "They eat not only the flesh of all their different kinds of cattle, including horses and camels, but also that of many wild animals which other nations eschew, e.g. marmots and *zieselmaice*, beavers, badgers, otters, and lynxes, leaving none untouched except the dog and weasel kind, and also (unless very hard pressed) the flesh of the fox and the wolf." (*Pallas, Samml.* I. 128; also *Rubr.* 229-230.)

[“In the Mongol biography of Chinghiz Khan (Mongol text of the *Yuan ch'ao pi shi*), mention is made of two kinds of animals (mice) used for food; the tarbagat (*Aritomys Bobac*) and *kuchugur*.” (*Palladius, l.c.* p. 14.) Regarding the marmots called *Sogur* by Rubruquis, Mr. Rockhill writes (p. 69): “Probably the *Mus citillus*, the *Suslik* of the Russians. . . . M. Grenard tells me that *Soghur*, more usually written *sour* in Turki, is the ordinary name of the marmot.”—II. C.]

NOTE 4.—“Their wives are chaste; nor does one ever hear any talk of their immodesty,” says Carpini;—no Boccaccian and Chaucerian stories.

NOTE 5.—“The Mongols are not prohibited from having a plurality of wives; the first manages the domestic concerns, and is the most respected.” (*Timk.* II. 310.) Naturally Polygamy is not so general among the Mongols as when Asia lay at their feet. The Buraets, who seem to retain the old Mongol customs in great completeness, are polygamists, and have as many wives as they choose. Polygamy is also very prevalent among the Yakuts, whose lineage seems to be Eastern Turk. (*Ritter*, III. 125; *Erman*, II. 346.)

Of the custom that entitled the son on succeeding to take such as he pleased of his deceased father's wives, we have had some illustration (see *Prologue*, ch. xvii. note 2), and many instances will be found in Hammer's or other Mongol Histories. The same custom seems to be ascribed by Herodotus to the Scyths (IV. 78). A number of citations regarding the practice are given by Quatremère. (*Q. R.* p. 92.) A modern Mongol writer in the *Mélanges Asiatiques* of the Petersburg Academy, states that the custom of taking a deceased brother's wives is now obsolete, but that a proverb preserves its memory (II. 656). It is the custom of some Mahomedan nations, notably of the Afghans, and is one of those points that have been cited as a supposed proof of their Hebrew lineage.

“The Kalin is a present which the Bridegroom or his parents make to the parents of the Bride. All the Pagan nations of Siberia have this custom; they differ only in what constitutes the present, whether money or cattle.” (*Gmelin*, I. 29; see also *Erman*, II. 348.)

CHAPTER LIII.

CONCERNING THE GOD OF THE TARTARS.

THIS is the fashion of their religion. [They say there is a Most High God of Heaven, whom they worship daily with thurible and incense, but they pray to Him

only for health of mind and body. But] they have [also] a certain [other] god of theirs called NATIGAY, and they say he is the god of the Earth, who watches over their children, cattle, and crops. They show him great worship and honour, and every man hath a figure of him in his house, made of felt and cloth; and they also make in the same manner images of his wife and children. The wife they put on the left hand, and the children in front. And when they eat, they take the fat of the meat and grease the god's mouth withal, as well as the mouths of his wife and children. Then they take of the broth and sprinkle it before the door of the house; and that done, they deem that their god and his family have had their share of the dinner.¹

Their drink is mare's milk, prepared in such a way that you would take it for white wine; and a right good drink it is, called by them *Kemiz*.²

The clothes of the wealthy Tartars are for the most part of gold and silk stuffs, lined with costly furs, such as sable and ermine, vair and fox-skin, in the richest fashion.

NOTE 1.—There is no reference here to Buddhism, which was then of recent introduction among the Mongols; indeed, at the end of the chapter, Polo speaks of their new adoption of the Chinese idolatry, *i.e.* Buddhism. We may add here that the Buddhism of the Mongols decayed and became practically extinct after their expulsion from China (1368-1369). The old Shamanism then apparently revived; nor was it till 1577 that the great reconversion of Mongolia to Lamaism began. This reconversion is the most prominent event in the Mongol history of Sanang Setzen, whose great-grandfather Khutuktai Setzen, Prince of the Ordos, was a chief agent in the movement.

The Supreme Good Spirit appears to have been called by the Mongols *Tengri* (Heaven), and *Khormuzda*, and is identified by Schmidt with the Persian Hormuzd. In Buddhist times he became identified with Indra.

Plano Carpini's account of this matter is very like Marco's: "They believe in one God, the Maker of all things, visible and invisible, and the Distributor of good and evil in this world; but they worship Him not with prayers or praises or any kind of service. Natheless, they have certain idols of felt, imitating the human face, and having underneath the face something resembling teats; these they place on either side of the door. These they believe to be the guardians of the flocks, from whom they have the boons of milk and increase. Others they fabricate of bits of silk, and these are highly honoured; . . . and whenever they begin to eat or drink, they first offer these idols a portion of their food or drink."

VOL: I.

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The account agrees generally with what we are told of the original Shamanism of the Tunguses, which recognizes a Supreme Power over all, and a small number of potent spirits called *Ongot*. These spirits among the Buraets are called, according to one author, *Nougait* or *Nogat*, and according to Erman *Ongotui*. In some form of this same word, *Nogait*, *Ongot*, *Onggod*, *Ongotui*, we are, I imagine, to trace the *Natigay* of Polo. The modern representative of this Shamanist *Lar* is still found among the Buraets, and is thus described by Pallas under the name of *Immegiljin*: "He is honoured as the tutelary god of the sheep and other cattle. Properly, the divinity consists of two figures, hanging side by side, one of whom represents the god's wife. These two figures are merely a pair of lanky flat bolsters with the upper part shaped into a round disk, and the body hung with a long woolly fleece; eyes, nose, breasts, and navel, being indicated by leather knobs stitched on. The male figure commonly has at his girdle the foot-ropes with which horses at pasture are fettered, whilst the female, which is sometimes accompanied by smaller figures representing her children, has all sorts of little nicknacks and sewing implements." Galsang



Tartar Idols and Kumis Churn.

Czomboyef, a recent Russo-Mongol writer already quoted, says also: "Among the Buryats, in the middle of the hut and place of honour, is the *Dsaiagachi* or 'Chief Creator of Fortune.' At the door is the *Emelgelji*, the Tutelary of the Herds and Young Cattle, made of sheepskins. Outside the hut is the *Chandaghatu*, a name implying that the idol was formed of a white hare-skin, the Tutelary of the Chase and perhaps of War. All these have been expelled by Buddhism except *Dsaiagachi*, who is called *Tengri*, and introduced among the Buddhist divinities."

[Dorji Banzaroff, in his dissertation *On the Black Religion*, i.e. Shamanism, 1846, "is disposed to see in *Natigay* of M. Polo, the *Ytoga* of other travellers, i.e. the Mongol *Etugen*—'earth,' as the object of veneration of the Mongol Shamans. They look upon it as a divinity, for its power as *Delegei in echen*, i.e. 'the Lord of Earth,' and on account of its productiveness, *Allan delegei*, i.e. 'Golden Earth.'" Palladius (*l.c.* pp. 14-16) adds one new variant to what the learned Colonel Yule has collected and set forth with such precision, on the Shaman household gods. "The Dahurs and Barhus have in their dwellings, according to the number of the male

members of the family, puppets made of straw, on which eyes, eyebrows, and mouth are drawn; these puppets are dressed up to the waist. When some one of the family dies, his puppet is taken out of the house, and a new puppet is made for every newly-born member of the family. On New Year's Day offerings are made to the puppets, and care is taken not to disturb them (by moving them, etc.), in order to avoid bringing sickness upon the family." (*He lung kiang wai ki.*)

(Cf. *Rubruck*, 58-59, and Mr. Rockhill's note, 59-60.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—KIMIZ or KUMIZ, the habitual drink of the Mongols, as it still is of most of the nomads of Asia. It is thus made. Fresh mare's milk is put in a well-seasoned bottle-necked vessel of horse-skin; a little *kurút* (see note 5, ch. liv.) or some sour cow's milk is added; and when acetous fermentation is commencing it is violently churned with a peculiar staff which constantly stands in the vessel. This interrupts fermentation and introduces a quantity of air into the liquid. It is customary for visitors who may drop in to give a turn or two at the churn stick. After three or four days the drink is ready.

Kumiz keeps long; it is wonderfully tonic and nutritious, and it is said that it has cured many persons threatened with consumption. The tribes using it are said to be remarkably free from pulmonary disease; and indeed I understand there is a regular *Galactopathic* establishment somewhere in the province of Orenburg for treating pulmonary patients with Kumiz diet.

It has a peculiar fore- and after-taste which, it is said, everybody does not like. Yet I have found no confession of a dislike to Kumiz. Rubruquis tells us it is pungent on the tongue, like *vinum raspei* (*vin rapé* of the French), whilst you are drinking it, but leaves behind a pleasant flavour like milk of almonds. It makes a man's inside feel very cosy, he adds, even turning a weak head, and is strongly diuretic. To this last statement, however, modern report is in direct contradiction. The Greeks and other Oriental Christians considered it a sort of denial of the faith to drink Kumiz. On the other hand, the Mahomedan converts from the nomad tribes seem to have adhered to the use of Kumiz even when strict in abstinence from wine; and it was indulged in by the early Mamelukes as a public solemnity. Excess on such an occasion killed Bibars Bundukdari, who was passionately fond of this liquor.

The intoxicating power of Kumiz varies according to the *brew*. The more advanced is the vinous fermentation the less acid is the taste and the more it sparkles. The effect, however, is always slight and transitory, and leaves no unpleasant sensation, whilst it produces a strong tendency to refreshing sleep. If its good qualities amount to half what are ascribed to it by Dr. W. F. Dahl, from whom we derive some of these particulars, it must be the pearl of all beverages. "With the nomads it is the drink of all from the suckling upwards, it is the solace of age and illness, and the greatest of treats to all!"

There was a special kind called *Ķarâ Ķumiz*, which is mentioned both by Rubruquis and in the history of Wassáf. It seems to have been strained and clarified. The modern Tartars distil a spirit from Kumiz of which Pallas gives a detailed account. (*Dahl, Ueber den Kunyiss in Baer's Beiträge*, VII.; *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Crimée*, Paris, 1859, p. 81; *Makrizi*, II. 147; *J. As.* XI. 160; *Levchine*, 322-323; *Rubr.* 227-228, 335; *Gold. Horde*, p. 46; *Erman*, I. 296; *Pallas, Samml.* I. 132 seqq.)

[In the *Si yu ki*, Travels to the West of Ch'ang ch'un, we find a drink called *tung lo*. "The Chinese characters, *tung lo*," says Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* I. 94), "denote according to the dictionaries preparations from mare's or cow's milk, as Kumis, sour milk, etc. In the *Yuan shi* (ch. cxxviii.) biography of the Kipchak prince *Tü-tü-ha*, it is stated that 'black mare's milk' (evidently the *carâ cosmos* of Rubruck), very pleasant to the taste, used to be sent from Kipchak to the Mongol court in China." (On the drinks of the Mongols, see Mr. Rockhill's note, *Rubruck*, p. 62.)—The Mongols indulge in sour milk (*tarak*) and distilled mare's milk (*arreki*), but

Mr. Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, 130) says he never saw them drink *kumiz*.—H. C.]

The mare's-milk drink of Scythian nomads is alluded to by many ancient authors. But the manufacture of *kumiz* is particularly spoken of by Herodotus. "The (mare's) milk is poured into deep wooden casks, about which the blind slaves are placed, and then the milk is stirred round. That which rises to the top is drawn off, and considered the best part; the under portion is of less account." Strabo also speaks of the nomads beyond the Cimmerian Chersonesus, who feed on horse-flesh and other flesh, mare's-milk cheese, mare's milk, and sour milk (*δξύγαλακτα*) "*which they have a particular way of preparing.*" Perhaps Herodotus was mistaken about the wooden tubs. At least all modern attempts to use anything but the orthodox skins have failed. Priscus, in his narrative of the mission of himself and Maximin to Attila, says the Huns brought them a drink made from *barley* which they called *Kdmos*. The barley was, no doubt, a misapprehension of his. (*Herod.* Bk. iv. p. 2, in *Rawl.*; *Strabo*, VII. 4, 6: *Excerpta de Legationibus*, in *Corp. Hist. Byzant.* I. 55.)

CHAPTER LIV.

CONCERNING THE TARTAR CUSTOMS OF WAR.

ALL their harness of war is excellent and costly. Their arms are bows and arrows, sword and mace; but above all the bow, for they are capital archers, indeed the best that are known. On their backs they wear armour of cuirbouly, prepared from buffalo and other hides, which is very strong.¹ They are excellent soldiers, and passing valiant in battle. They are also more capable of hardships than other nations; for many a time, if need be, they will go for a month without any supply of food, living only on the milk of their mares and on such game as their bows may win them. Their horses also will subsist entirely on the grass of the plains, so that there is no need to carry store of barley or straw or oats; and they are very docile to their riders. These, in case of need, will abide on horseback the livelong night, armed at all points, while the horse will be continually grazing.

Of all troops in the world these are they which endure the greatest hardship and fatigue, and which cost

the least ; and they are the best of all for making wide conquests of country. And this you will perceive from what you have heard and shall hear in this book ; and (as a fact) there can be no manner of doubt that now they are the masters of the biggest half of the world. Their troops are admirably ordered in the manner that I shall now relate.

You see, when a Tartar prince goes forth to war, he takes with him, say, 100,000 horse. Well, he appoints an officer to every ten men, one to every hundred, one to every thousand, and one to every ten thousand, so that his own orders have to be given to ten persons only, and each of these ten persons has to pass the orders only to other ten, and so on ; no one having to give orders to more than ten. And every one in turn is responsible only to the officer immediately over him ; and the discipline and order that comes of this method is marvellous, for they are a people very obedient to their chiefs. Further, they call the corps of 100,000 men a *Tuc* ; that of 10,000 they call a *Toman* ; the thousand they call . . . ; the hundred *Guz* ; the ten² And when the army is on the march they have always 200 horsemen, very well mounted, who are sent a distance of two marches in advance to reconnoitre, and these always keep ahead. They have a similar party detached in the rear, and on either flank, so that there is a good look-out kept on all sides against a surprise. When they are going on a distant expedition they take no gear with them except two leather bottles for milk ; a little earthenware pot to cook their meat in, and a little tent to shelter them from rain.³ And in case of great urgency they will ride ten days on end without lighting a fire or taking a meal. On such an occasion they will sustain themselves on the blood of their horses, opening a vein and letting the blood jet into their mouths,

drinking till they have had enough, and then staunching it.⁴

They also have milk dried into a kind of paste to carry with them ; and when they need food they put this in water, and beat it up till it dissolves, and then drink it. [It is prepared in this way ; they boil the milk, and when the rich part floats on the top they skim it into another vessel, and of that they make butter ; for the milk will not become solid till this is removed. Then they put the milk in the sun to dry. And when they go on an expedition, every man takes some ten pounds of this dried milk with him. And of a morning he will take a half pound of it and put it in his leather bottle, with as much water as he pleases. So, as he rides along, the milk-paste and the water in the bottle get well churned together into a kind of pap, and that makes his dinner.⁵]

When they come to an engagement with the enemy, they will gain the victory in this fashion. [They never let themselves get into a regular medley, but keep perpetually riding round and shooting into the enemy. And] as they do not count it any shame to run away in battle, they will [sometimes pretend to] do so, and in running away they turn in the saddle and shoot hard and strong at the foe, and in this way make great havoc. Their horses are trained so perfectly that they will double hither and thither, just like a dog, in a way that is quite astonishing. Thus they fight to as good purpose in running away as if they stood and faced the enemy, because of the vast volleys of arrows that they shoot in this way, turning round upon their pursuers, who are fancying that they have won the battle. But when the Tartars see that they have killed and wounded a good many horses and men, they wheel round bodily, and return to the charge in perfect order and with loud cries ;

and in a very short time the enemy are routed. In truth they are stout and valiant soldiers, and inured to war. And you perceive that it is just when the enemy sees them run, and imagines that he has gained the battle, that he has in reality lost it; for the Tartars wheel round in a moment when they judge the right time has come. And after this fashion they have won many a fight.⁶

All this that I have been telling you is true of the manners and customs of the genuine Tartars. But I must add also that in these days they are greatly degenerated; for those who are settled in Cathay have taken up the practices of the Idolaters of the country, and have abandoned their own institutions; whilst those who have settled in the Levant have adopted the customs of the Saracens.⁷

NOTE 1.—The bow was the characteristic weapon of the Tartars, insomuch that the Armenian historians often call them “The Archers.” (*St. Martin*, II. 133.) “CUIROULY, leather softened by boiling, in which it took any form or impression required, and then hardened.” (*Wright’s Dict.*) The English adventurer among the Tartars, whose account of them is given by Archbishop Ivo of Narbonne, in *Matthew Paris* (*sub.* 1243), says: “De coriis bullitis sibi arma levia quidem, sed tamen impenetrabilia coaptarunt.” This armour is particularly described by *Plano Carpini* (p. 685). See the tail-piece to Book IV.

[Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, XXIV. iv. p. 205) remarks that “the first coats of mail were made in China in 1288: perhaps the idea was obtained from the Malays or Arabs.”—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—M. Pauthier has judiciously pointed out the omissions that have occurred here, perhaps owing to Rusticiano’s not properly catching the foreign terms applied to the various grades. In the G. Text the passage runs: “*Et sachiés que les cent mille est apellé un Tuc (read tuc) et les dix mille un Toman, et les por millier et por centenier et por desme.*” In Pauthier’s (uncorrected) text one of the missing words is supplied: “*Et appellent les C.M. un Tuc; et les X.M. un Toman; et un millier Guz por centenier et por disenier.*” The blanks he supplies thus from *Abulghazi*: “*Et un millier: [un Miny]; Guz, por centenier et [Un] por disenier.*” The words supplied are Turki, but so is the *Guz*, which appears already in Pauthier’s text, whilst *Toman* and *Tuc* are common to Turki and Mongol. The latter word, *Túk* or *Túgh*, is the horse-tail or yak-tail standard which among so many Asiatic nations has marked the supreme military command. It occurs as *Taka* in ancient Persian, and *Cosmas Indicopleustes* speaks of it as *Tupha*. The Nine Orloks or Marshals under Chinghiz were entitled to the *Tuk*, and theirs is probably the class of command here indicated as of 100,000, though the figure must not be strictly taken. Timur ordains that every Amir who should conquer a kingdom or command in a victory should receive a title of honour, the *Tugh* and the *Nakkárá*. (*Infra*, Bk. II. ch. iv. note 3.) Baber on several occasions speaks of conferring the *Tugh* upon his generals for dis-

tinguished service. One of the military titles at Bokhara is still *Tokhsabai*, a corruption of *Tugh-Sáhibi* (Master of the Tugh).

We find the whole gradation except the *Tuc* in a rescript of Janibeg, Khan of Sarai, in favour of Venetian merchants dated February 1347. It begins in the Venetian version: "*La parola de Zanibeck allo puovolo di Mogoli, alli Baroni di Thomeni,* delli miera, delli centenera, delle dexiene.*" (*Erdmann*, 576; *D'Avezac*, 577-578; *Rémusat*, *Langues Tartares*, 303; *Pallas*, *Samml.* I. 283; *Schmidt*, 379, 381; *Baber*, 260, etc.; *Vámbéry*, 374; *Timour Inst.* pp. 283 and 292-293; *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes*, tom. lv. p. 585.)

The decimal division of the army was already made by Chinghiz at an early period of his career, and was probably much older than his time. In fact we find the Myriarch and Chiliarch already in the Persian armies of Darius Hystaspes. From the Tartars the system passed into nearly all the Musulman States of Asia, and the titles *Min-bashi* or *Bimbashi*, *Yuzbashi*, *Onbashi*, still subsist not only in Turkestan, but also in Turkey and Persia. The term *Tman* or *Tma* was, according to Herberstein, still used in Russia in his day for 10,000. (*Ramus.* II. 159.)

[The King of An-nain, Dinh Tiên-hòang (A.D. 968) had an army of 1,000,000 men forming 10 corps of 10 legions; each legion forming 10 cohorts of 10 centuries; each century forming 10 squads of 10 men.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—Ramusio's edition says that what with horses and mares there will be an average of eighteen beasts (?) to every man.

NOTE 4.—See the Oriental account quoted below in Note 6.

So Dionysius, combining this practice with that next described, relates of the Massagetæ that they have no delicious bread nor native wine:

"But with horse's blood
And white milk mingled set their banquets forth."
(*Orbis Desc.* 743-744.)

And Sidonius:

"Solitosque cruentum
Lac potare Getas, et pocula tingere venis."
(*Parag. ad Avitum.*)

["The Scythian soldier drinks the blood of the first man he overthrows in battle." (*Herodotus*, *Rawlinson*, Bk. IV. ch. 64, p. 54).—H. C.] "When in lack of food, they bleed a horse and suck the vein. If they need something more solid, they put a sheep's pudding full of blood under the saddle; this in time gets coagulated and cooked by the heat, and then they devour it." (*Georg. Pachymeres*, V. 4.) The last is a well-known story, but is strenuously denied and ridiculed by Bergmann. (*Streifereien*, etc. I. 15.) Joinville tells the same story. Hans Schiltberger asserts it very distinctly: "Ich hon och gesehen wann sie in reiss ylten, das sie ein fleisch nemen, und es dunn schinden und legents unter den sattel, und riten doruff; und essents wann sie hungert" (ch. 35). Botero had "heard from a trustworthy source that a Tartar of Perekop, travelling on the steppes, lived for some days on the blood of his horse, and then, not daring to bleed it more, cut off and ate its ears!" (*Relazione Univers.* p. 93.) The Turkmans speak of such practices, but Conolly says he came to regard them as hyperbolical talk (I. 45).

[Abul-Ghazi Khan, in his History of Mongols, describing a raid of Russian (*Ourous*) Cossacks, who were hemmed in by the Uzbeks, says: "The Russians had in continued fighting exhausted all their water. They began to drink blood; the fifth day they had not even blood remaining to drink." (*Transl. by Baron Des Maisons*, St. Petersburg, II. 295.)]

NOTE 5.—Rubruquis thus describes this preparation, which is called *Kurht*:

* This is *Chomeni* in the original, but I have ventured to correct it.

“The milk that remains after the butter has been made, they allow to get as sour as sour can be, and then boil it. In boiling, it curdles, and that curd they dry in the sun; and in this way it becomes as hard as iron-slag. And so it is stored in bags against the winter. In the winter time, when they have no milk, they put that sour curd, which they call *Griut*, into a skin, and pour warm water on it, and they shake it violently till the curd dissolves in the water, to which it gives an acid flavour; that water they drink in place of milk. But above all things they eschew drinking plain water.” From Pallas’s account of the modern practice, which is substantially the same, these cakes are also made from the leavings of distillation in making milk-arack. The Kurút is frequently made of ewe-milk. Wood speaks of it as an indispensable article in the food of the people of Badakhshan, and under the same name it is a staple food of the Afghans. (*Rubr.* 229; *Samml.* I. 136; *Dahl*, n.s.; *Wood*, 311.)

[It is the *ch’ura* of the Tibetans. “In the Kokonor country and Tibet, this *krut* or *chura* is put in tea to soften, and then eaten either alone or mixed with parched barley meal (*tsamba*).” (*Rockhill*, *Rubruck*, p. 68, note.)—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—Compare with Marco’s account the report of the Mongols, which was brought by the spies of Mahomed, Sultan of Khwarizm, when invasion was first menaced by Chinghiz: “The army of Chinghiz is countless, as a swarm of ants or locusts. Their warriors are matchless in lion-like valour, in obedience, and endurance. They take no rest, and flight or retreat is unknown to them. On their expeditions they are accompanied by oxen, sheep, camels, and horses, and sweet or sour milk suffices them for food. Their horses scratch the earth with their hoofs and feed on the roots and grasses they dig up, so that they need neither straw nor oats. They themselves reckon nothing of the clean or the unclean in food, and eat the flesh of all animals, even of dogs, swine, and bears. They will open a horse’s vein, draw blood, and drink it. . . . In victory they leave neither small nor great alive; they cut up women great with child and cleave the fruit of the womb. If they come to a great river, as they know nothing of boats, they sew skins together, stitch up all their goods therein, tie the bundle to their horses’ tails, mount with a hard grip of the mane, and so swim over.” This passage is an absolute abridgment of many chapters of Carpini. Still more terse was the sketch of Mongol proceedings drawn by a fugitive from Bokhara after Chinghiz’s devastations there. It was set forth in one unconscious hexameter:

“*Ándand u khandand u sokhtaná u kushtand u burdand u raftand!*”

“They came and they sapped, they fired and they slew, trussed up their loot and were gone!”

Juwaini, the historian, after telling the story, adds: “The cream and essence of whatever is written in this volume might be represented in these few words.”

A Musulman author quoted by Hammer, Najmuddin of Rei, gives an awful picture of the Tartar devastations, “Such as had never been heard of, whether in the lands of unbelief or of Islam, and can only be likened to those which the Prophet announced as signs of the Last Day, when he said: ‘The Hour of Judgment shall not come until ye shall have fought with the Turks, men small of eye and ruddy of countenance, whose noses are flat, and their faces like hide-covered shields. Those shall be Days of Horror!’ ‘And what meanest thou by horror?’ said the Companions; and he replied, ‘SLAUGHTER! SLAUGHTER!’ This beheld the Prophet in vision 600 years ago. And could there well be worse slaughter than there was in Rei, where I, wretch that I am, was born and bred, and where the whole population of five hundred thousand souls was either butchered or dragged into slavery?”

Marco habitually suppresses or ignores the frightful brutalities of the Tartars, but these were somewhat less, no doubt, in Kúblái’s time.

The Hindustani poet Amir Khosru gives a picture of the Mongols more forcible than elegant, which Elliot has translated (III. 528).

This is Hayton’s account of the Parthian tactics of the Tartars: “They will run away, but always keeping their companies together; and it is very dangerous to

give them chase, for as they flee they shoot back over their heads, and do great execution among their pursuers. They keep very close rank, so that you would not guess them for half their real strength." Carpini speaks to the same effect. Baber, himself of Mongol descent, but heartily hating his kindred, gives this account of their military usage in his day: "Such is the uniform practice of these wretches the Moghuls; if they defeat the enemy they instantly seize the booty; if they are defeated, they plunder and dismount their own allies, and, betide what may, carry off the spoil." (*Erdmann*, 364, 383, 620; *Gold. Horde*, 77, 80; *Elliot*, II. 388; *Hayton* in *Ram.* ch. xlvi. ; *Baber*, 93; *Carpini*, p. 694.)

NOTE 7.—"The Scythians" (*i.e.* in the absurd Byzantine pedantry, *Tartars*), says Nicephorus Gregoras, "from converse with the Assyrians, Persians, and Chaldæans, in time acquired their manners and adopted their religion, casting off their ancestral atheism. . . . And to such a degree were they changed, that though in former days they had been wont to cover the head with nothing better than a loose felt cap, and for other clothing had thought themselves well off with the skins of wild beasts or ill-dressed leather, and had for weapons only clubs and slings, or spears, arrows, and bows extemporised from the oaks and other trees of their mountains and forests, now, forsooth, they will have no meaner clothing than brocades of silk and gold! And their luxury and delicate living came to such a pitch that they stood far as the poles asunder from their original habits" (II. v. 6).

CHAPTER LV.

CONCERNING THE ADMINISTERING OF JUSTICE AMONG THE TARTARS.

THE way they administer justice is this. When any one has committed a petty theft, they give him, under the orders of authority, seven blows of a stick, or seventeen, or twenty-seven, or thirty-seven, or forty-seven, and so forth, always increasing by tens in proportion to the injury done, and running up to one hundred and seven. Of these beatings sometimes they die.¹ But if the offence be horse-stealing, or some other great matter, they cut the thief in two with a sword. Howbeit, if he be able to ransom himself by paying nine times the value of the thing stolen, he is let off. Every Lord or other person who possesses beasts has them marked with his peculiar brand, be they horses, mares, camels, oxen, cows, or other great cattle, and then they are sent abroad to graze over the plains

without any keeper. They get all mixt together, but eventually every beast is recovered by means of its owner's brand, which is known. For their sheep and goats they have shepherds. All their cattle are remarkably fine, big, and in good condition.²

They have another notable custom, which is this. If any man have a daughter who dies before marriage, and another man have had a son also die before marriage, the parents of the two arrange a grand wedding between the dead lad and lass. And marry them they do, making a regular contract! And when the contract papers are made out they put them in the fire, in order (as they will have it) that the parties in the other world may know the fact, and so look on each other as man and wife. And the parents thenceforward consider themselves sib to each other, just as if their children had lived and married. Whatever may be agreed on between the parties as dowry, those who have to pay it cause to be painted on pieces of paper and then put these in the fire, saying that in that way the dead person will get all the real articles in the other world.³

Now I have told you all about the manners and customs of the Tartars; but you have heard nothing yet of the great state of the Grand Kaan, who is the Lord of all the Tartars and of the Supreme Imperial Court. All that I will tell you in this book in proper time and place, but meanwhile I must return to my story which I left off in that great plain when we began to speak of the Tartars.⁴

NOTE 1.—The cudgel among the Mongols was not confined to thieves and such like. It was the punishment also of military and state offences, and even princes were liable to it without fatal disgrace. "If they give any offence," says Carpini, "or omit to obey the slightest beck, the Tartars themselves are beaten like donkeys." The number of blows administered was, according to Wassáf, always odd, 3, 5, and so forth, up to 77. (*Carp.* 712; *Ilchan.* I. 37.)

[“They also punish with death grand larceny, but as for petty thefts, such as that of a sheep, so long as one has not repeatedly been taken in the act, they beat him cruelly, and if they administer an hundred blows they must use an hundred sticks.” (*Rockhill, Kubruck*, p. 80.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—“They have no herdsmen or others to watch their cattle, because the laws of the Turks (*i.e.* Tartars) against theft are so severe. . . . A man in whose possession a stolen horse is found is obliged to restore it to its owner, and to give nine of the same value; if he cannot, his children are seized in compensation; if he have no children, he is slaughtered like a mutton.” (*Ibn Batuta*, II. 364.)

NOTE 3.—This is a Chinese custom, though no doubt we may trust Marco for its being a Tartar one also. “In the province of Shansi they have a ridiculous custom, which is to marry dead folks to each other. F. Michael Trigault, a Jesuit, who lived several years in that province, told it us whilst we were in confinement. It falls out that one man’s son and another man’s daughter die. Whilst the coffins are in the house (and they used to keep them two or three years, or longer) the parents agree to marry them; they send the usual presents, as if the pair were alive, with much ceremony and music. After this they put the two coffins together, hold the wedding dinner in their presence, and, lastly, lay them together in one tomb. The parents, from this time forth, are looked on not merely as friends but as relatives—just as they would have been had their children been married when in life.” (*Navarrete*, quoted by *Marsden*.) Kidd likewise, speaking of the Chinese custom of worshipping at the tombs of progenitors, says: “So strongly does veneration for this tribute after death prevail that parents, in order to secure the memorial of the sepulchre for a daughter who has died during her betrothal, give her in marriage after her decease to her intended husband, who receives with nuptial ceremonies at his own house a paper effigy made by her parents, and after he has burnt it, erects a tablet to her memory—an honour which usage forbids to be rendered to the memory of unmarried persons. The law seeks without effect to abolish this absurd custom.” (*China*, etc., pp. 179-180.)

[Professor J. J. M. de Groot (*Religious System of China*) gives several instances of marriages after death; the following example (II. 804-805) will illustrate the custom: “An interesting account of the manner in which such *post-mortem* marriages were concluded at the period when the Sung Dynasty governed the Empire, is given by a contemporary work in the following words: ‘In the northern parts of the Realm it is customary, when an unmarried youth and an unmarried girl breathe their last, that the two families each charge a match-maker to demand the other party in marriage. Such go-betweens are called match-makers for disembodied souls. They acquaint the two families with each other’s circumstances, and then cast lots for the marriage by order of the parents on both sides. If they augur that the union will be a happy one, (wedding) garments for the next world are cut out, and the match-makers repair to the grave of the lad, there to set out wine and fruit for the consummation of the marriage. Two seats are placed side by side, and a small streamer is set up near each seat. If these streamers move a little after the libation has been performed, the souls are believed to approach each other; but if one of them does not move, the party represented thereby is considered to disapprove of the marriage. Each family has to reward its match-maker with a present of woven stuffs. Such go-betweens make a regular livelihood out of these proceedings.’”—H. C.]

The Ingushes of the Caucasus, according to Klapproth, have the same custom: “If a man’s son dies, another who has lost his daughter goes to the father and says, ‘Thy son will want a wife in the other world; I will give him my daughter; pay me the price of the bride.’ Such a demand is never refused, even though the purchase of the bride amount to thirty cows.” (*Travels, Eng. Trans.* 345.)

NOTE 4.—There is a little doubt about the reading of this last paragraph. The G. T. has—“*Mès desormès volun retourner à nostre conte en la grant plainne où nos estion quant nos comechames des fais des Tartars,*” whilst Pauthier’s text has “*Mais*

desormais vueil retourner à mon conte que Je lessai d'or plain quant nous commençames des faiz des Tartars." The former reading looks very like a misunderstanding of one similar to the latter, where *d'or plain* seems to be an adverbial expression, with some such meaning as "just now," "a while ago." I have not, however, been able to trace the expression elsewhere. Cotgrave has *or primes*, "but even now," etc.; and has also *de plain*, "presently, immediately, out of hand." It seems quite possible that *d'or plain* should have had the meaning suggested.

CHAPTER LVI.

SUNDRY PARTICULARS OF THE PLAIN BEYOND CARACORON.

AND when you leave Caracoron and the Altay, in which they bury the bodies of the Tartar Sovereigns, as I told you, you go north for forty days till you reach a country called the PLAIN OF BARGU.¹ The people there are called MESCRIPT; they are a very wild race, and live by their cattle, the most of which are stags, and these stags, I assure you, they used to ride upon. Their customs are like those of the Tartars, and they are subject to the Great Kaan. They have neither corn nor wine. [They get birds for food, for the country is full of lakes and pools and marshes, which are much frequented by the birds when they are moulting, and when they have quite cast their feathers and can't fly, those people catch them. They also live partly on fish.²]

And when you have travelled forty days over this great plain you come to the ocean, at the place where the mountains are in which the Peregrine falcons have their nests. And in those mountains it is so cold that you find neither man or woman, nor beast nor bird, except one kind of bird called *Barguerlac*, on which the falcons feed. They are as big as partridges, and have feet like those of parrots and a tail like a swallow's,

and are very strong in flight. And when the Grand Kaan wants Peregrines from the nest, he sends thither to procure them.³ It is also on islands in that sea that the Gerfalcons are bred. You must know that the place is so far to the north that you leave the North Star somewhat behind you towards the south! The gerfalcons are so abundant there that the Emperor can have as many as he likes to send for. And you must not suppose that those gerfalcons which the Christians carry into the Tartar dominions go to the Great Kaan; they are carried only to the Prince of the Levant.⁴

Now I have told you all about the provinces northward as far as the Ocean Sea, beyond which there is no more land at all; so I shall proceed to tell you of the other provinces on the way to the Great Kaan. Let us, then, return to that province of which I spoke before, called Campichu.

NOTE 1.—The readings differ as to the length of the journey. In Pauthier's text we seem to have first a journey of forty days from near Karakorúm to the Plain of Bargu, and then a journey of forty days more across the plain to the Northern Ocean. The G. T. seems to present only *one* journey of forty days (Ramusio, of sixty days), but leaves the interval from Karakorúm undefined. I have followed the former, though with some doubt.

NOTE 2.—This paragraph from Ramusio replaces the following in Pauthier's text: "In the summer they got abundance of game, both beasts and birds, but in winter, there is none to be had because of the great cold."

Marco is here dealing, I apprehend, with hearsay geography, and, as is common in like cases, there is great compression of circumstances and characteristics, analogous to the like compression of little-known regions in mediæval maps.

The name *Bargu* appears to be the same with that often mentioned in Mongol history as BARGUCHIN TUGRUM or BARGUTI, and which Rashiduddin calls the northern limit of the inhabited earth. This commenced about Lake Baikal, where the name still survives in that of a river (*Barguzin*) falling into the Lake on the east side, and of a town on its banks (*Barguzinsk*). Indeed, according to Rashid himself, BARGU was the name of one of the tribes occupying the plain; and a quotation from Father Hyacinth would seem to show that the country is still called *Barakhu*.

[The Archimandrite Palladius (*Elucidations*, 16-17) writes:—"In the Mongol text of Chingis Khan's biography, this country is called Barhu and Barhuchin; it is to be supposed, according to Colonel Yule's identification of this name with the modern Barguzin, that this country was near Lake Baikal. The fact that Merkits were in Bargu is confirmed by the following statement in Chingis Khan's biography: 'When Chingis Khan defeated his enemies, the Merkits, they fled to Barhuchin

tokum.' *Tokum* signifies 'a hollow, a low place,' according to the Chinese translation of the above-mentioned biography, made in 1381; thus Barhuchin tokum undoubtedly corresponds to M. Polo's Plain of Bargu. As to M. Polo's statement that the inhabitants of Bargu were Merkits, it cannot be accepted unconditionally. The Merkits were not indigenous to the country near Baikal, but belonged originally, —according to a division set forth in the Mongol text of the *Yuan ch'ao pi shi*,— to the category of tribes *living in yurts*, i.e. nomad tribes, or tribes of the desert. Meanwhile we find in the same biography of Chingis Khan, mention of a people called Barhun, which belonged to the category of tribes *living in the forests*; and we have therefore reason to suppose that the Barhuns were the aborigines of Barhu. After the time of Chingis Khan, this ethnographic name disappears from Chinese history; it appears again in the middle of the 16th century. The author of the *Yü* (1543-1544), in enumerating the tribes inhabiting Mongolia and the adjacent countries, mentions the Barhu, as a strong tribe, able to supply up to several tens of thousands (?) of warriors, armed with steel swords; but the country inhabited by them is not indicated. The Mongols, it is added, call them Black Ta-tze (Khara Mongols, i.e. 'Lower Mongols').

"At the close of the 17th century, the Barhus are found inhabiting the western slopes of the interior Hing'an, as well as between Lake Kulon and River Khalkha, and dependent on a prince of eastern Khalkhas, Doro beile. (Manchu title.)

"At the time of Galdan Khan's invasion, a part of them fled to Siberia with the eastern Khalkhas, but afterwards they returned. [*Mung ku yew mu ki* and *Lung sha ki lio*.] After their rebellion in 1696, quelled by a Manchu General, they were included with other petty tribes (regarding which few researches have been made) in the category *butkha*, or hunters, and received a military organisation. They are divided into Old and New Barhu, according to the time when they were brought under Manchu rule. The Barhus belong to the Mongolian, not to the Tungusian race; they are sometimes considered even to have been in relationship with the Khalkhas. (*He lung kiang wai ki* and *Lung sha ki lio*.)

"This is all the substantial information we possess on the Barhu. Is there an affinity to be found between the modern Barhus and the Barhuns of Chingis Khan's biography?—and is it to be supposed, that in the course of time, they spread from Lake Baikal to the Hing'an range? or is it more correct to consider them a branch of the Mongol race indigenous to the Hing'an Mountains, and which received the general archaic name of Bargu, which might have pointed out the physical character of the country they inhabited [*K'in Shi*], just as we find in history the Urianhai of Altai and the Urianhai of Western Manchuria? It is difficult to solve this question for want of historical data."—H. C.]

Mescript, or *Mecri*, as in G. T. The *Merkit*, a great tribe to the south-east of the Baikal, were also called *Mekrit*, and sometimes *Megrin*. The *Mekrit* are spoken of also by Carpini and Rubruquis. D'Avezac thinks that the *Kerait*, and not the *Merkit*, are intended by all three travellers. As regards Polo, I see no reason for this view. The name he uses is *Mekrit*, and the position which he assigns to them agrees fairly with that assigned on good authority to the *Merkit* or *Mekrit*. Only, as in other cases, where he is rehearsing hearsay information, it does not follow that the identification of the name involves the correctness of all the circumstances that he connects with that name. We saw in ch. xxx. that under *Pashai* he seemed to lump circumstances belonging to various parts of the region from Badakhshan to the Indus; so here under *Mekrit* he embraces characteristics belonging to tribes extending far beyond the *Mekrit*, and which in fact are appropriate to the Tunguses. Rashiduddin seems to describe the latter under the name of *Uriangkut* of the Woods, a people dwelling beyond the frontier of Barguchin, and in connection with whom he speaks of their Reindeer obscurely, as well as of their tents of birch bark, and their hunting on snow-shoes.

The mention of the Reindeer by Polo in this passage is one of the interesting points which Pauthier's text omits. Marsden objects to the statement that the stags

are ridden upon, and from this motive mis-renders "*li qual' anche cavalcano,*" as, "which they make use of for the purpose of travelling." Yet he might have found in Witsen that the Reindeer are ridden by various Siberian Tribes, but especially by the Tunguses. Erman is very full on the reindeer-riding of the latter people, having himself travelled far in that way in going to Okhotsk, and gives a very detailed description of the saddle, etc., employed. The reindeer of the Tunguses are stated by the same traveller to be much larger and finer animals than those of Lapland. They are also used for pack-carriage and draught. Old Richard Eden says that the "olde wyters" relate that "certayne Scythians doe ryde on Hartes." I have not traced to what he refers, but if the statement be in any ancient author it is very remarkable. Some old editions of Olaus Magnus have curious cuts of Laplanders and others riding on reindeer, but I find nothing in the text appropriate. We hear from travellers of the Lapland deer being occasionally mounted, but only it would seem in sport, not as a practice. (*Erdmann*, 189, 191; *D'Ohsson*, I. 103; *D'Arvezac*, 534 *seqq.*; *J. As. sér. II. tom. xi.*; *sér. IV. tom. xvii. 107*; *N. et E. XIII. i. 274-276*; *Witsen*, II. 670, 671, 680; *Erman*, II. 321, 374, 429, 449 *seqq.*, and original German, II. 347 *seqq.*; *Notes on Russia*, Hac. Soc. II. 224; *J. A. S. B. XXIX. 379.*)

The numerous lakes and marshes swarming with water-fowl are very characteristic of the country between Yakutsk and the Kolyma. It is evident that Marco had his information from an eye-witness, though the whole picture is compressed. Wrangell, speaking of Nijni Kolyma, says: "It is at the moulting season that the great bird-hunts take place. The sportsmen surround the nests, and slip their dogs, which drive the birds to the water, on which they are easily knocked over with a gun or arrow, or even with a stick. . . . This chase is divided into several periods. They begin with the ducks, which moult first; then come the geese; then the swans. . . . In each case the people take care to choose the time when the birds have lost their feathers." The whole calendar with the Yakuts and Russian settlers on the Kolyma is a succession of fishing and hunting seasons which the same author details. (I. 149, 150; 119-121.)

NOTE 3.—What little is said of the *Barguerlac* points to some bird of the genus *Pterocles*, or Sand Grouse (to which belong the so-called Rock Pigeons of India), or to the allied *Tetrao paradoxus* of Pallas, now known as *Syrrhaptés Pallasii*. Indeed, we find in Zenker's Dictionary that *Boghurtlák* (or *Baghürtlák*, as it is in Pavet de Courteille's) in Oriental Turkish is the *Kata*, i.e. I presume, the *Pterocles alchata* of Linnæus, or Large Pin-tailed Sand Grouse. Mr. Gould, to whom I referred the point, is clear that the *Syrrhaptés* is Marco's bird, and I believe there can be no question of it.

[Passing through Ch'ang-k'ou, Mr. Rockhill found the people praying for rain. "The people told me," he says, in his *Journey* (p. 9), "that they knew long ago the year would be disastrous, for the sand grouse had been more numerous of late than for years, and the saying goes *Sha-ch'í kuo, mai lao-po*, 'when the sand grouse fly by, wives will be for sale.'"—H. C.]

The chief difficulty in identification with the *Syrrhaptés* or any known bird, would be "the feet like a parrot's." The feet of the *Syrrhaptés* are not indeed like a parrot's, though its awkward, slow, and waddling gait on the ground, may have suggested the comparison; and though it has very odd and anomalous feet, a circumstance which the Chinese indicate in another way by calling the bird (according to Huc) *Lung K'io*, or "Dragon-foot." [Mr. Rockhill (*Journey*) writes in a note (p. 9): "I, for my part, never heard any other name than *sha-ch'í*, 'sand-fowl,' given them. This name is used, however, for a variety of birds, among others the partridge."—H. C.] The hind-toe is absent, the toes are unseparated, recognisable only by the broad flat nails, and fitted below with a callous couch, whilst the whole foot is covered with short dense feathers like hair, and is more like a quadruped's paw than a bird's foot.

The home of the *Syrrhaptés* is in the Altai, the Kirghiz Steppes, and the country round Lake Baikal, though it also visits the North of China in

great flights. "On plains of grass and sandy deserts," says Gould (*Birds of Great Britain*, Part IV.), "at one season covered with snow, and at another sun-burnt and parched by drought, it finds a congenial home; in these inhospitable and little-known regions it breeds, and when necessity compels it to do so, wings its way . . . over incredible distances to obtain water or food." Huc says, speaking of the bird on the northern frontier of China: "They generally arrive in great flights from the north, especially when much snow has fallen, flying with astonishing rapidity, so that the movement of their wings produces a noise like hail." It is said to be very delicate eating. The bird owes its place in Gould's *Birds of Great Britain* to the fact—strongly illustrative of its being *moult volant*, as Polo says it is—that it appeared in England in 1859, and since then, at least up to 1863, continued to arrive annually in pairs or companies in nearly all parts of our island, from l'enzance to Caithness. And Gould states that it was breeding in the Danish islands. A full account by Mr. A. Newton of this remarkable immigration is contained in the *Ibis* for April, 1864, and many details in *Stevenson's Birds of Norfolk*, I. 376 *seqq.*



Syrrhaptes Pallasii.

There are plates of *Syrrhaptes* in *Raddé's Reisen im Süden von Ost-Sibirien*, Bd. II.; in vol. v. of *Temminck*, Planches Coloriées, Pl. 95; in *Gould*, as above; in *Gray*, *Genera of Birds*, vol. iii. p. 517 (life size); and in the *Ibis* for April, 1860. From the last our cut is taken.

[See *A. David et Oustalet*, *Oiseaux de la Chine*, 389, on *Syrrhaptes Pallasii* or *Syrrhaptes Paradoxus*.—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—Gerfalcons (*Shonkár*) were objects of high estimation in the Middle Ages, and were frequent presents to and from royal personages. Thus among the presents sent with an embassy from King James II. of Aragon to the Sultan of Egypt, in 1314, we find three white gerfalcons. They were sent in homage to Chinghiz and to Kúblái, by the Kirghiz, but I cannot identify the mountains where they or the Peregrines were found. The Peregrine falcon was in Europe sometimes termed *Falcon Tartare*. (See *Ménage* s. v. *Sahin*.) The Peregrine of Northern Japan, and probably therefore that of Siberia, is identical with that of Europe. Witsen speaks of an island in the Sea of Tartary, from which falcons were got, apparently referring to a Chinese map as his authority; but I know nothing more of it. (*Capmany*, IV. 64-65; *Ibis*, 1862, p. 314; *Witsen*, II. 656.)

[On the *Falco peregrinus*, Lin., and other Falcons, see Ed. Blanc's paper mentioned on p. 162. The *Falco Saker* is to be found all over Central Asia; it is called by the Pekingese *Hwang-yng* (yellow falcon). (*David et Oustalet*, *Oiseaux de la Chine*, 31-32.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER LVII.

OF THE KINGDOM OF ERGUIUL, AND PROVINCE OF SINJU.

ON leaving Campichu, then, you travel five days across a tract in which many spirits are heard speaking in the night season; and at the end of those five marches, towards the east, you come to a kingdom called ERGUIUL, belonging to the Great Kaan. It is one of the several kingdoms which make up the great Province of Tangut. The people consist of Nestorian Christians, Idolaters, and worshippers of Mahommet.¹

There are plenty of cities in this kingdom, but the capital is ERGUIUL. You can travel in a south-easterly direction from this place into the province of Cathay. Should you follow that road to the south-east, you come to a city called SINJU, belonging also to Tangut, and subject to the Great Kaan, which has under it many towns and villages.² The population is composed of Idolaters, and worshippers of Mahommet, but there are some Christians also. There are wild cattle in that country [almost] as big as elephants, splendid creatures, covered everywhere but on the back with shaggy hair a good four palms long. They are partly black, partly white, and really wonderfully fine creatures [and the hair or wool is extremely fine and white, finer and whiter than silk. Messer Marco brought some to Venice as a great curiosity, and so it was reckoned by those who saw it]. There are also plenty of them tame, which have been caught young. [They also cross these with the common cow,

and the cattle from this cross are wonderful beasts, and better for work than other animals.] These the people use commonly for burden and general work, and in the plough as well; and at the latter they will do full twice as much work as any other cattle, being such very strong beasts.³

In this country too is found the best musk in the world; and I will tell you how 'tis produced. There exists in that region a kind of wild animal like a gazelle. It has feet and tail like the gazelle's, and stag's hair of a very coarse kind, but no horns. It has four tusks, two below and two above, about three inches long, and slender in form, one pair growing upwards, and the other downwards. It is a very pretty creature. The musk is found in this way. When the creature has been taken, they find at the navel between the flesh and the skin something like an impostume full of blood, which they cut out and remove with all the skin attached to it. And the blood inside this impostume is the musk that produces that powerful perfume. There is an immense number of these beasts in the country we are speaking of. [The flesh is very good to eat. Messer Marco brought the dried head and feet of one of these animals to Venice with him.⁴]

The people are traders and artizans, and also grow abundance of corn. The province has an extent of 26 days' journey. Pheasants are found there twice as big as ours, indeed nearly as big as a peacock, and having tails of 7 to 10 palms in length; and besides them other pheasants in aspect like our own, and birds of many other kinds, and of beautiful variegated plumage.⁵ The people, who are Idolaters, are fat folks with little noses and black hair, and no beard, except a few hairs on the upper lip. The women too have very smooth

and white skins, and in every respect are pretty creatures. The men are very sensual, and marry many wives, which is not forbidden by their religion. No matter how base a woman's descent may be, if she have beauty she may find a husband among the greatest men in the land, the man paying the girl's father and mother a great sum of money, according to the bargain that may be made.

NOTE 1.—No approximation to the name of Erguiul in an appropriate position has yet been elicited from Chinese or other Oriental sources. We cannot go widely astray as to its position, five days east of Kanchau. Klaproth identifies it with Liangchau-fu; Pauthier with the neighbouring city of Yungchang, on the ground that the latter was, in the time of Kúblái, the head of one of the *Lús*, or Circles, of Kansuh or Tangut, which he has shown some reason for believing to be the "kingdoms" of Marco.

It is probable, however, that the *town* called by Polo Erguiul lay north of both the cities named, and more in line with the position assigned below to *Egrigaya*. (See note 1, ch. lviii.)

I may notice that the structure of the name Ergui-ul or Ergiu-ul, has a look of analogy to that of *Tang-keu-ul*, named in the next note.

["Erguiul is Erichew of the Mongol text of the *Yuen ch'ao pi shi*, Si-liang in the Chinese history, the modern *Liang chow fu*. Klaproth, on the authority of Rashid-eddin, has already identified this name with that of Si-liang." (*Palladius*, p. 18.) M. Bonin left Ning-h'ia at the end of July, 1899, and he crossed the desert to Liangchau in fifteen days from east to west; he is the first traveller who took this route: Prjevalsky went westward, passing by the residence of the Prince of Alashan, and Obrutchev followed the route south of Bonin's.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—No doubt Marsden is right in identifying this with Sining-chau, now Sining-fu, the Chinese city nearest to Tibet and the Kokonor frontier. Grueber and Dorville, who passed it on their way to Lhasa, in 1661, call it *urbs ingens*. Sining was visited also by Huc and Gabet, who are unsatisfactory, as usually on geographical matters. They also call it "an immense town," but thinly peopled, its commerce having been in part transferred to Tang-keu-ul, a small town closer to the frontier.

[Sining belonged to the country called Hwang chung; in 1198, under the Sung Dynasty, it was subjugated by the Chinese, and was named Si-ning chau; at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (from 1368), it was named Si-ning wei, and since 1726 Si-ning fu. (Cf. Gueluy, *Chine*, p. 62.) From Liangchau, M. Bonin went to Sining through the Lao kou kau pass and the Ta-Tung ho. Obrutchev and Grum Grijmaïlo took the usual route from Kanchau to Sining. After the murder of Dutreuil de Rhins at Tung bu mdo, his companion, Grenard, arrived at Sining, and left it on the 29th July, 1894. Dr. Sven Hedin gives in his book his own drawing of a gate of Sining-fu, where he arrived on the 25th November, 1896.—H. C.]

Sining is called by the Tibetans *Ziling* or *Jiling*, by the Mongols *Seling Khoto*. A shawl wool texture, apparently made in this quarter, is imported into Kashmir and Ladak, under the name of *S'ling*. I have supposed Sining to be also the *Zilm* of which Mr. Shaw heard at Yarkand, and am answerable for a note to that effect on p. 38 of his *High Tartary*. But Mr. Shaw, on his return to Europe, gave some rather strong reasons against this. (See *Proc. R. G. S.* XVI. 245; *Kircher*, pp. 64, 66;

Della Penna, 27; *Davies's Report*, App. p. ccxxix.; *Vigne*, II. 110, 129.) [At present Sining is called by the Tibetans Seling K'ar or Kuar, and by the Mongols, Seling K'utun, K'ar and K'utun meaning "fortified city." (*Rockhill, Land of the Lamas*, 49, note.)—H. C.]

[Mr. Rockhill (*Diary of a Journey*, 65) writes: "There must be some Scotch blood in the Hsi-ningites, for I find they are very fond of oatmeal and of cracked wheat. The first is called *yen-mei ch'en*, and is eaten boiled with the water in which mutton has been cooked, or with neat's-foot oil (*yang-²i yu*). The cracked wheat (*mei-tzū fan*) is eaten prepared in the same way, and is a very good dish."—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The *Dong*, or Wild Yak, has till late years only been known by vague rumour. It has always been famed in native reports for its great fierceness. The *Hafst Ikhlm* says that "it kills with its horns, by its kicks, by treading under foot, and by tearing with its teeth," whilst the Emperor Humáyún himself told Sidi 'Ali, the Turkish admiral, that when it had knocked a man down it skinned him from head to heels by licking him with its tongue! Dr. Campbell states, in the *Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, that it was said to be four times the size of the domestic Yak. The horns are alleged to be sometimes three feet long, and of immense girth; they are handed round full of strong drink at the festivals of Tibetan grandees, as the Urus horns were in Germany, according to Cæsar.

A note, with which I have been favoured by Dr. Campbell (long the respected Superintendent of British Sikkim) says: "Captain Smith, of the Bengal Army, who had travelled in Western Tibet, told me that he had shot many wild Yaks in the neighbourhood of the Mansarawar Lake, and that he measured a bull which was 18 hands high, *i.e.* 6 feet. All that he saw were *black* all over. He also spoke to the fierceness of the animal. He was once charged by a bull that he had wounded, and narrowly escaped being killed. Perhaps my statement (above referred to) in regard to the relative size of the Wild and Tame Yak, may require modification if applied to all the countries in which the Yak is found. At all events, the finest specimen of the tame Yak I ever saw, was not in Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet, or Bootan, but in the *Jardin des Plantes at Paris*; and that one, a male, was brought from Shanghai. The best drawing of a Yak I know is that in Turner's *Tibet*."

[Lieutenant Samuel Turner gave a very good description of the Yak of Tartary, which he calls *Soora-Goy*, or the Bushy-tailed Bull of Tibet. (*Asiat. Researches*, No. XXIII, pp. 351-353, with a plate.) He says with regard to the colour: "There is a great variety of colours amongst them, but black or white are the most prevalent. It is not uncommon to see the long hair upon the ridge of the back, the tail, tuft upon the chest, and the legs below the knee white, when all the rest of the animal is jet black." A good drawing of "an enormous" Yak is to be found on p. 183 of Captain Wellby's *Unknown Tibet*. (See also Captain Deasy's work on *Tibet*, p. 363.) Prince Henri d'Orléans brought home a fine specimen, which he shot during his journey with Bonvalot; it is now exhibited in the galleries of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. Some Yaks were brought to Paris on the 1st April, 1854, and the celebrated artist, Mme. Rosa Bonheur, made sketches after them. (See *Jour. Soc. Acclimatation*, June, 1900, 39-40.)—H. C.]

Captain Prjevalsky, in his recent journey (1872-1873), shot twenty wild Yaks south of the Koko Nor. He specifies one as 11 feet in length exclusive of the tail, which was 3 feet more; the height 6 feet. He speaks of the Yak as less formidable than it looks, from apathy and stupidity, but very hard to kill; one having taken eighteen bullets before it succumbed.

[Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, 151, note) writes: "The average load carried by a Yak is about 250 lbs. The wild Yak bull is an enormous animal, and the people of Turkestan and North Tibet credit him with extraordinary strength. Mirza Haidar, in the *Tarikhi Rashidi*, says of the wild Yak or *kutds*: 'This is a very wild and ferocious beast. In whatever manner it attacks one it proves fatal. Whether it strikes with its horns, or kicks, or overthrows its victim. If it has no opportunity of

doing any of these things, it tosses its enemy with its tongue twenty *gaz* into the air, and he is dead before reaching the ground. One male *kuids* is a load for twelve horses. One man cannot possibly raise a shoulder of the animal."—Captain Deasy (*In Tibet*, 363) says: "In a few places on lofty ground in Tibet we found Yaks in herds numbering from ten to thirty, and sometimes more. Most of the animals are black, brown specimens being very rare. Their roving herds move with great agility over the steep and stony ground, apparently enjoying the snow and frost and wind, which seldom fail. . . . Yaks are capable of offering formidable resistance to the sportsman. . . ."—H. C.]

The tame Yaks are never, I imagine, "caught young," as Marco says; it is a domesticated *breed*, though possibly, as with buffaloes in Bengal, the breed may occasionally be refreshed by a cross of wild blood. They are employed for riding, as beasts of burden, and in the plough. [Lieutenant S. Turner, *l.c.*, says, on the other hand: "They are never employed in agriculture, but are extremely useful as beasts of burthen."—H. C.] In the higher parts of our Himalayan provinces, and in Tibet, the Yak itself is most in use; but in the less elevated tracts several breeds crossed with the common Indian cattle are more used. They have a variety of names according to their precise origin. The inferior Yaks used in the plough are ugly enough, and "have more the appearance of large shaggy bears than of oxen," but the Yak used for riding, says Hoffmeister, "is an infinitely handsomer animal. It has a stately hump, a rich silky hanging tail nearly reaching the ground, twisted horns, a noble bearing, and an erect head." Cunningham, too, says that the *Dso*, one of the mixed breeds, is "a very handsome animal, with long shaggy hair, generally black and white." Many of the various tame breeds appear to have the tail and back white, and also the fringe under the body, but black and red are the prevailing colours. Some of the crossbred cows are excellent milkers, better than either parent stock.

Notice in this passage the additional and interesting particulars given by Ramusio, *e.g.* the use of the mixed breeds. "Finer than silk," is an exaggeration, or say an *hyperbole*, as is the following expression, "As big as elephants," even with Ramusio's apologetic *quasi*. Cæsar says the Hercynian Urus was *magnitudine paullo infra elephantos*.

The tame Yak is used across the breadth of Mongolia. Rubruquis saw them at Karakorum, and describes them well. Mr. Ney Elias tells me he found Yaks common everywhere along his route in Mongolia, between the Tui river (long. *circa* 101°) and the upper valleys of the Kobdo near the Siberian frontier. At Uliasut'ai they were used occasionally by Chinese settlers for drawing carts, but he never saw them used for loads or for riding, as in Tibet. He has also seen Yaks in the neighbourhood of Kwei-hwa-ch'eng. (*Tenduc*, see ch. lix. note 1.) This may be taken as the eastern limit of the employment of the Yak; the western limit is in the highlands of Khokand.

These animals had been noticed by Cosmas [who calls them *agriobous*] in the 6th century, and by Ælian in the 3rd. The latter speaks of them as black cattle with white tails, from which fly-flappers were made for Indian kings. And the great Kalidása thus sang of the Yak, according to a learned (if somewhat rugged) version ascribed to Dr. Mill. The poet personifies the Himālaya:—

" For Him the large Yaks in his cold plains that bide
Whisk here and there, playful, their tails' bushy pride,
And evermore flapping those fans of long hair
Which borrowed moonbeams have made splendid and fair,
Proclaim at each stroke (what our flapping men sing)
His title of Honour, 'The Dread Mountain King.'"

Who can forget Père Huc's inimitable picture of the hairy Yaks of their caravan,

after passing a river in the depth of winter, "walking with their legs wide apart, and bearing an enormous load of stalactites, which hung beneath their bellies quite to the ground. The monstrous beasts looked exactly as if they were preserved in sugar-candy." Or that other, even more striking, of a great troop of wild Yaks, caught in the upper waters of the Kin-sha Kiang, as they swam, in the moment of congelation, and thus preserved throughout the winter, gigantic "flies in amber."

(*N. et E.* XIV. 478; *J. As.* IX. 199; *J. A. S. B.* IX. 566, XXIV. 235; *Shaw*, p. 91; *Ladak*, p. 210; *Geog. Magazine*, April, 1874; *Hoffmeister's Travels*, p. 441; *Rubr.* 288; *Æt. de Nat. An.* XV. 14; *J. A. S. B.* I. 342; *Mrs. Sinnett's Huc*, pp. 228, 235.)

NOTE 4.—Ramusio adds that the hunters seek the animal at New Moon, at which time the musk is secreted.

The description is good except as to the *four* tusks, for the musk deer has canine teeth only in the upper jaw, slender and prominent as he describes them. The flesh of the animal is eaten by the Chinese, and in Siberia by both Tartars and Russians, but that of the males has a strong musk flavour.

The "immense number" of these animals that existed in the Himalayan countries may be conceived from Tavernier's statement, that on one visit to Patna, then the great Indian mart for this article, he purchased 7673 pods of musk. These presumably came by way of Nepal; but musk pods of the highest class were also imported from Khotan *viâ* Yarkand and Leh, and the lowest price such a pod fetched at Yarkand was 250 tankas, or upwards of 4*l.* This import has long been extinct, and indeed the trade in the article, except towards China, has altogether greatly declined, probably (says Mr. Hodgson) because its repute as a medicine is becoming fast exploded. In Sicily it is still so used, but apparently only as a sort of decent medical *viaticum*, for when it is said "the Doctors have given him musk," it is as much as to say that they have given up the patient.

[Here Marco Polo speaks of musk; musk and rhubarb (which he mentions before, *Sukhur*, ch. xliii.) are the most renowned and valuable of the products of the province of Kansu, which comparatively produces very little; the industry in both these articles is at present in the hands of the Tanguts of that province [*Su chow chi*].] (*Palladius*, p. 18.)

Writing under date 15th February, 1892, from Lusar (coming from Sining), Mr. Rockhill says: "The musk trade here is increasing, Cantonese and Sü-ch'uanese traders now come here to buy it, paying for good musk four times its weight in silver (*ssi huan*, as they say). The best test of its purity is an examination of the colour. The Tibetans adulterate it by mixing tsamba and blood with it. The best time to buy it is from the seventh to the ninth moon (latter part of August to middle of November)." Mr. Rockhill adds in a note: "Mongols call musk *owo*; Tibetans call it *latsé*. The best musk they say is 'white musk,' *tsahan owo* in Mongol, in Tibetan *latsé karmo*. I do not know whether white refers to the colour of the musk itself or to that of the hair on the skin covering the musk pouch." (*Diary of a Journey*, p. 71.)—H. C.]

Three species of the *Moschus* are found in the Mountains of Tibet, and *M. Chrysogaster*, which Mr. Hodgson calls "the loveliest," and which chiefly supplies the highly-prized pod called *Kâghazi*, or "Thin-as-paper," is almost exclusively confined to the Chinese frontier. Like the Yak, the *Moschus* is mentioned by Cosmas (*circa* A.D. 545), and musk appears in a Greek prescription by Aëtius of Amida, a physician practising at Constantinople about the same date.

(*Martini*, p. 39; *Tav.*, *Des Indes*, Bk. II. ch. xxiv.; *J. A. S. B.* XI. 285; *Davies's Rep.* App. p. ccxxxvii.; *Dr. Flückiger in Schweiz. Wochenschr. für Pharmacie*, 1867; *Heyd, Commerce du Levant*, II. 636-640.)

NOTE 5.—The China pheasant answering best to the indications in the text,

appears to be *Reeves's Pheasant*. Mr. Gould has identified this bird with Marco's in his



Reeves's Pheasant.

magnificent *Birds of Asia*, and has been kind enough to show me a specimen which, with the body, measured 6 feet 8 inches. The tail feathers alone, however, are said to reach to 6 and 7 feet, so that Marco's ten palms was scarcely an exaggeration. These tail-feathers are often seen on the Chinese stage in the cap of the hero of the drama, and also decorate the hats of certain civil functionaries.

Size is the point in which the bird fails to meet Marco's description. In that respect the latter would rather apply to the *Crossoptilon auritum*, which is nearly as big as a turkey, or to the glorious *Mindál* (*Lophophorus impeyanus*), but then that has no length of tail. The latter seems to be the bird described by Ælian: "Magnificent cocks which have the crest variegated and ornate like a crown of flowers, and the tail feathers not curved like a cock's, but broad and carried in a train like a peacock's; the feathers are partly golden, and partly azure or emerald-coloured." (*Wood's Birds*, 610, from which I have copied the illustration; *Williams, M. K. I.* 261; *Æl. De Nat. An.* XVI. 2.) A species of *Crossoptilon* has recently been found by Captain Prjevalsky in Alashan, the Egrigaia (as I believe) of next chapter, and one also by Abbé Armand David at the Koko Nor.

[See on the Phasianidæ family in Central and Western Asia, *David et Oustalet, Oiseaux de la Chine*, 401-421; the *Phasianus Reevesii* or *veneratus* is called by the Chinese of Tung-lin, near Peking, *Djeu-ky* (hen-arrow); the *Crossoptilon auritum* is named *Ma-ky*.—H. C.]

CHAPTER LVIII.

OF THE KINGDOM OF EGRIGAIA.

STARTING again from Erguiul you ride eastward for eight days, and then come to a province called EGRIGAIA, containing numerous cities and villages, and belonging to Tangut.¹ The capital city is called CALACHAN.² The people are chiefly Idolaters, but there are fine churches belonging to the Nestorian Christians. They are all subjects of the Great Kaan. They make in this city great quantities of camlets of camel's wool; the finest in the world; and some of the camlets that they make are white, for they have white camels, and these are the best of all. Merchants purchase these stuffs here, and carry them over the world for sale.³

We shall now proceed eastward from this place and enter the territory that was formerly Prester John's.

NOTE 1.—Chinghiz invaded Tangut in all five times, viz. in 1205, 1207, 1209 (or according to Erdmann, 1210-1211), 1218, and 1226-1227, on which last expedition he died.

A. In the third invasion, according to D'Ohsson's Chinese guide (Father Hyacinth), he took the town of *Uiraca*, and the fortress of Imen, and laid siege to the capital, then called Chung-sing or Chung-hing, now Ning-hsia.

Rashid, in a short notice of this campaign, calls the first city *Erica*, *Erlaca*, or, as Erdmann has it, *Artacki*. In De Mailla it is *Ulahai*.

B. On the last invasion (1226), D'Ohsson's Chinese authority says that Chinghiz took Kanchau and Suhchau, Cholo and Khola in the province of Liangcheu, and then proceeded to the Yellow River, and invested Lingchau, south of Ning-hsia.

Erdmann, following his reading of Rashiduddin, says Chinghiz took the cities of Tangut, called *Arucki*, *Kachu*, *Sichu*, and *Kamichu*, and besieged Deresgai (D'Ohsson, *Dersekai*), whilst Shidergu, the King of Tangut, betook himself to his capital *Artackin*.

D'Ohsson, also professing to follow Rashid, calls this "his capital *Irghai*, which the Mongols call *Ircaya*." Klaproth, illustrating Polo, reads "Eyircai, which the Mongols call *Eyircayá*."

Pétis de la Croix, relating the same campaign and professing to follow Fadlallah, *i.e.* Rashiduddin, says the king "retired to his fortress of *Arbaca*."

C. Sanang Setzen several times mentions a city called *Irghai*, apparently in Tangut; but all we can gather as to his position is that it seems to have lain east of Kanchau.

We perceive that the *Arbaca* of P. de la Croix, the *Eyircai* of Klaproth, the *Uiraca* of D'Ohsson, the *Artacki* or *Artackin* of Erdmann, are all various readings or forms of the same name, and are the same with the Chinese form *Ulahai* of De Mailla, and most probably the place is the *Egrigaia* of Polo.

We see also that Erdmann mentions another place *Aruki* (اروقى) in connection with Kanchau and Suhchan. This is, I suspect, the *Erguiul* of Polo, and perhaps the Irghai of Sanang Setzen.

Rashiduddin seems wrong in calling Ircayá the capital of the king, a circumstance which leads Klaproth to identify it with Ning-hsia. Pauthier, identifying Ulahai with Egrigaya, shows that the former was one of the circles of Tangut, but *not* that of Ning-hsia. Its position, he says, is uncertain. Klaproth, however, inserts it in his map of Asia, in the era of Kúblái (*Tabl. Hist.* pl. 22), as *Ulakhai* to the north of Ning-hsia, near the great bend eastward of the Hwang-Ho. Though it may have extended in this direction, it is probable, from the name referred to in next note, that Egrigaia or Ulahai is represented by the modern-principality of ALASHAN, visited by Prjevalsky in 1871 and 1872.

[New travels and researches enable me to say that there can be no doubt that *Egrigaia* = *Ning-hsia*. Palladius (*l.c.* 18) says: "*Egrigaia* is *Erigaia* of the Mongol text. Klaproth was correct in his supposition that it is modern Ning-h'ia. Even now the Eleuths of Alashan call Ning-h'ia, *Yargai*. In M. Polo's time this department was famous for the cultivation of the Safflower (*carthamus tinctorius*). [*Siu l'ung kien*, A.D. 1292.]" Mr. Rockhill (cf. his *Diary of a Journey*) writes to me that Ning-hsia is still called *Irge Khotun* by Mongols at the present day. M. Bonin (*J. As.*, 1900, I. 585) mentions the same fact.

Palladius (19) adds: "*Erigaia* is not to be confounded with *Urahai*, often mentioned in the history of Chingis Khan's wars with the Tangut kingdom. *Urahai* was a fortress in a pass of the same name in the Alashan Mountains. Chingis Khan spent five months there (an. 1208), during which he invaded and plundered the country in the neighbourhood. [*Si hia shu shi*.] The Alashan Mountains form a semicircle 500 *li* in extent, and have over forty narrow passes leading to the department of Ning-hia; the broadest and most practicable of these is now called Ch'i-mu-K'ow; it is not more than 80 feet broad. [*Ning hia fu chi*.] It may be that the *Urahai* fortress existed near this pass."

"From Liang-chow fu, M. Polo follows a special route, leaving the modern postal route on his right; the road he took has, since the time of the Emperor K'ang-hi, been called the courier's route." (*Palladius*, 18.)—II. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Calachan*, the chief town of Egrigaia, is mentioned, according to Klaproth, by Rashiduddin, among the cities of Tangut, as KALAJÁN. The name and approximate position suggest, as just noticed, identity with Alashan, the modern capital of which, called by Prjevalsky Dyn-yuan-yin, stands some distance west of the Hwang-Ho, in about lat. 39°. Polo gives no data for the interval between this and his next stage.

[The *Dyn-yuan-yin* of Prjevalsky is the camp of *Ting-yuan-yng* or Fu-ma-fu of M. Bonin, the residence of the Si-wang (western prince), of Alashan, an abbreviation of Alade-shan (*shan*, mountain in Chinese), Alade = Eleuth or CELÖT; the sister of this prince married a son of Prince Tuan, the chief of the *Boxers*. (*La Géographie*, 1901, I. 118.) Palladius (*l.c.* 19) says: "Under the name of *Calachan*, Polo probably means the summer residence of the Tangut kings, which was 60 *li* from Ning-hia, at the foot of the Alashan Mountains. It was built by the famous Tangut king Yuen-hao, on a large scale, in the shape of a castle, in which were high terraces and magnificent buildings. Traces of these buildings are visible to this day. There are often found coloured tiles and iron nails 1 foot, and even 2 feet long. The last Tangut kings made this place their permanent residence, and led there an indolent and sensual life. The Chinese name of this residence was Ho-lan shan *Li-Kung*,

There is sufficient reason to suppose that this very residence is named (under the year 1226) in the Mongol text *Alashai nuntuh*; and in the chronicles of the Tangut Kingdom, *Halachachar*, otherwise *Halachar*, apparently in the Tangut language. Thus M. Polo's Calachan can be identified with the Halachar of the *Si hia shu shi*, and can be taken to designate the Alashan residence of the Tangut kings."—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—Among the Buraets and Chinese at Kiakhta snow-white camels, without albino character, are often seen, and probably in other parts of Mongolia. (See *Erdmann*, II. 261.) Philostratus tells us that the King of Taxila furnished white camels to Apollonius. I doubt if the present King of Taxila, whom Anglo-Indians call the Commissioner of Ráwal Pindi, could do the like.

Canmellotti appear to have been fine woollen textures, by no means what are now called camlets, nor were they necessarily of camel's wool, for those of Angora goat's wool were much valued. M. Douet d'Arcq calls it "a fine stuff of wool approaching to our Cashmere, and sometimes of silk." Indeed, as Mr. Marsh points out, the word is Arabic, and has nothing to do with *Camel* in its origin; though it evidently came to be associated therewith. *Khamlat* is defined in F. Johnson's Dict.: "Camelot, silk and camel's hair; also all silk or velvet, especially pily and plushy," and *Khaml* is "pile or plush." *Camelin* was a different and inferior material. There was till recently a considerable import of different kinds of woollen goods from this part of China into Ladakh, Kashmir, and the northern Panjáb. [Leaving Ning-hsia, Mr. Rockhill writes (*Diary*, 1892, 44): "We passed on the road a cart with Jardine and Matheson's flag, coming probably from Chung-Wei Hsien, where camel's wool is sold in considerable quantities to foreigners. This trade has fallen off very much in the last three or four years on account of the Chinese middlemen rolling the wool in the dirt so as to add to its weight, and practising other tricks on buyers."—H. C.] Among the names of these were *Sling*, *Shirum*, *Gurum*, and *Khosa*, said to be the names of the towns in China where the goods were made. We have supposed *Sling* to be Sining (note 2, ch. lvii.), but I can make nothing of the others. Cunningham also mentions "camlets of camel's hair," under the name of *Suklát*, among imports from the same quarter. The term *Suklát* is, however, applied in the Panjáb trade returns to *broadcloth*. Does not this point to the real nature of the *siclatoun* of the Middle Ages? It is, indeed, often spoken of as used for banners, which implies that it was not a *heavy* woollen:

"There was mony gonfanoun
Of gold, sendel, and siclatoun."

(*King Alisaundre*, in Weber, I. 85.)

But it was also a material for ladies' robes, for quilts, leggings, housings, pavilions. Franc. Michel does not decide what it was, only that it was generally *red* and wrought with gold. Dozy renders it "silk stuff brocaded with gold"; but this seems conjectural. Dr. Rock says it was a thin glossy silken stuff, often with a woof of gold thread, and seems to derive it from the Arabic *saql*, "polishing" (a sword), which is improbable. Perhaps the name is connected with *Şikiliyat*, "Sicily."

(*Marsh on Wedgwood*, and on Webster in *N. Y. Nation*, 1867; Douet D'Arcq, p. 355; *Punjab Trade Rep.*, App. ccxix.-xx.; *Ladak*, 242; *Fr.-Michel Rech.* I. 221 seqq.; Dozy, *Dict. des Vêtements*, etc.; *Dr. Rock's Kens. Catal.* xxxix.-xl.)

CHAPTER LIX.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TENDUC, AND THE DESCENDANTS
OF PRESTER JOHN.

TENDUC is a province which lies towards the east, and contains numerous towns and villages; among which is the chief city, also called TENDUC. The king of the province is of the lineage of Prester John, George by name, and he holds the land under the Great Kaan; not that he holds anything like the whole of what Prester John possessed.¹ It is a custom, I may tell you, that these kings of the lineage of Prester John always obtain to wife either daughters of the Great Kaan or other princesses of his family.²

In this province is found the stone from which Azure is made. It is obtained from a kind of vein in the earth, and is of very fine quality.³ There is also a great manufacture of fine camlets of different colours from camel's hair. The people get their living by their cattle and tillage, as well as by trade and handicraft.

The rule of the province is in the hands of the Christians, as I have told you; but there are also plenty of Idolaters and worshippers of Mahomet. And there is also here a class of people called *Argons*, which is as much as to say in French *Guasmul*, or, in other words, sprung from two different races: to wit, of the race of the Idolaters of Tenduc and of that of the worshippers of Mahomet. They are handsomer men than the other natives of the country, and having more ability, they come to have authority; and they are also capital merchants.⁴

You must know that it was in this same capital city

of Tenduc that Prester John had the seat of his government when he ruled over the Tartars, and his heirs still abide there; for, as I have told you, this King George is of his line, in fact, he is the sixth in descent from Prester John.

Here also is what *we* call the country of GOG and MAGOG; *they*, however, call it UNG and MUNGUL, after the names of two races of people that existed in that Province before the migration of the Tartars. *Ung* was the title of the people of the country, and *Mungul* a name sometimes applied to the Tartars.⁵

And when you have ridden seven days eastward through this province you get near the provinces of Cathay. You find throughout those seven days' journey plenty of towns and villages, the inhabitants of which are Mahommetans, but with a mixture also of Idolaters and Nestorian Christians. They get their living by trade and manufactures; weaving those fine cloths of gold which are called *Nasich* and *Naques*, besides silk stuffs of many other kinds. For just as we have cloths of wool in our country, manufactured in a great variety of kinds, so in those regions they have stuffs of silk and gold in like variety.⁶

All this region is subject to the Great Kaan. There is a city you come to called SINDACHU, where they carry on a great many crafts such as provide for the equipment of the Emperor's troops. In a mountain of the province there is a very good silver mine, from which much silver is got: the place is called YDIFU. The country is well stocked with game, both beast and bird.⁷

Now we will quit that province and go three days' journey forward.

NOTE 1.—Marco's own errors led commentators much astray about Tanduc or Tenduc, till Klaproth put the matter in its true light.

Our traveller says that Tenduc had been the seat of Aung Khan's sovereignty; he has already said that it had been the scene of his final defeat, and he tells us that it was still the residence of his descendants in their reduced state. To the last piece of information he can speak as a witness, and he is corroborated by other evidence; but the second statement we have seen to be almost certainly erroneous; about the first we cannot speak positively.

Klaproth pointed out the true position of Tenduc in the vicinity of the great northern bend of the Hwang-Ho, quoting Chinese authorities to show that *Thianté* or *Thianté-Kiun* was the name of a district or group of towns to the north of that bend, a name which he supposes to be the original of Polo's *Tenduc*. The general position entirely agrees with Marco's indications; it lies on his way eastward from Tangut towards Chagannor, and Shangtu (see ch. lx., lxi.), whilst in a later passage (Bk. II. ch. lxiv.), he speaks of the Caramoran or Hwang-Ho in its lower course, as "coming from the lands of Prester John."

M. Pauthier finds severe fault with Klaproth's identification of the *name* Tenduc with the *Thianté* of the Chinese, belonging to a city which had been destroyed 300 years before, whilst he himself will have that name to be a corruption of *Tathung*. The latter is still the name of a city and Fu of northern Shansi, but in Mongol time its circle of administration extended beyond the Chinese wall, and embraced territory on the left of the Hwang-Ho, being in fact the first *Lu*, or circle, entered on leaving Tangut, and therefore, Pauthier urges, the "Kingdom of Tanduc" of our text.

I find it hard to believe that Marco could get no nearer TATHUNG than in the form of *Tanduc* or *Tenduc*. The origin of the last may have been some Mongol name, not recovered. But it is at least conceivable that a name based on the old *Thianté-Kiun* might have been retained among the Tartars, from whom, and not from the Chinese, Polo took his nomenclature. *Thianté* had been, according to Pauthier's own quotations, the *military post of Tathung*; Klaproth cites a Chinese author of the Mongol era, who describes the Hwang-Ho as passing through *the territory of the ancient Chinese city of Thianté*; and Pauthier's own quotation from the Modern Imperial Geography seems to imply that a place in that territory was recently known as *Fung-chau-Thianté-Kiun*.

In the absence of preciser indications, it is reasonable to suppose that the Plain of Tenduc, with its numerous towns and villages, was the extensive and well-cultivated plain which stretches from the Hwang-Ho, past the city of Kuku-Khotan, or "Blue Town." This tract abounds in the remains of cities attributed to the Mongol era. And it is not improbable that the city of Tenduc was Kuku-Khotan itself, now called by the Chinese Kwei-hwa Ch'eng, but which was known to them in the Middle Ages as *Tsing-chau*, and to which we find the Kin Emperor of Northern China sending an envoy in 1210 to demand tribute from Chinghiz. The city is still an important mart and a centre of Lamaitic Buddhism, being the residence of a *Khutukhtu*, or personage combining the characters of cardinal and voluntarily re-incarnate saint, as well as the site of five great convents and fifteen smaller ones. Gerbillon notes that Kuku Khotan had been a place of great trade and population during the Mongol Dynasty.

[The following evidence shows, I think, that we must look for the city of Tenduc to *Tou Ch'eng* or *Toto Ch'eng*, called *Togto* or *Tokto* by the Mongols. Mr. Rockhill (*Diary*, 18) passed through this place, and 5 *li*'s south of it, reached on the Yellow River, Ho-k'ou (in Chinese) or Dugus or Dugei (in Mongol). Gerbillon speaks of *Toto* in his sixth voyage in Tartary. (*Du Halde*, IV. 345.) Mr. Rockhill adds that he cannot but think that Yule overlooked the existence of *Togto* when he identified Kwei-hwa Ch'eng with Tenduc. *Tou Ch'eng* is two days' march west of Kwei-hwa Ch'eng. "On the loess hill behind this place are the ruins of a large camp, *Orch'eng*, in all likelihood the site of the old town" (*l.c.* 18). M. Bonin (*J. As.* XV. 1900, 589) shares Mr. Rockhill's opinion. From Kwei-hwa Ch'eng, M. Bonin went by the valley of the Hei Shui River to the Hwang Ho; at the junction of the two rivers stands the village of Ho-k'au (Ho-k'ou), south of the small town *To Ch'eng*, sur-

mounted by the ruins of the old square Mongol stronghold of Tokto, the walls of which are still in a good state of preservation.—(*La Géographie*, I. 1901, p. 116.)

On the other hand, it is but fair to state that Palladius (21) says: "The name of Tenduc obviously corresponds to T'ien-te Kiun, a military post, the position of which Chinese geographers identify correctly with that of the modern Kuku-hoton (*Ta tsing y t'ung chi*, ch. on the Tumots of Kuku-hoton). The T'ien-te Kiun post existed under this name during the K'itan (Liao) and Kin Dynasties up to Khubilai's time (1267); when under the name of Fung-chow it was left only a district town in the department of Ta-t'ung fu. The Kin kept in T'ien-te Kiun a military chief, *Chao-l'ao-shi*, whose duty it was to keep an eye on the neighbouring tribes, and to use, if needed, military force against them. The T'ien-te Kiun district was hardly greater in extent than the modern aimak of Tumot, into which Kuku-hoton was included since the 16th century, *i.e.* 370 *li* from north to south, and 400 *li* from east to west; during the Kin it had a settled population, numbering 22,600 families."

In a footnote, Palladius refers to the geographical parts of the *Liao shi*, *Kin shi*, and *Yuen shi*, and adds: "M. Polo's commentators are wrong in suspecting an anachronism in his statement, or trying to find Tenduc elsewhere."

We find in the *North-China Herald* (29th April, 1887, p. 474) the following note from the *Chinese Times*: "There are records that the position of this city [Kwei-hwa Ch'eng] was known to the builder of the Great Wall. From very remote times, it appears to have been a settlement of nomadic tribes. During the last 1000 years it has been alternately possessed by the Mongols and Chinese. About A.D. 1573, Emperor Wan-Li reclaimed it, enclosed a space within walls, and called it Kwei-hwa Ch'eng."

Potanin left Peking on the 13th May, 1884, for Kuku-khoto (or Kwei-hwa-Ch'eng), passing over the triple chain of mountains dividing the Plain of Peking from that on which Kuku-khoto is situate. The southernmost of these three ridges bears the Chinese name of Wu-tai-shan, "the mountain of five sacrificial altars," after the group of five peaks, the highest of which is 10,000 feet above the sea, a height not exceeded by any mountain in Northern China. At its southern foot lies a valley remarkable for its Buddhist monasteries and shrines, one of which, "Shing-tung-tze," is entirely made of brass, whence its name.

"Kuku-Khoto is the depôt for the Mongolian trade with China. It contains two hundred tea-shops, five theatres, fifteen temples, and six Mongol monasteries. Among its sights are the Buddhist convent of Utassa, with its five pinnacles and bas-reliefs, the convent of Fing-sung-si, and a temple containing a statue erected in honour of the Chinese general, Pai-jin-jung, who avenged an insult offered to the Emperor of China." (*Proc. R. G. S. IX. 1887, p. 233.*)—H. C.]

A passage in Rashiduddin does seem to intimate that the Kerait, the tribe of Aung Khan, *alias* Prester John, did occupy territory close to the borders of Cathay or Northern China; but neither from Chinese nor from other Oriental sources has any illustration yet been produced of the existence of Aung Khan's descendants as rulers in this territory under the Mongol emperors. There is, however, very positive evidence to that effect supplied by other European travellers, to whom the fables prevalent in the West had made the supposed traces of Prester John a subject of strong interest.

Thus John of Monte Corvino, afterwards Archbishop of Cambaluc or Peking, in his letter of January, 1305, from that city, speaks of Polo's King George in these terms: "A certain king of this part of the world, by name George, belonging to the sect of the Nestorian Christians, and of the illustrious lineage of that great king who was called Prester John of India, in the first year of my arrival here [*circa* 1295-1296] attached himself to me, and, after he had been converted by me to the verity of the Catholic faith, took the Lesser Orders, and when I celebrated mass used to attend me wearing his royal robes. Certain others of the Nestorians on this account accused him of apostacy, but he brought over a great part of his people with him to the true Catholic faith, and built a church of royal magnificence in honour of our God, of the

Holy Trinity, and of our Lord, the Pope, giving it the name of *the Roman Church*. This King George, six years ago, departed to the Lord, a true Christian, leaving as his heir a son scarcely out of the cradle, and who is now nine years old. And after King George's death, his brothers, perfidious followers of the errors of Nestorius, perverted again all those whom he had brought over to the Church, and carried them back to their original schismatical creed. And being all alone, and not able to leave His Majesty the Cham, I could not go to visit the church above-mentioned, which is twenty days' journey distant. . . . I had been in treaty with the late King George, if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin ritual, that it might be sung throughout the extent of his territory; and whilst he was alive I used to celebrate mass in his church according to the Latin rite." The distance mentioned, twenty days' journey from Peking, suits quite well with the position assigned to Tenduc, and no doubt the Roman Church was in the city to which Polo gives that name.

Friar Odoric, travelling from Peking towards Shensi, about 1326-1327, also visits the country of Prester John, and gives to its chief city the name of *Tozan*, in which perhaps we may trace *Tathung*. He speaks as if the family still existed in authority.

King George appears again in Marco's own book (Bk. IV. ch. ii.) as one of Kúblái's generals against Kaidu, in a battle fought near Karakorúm. (*Journ. As. IX. 299 seqq.*; *D'Ohsson, I. 123*; *Huc's Tartary, etc. I. 55 seqq.*; *Koeppen, II. 381*; *Erdmann's Temudschin*; *Gerbillon in Astley, IV. 670*; *Cathay, pp. 146 and 199 seqq.*)

NOTE 2.—Such a compact is related to have existed reciprocally between the family of Chinghiz and that of the chief of the Kunguráts; but I have not found it alleged of the Kerait family except by Friar Odoric. We find, however, many *princesses* of this family married into that of Chinghiz. Thus three nieces of Aung Khan became wives respectively of Chinghiz himself and of his sons Juji and Tului; she who was the wife of the latter, Serkukteni Bigi, being the mother of Mangú, Hulaku, and Kúblái. Duğuz Khatun, the Christian wife of Hulaku, was a granddaughter of Aung Khan.

The name *George*, of Prester John's representative, may have been actually Jirjis, Yurji, or some such Oriental form of Georgius. But it is possible that the title was really *Gurgán*, "Son-in-Law," a title of honour conferred on those who married into the imperial blood, and that this title may have led to the statements of Marco and Odoric about the nuptial privileges of the family. *Gurgán* in this sense was one of the titles borne by Timur.*

[The following note by the Archimandrite Palladius (*Eluc. 21-23*) throws a great light on the relations between the families of Chinghiz Khan and of Prester John.

"T'ien-te Kiun was bounded on the north by the *Yn-shan* Mountains, in and beyond which was settled the Sha-t'o Tu-K'iu tribe, *i.e.* Tu-K'iu of the sandy desert. The K'itans, when they conquered the northern borders of China, brought also under their rule the dispersed family of these Tu-K'iu. With the accession of the Kin, a Wang Ku [Ongot] family made its appearance as the ruling family of those

* Mr. Ney Elias favours me with a curious but tantalising communication on this subject: "An old man called on me at Kwei-hwa Ch'eng (Tenduc), who said he was neither Chinaman, Mongol, nor Mahomedan, and lived on ground a short distance to the north of the city, especially allotted to his ancestors by the Emperor, and where there now exist several families of the same origin. He then mentioned the connection of his family with that of the Emperor, but in what way I am not clear, and said that he ought to be, or had been, a prince. Other people coming in, he was interrupted and went away. . . . He was not with me more than ten minutes, and the incident is a specimen of the difficulty in obtaining interesting information, except by mere chance. . . . The idea that struck me was, that he was perhaps a descendant of King George of Tenduc; for I had your M. P. before me, and had been inquiring as much as I dared about subjects it suggested. . . . At Kwei-hwa Ch'eng I was very closely spied, and my servant was frequently told to warn me against asking too many questions."

I should mention that Oppert, in his very interesting monograph, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, refuses to recognise the Kerait chief at all in that character, and supposes Polo's King George to be the representative of a prince of the Liao (*supra*, p. 205), who, as we learn from De Mailla's History, after the defeat of the Kin, in which he had assisted Chinghiz, settled in Liaotung, and received from the conqueror the title of King of the Liao. This seems to me geographically and otherwise quite inadmissible.

tribes ; it issued from those Sha-t'ò Tu-K'iu, who once reigned in the north of China as the How T'ang Dynasty (923-936 A.D.). It split into two branches, the Wang-Ku of the Yn-shan, and the Wang-Ku of the Lin-t'ao (west of Kan-su). The Kin removed the latter branch to Liao-tung (in Manchuria). The Yn-shan Wang-Ku guarded the northern borders of China belonging to the Kin, and watched their herds. When the Kin, as a protection against the inroads of the tribes of the desert, erected a rampart, or new wall, from the boundary of the Tángut Kingdom down to Manchuria, they intrusted the defence of the principal places of the Yn-shan portion of the wall to the Wang-Ku, and transferred there also the Liao-tung Wang-Ku. At the time Chingiz Khan became powerful, the chief of the Wang-Ku of the Yn-shan was Alahush ; and at the head of the Liao-tung Wang-Ku stood *Pa-sao-ma-ie-li*. Alahush proved a traitor to the Kin, and passed over to Chingiz Khan ; for this he was murdered by the malcontents of his family, perhaps by *Pa-sao-ma-ie-li*, who remained true to the Kin. Later on, Chingiz Khan married one of his daughters to the son of Alahush, by name Po-yao-ho, who, however, had no children by her. He had three sons by a concubine, the eldest of whom, Kiun-pu-hwa, was married to Kuyuk Khan's daughter. Kiun-pu-hwa's son, Ko-li-ki-sze, had two wives, both of imperial blood. During a campaign against Haidu, he was made prisoner in 1298, and murdered. His title and dignities passed over in A.D. 1310 to his son *Chuan*. Nothing is known of Alahush's later descendants ; they probably became entirely Chinese, like their relatives of the Liao-tung branch.

"The Wang-Ku princes were thus *de jure* the sons-in-law of the Mongol Khans, and they had, moreover, the hereditary title of Kao-t'ang princes (Kao-t'ang wang) ; it is very possible that they had their residence in ancient T'ien-te Kiun (although no mention is made of it in history), just as at present the Tumot princes reside in Kuku-hoton.

"The consonance of the names of Wang-Khan and Wang-Ku (Ung-Khan and Ongu) led to the confusion regarding the tribes and persons, which at Marco Polo's time seems to have been general among the Europeans in China ; Marco Polo and Johannes de Monte Corvino transfer the title of Prester John from Wang-Khan, already perished at that time, to the distinguished family of Wang-Ku. Their Georgius is undoubtedly Ko-li-ki-sze, Alahush's great-grandson. That his name is a Christian one is confirmed by other testimonies ; thus in the Asu (Azus) regiment of the Khan's guards was Ko-li-ki-sze, *aliàs* Kow-r-ki (†11311), and his son Ti-mi-t'í-r. There is no doubt that one of them was Georgius, and the other Demetrius. Further, in the description of *Chin-Kiang* in the time of the Yuen, mention is made of Ko-li-ki-sze Ye-li-ko-wen, *i.e.* Ko-li-ki-sze, the Christian, and of his son Lu-ho (Luke).

"Ko-li-ki-sze of Wang-ku is much praised in history for his valour and his love for Confucian doctrine ; he had in consequence of a special favour of the Khan two Mongol princesses for wives at the same time (which is rather difficult to conciliate with his being a Christian). The time of his death is correctly indicated in a letter of Joannes de M. Corvino of the year 1305 : *ante sex annos migravit ad Dominum*. He left a young son *Chu-an*, who probably is the Joannes of the letter of Ioannes (Giovani) de M. Corvino, so called *propter nomen meum*, says the missionary. In another Wang-ku branch, Si-li-ki-sze reminds one also of the Christian name *Sergius*."—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—"The *Lapis Armenus*, or Azure, . . . is produced in the district of Tayton-fu (*i.e.* *Tahmg*), belonging to Stansi." (*Du Halde in Astley*, IV. 309 ; see also *Martini*, p. 36.)

NOTE 4.—This is a highly interesting passage, but difficult, from being corrupt in the G. Text, and over-curt in Pauthier's MSS. In the former it runs as follows : "*Ilil hi a une jenerasion de jens que sunt appellés Argon, qe vant à dire en françois Guasmul, ce est à dire qu'il sunt né del deus generacions de la leignée des celz Argon Tenduc et des celz reduc et des celz que aorent Maomet. Il sunt biaux homes plus*

que le autre dou païs et plus sajes et plus mercaant." Pauthier's text runs thus: "Il ont une generation de gens, ces Crestiens qui ont la Seigneurie, qui s'appellent Argon, qui vaut a dire Gasmul; et sont plus beaux hommes que les autres mescreans et plus sages. Et pour ce ont il la seigneurie et sont bons marchans." And Ramusio: "Vi è anche una sorte di gente che si chiamano Argon, per che sono nati di due generazioni, cioè da quella di Tenduc che adorano gl' idoli, e da quella che osservano la legge di Macometto. E questi sono i piu belli uomini che si trovino in quel paese e più savi, e più accorti nella mercanzia."

In the first quotation the definition of the *Argon* as sprung *de la lengnée*, etc., is not intelligible as it stands, but seems to be a corruption of the same definition that has been rendered by Ramusio, viz. that the *Argon* were half-castes between the race of the *Tenduc* Buddhists and that of the *Mahomedan* settlers. These two texts do not assert that the *Argon* were Christians. Pauthier's text at first sight seems to assert this, and to identify them with the Christian rulers of the province. But I doubt if it means more than that the Christian rulers *have under them* a people called *Argon*, etc. The passage has been read with a bias, owing to an erroneous interpretation of the word *Argon* in the teeth of Polo's explanation of it.

Klaproth, I believe, first suggested that *Argon* represents the term *Arkhaiin*, which is found repeatedly applied to Oriental Christians, or their clergy, in the histories of the Mongol era.* No quite satisfactory explanation has been given of the origin of that term. It is barely possible that it may be connected with that which Polo uses here; but he tells us as plainly as possible that he means by the term, not a Christian, but a *half-breed*.

And in this sense the word is still extant in Tibet, probably also in Eastern Turkestan, precisely in Marco's form, ARGON. It is applied in Ladak, as General Cunningham tells us, specifically to the mixt race produced by the marriages of Kashmirian immigrants with Böt (Tibetan) women. And it was apparently to an analogous cross between Caucasians and Turanians that the term was applied in *Tenduc*. Moorcroft also speaks of this class in Ladak, calling them *Argands*. Mr. Shaw styles them "a set of ruffians called *Argoons*, half-bred between *Toorkistan* fathers and *Ladak* mothers. . . . They possess all the evil qualities of both races, without any of their virtues." And the author of the *Dabistan*, speaking of the Tibetan Lamas, says: "Their king, if his mother be not of royal blood, is by them called *Arghün*, and not considered their true king." [See p. 291, my reference to *Wellby's Tibet*.—H. C.] Cunningham says the word is probably Turki, ارغون, *Arghün*, "Fair," "not white," as he writes to me, "but ruddy or pink, and therefore 'fair.' *Arghün* is both Turki and Mogholi, and is applied to all fair children, both male and female, as *Arghun Beg*, *Arghuna Khatun*," etc.† We find an *Arghün* tribe named in *Timur's Institutes*, which probably derived its descent from such half-breeds. And though the *Arghün* Dynasty of *Kandahar* and *Sind* claimed their descent and name from *Arghün Khan* of *Persia*, this may have had no other foundation.

* The term *Arkaiun*, or *Arkaun*, in this sense, occurs in the Armenian History of Stephen Orpelian, quoted by St. Martin. The author of the *Tārikh Jahān Kushai*, cited by D'Ohsson, says that Christians were called by the Mongols *Arkūn*. When Hulaku invested Baghdad we are told that he sent a letter to the Judges, Shaikhs, Doctors and *Arkauns*, promising to spare such as should act peaceably. And in the subsequent sack we hear that no houses were spared except those of a few *Arkauns* and foreigners. In Rashiduddin's account of the Council of State at Peking, we are told that the four *Fanchan*, or Ministers of the Second Class, were taken from the four nations of *Tājiks*, *Cathayans*, *Uighūrs*, and *Arkaun*. *Sabadin Arkaun* was the name of one of the Envoys sent by *Arghun Khan* of *Persia* to the Pope in 1283. Traces of the name appear also in Chinese documents of the Mongol era, as denoting some religious body. Some of these have been quoted by Mr. Wylie; but I have seen no notice taken of a very curious extract given by Visdelou. This states that *Kūblai* in 1289 established a Board of nineteen chief officers to have surveillance of the affairs of the Religion of the Cross, of the *Marha*, the *Siliepan*, and the *Yelikhawen*. This Board was raised to a higher rank in 1315; and at that time 72 minor courts presiding over the religion of the *Yelikhawen* existed under its supervision. Here we evidently have the word *Arkhaiun* in a Chinese form; and we may hazard the suggestion that *Marha*, *Siliepan* and *Yelikhawen* meant respectively the Armenian, Syrian, or Jacobite, and Nestorian Churches. (*St. Martin, Mém. II. 133, 143, 279; D'Ohsson, II. 264; Ichān, I. 150, 152; Cathay, 264; Acad. VII. 359; Wylie in J. As. V. xix. 466. Suppt. to D'Herbelot, 142.*)

† The word is not in *Zenker* or *Pavet de Courteille*.

There are some curious analogies between these Argons of whom Marco speaks and those Mahomedans of Northern China and Chinese Turkestan lately revolted against Chinese authority, who are called *Tungani*, or as the Russians write it *Dungen*, a word signifying, according to Professor Vámbéry, in Turki, "a convert." * These Tungani are said by one account to trace their origin to a large body of Uighúrs, who were transferred to the vicinity of the Great Wall during the rule of the Thang Dynasty (7th to 10th century). Another tradition derives their origin from Samarkand. And it is remarkable that Rashiduddin speaks of a town to the west or north-west of Peking, "most of the inhabitants of which are natives of Samarkand, and have planted a number of gardens in the Samarkand style." † The former tradition goes on to say that marriages were encouraged between the Western settlers and the Chinese women. In after days these people followed the example of their kindred in becoming Mahomedans, but they still retained the practice of marrying Chinese wives, though bringing up their children in Islam. The Tungani are stated to be known in Central Asia for their commercial integrity; and they were generally selected by the Chinese for police functionaries. They are passionate and ready to use the knife; but are distinguished from both Manchus and Chinese by their strength of body and intelligent countenances. Their special feature is their predilection for mercantile speculations.

Looking to the many common features of the two accounts—the origin as a half-breed between Mahomedans of Western extraction and Northern Chinese, the position in the vicinity of the Great Wall, the superior physique, intelligence, and special capacity for trade, it seems highly probable that the Tungani of our day are the descendants of Marco's Argons. Otherwise we may at least point to these analogies as a notable instance of like results produced by like circumstances on the same scene; in fact, of history repeating itself. (See *The Dungen*, by Mr. H. K. Heins, in the *Russian Military Journal* for August, 1866, and *Western China*, in the *Ed. Review* for April, 1868; ‡ *Cathay*, p. 261.)

[Palladius (pp. 23-24) says that "it is impossible to admit that Polo had meant to designate by this name the Christians, who were called by the Mongols *Erkeun* [*Ye li ke un*]. He was well acquainted with the Christians in China, and of course could not ignore the name under which they were generally known to such a degree as to see in it a designation of a cross-race of Mahometans and heathens." From the *Yuen ch'ao pi shi* and the *Yuen shi*, Palladius gives some examples which refer to Mahomedans.

Professor Devéria (*Notes d'Épig.* 49) says that the word *Ἀρχων* was used by the Mongol Government as a designation for the members of the Christian clergy at large; the word is used between 1252 and 1315 to speak of *Christian* priests by the historians of the Yuen Dynasty; it is not used before nor is it to be found in the Singan-fu inscription (*l.c.* 82). Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, xxiv. p. 157) supplies a few omissions in Devéria's paper; we note among others: "Ninth moon of 1329. Buddhist services ordered to be held by the Uighúr priests, and by the Christians [*Ye li ke un*]."

Captain Wellby writes (*Unknown Tibet*, p. 32): "We impressed into our service six other muleteers, four of them being Argoons, who are really half-castes, arising

* Mr. Shaw writes *Toonganee*. The first mention of this name that I know of is in Izzat Ullah's Journal. (Vide *J. R. A. S.* VII. 310.) The people are there said to have got the name from having first settled in *Tungan*. *Tung-an* is in the same page the name given to the strong city of Tung Kwan on the Hwang-ho. (See Bk. II. ch. xli. note 1.) A variety of etymologies have been given, but Vámbéry's seems the most probable.

† Probably no man could now say what this means. But the following note from Mr. Ney Elias is very interesting in its suggestion of analogy: "In my report to the Geographical Society I have noticed the peculiar Western appearance of Kwei-hwa-ch'eng, and the little gardens of creepers and flowers in pots which are displayed round the porches in the court-yards of the better class of houses, and which I have seen in no other part of China. My attention was especially drawn to these by your quotation from Rashiduddin."

‡ A translation of *Heins'* was kindly lent me by the author of this article, the lamented Mr. J. W. S. Wyllie.

from the merchants of Turkestan making short marriages with the Ladakhi women.”—H. C.]

Our author gives the odd word *Guasmul* as the French equivalent of Argon. M. Pauthier has first, of Polo's editors, given the true explanation from Ducange. The word appears to have been in use in the Levant among the Franks as a name for the half-breeds sprung from their own unions with Greek women. It occurs three times in the history of George Pachymeres. Thus he says (*Mich. Pal.* III. 9), that the Emperor Michael “depended upon the *Gasmuls*, or mixt breeds (*συμμίκτροι*), which is the sense of this word of the Italian tongue, for these were born of Greeks and Italians, and sent them to man his ships; for the race in question inherited at once the military wariness and quick wit of the Greeks, and the dash and pertinacity of the Latins.” Again (IV. 26) he speaks of these “Gasmul, whom a Greek would call *διγενείς*, men sprung from Greek mothers and Italian fathers.” Nicephorus Gregoras also relates how Michael Palaeologus, to oppose the projects of Baldwin for the recovery of his fortunes, manned 60 galleys, chiefly with the tribe of Gasmuls (*γένος τοῦ Γασμουλικού*), to whom he assigns the same characteristics as Pachymeres. (IV. v. 5, also VI. iii. 3, and XIV. x. 11.) One MS. of Nicetas Choniates also, in his annals of Manuel Comnenus (see Paris ed. p. 425), speaks of “the light troops whom we call *Basmuls*.” Thus it would seem that, as in the analogous case of the *Turcopuli*, sprung from Turk fathers and Greek mothers, their name had come to be applied technically to a class of troops. According to Buchon, the laws of the Venetians in Candia mention, as different races in that island, the *Vasmulo*, Latino, Blaco, and Griego.

Ducange, in one of his notes on Joinville, says: “During the time that the French possessed Constantinople, they gave the name of *Gas-moules* to those who were born of French fathers and Greek mothers; or more probably *Gaste-moules*, by way of derision, as if such children by those irregular marriages . . . had in some sort debased the wombs of their mothers!” I have little doubt (*pace tanti viri*) that the word is in a Gallicized form the same with the surviving Italian *Guazzabuglio*, a hotch-potch, or mish-mash. In Davanzati's *Tacitus*, the words “*Colluivem illam nationum*” (*Annal.* II. 55) are rendered “*quello guazzabuglio di nazioni*,” in which case we come very close to the meaning assigned to *Guasmul*. The Italians are somewhat behind in matters of etymology, and I can get no light from them on the history of this word. (See *Buchon, Chroniques Etrangères*, p. xv.; *Ducange, Gloss. Graecitatis*, and his note on *Joinville*, in *Bohn's Chron. of the Crusades*, 466.)

NOTE 5.—It has often been cast in Marco's teeth that he makes no mention of the Great Wall of China, and that is true; whilst the apologies made for the omission have always seemed to me unsatisfactory. [I find in Sir G. Staunton's account of Macartney's Embassy (II. p. 185) this most amusing explanation of the reason why Marco Polo did not mention the wall: “A copy of Marco Polo's route to China, taken from the Doge's Library at Venice, is sufficient to decide this question. By this route it appears that, in fact, that traveller did not pass through Tartary to Pekin, but that after having followed the usual track of the caravans, as far to the eastward from Europe as Samarcand and Cashgar, he bent his course to the south-east across the River Ganges to Bengal (!), and, keeping to the southward of the Thibet mountains, reached the Chinese province of Shensee, and through the adjoining province of Shansee to the capital, without interfering with the line of the Great Wall.”—H. C.] We shall see presently that the Great Wall is spoken of by Marco's contemporaries Rashiduddin and Abulfeda. Yet I think, if we read “between the lines,” we shall see reason to believe that the Wall *was* in Polo's mind at this point of the dictation, whatever may have been his motive for withholding distinct notice of it.* I cannot conceive why he should say: “Here is what we call the country of Gog and Magog,” except as intimating “Here we are

* I owe the suggestion of this to a remark in *Oppert's Presbyter Johannes*, p. 77.



The Rampart of Gog and Magog.

beside the GREAT WALL known as the Rampart of Gog and Magog," and being there he tries to find a reason why those names should have been applied to it. Why they were really applied to it we have already seen. (*Supra*, ch. iv. note 3.) Abulfeda says: "The Ocean turns northward along the east of China, and then expands in the same direction till it passes China, and comes opposite to the Rampart of Yájúj and Májúj;" whilst the same geographer's definition of the boundaries of China exhibits that country as bounded on the west by the Indo-Chinese wildernesses; on the south, by the seas; on the east, by the Eastern Ocean; on the north, by the *land of Yájúj and Májúj*, and other countries unknown. Ibn Batuta, with less accurate geography in his head than Abulfeda, maugre his travels, asks about the Rampart of Gog and Magog (*Sadd Yájúj wa Majúj*) when he is at Sin Kalán, *i.e.* Canton, and, as might be expected, gets little satisfaction.

Apart from this interesting point Marsden seems to be right in the general bearing of his explanation of the passage, and I conceive that the two classes of people whom Marco tries to identify with Gog and Magog do substantially represent the two genera or species, TURKS and MONGOLS, or, according to another nomenclature used by Rashiduddin, the *White* and *Black* Tartars. To the latter class belonged Chinghiz and his MONGOLS proper, with a number of other tribes detailed by Rashiduddin, and these I take to be in a general way the MUNGUL of our text. The *Ung*, on the other hand, are the UNG-*kut*, the latter form being presumably only the Mongol plural of UNG. The Ung-*kut* were a Turk tribe who were vassals of the Kin Emperors of Cathay, and were intrusted with the defence of the Wall of China, or an important portion of it, which was called by the Mongols *Ungu*, a name which some connect with that of the tribe. [See note pp. 288-9.] Erdmann indeed asserts that the wall by which the Ung-*kut* dwelt was not the Great Wall, but some other. There are traces of other great ramparts in the steppes north of the present wall. But Erdmann's arguments seem to me weak in the extreme.

[Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 112) writes: "The earliest mention I have found of the name *Mongol* in Oriental works occurs in the Chinese annals of the After T'ang period (A.D. 923-934), where it occurs in the form *Meng-ku*. In the annals of the Liao Dynasty (A.D. 916-1125) it is found under the form *Meng-ku-li*. The first occurrence of the name in the *Tung chien kang nu* is, however, in the 6th year Shao-hsing of Kao-tsung of the Sung (A.D. 1136). It is just possible that we may trace the word back a little earlier than the After T'ang period, and that the *Meng-wa* (or *ngo*, as this character may have been pronounced at the time), a branch of the Shih-wei, a Tungusic or Kitan people living around Lake Keule, to the east of the Baikal, and along the Kerulun, which empties into it, during the 7th and subsequent centuries, and referred to in the *T'ang shu* (Bk. 219), is the same as the later *Meng-ku*. Though I have been unable to find, as stated by Howorth (*History*, i. pt. I. 28), that the name *Meng-ku* occurs in the T'ang shu, his conclusion that the northern Shih-wei of that time constituted the Mongol nation proper is very likely correct. . . . I. J. Schmidt (*Ssanang Setzen*, 380) derives the name *Mongol* from *mong*, meaning 'brave, daring, bold,' while Rashideddin says it means 'simple, weak' (*d'Ohsson*, i. 22). The Chinese characters used to transcribe the name mean 'dull, stupid,' and 'old, ancient,' but they are used purely phonetically. . . . The Mongols of the present day are commonly called by the Chinese *Ta-tzú*, but this name is resented by the Mongols as opprobrious, though it is but an abbreviated form of the name *Ta-ta-tzú*, in which, according to Rubruck, they once gloried."—H. C.]

Vincent of Beauvais has got from some of his authorities a conception of the distinction of the Tartars into two races, to which, however, he assigns no names: "*Sunt autem duo genera Tartarorum, diversa quidem habentia idiomata, sed unicum legem ac ritum, sicut Franci et Theutonici.*" But the result of his effort to find a realisation of Gog and Magog is that he makes *Guyuk Kaan* into Gog, and *Mangu Kaan* into Magog. Even the intelligent Friar Ricold says of the Tartars: "They say themselves that they are descended from Gog and Magog; and on this account they are called *Mogoli*, as if from a corruption of *Magogoli*." (*Abulfeda* in *Büsching*, IV.

140, 274-275; *I. B.* IV. 274; *Golden Horde*, 34, 68; *Erdmann*, 241-242, 257-258; *Timk.* I. 259, 263, 268; *Vinc. Bellou. Spec. Hist.* XXIX. 73, XXXI. 32-34; *Pereg. Quat.* 118; *Not. et Ext.* II. 536.)

NOTE 6.—The towns and villages were probably those immediately north of the Great Wall, between 112° and 115° East longitude, of which many remains exist, ascribed to the time of the Yuen or Mongol Dynasty. This tract, between the Great Wall and the volcanic plateau of Mongolia, is extensively colonised by Chinese, and has resumed the flourishing aspect that Polo describes. It is known now as the *Ku-wei*, or extramural region.

[After Kalgan, Captain Younghusband, on the 12th April, 1886, "passed through the [outer] Great Wall . . . entering what Marco Polo calls the land of Gog and Magog. For the next two days I passed through a hilly country inhabited by Chinese, though it really belongs to Mongolia; but on the 14th I emerged on to the real steppes, which are the characteristic features of Mongolia Proper." (*Proc. R. G. S. X.*, 1888, p. 490.)—H. C.]

Of the cloths called *nakh* and *nasij* we have spoken before (*supra* ch. vi. note 4). These stuffs, or some such as these, were, I believe, what the mediæval writers called *Tartary cloth*, not because they were made in Tartary, but because they were brought from China and its borders through the Tartar dominions; as we find that for like reason they were sometimes called stuffs of *Russia*. Dante alludes to the supposed skill of Turks and Tartars in weaving gorgeous stuffs, and Boccaccio, commenting thereon, says that Tartarian cloths are so skilfully woven that no painter with his brush could equal them. Maundevile often speaks of cloths of Tartary (*e.g.* pp. 175, 247). So also Chaucer :

" On every trumpe hanging a broad banere
Of fine *Tartarium*."

Again, in the French inventory of the *Garde-Meuble* of 1353 we find two pieces of *Tartary*, one green and the other red, priced at 15 crowns each. (*Flower and Leaf*, 211; *Dante, Inf.* XVII. 17, and *Longfellow*, p. 159; *Douet d'Arcq*, p. 328; *Fr.-Michel, Rech.* I. 315, II. 166 *seqq.*)

NOTE 7.—SINDACHU (*Sindacui*, *Suidatui*, etc., of the MSS.) is SIUEN-HWA-FU, called under the Kin Dynasty *Siu-en-te-chau*, more than once besieged and taken by Chinghiz. It is said to have been a summer residence of the later Mongol Emperors, and fine parks full of grand trees remain on the western side. It is still a large town and the capital of a *Fu*, about 25 miles south of the Gate on the Great Wall at Chang Kia Kau, which the Mongols and Russians call Kalgan. There is still a manufacture of felt and woollen articles here.

[Mr. Rockhill writes to me that this place is noted for the manufacture of buckskins.—H. C.]

Yäifu has not been identified. But Baron Richthofen saw old mines north-east of Kalgan, which used to yield argentiferous galena; and Pumpeliy heard of silver-mines near Yuchau, in the same department.

[In the *Yuen-shi* it is "stated that there were gold and silver mines in the districts of Siuen-te-chow and Yuchow, as well as in the Kiming shan Mountains. These mines were worked by the Government itself up to 1323, when they were transferred to private enterprise. Marco Polo's *Yäifu* is probably a copyist's error, and stands instead of Yuchow." (*Palladius*, 24, 25.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER LX.

CONCERNING THE KAAAN'S PALACE OF CHAGANNOR.

AT the end of those three days you find a city called CHAGAN NOR [which is as much as to say White Pool], at which there is a great Palace of the Grand Kaan's;¹ and he likes much to reside there on account of the Lakes and Rivers in the neighbourhood, which are the haunt of swans² and of a great variety of other birds. The adjoining plains too abound with cranes, partridges, pheasants, and other game birds, so that the Emperor takes all the more delight in staying there, in order to go a-hawking with his gerfalcons and other falcons, a sport of which he is very fond.³

There are five different kinds of cranes found in those tracts, as I shall tell you. First, there is one which is very big, and all over as black as a crow; the second kind again is all white, and is the biggest of all; its wings are really beautiful, for they are adorned with round eyes like those of a peacock, but of a resplendent golden colour, whilst the head is red and black on a white ground. The third kind is the same as ours. The fourth is a small kind, having at the ears beautiful long pendent feathers of red and black. The fifth kind is grey all over and of great size, with a handsome head, red and black.⁴

Near this city there is a valley in which the Emperor has had several little houses erected in which he keeps in mew a huge number of *cators*, which are what we call the Great Partridge. You would be astonished to see what a quantity there are, with men to take charge of them. So whenever the Kaan visits the place he is furnished with as many as he wants.⁵

NOTE 1.—[According to the *Siu t'ung kien*, quoted by Palladius, the palace in Chagannor was built in 1280.—H.C.]

NOTE 2.—“*Ou demeurent sesnes.*” *Sesnes, Cesnes, Cecini, Cesanae*, is a mediæval form of *cygnes, cigni*, which seems to have escaped the dictionary-makers. It occurs in the old Italian version of *Brunetto Latini's Tresor*, Bk. V. ch. xxv., as *cecino*; and for other examples, see *Cathay*, p. 125.

NOTE 3.—The city called by Polo CHAGAN-NOR (meaning in Mongol, as he says, “White Lake”) is the *Chaghan Balghasun* mentioned by Timkowski as an old city of the Mongol era, the ruined rampart of which he passed about 30 miles north of the Great Wall at Kalgan, and some 55 miles from Siuen-hwa, adjoining the Imperial pastures. It stands near a lake still called Chaghan-Nor, and is called by the Chinese Pe-ching-tzu, or White City, a translation of Chaghan Balghasun. Dr. Bushell says of one of the lakes (Ichi-Nor), a few miles east of Chaghan-Nor: “We . . . found the water black with waterfowl, which rose in dense flocks, and filled the air with discordant noises. *Swans*, geese, and ducks predominated, and *three different species of cranes* were distinguished.”

The town appears as *Tchahan Toloho* in D'Anville. It is also, I imagine, the *Arulun Tsaghan Balghasun* which S. Setzen says Kúblái built about the same time with Shangtu and another city “on the shady side of the Altai,” by which here he seems to mean the Khingan range adjoining the Great Wall. (*Timk.* II. 374, 378-379; *J. R. G. S.* vol. xliii.; *S. Setz.* 115.) I see Ritter has made the same identification of Chaghan-Nor (II. 141).

NOTE 4.—The following are the best results I can arrive at in the identification of these five cranes.

1. Radde mentions as a rare crane in South Siberia *Grus monachus*, called by the Buraites *Karâ Togorü*, or “Black Crane.” Atkinson also speaks of “a beautiful black variety of crane,” probably the same. The *Grus monachus* is not, however, jet black, but brownish rather. (*Radde, Reisen*, Bd. II. p. 318; *Atkinson. Or. and W. Sib.* 548.)

2. *Grus leucogeranus* (?) whose chief habitat is Siberia, but which sometimes comes as far south as the Punjab. It is the largest of the genus, snowy white, with red face and beak; the ten largest quills are black, but this barely shows as a narrow black line when the wings are closed. The resplendent golden eyes on the wings remain unaccounted for; no naturalist whom I have consulted has any knowledge of a crane or crane-like bird with such decorations. When 'tis discovered, let it be the *Grus Poli!*

3. *Grus cinerea*.

4. The colour of the pendants varies in the texts. Pauthier's and the G. Text have *red and black*; the Lat. S. G. *black* only, the Crusca *black and white*, Ramusio *feathers red and blue* (not pendants). The *red and black* may have slipt in from the preceding description. I incline to believe it to be the Demoiselle, *Anthropoides Virgo*, which is frequently seen as far north as Lake Baikal. It has a tuft of pure *white* from the eye, and a beautiful black pendent ruff or collar; the general plumage purplish-grey.

5. Certainly the Indian *Sâras* (vulgo Cyrus), or *Grus antigone*, which answers in colours and grows to 52 inches high.

NOTE 5.—*Cator* occurs only in the G. Text and the Crusca, in the latter with the interpolated explanation “*ciõe contornici*” (*i.e.* quails), whilst the S. G. Latin has *coturnices* only. I suspect this impression has assisted to corrupt the text, and that it was originally written or dictated *ciacor* or *çacor*, *viz. chakôr*, a term applied in the East to more than one kind of “Great Partridge.” Its most common application in India is to the Himalayan red-legged partridge, much resembling on a somewhat larger scale the bird so called in Europe. It is the “Francolin” of Moorcroft's

Travels, and the *Caccabis Chukor* of Gray. According to Cunningham the name is applied in Ladak to the bird sometimes called the Snow-pheasant, Jerdan's Snow-cock, *Tetraogallus himalayensis* of Gray. And it must be the latter which Moorcroft speaks of as "the gigantic Chukor, much larger than the common partridge, found in large coveys on the edge of the snow; . . . one plucked and drawn weighed 5 lbs."; described by Vigne as "a partridge as large as a hen-turkey"; the original perhaps of that partridge "larger than a vulture" which formed one of the presents from an Indian King to Augustus Caesar. [With reference to the large Tibetan partridge found in the Nan-shan Mountains in the meridian of Sha-chau by Prjevalsky, M. E. D. Morgan in a note (*P. R. Geog. S.* ix. 1887, p. 219), writes: "*Megaloperdix thibetanus*. Its general name in Asia is *ullar*, a word of Kirghiz or Turkish origin; the Mongols call it *hailik*, and the Tibetans *kung-mo*. There are two other varieties of this bird found in the Himalaya and Altai Mountains, but the habits of life and call-note of all three are the same."] From the extensive diffusion of the term, which seems to be common to India, Tibet, and Persia (for the latter, see *Abbott* in *J. R. G. S.* XXV. 41), it is likely enough to be of Mongol origin, not improbably *Tsokhor*, "dappled or pied." (*Kovalevsky*, No. 2196, and *Strahlenberg's* Vocabulary; see also *Ladak*, 205; *Moorcr.* I. 313, 432; *Jerdan's Birds of India*, III. 549, 572; *Dunlop, Hunting in Himalaya*, 178; *J. A. S. B.* VI. 774.)

The *chakór* is mentioned by Baber (p. 282); and also by the Hindi poet Chand (*Rás Mála*, I. 230, and *Ind. Antiquary*, I. 273). If the latter passage is genuine, it is adverse to my Mongol etymology, as Chand lived before the Mongol era.

The keeping of partridges for the table is alluded to by Chaucer in his portrait of the Franklin, *Prologue, Cant. Tales*:

" It snewed in his hous of mete and drinke,
Of alle deyntees that men coud of thinke,
After the sondry sesons of the yere,
So changed he his mete and his soupere.
Full many a fat partrich hadde he in mewe,
And many a breme and many a luce in stewe."

CHAPTER LXI.

OF THE CITY OF CHANDU, AND THE KAAN'S PALACE THERE.

AND when you have ridden three days from the city last mentioned, between north-east and north, you come to a city called CHANDU,¹ which was built by the Kaan now reigning. There is at this place a very fine marble Palace, the rooms of which are all gilt and painted with figures of men and beasts and birds, and with a variety of trees and flowers, all executed with such exquisite art that you regard them with delight and astonishment.²

Round this Palace a wall is built, inclosing a compass

of 16 miles, and inside the Park there are fountains and rivers and brooks, and beautiful meadows, with all kinds of wild animals (excluding such as are of ferocious nature), which the Emperor has procured and placed there to supply food for his gerfalcons and hawks, which he keeps there in mew. Of these there are more than 200 gerfalcons alone, without reckoning the other hawks. The Kaan himself goes every week to see his birds sitting in mew, and sometimes he rides through the park with a leopard behind him on his horse's croup; and then if he sees any animal that takes his fancy, he slips his leopard at it,³ and the game when taken is made over to feed the hawks in mew. This he does for diversion.

Moreover [at a spot in the Park where there is a charming wood] he has another Palace built of cane, of which I must give you a description. It is gilt all over, and most elaborately finished inside. [It is stayed on gilt and lackered columns, on each of which is a dragon all gilt, the tail of which is attached to the column whilst the head supports the architrave, and the claws likewise are stretched out right and left to support the architrave.] The roof, like the rest, is formed of canes, covered with a varnish so strong and excellent that no amount of rain will rot them. These canes are a good 3 palms in girth, and from 10 to 15 paces in length. [They are cut across at each knot, and then the pieces are split so as to form from each two hollow tiles, and with these the house is roofed; only every such tile of cane has to be nailed down to prevent the wind from lifting it.] In short, the whole Palace is built of these canes, which (I may mention) serve also for a great variety of other useful purposes. The construction of the Palace is so devised that it can be taken down and put up again with great celerity; and it can all be taken

to pieces and removed whithersoever the Emperor may command. When erected, it is braced [against mishaps from the wind] by more than 200 cords of silk.⁴

The Lord abides at this Park of his, dwelling sometimes in the Marble Palace and sometimes in the Cane Palace for three months of the year, to wit, June, July, and August; preferring this residence because it is by no means hot; in fact it is a very cool place. When the 28th day of [the Moon of] August arrives he takes his departure, and the Cane Palace is taken to pieces.⁵ But I must tell you what happens when he goes away from this Palace every year on the 28th of the August [Moon].

You must know that the Kaan keeps an immense stud of white horses and mares; in fact more than 10,000 of them, and all pure white without a speck. The milk of these mares is drunk by himself and his family, and by none else, except by those of one great tribe that have also the privilege of drinking it. This privilege was granted them by Chinghis Kaan, on account of a certain victory that they helped him to win long ago. The name of the tribe is HORIAD.⁶

Now when these mares are passing across the country, and any one falls in with them, be he the greatest lord in the land, he must not presume to pass until the mares have gone by; he must either tarry where he is, or go a half-day's journey round if need so be, so as not to come nigh them; for they are to be treated with the greatest respect. Well, when the Lord sets out from the Park on the 28th of August, as I told you, the milk of all those mares is taken and sprinkled on the ground. And this is done on the injunction of the Idolaters and Idol-priests, who say that it is an excellent thing to sprinkle that milk on the ground every 28th of August, so that the Earth and the Air

and the False Gods shall have their share of it, and the Spirits likewise that inhabit the Air and the Earth. And thus those beings will protect and bless the Kaan and his children and his wives and his folk and his gear, and his cattle and his horses, his corn and all that is his. After this is done, the Emperor is off and away.⁷

But I must now tell you a strange thing that hitherto I have forgotten to mention. During the three months of every year that the Lord resides at that place, if it should happen to be bad weather, there are certain crafty enchanters and astrologers in his train, who are such adepts in necromancy, and the diabolic arts, that they are able to prevent any cloud or storm from passing over the spot on which the Emperor's Palace stands. The sorcerers who do this are called **TEBET** and **KESIMUR**, which are the names of two nations of Idolaters. Whatever they do in this way is by the help of the Devil, but they make those people believe that it is compassed by dint of their own sanctity and the help of God.⁸ [They always go in a state of dirt and uncleanness, devoid of respect for themselves, or for those who see them, unwashed, unkempt, and sordidly attired.]

These people also have a custom which I must tell you. If a man is condemned to death and executed by the lawful authority, they take his body and cook and eat it. But if any one die a natural death then they will not eat the body.⁹

There is another marvel performed by those **BACSI**, of whom I have been speaking as knowing so many enchantments.¹⁰ For when the Great Kaan is at his capital and in his great Palace, seated at his table, which stands on a platform some eight cubits above the ground, his cups are set before him [on a great buffet] in the middle of the hall pavement, at a distance

of some ten paces from his table, and filled with wine, or other good spiced liquor such as they use. Now when the Lord desires to drink, these enchanters by the power of their enchantments cause the cups to move from their place without being touched by anybody, and to present themselves to the Emperor! This every one present may witness, and there are oftentimes more than 10,000 persons thus present. 'Tis a truth and no lie! and so will tell you the sages of our own country who understand necromancy, for they also can perform it.¹¹

And when the Idol Festivals come round, these *Bacsi* go to the Prince and say: "Sire, the Feast of such a god is come" (naming him). "My Lord, you know," the enchanter will say, "that this god, when he gets no offerings, always sends bad weather and spoils our seasons. So we pray you to give us such and such a number of black-faced sheep," naming whatever number they please. "And we beg also, good my lord, that we may have such a quantity of incense, and such a quantity of signaloes, and"—so much of this, so much of that, and so much of t'other, according to their fancy—"that we may perform a solemn service and a great sacrifice to our Idols, and that so they may be induced to protect us and all that is ours."

The *Bacsi* say these things to the Barons entrusted with the Stewardship, who stand round the Great Kaan, and these repeat them to the Kaan, and he then orders the Barons to give everything that the *Bacsi* have asked for. And when they have got the articles they go and make a great feast in honour of their god, and hold great ceremonies of worship with grand illuminations and quantities of incense of a variety of odours, which they make up from different aromatic spices. And

then they cook the meat, and set it before the idols, and sprinkle the broth hither and thither, saying that in this way the idols get their bellyful. Thus it is that they keep their festivals. You must know that each of the idols has a name of his own, and a feast-day, just as our Saints have their anniversaries.¹²

They have also immense Minsters and Abbeys, some of them as big as a small town, with more than two thousand monks (*i.e.* after their fashion) in a single abbey.¹³ These monks dress more decently than the rest of the people, and have the head and beard shaven. There are some among these *Bacsi* who are allowed by their rule to take wives, and who have plenty of children.¹⁴

Then there is another kind of devotees called SENSIN, who are men of extraordinary abstinence after their fashion, and lead a life of such hardship as I will describe. All their life long they eat nothing but bran,¹⁵ which they take mixt with hot water. That is their food: bran, and nothing but bran; and water for their drink. 'Tis a lifelong fast! so that I may well say their life is one of extraordinary asceticism. They have great idols, and plenty of them; but they sometimes also worship fire. The other Idolaters who are not of this sect call these people heretics—*Patarins* as we should say¹⁶—because they do not worship their idols in their own fashion. Those of whom I am speaking would not take a wife on any consideration.¹⁷ They wear dresses of hempen stuff, black and blue,¹⁸ and sleep upon mats; in fact their asceticism is something astonishing. Their idols are all feminine, that is to say, they have women's names.¹⁹

Now let us have done with this subject, and let me tell you of the great state and wonderful magnificence of the Great Lord of Lords; I mean that great Prince

who is the Sovereign of the Tartars, CUBLAY by name, that most noble and puissant Lord.

NOTE 1.—[There were two roads to go from Peking to Shangtu: the eastern road through Tu-shi-k'ow, and the western (used for the return journey) road by Ye-hu ling. Polo took this last road, which ran from Peking to Siuen-te chau through the same places as now; but from the latter town it led, not to Kalgan as it does now, but more to the west, to a place called now Shan-fang pú where the pass across the Ye-hu ling range begins. "On both these roads *nabo*, or temporary palaces, were built, as resting-places for the Khans; eighteen on the eastern road, and twenty-four on the western." (*Palladius*, p. 25.) The same author makes (p. 26) the following remarks: "M. Polo's statement that he travelled three days from Siuen-te chau to Chagannor, and three days also from the latter place to Shang-tu, agrees with the information contained in the 'Researches on the Routes to Shangtu.' The Chinese authors have not given the precise position of Lake Chagannor; there are several lakes in the desert on the road to Shangtu, and their names have changed with time. The palace in Chagannor was built in 1280" (according to the *Siu l'ung kien*).—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Chandu*, called more correctly in Ramusio *Xandu*, *i.e.* SHANDU, and by Fr. Odorico *Sandu*, *viz.* SHANG-TU or "Upper Court," the Chinese title of Kúblái's summer residence at Kaipingfu, *Mongolicè* Keibung (see ch. xiii. of Prologue) [is called also *Loan king*, *i.e.* "the capital on the Loan River," according to Palladius, p. 26.—H. C.]. The ruins still exist, in about lat. 40° 22', and a little west of the longitude of Peking. The site is 118 miles in direct line from Chaghan-nor, making Polo's three marches into rides of unusual length.* The ruins bear the Mongol name of *Chao Naiman Sumé Khotan*, meaning "city of the 108 temples," and are about 26 miles to the north-west of Dolon-nor, a bustling, dirty town of modern origin, famous for the manufactory of idols, bells, and other ecclesiastical paraphernalia of Buddhism. The site was visited (though not described) by Père Gerbillon in 1691, and since then by no European traveller till 1872, when Dr. Bushell of the British Legation at Peking, and the Hon. T. G. Grosvenor, made a journey thither from the capital, by way of the Nan-kau Pass (*supra* p. 26), Kalgan, and the vicinity of Chaghan-nor, the route that would seem to have been habitually followed, in their annual migration, by Kúblái and his successors.

The deserted site, overgrown with rank weeds and grass, stands but little above the marshy bed of the river, which here preserves the name of Shang-tu, and about a mile from its north or left bank. The walls, of earth faced with brick and unhewn stone, still stand, forming, as in the Tartar city of Peking, a double *enceinte*, of which the inner line no doubt represents the area of the "Marble Palace" of which Polo speaks. This forms a square of about 2 *li* ($\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile) to the side, and has three gates—south, east, and west, of which the southern one still stands intact, a perfect arch, 20 ft. high and 12 ft. wide. The outer wall forms a square of 4 *li* ($1\frac{1}{3}$ mile) to the side, and has six gates. The foundations of temples and palace-buildings can be traced, and both enclosures are abundantly strewn with blocks of marble and fragments of lions, dragons, and other sculptures, testifying to the former existence of a flourishing city, but exhibiting now scarcely one stone upon another. A broken memorial tablet was found, half buried in the ground, within the north-east angle of the outer rampart, bearing an inscription in an antique form of the Chinese character, which proves it to have been erected by Kúblái, in honour of a Buddhist ecclesiastic called Yun-Hien. Yun-Hien was the abbot of one of those great minsters and

* This distance is taken from a tracing of the map prepared for Dr. Bushell's paper quoted below. But there is a serious discrepancy between this tracing and the observed position of Dolon-nor, which determines that of Shang-tu, as stated to me in a letter from Dr. Bushell. [See Note 1.]

304

皇元勅賜
 司從箱奉
 老壽公王
 碑

Heading

In the Old Chinese Seal-Character, of an INSCRIPTION on a Memorial raised by KÚBLÁI-KAAN to a Buddhist Ecclesiastic in the vicinity of his SUMMER-PALACE at SHANG-TU in Mongolia.

Reduced from a facsimile obtained on the spot by Dr. S. W. Bushell, 1872.

(About one-Fourth the Length and Breadth of Original.)

[To face p. 305.]

abbeys of *Bacsis*, of which Marco speaks, and the exact date (no longer visible) of the monument was equivalent to A.D. 1288.*

This city occupies the south-east angle of a more extensive enclosure, bounded by what is now a grassy mound, and embracing, on Dr. Bushell's estimate, about 5 square miles. Further knowledge may explain the discrepancy from Marco's dimension, but this must be the park of which he speaks.† The woods and fountains have disappeared, like the temples and palaces; all is dreary and desolate, though still abounding in the game which was one of Kúblái's attractions to the spot. A small monastery, occupied by six or seven wretched Lamas, is the only building that remains in the vicinity. The river Shangtu, which lower down becomes the Lan [or Loan]-Ho, was formerly navigated from the sea up to this place by flat grain-boats.

[Mgr. de Harlez gave in the *T'oung Pao* (x. p. 73) an inscription in *Chuen* character on a *stèle* found in the ruins of Shangtu, and built by an officer with the permission of the Emperor; it is probably a token of imperial favour; the inscription means: *Great Longevity*.—H. C.]

In the wail which Sanang Setzen, the poetical historian of the Mongols, puts, perhaps with some traditional basis, into the mouth of Toghon Temur, the last of the Chinghizide Dynasty in China, when driven from his throne, the changes are rung on the lost glories of his capital *Daïtu* (see *infra*, Book II. ch. xi.) and his summer palace *Shangtu*; thus (I translate from Schott's amended German rendering of the Mongol):

“ My vast and noble Capital, My Daïtu, My splendidly adorned !
 And Thou my cool and delicious Summer-seat, my Shangtu-Keibung !
 Ye, also, yellow plains of Shangtu, Delight of my godlike Sires !
 I suffered myself to drop into dreams,—and lo ! my Empire was gone !
 Ah Thou my Daïtu, built of the nine precious substances !
 Ah my Shangtu-Keibung, Union of all perfections !
 Ah my Fame ! Ah my Glory, as Khagan and Lord of the Earth !
 When I used to awake betimes and look forth, how the breezes blew loaded with
 fragrance !
 And turn which way I would all was glorious perfection of beauty !

Alas for my illustrious name as the Sovereign of the World !

Alas for my Daïtu, seat of Sanctity, Glorious work of the Immortal KÚBLÁI !

All, all is rent from me !”

It was, in 1797, whilst reading this passage of Marco's narrative in old Purchas that Coleridge fell asleep, and dreamt the dream of Kúblái's Paradise, beginning :

“ In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
 A stately pleasure-dome decree :
 Where Alph, the sacred River, ran
 Through caverns measureless to man
 Down to a sunless sea.
 So twice five miles of fertile ground
 With walls and towers were girdled round :
 And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills
 Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree ;
 And here were forests ancient as the hills,
 Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.”

* These particulars were obtained by Dr. Bushell through the Archimandrite Palladius, from the MS. account of a Chinese traveller who visited Shangtu about two hundred years ago, when probably the whole inscription was above ground. The inscription is also mentioned in the *Imp. Geography* of the present Dynasty, quoted by Klaproth. This work gives the interior wall 5 *li* to the side, instead of 2 *li*, and the outer wall 10 *li*, instead of 4 *li*. By Dr. Bushell's kindness, I give a reduction of his sketch plan (see *Itinerary Map*, No. IV. at end of this volume), and also a plate of the heading of the inscription. The translation of this is: “Monument conferred by the Emperor of the August Yuen (Dynasty) in memory of His High Eminence Yun Hien (styled) Chang-Lao (canonised as) Shou-Kung (Prince of Longevity).” [See *Missions de Chine et du Congo*, No. 28, Mars, 1891, Bruxelles.]

† Ramusio's version runs thus: “The palace presents one side to the centre of the city and the other to the city wall. And from either extremity of the palace where it touches the city wall, there

It would be a singular coincidence in relation to this poem were Klaproth's reading correct of a passage in Rashiduddin which he renders as saying that the palace at Kaiminfu was "called Langtin, and was built after a plan that Kúblái had seen in a dream, and had retained in his memory." But I suspect D'Ohsson's reading is more accurate, which runs: "Kúblái caused a Palace to be built for him east of Kaipingfu, called Lengten; but he abandoned it in consequence of a dream." For we see from Sanang Setzen that the Palaces of Lengten and Kaiming or Shangtu were distinct: "Between the year of the Rat (1264), when Kúblái was fifty years old, and the year of the Sheep (1271), in the space of eight years, he built four great cities, viz. for Summer Residence SHANGTU KREIBUNG Kürdu Balgasun, for Winter Residence Yeke DAÏTU Khotan, and on the shady side of the Altai (see ch. li. note 3, *supra*) Arulun TSAGHAN BALGASUN, and Erchügin LANGTING Balgasun." A valuable letter from Dr. Bushell enables me now to indicate the position of Langtin: "The district through which the river flows eastward from Shangtu is known to the Mongolians of the present day by the name of *Lang-tírkh* (*Lang-ting'rh*). . . . The ruins of the city are marked on a Chinese map in my possession Pai-dseng-tzu, *i.e.* 'White City,' implying that it was formerly an Imperial residence. The remains of the wall are 7 or 8 *li* in diameter, of stone, and situated about 40 *li* north-north-west from Dolon-nor."

(*Gerbillon in Astley*, IV. 701-716; Klaproth, in *J. As. sér.* II. tom. xi. 345-350; *Schott, Die letzten Jahre der Mongolenherrschaft in China* (Berl. Acad. d. Wissensch. 1850, pp. 502-503); *Huc's Tartary*, etc., p. 14 *seqq.*; *Cathay*, 134, 261; *S. Setzen*, p. 115; *Dr. S. W. Bushell, Journey outside the Great Wall*, in *J. R. G. S.* for 1874, and MS. notes.)

One of the pavilions of the celebrated Yuen-ming-Yuen may give some idea of the probable style, though not of the scale, of Kúblái's Summer Palace.

Hiuen Tsang's account of the elaborate and fantastic ornamentation of the famous Indian monasteries at Nalanda in Bahár, where Mr. Broadley has lately made such remarkable discoveries, seems to indicate that these fantasies of Burmese and Chinese architecture may have had a direct origin in India, at a time when timber was still a principal material of construction there: "The pavilions had pillars adorned with dragons, and posts that glowed with all the colours of the rainbow, sculptured frets, columns set with jade, richly chiselled and lackered, with balustrades of vermilion, and carved open work. The lintels of the doors were tastefully ornamented, and the roofs covered with shining tiles, the splendours of which were multiplied by mutual reflection and from moment to moment took a thousand forms." (*Vie et Voyages*, 157.)

NOTE 3.—[Rubruck says, (*Rockhill*, p. 248): "I saw also the envoy of a certain Soldan of India, who had brought eight leopards and ten *greyhounds*, taught to sit on horses' backs, as leopards sit."—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—Ramusio's is here so much more lucid than the other texts, that I have adhered mainly to his account of the building. The roof described is of a kind in use in the Indian Archipelago, and in some other parts of Transgangeitic India, in which the semi-cylinders of bamboo are laid just like Roman tiles.

Rashiduddin gives a curious account of the way in which the foundations of the terrace on which this palace stood were erected in a lake. He says, too, in accord with Polo: "Inside the city itself a second palace was built, about a bowshot from the first: but the Kaan generally takes up his residence in the palace outside the town," *i.e.*, as I imagine, in Marco's Cane Palace. (*Cathay*, pp. 261-262.)

[“The *Palace of canes* is probably the Palm Hall, *Tsung tien*, alias *Tsung mao tien*, of the Chinese authors, which was situated in the western palace garden of Shangtu. Mention is made also in the *Altan Tobchi* of a cane tent in Shangtu.” (*Palladius*, p. 27.)—H. C.]

runs another wall, which fetches a compass and encloses a good 16 miles of plain, and so that no one can enter this enclosure except by passing through the palace.”

Marco might well say of the bamboo that "it serves also a great variety of other purposes." An intelligent native of Arakan who accompanied me in wanderings on duty in the forests of the Burmese frontier in the beginning of 1853, and who used to ask many questions about Europe, seemed able to apprehend almost everything except the possibility of existence in a country without bamboos! "When I speak of bamboo huts, I mean to say that posts and walls, wall-plates and rafters, floor and thatch, and



Pavilion at Yuen-ming-Yuen.

the withes that bind them, are all of bamboo. In fact, it might almost be said that among the Indo-Chinese nations the staff of life is a bamboo! Scaffolding and ladders, landing-jetties, fishing apparatus, irrigation wheels and scoops, oars, masts, and yards [and in China, sails, cables, and caulking, asparagus, medicine, and works of fantastic art], spears and arrows, hats and helmets, bow, bowstring and quiver, oil-cans, water-

stoups and cooking-pots, pipe-sticks [tinder and means of producing fire], conduits, clothes-boxes, pawn-boxes, dinner-trays, pickles, preserves, and melodious musical instruments, torches, footballs, cordage, bellows, mats, paper; these are but a few of the articles that are made from the bamboo;" and in China, to sum up the whole, as Barrow observes, it maintains order throughout the Empire! (*Ava Mission*, p. 153; and see also *Wallace, Ind. Arch.* I. 120 *seqq.*)

NOTE 5.—"The Emperor . . . began this year (1264) to depart from Yenking (Peking) in the second or third month for Shangtu, not returning until the eighth month. Every year he made this passage, and all the Mongol emperors who succeeded him followed his example." (*Gaubil*, p. 144.)

["The Khans usually resorted to Shangtu in the 4th moon and returned to Peking in the 9th. On the 7th day of the 7th moon there were libations performed in honour of the ancestors; a shaman, his face to the north, uttered in a loud voice the names of Chingiz Khan and of other deceased Khans, and poured mare's milk on the ground. The propitious day for the return journey to Peking was also appointed then." (*Palladius*, p. 26.)—II. C.]

NOTE 6.—White horses were presented in homage to the Kaan on New Year's Day (*the White Feast*), as we shall see below. (Bk. II. ch. xv.) Odoric also mentions this practice; and, according to Huc, the Mongol chiefs continued it at least to the time of the Emperor K'ang-hi. Indeed Timkowski speaks of annual tributes of white camels and white horses from the Khans of the Kalkas and other Mongol dignitaries, in the present century. (*Huc's Tartary*, etc.; *Tim*. II. 33.)

By the HORIAD are no doubt intended the UIRAD or OIRAD, a name usually interpreted as signifying the "Closely Allied," or Confederates; but Vámbéry explains it as (Turki) *Oyurat*, "Grey horse," to which the statement in our text appears to lend colour. They were not of the tribes properly called Mongol, but after their submission to Chinghiz they remained closely attached to him. In Chinghiz's victory over Aung-Khan, as related by S. Setzen, we find Turulji Taishi, the son of the chief of the Oirad, one of Chinghiz's three chief captains; perhaps that is the victory alluded to. The seats of the Oirad appear to have been about the head waters of the Kem, or Upper Yenisei.

In A.D. 1295 there took place a curious desertion from the service of Gházán Khan of Persia of a vast corps of the Oirad, said to amount to 18,000 *tents*. They made their way to Damascus, where they were well received by the Mameluke Sultan. But their heathenish practices gave dire offence to the Faithful. They were settled in the *Sáhil*, or coast districts of Palestine. Many died speedily; the rest embraced Islam, spread over the country, and gradually became absorbed in the general population. Their sons and daughters were greatly admired for their beauty. (*S. Setz*. p. 87; *Erdmann*, 187; *Pallas, Samml.* I. 5 *seqq.*; *Makrizi*, III. 29; *Bretschneider, Med. Res.* II. p. 159 *seqq.*)

[With reference to Yule's conjecture, I may quote Palladius (*l.c.* p. 27): "It is, however, strange that the Oirats alone enjoyed the privilege described by Marco Polo; for the highest position at the Mongol Khan's court belonged to the Kunkrat tribe, out of which the Khans used to choose their first wives, who were called Empresses of the first *ordo*."—H. C.]

NOTE 7.—Rubruquis assigns such a festival to the month of May: "On the 9th day of the May Moon they collect all the white mares of their herds and consecrate them. The Christian priests also must then assemble with their thuribles. They then sprinkle new cosmos (*kumíz*) on the ground, and make a great feast that day, for according to their calendar, it is their time of first drinking new cosmos, just as we reckon of our new wine at the feast of St. Bartholomew (24th August), or that of St. Sixtus (6th August), or of our fruit on the feast of St. James and St. Christopher" (25th July). [With reference to this feast, Mr. Rockhill gives (*Rubruck*, p. 241, note) extracts from *Pallas, Voyages*, IV. 579, and *Professor Radloff, Aus Siberien*, I. 378,

—H. C.] The Yakuts also hold such a festival in June or July, when the mares foal, and immense wooden goblets of kumíz are emptied on that occasion. They also pour out kumíz for the Spirits to the four quarters of heaven.

The following passage occurs in the narrative of the Journey of Chang Te-hui, a Chinese teacher, who was summoned to visit the camp of Kúblái in Mongolia, some twelve years before that Prince ascended the throne of the Kaans : *

“On the 9th day of the 9th Moon (October), the Prince, having called his subjects before his chief tent, performed the libation of the milk of a white mare. This was the customary sacrifice at that time. The vessels used were made of birch-bark, not ornamented with either silver or gold. Such here is the respect for simplicity. . . .

“At the last day of the year the Mongols suddenly changed their camping-ground to another place, for the mutual congratulation on the 1st Moon. Then there was every day feasting before the tents for the lower ranks. Beginning with the Prince, all dressed themselves in white fur clothing. . . . †

“On the 9th day of the 4th Moon (May) the Prince again collected his vassals before the chief tent for the libation of the milk of a white mare. This sacrifice is performed twice a year.”

It has been seen (p. 308) that Rubruquis also names the 9th day of the May moon as that of the consecration of the white mares. The autumn libation is described by Polo as performed on the 28th day of the August moon, probably because it was unsuited to the circumstances of the Court at Cambaluc, where the Kaan was during October, and the day named was the last of his annual stay in the Mongolian uplands.

Baber tells that among the ceremonies of a Mongol Review the Khan and his staff took kumiz and sprinkled it towards the standards. An Armenian author of the Mongol era says that it was the custom of the Tartars, before drinking, to sprinkle drink towards heaven, and towards the four quarters. Mr. Atkinson notices the same practice among the Kirghiz : and I found the like in old days among the Kasias of the eastern frontier of Bengal.

The time of year assigned by Polo for the ceremony implies some change. Perhaps it had been made to coincide with the Festival of Water Consecration of the Lamas, with which the time named in the text seems to correspond. On that occasion the Lamas go in procession to the rivers and lakes and consecrate them by benediction and by casting in offerings, attended by much popular festivity.

Rubruquis seems to intimate that the Nestorian priests were employed to consecrate the white mares by incensing them. In the rear of Lord Canning's camp in India I once came upon the party of his *Shutr Suwárs*, or dromedary-express-riders, busily engaged in incensing with frankincense the whole of the dromedaries, which were kneeling in a circle. I could get no light on the practice, but it was very probably a relic of the old Mongol custom. (*Rubr.* 363 ; *Erman*, II. 397 ; *Billings' Journey*, Fr. Tr. I. 217 ; *Baber*, 103 ; *J. As. sér.* V. tom. xi. p. 249 ; *Atk. Amoor*, p. 47 ; *J. A. S. B.* XIII. 628 ; *Koepfen*, II. 313.)

NOTE 8.—The practice of weather-conjuring was in great vogue among the Mongols, and is often alluded to in their history.

The operation was performed by means of a stone of magical virtues, called *Yadah* or *Jadah-Tásh*, which was placed in or hung over a basin of water with sundry ceremonies. The possession of such a stone is ascribed by the early Arab traveller Ibn Mohalhal to the *Kímák*, a great tribe of the Turks. In the war raised against Chinghiz and Aung Khan, when still allies, by a great confederation of the Naiman and other tribes in 1202, we are told that Sengun, the son of Aung Khan, when sent to meet the enemy, caused them to be enchanted, so that all their attempted move-

* This narrative, translated from Chinese into Russian by Father Palladius, and from the Russian into English by Mr. Eugene Schuyler, Secretary of the U.S. Legation at St. Petersburg, was obligingly sent to me by the latter gentleman, and appeared in the *Geographical Magazine* for January, 1875, p. 7.

† See Bk. II. chap. xiv. note 3.

ments against him were defeated by snow and mist. The fog and darkness were indeed so dense that many men and horses fell over precipices, and many also perished with cold. In another account of (apparently) the same matter, given by Mir-Khond, the conjuring is set on foot by the *Yadachi* of Buyruk Khan, Prince of the Naiman, but the mischief all rebounds on the conjurer's own side.

In Tului's invasion of Honan in 1231-1232, Rashiduddin describes him, when in difficulty, as using the *Jadah* stone with success.

Timur, in his Memoirs, speaks of the Jets using incantations to produce heavy rains which hindered his cavalry from acting against them. A *Yadachi* was captured, and when his head had been taken off the storm ceased.

Baber speaks of one of his early friends, Khwaja Ka Mulai, as excelling in falconry and acquainted with *Yadagar* or the art of bringing on rain and snow by means of enchantment. When the Russians besieged Kazan in 1552 they suffered much from the constant heavy rains, and this annoyance was universally ascribed to the arts of the Tartar Queen, who was celebrated as an enchantress. Shah Abbas believed he had learned the Tartar secret, and put much confidence in it. (*P. Della V. I.* 869.)

[Grenard says (II. p. 256) the most powerful and most feared of sorcerers [in Chinese Turkestan] is the *djidduger*, who, to produce rain or fine weather, uses a jade stone, given by Noah to Japhet. Grenard adds (II. 406-407) there are sorcerers (Ngag-pa-snags-pa) whose specialty is to make rain fall; they are similar to the Turkish *Yadachi* and like them use a stone called "water crystal," *chu shel*; probably jade stone.

Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 245, note) writes: "Rashededdin states that when the Urianghit wanted to bring a storm to an end, they said injuries to the sky, the lightning and thunder. I have seen this done myself by Mongol storm-dispellers. (See *Diary*, 201, 203.) 'The other Mongol people,' he adds, 'do the contrary. When the storm rumbles, they remain shut up in their huts, full of fear.' The subject of storm-making, and the use of stones for that purpose, is fully discussed by Quatremère, *Histoire*, 438-440." (Cf. also *Rockhill*, *l.c.* p. 254.)—H. C.]

An edict of the Emperor Shi-tsung, of the reigning dynasty, addressed in 1724-1725 to the Eight Banners of Mongolia, warns them against this rain-conjuring: "If I," indignantly observes the Emperor, "offering prayer in sincerity have yet room to fear that it may please Heaven to leave MY prayer unanswered, it is truly intolerable that mere common people wishing for rain should at their own caprice set up altars of earth, and bring together a rabble of Hoshang (Buddhist Bonzes) and Taossé to conjure the spirits to gratify their wishes."

["Lamas were of various extraction; at the time of the great assemblies, and of the Khan's festivities in Shangtu, they erected an altar near the Khan's tent and prayed for fine weather; the whistling of shells rose up to heaven." These are the words in which Marco Polo's narrative is corroborated by an eye-witness who has celebrated the remarkable objects of Shangtu (*Loan king isa yung*). These Lamas, in spite of the prohibition by the Buddhist creed of bloody sacrifices, used to sacrifice sheep's hearts to Mahakala. It happened, as it seems, that the heart of an executed criminal was also considered an agreeable offering; and as the offerings could be, after the ceremony, eaten by the sacrificing priests, Marco Polo had some reason to accuse the Lamas of cannibalism." (*Palladius*, 28.)—H. C.]

The practice of weather-conjuring is not yet obsolete in Tartary, Tibet, and the adjoining countries.*

Weather-conjuring stories were also rife in Europe during the Middle Ages. One

* In the first edition I had supposed a derivation of the Persian words *Jádú* and *Jádúgari*, used commonly in India for conjuring, from the Tartar use of *Yadah*. And Pallas says the Kirghiz call their witches *Jádugar*. (*Voy.* II. 298.) But I am assured by Sir H. Rawlinson that this etymology is more than doubtful, and that at any rate the Persian (*Jádú*) is probably older than the Turkish term. I see that M. Pavet de Courteille derives *Yadah* from a Mongol word signifying "change of weather," etc.

such is conspicuously introduced in connection with a magical fountain in the romance of the *Chevalier au Lyon*:

“ Et s'i pant uns bacsins d'or fin
 A une si longue chaainne
 Qui dure jusqu'a la fontainne.
 Lez la fontainne troveras
 Un perron tel con tu verras
 * * * * *
 S'au bacin viaus de l'iaue prandre
 Et dessor le perron expandre,
 La verras une tel tanpeste
 Qu'an cest bois ne remandra beste,
 etc. *
 etc. *

The effect foretold in these lines is the subject of a woodcut illustrating a Welsh version of the same tale in the first volume of the *Mabinogion*. And the existence of such a fountain is alluded to by Alexander Neckam. (*De Naturis Rerum*, Bk. II. ch. vii.)

In the *Cento Novelle Antiche* also certain necromancers exhibit their craft before the Emperor Frederic (Barbarossa apparently): “The weather began to be overcast, and lo! of a sudden rain began to fall with continued thunders and lightnings, as if the world were come to an end, and hailstones that looked like steel-caps,” etc. Various other European legends of like character will be found in *Liebrecht's Gervasius von Tilbury*, pp. 147-148.

Rain-makers there are in many parts of the world; but it is remarkable that those also of Samoa in the Pacific operate by means of a *rain-stone*.

Such weather conjurings as we have spoken of are ascribed by Ovid to Circe:

“ Concipit illa preces, et verba venefica dicit;
 Ignotosque Deos ignoto carmine adorat,
 * * * * *
*Tunc quoque cantato densetur carmine caelum,
 Et nebulas exhalat humus.*”—*Metam.* XIV. 365.

And to Medea:—

—“ Quum volui, ripis mirantibus, amnes
 In fontes rediere suos (another feat of the Lamas)
 *Nubila pello,*
Nubilaque induco; ventos abigoque, vocoque.”—*Ibid.* VII. 199.

And by Tibullus to the *Saga* (*Eleg.* I. 2, 45); whilst Empedocles, in verses ascribed to him by Diogenes Laertius, claims power to communicate like secrets of potency:—

“ By my spells thou may'st
 To timely sunshine turn the purple rains,
 And parching droughts to fertilising floods.”

(See *Cathay*, p. clxxxvii.; *Erdm.* 282; *Oppert*, 182 *seqq.*; *Erman*, I. 153; *Pallas*, *Samml.* II. 348 *seqq.*; *Tink.* I. 402; *J. R. A. S.* VII. 305-306; *D'Ohsson*, II. 614; and for many interesting particulars, *Q. R.* p. 428 *seqq.*, and *Hammer's Golden Horde*, 207 and 435 *seqq.*)

NOTE 9.—It is not clear whether Marco attributes this cannibalism to the Tibetans and Kashmirians, or brings it in as a particular of Tartar custom which he had forgotten to mention before.

* [See W. Foerster's ed., *Halle*, 1887, p. 15, 386.—H. C.]

The accusations of cannibalism indeed against the Tibetans in old accounts are frequent, and I have elsewhere (see *Cathay*, p. 151) remarked on some singular Tibetan practices which go far to account for such charges. Della Penna, too, makes a statement which bears curiously on the present passage. Remarking on the great use made by certain classes of the Lamas of human skulls for magical cups, and of human thigh bones for flutes and whistles, he says that to supply them with these *bodies of executed criminals were stored up at the disposal of the Lamas*; and a Hindu account of Tibet in the *Asiatic Researches* asserts that when one is killed in a fight both parties rush forward and struggle for the liver, which they eat (vol. xv).

[Carpini says of the people of Tibet: "They are pagans; they have a most astonishing, or rather horrible, custom, for, when any one's father is about to give up the ghost, all the relatives meet together, and they eat him, as was told to me for certain." Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 152, note) writes: "So far as I am aware, this charge [of cannibalism] is not made by any Oriental writer against the Tibetans, though both Arab travellers to China in the ninth century and Armenian historians of the thirteenth century say the Chinese practised cannibalism. The Armenians designate China by the name *Nankas*, which I take to be Chinese *Nan-kuo*, 'southern country,' the *Monzi* country of Marco Polo."—H. C.]

But like charges of cannibalism are brought against both Chinese and Tartars very positively. Thus, without going back to the Anthropophagous Scythians of Ptolemy and Mela, we read in the *Relations* of the Arab travellers of the ninth century: "In China it occurs sometimes that the governor of a province revolts from his duty to the emperor. In such a case he is slaughtered and eaten. *In fact, the Chinese eat the flesh of all men who are executed by the sword.*" Dr. Rennie mentions a superstitious practice, the continued existence of which in our own day he has himself witnessed, and which might perhaps have given rise to some such statement as that of the Arab travellers, if it be not indeed a relic, in a mitigated form, of the very practice they assert to have prevailed. After an execution at Peking certain large pith balls are steeped in the blood, and under the name of *blood-bread* are sold as a medicine for consumption. *It is only the blood of decapitated criminals that any such healing power is attributed.* It has been asserted in the annals of the *Propagation de la Foi* that the Chinese executioners of M. Chapdelaine, a missionary who was martyred in Kwang-si in 1856 (28th February), were seen to eat the heart of their victim; and M. Huot, a missionary in the Yun-nan province, recounts a case of cannibalism which he witnessed. Bishop Chauveau, at Ta Ts'ien-lu, told Mr. Cooper that he had seen men in one of the cities of Yun-nan eating the heart and brains of a celebrated robber who had been executed. Dr. Carstairs Douglas of Amoy also tells me that the like practices have occurred at Amoy and Swatau.

[With reference to cannibalism in China see *Medical Superstitions an Incentive to Anti-Foreign Riots in China*, by D. J. Macgowan, *North China Herald*, 8th July, 1892, pp. 60-62. Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, February-March, 1901, 136) relates that the inhabitants of a part of Kwang-si boiled and ate a Chinese officer who had been sent to pacify them. "The idea underlying this horrible act [cannibalism] is, that by eating a portion of the victim, especially the heart, one acquires the valour with which he was endowed." (*Dennys' Folk-lore of China*, 67.)—H. C.]

Hayton, the Armenian, after relating the treason of a Saracen, called Parwana (he was an Iconian Turk), against Abaka Khan, says: "He was taken and cut in two, and orders were issued that in all the food eaten by Abaka there should be put a portion of the traitor's flesh. Of this Abaka himself ate, and caused all his barons to partake. *And this was in accordance with the custom of the Tartars.*" The same story is related independently and differently by Friar Ricold, thus: "When the army of Abaga ran away from the Saracens in Syria, a certain great Tartar baron was arrested who had been guilty of treason. And when the Emperor Khan was giving the order for his execution the Tartar ladies and women interposed, and begged that he might be made over to them. Having got hold of the prisoner they boiled him alive, and cutting his body up into mince-meat gave it to eat to the whole army, as

an example to others." Vincent of Beauvais makes a like statement: "When they capture any one who is at bitter enmity with them, they gather together and eat him in vengeance of his revolt, and like infernal leeches suck his blood," a custom of which a modern Mongol writer thinks that he finds a trace in a surviving proverb. Among more remote and ignorant Franks the cannibalism of the Tartars was a general belief. Ivo of Narbonne, in his letter written during the great Tartar invasion of Europe (1242), declares that the Tartar chiefs, with their dog's head followers and other *Lotophagi* (!), ate the bodies of their victims like so much bread; whilst a Venetian chronicler, speaking of the council of Lyons in 1274, says there was a discussion about making a general move against the Tartars, "*porce qu'il manjuent la char humaine.*" These latter writers no doubt rehearsed mere popular beliefs, but Hayton and Ricold were both intelligent persons well acquainted with the Tartars, and Hayton at least not prejudiced against them.

The old belief was revived in Prussia during the Seven Years' War, in regard to the Kalmaks of the Russian army; and Bergmann says the old Kalmak warriors confessed to him that they had done what they could to encourage it by cutting up the bodies of the slain in presence of their prisoners, and roasting them! But Levchine relates an act on the part of the Kirghiz Kazaks which was no jest. They drank the blood of their victim if they did not eat his flesh.

There is some reason to believe that cannibalism was in the Middle Ages generally a less strange and unwonted horror than we should at first blush imagine, and especially that it was an idea tolerably familiar in China. M. Bazin, in the second part of *Chine Moderne*, p. 461, after sketching a Chinese drama of the Mongol era ("The Devotion of Chao-ki"), the plot of which turns on the acts of a body of cannibals, quotes several other passages from Chinese authors which indicate this. Nor is this wonderful in the age that had experienced the horrors of the Mongol wars.

That was no doubt a fable which Carpini heard in the camp of the Great Kaan, that in one of the Mongol sieges in Cathay, when the army was without food, one man in ten of their own force was sacrificed to feed the remainder.* But we are told in sober history that the force of Tului in Honan, in 1231-1232, was reduced to such straits as to eat grass and human flesh. At the siege of the Kin capital Kaifongfu, in 1233, the besieged were reduced to the like extremity; and the same occurred the same year at the siege of Tsaichau; and in 1262, when the rebel general Litan was besieged in Tsinanfu. The Taiping wars the other day revived the same horrors in all their magnitude. And savage acts of the same kind by the Chinese and their Turk partisans in the defence of Kashgar were related to Mr. Shaw.

Probably, however, nothing of the kind in history equals what Abdallatif, a sober and scientific physician, describes as having occurred before his own eyes in the great Egyptian famine of A.H. 597 (1200). The horrid details fill a chapter of some length, and we need not quote from them.

Nor was Christendom without the rumour of such barbarities. The story of King Richard's banquet in presence of Saladin's ambassadors on the head of a Saracen curried (for so it surely was),—

"soden full hastily
With powder and with spysory,
And with saffron of good colour"—

fable as it is, is told with a zest that makes one shudder; but the tale in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, of how the licentious bands of ragamuffins, who hung on the army of the First Crusade, and were known as the *Tafurs*,† ate the Turks whom they killed at

* A young Afghan related in the presence of Arthur Conolly at Herat that on a certain occasion when provisions ran short the Russian General gave orders that 50,000 men should be killed and served out as rations! (I. 345.)

† Ar. *Tafir*, a sordid, squalid fellow.

the siege, looks very like an abominable truth, corroborated as it is by the prose chronicle of worse deeds at the ensuing siege of Marrha :—

“ A lor cotiaus qu'il ont trenchans et aflés
Escorchoient les Turs, aval parmi les près.
Voiant Paiens, les ont par pièces découpés.
En l'iave et el carbon les ont bien quisinés,
Volontiers les menjuent sans pain et dessalés.”*

(*Della Penna*, p. 76; *Reinaud*, *Rel.* I. 52; *Rennie's Peking*, II. 244; *Ann. de la Pr. de la F.* XXIX. 353, XXI. 298; *Hayton in Ram.* ch. xvii.; *Per. Qual.* p. 116; *M. Paris*, sub. 1243; *Mél. Asiat. Acad. St. Pétersb.* II. 659; *Canale in Arch. Stor. Ital.* VIII.; *Bergm. Nomad. Streifereien*, I. 14; *Carpini*, 638; *D'Ohsson*, II. 30, 43, 52; *Wilson's Ever Victorious Army*, 74; *Shaw*, p. 48; *Abdallatif*, p. 363 *seqq.*; *Weber*, II. 135; *Littré*, *H. de la Langue Franç.* I. 191; *Gesta Tancredi in Thes. Nov. Anecd.* III. 172.)

NOTE 10.—*Bakhshi* is generally believed to be a corruption of *Bhikshu*, the proper Sanscrit term for a religious mendicant, and in particular for the Buddhist devotees of that character. *Bakhshi* was probably applied to a class only of the Lamas, but among the Turks and Persians it became a generic name for them all. In this sense it is habitually used by Rashiduddin, and thus also in the *Ain Akbari*: “The learned among the Persians and Arabians call the priests of this (Buddhist) religion *Bukshee*, and in Tibbet they are styled Lamas.”

According to Pallas the word among the modern Mongols is used in the sense of *Teacher*, and is applied to the oldest and most learned priest of a community, who is the local ecclesiastical chief. Among the Kirghiz Kazzaks again, who profess Mahomedanism, the word also survives, but conveys among them just the idea that Polo seems to have associated with it, that of a mere conjuror or “medicine-man”; whilst in Western Turkestan it has come to mean a Bard.

The word *Bakhshi* has, however, wandered much further from its original meaning. From its association with persons who could read and write, and who therefore occasionally acted as clerks, it came in Persia to mean a clerk or secretary. In the *Petrarchian Vocabulary*, published by Klaproth, we find *scriba* rendered in *Comanian*, *i.e.* Turkish of the Crimea, by *Bacsi*. The transfer of meaning is precisely parallel to that in regard to our *Clerk*. Under the Mahomedan sovereigns of India, *Bakhshi* was applied to an officer performing something like the duties of a quartermaster-general; and finally, in our Indian army, it has come to mean a paymaster. In the latter sense, I imagine it has got associated in the popular mind with the Persian *bakhshidan*, to bestow, and *bakhshish*. (See a note in *Q. R.* p. 184 *seqq.*; *Cathay*, p. 474; *Ayeen Akbery*, III. 150; *Pallas*, *Samml.* II. 126; *Levchine*, p. 355; *Klap. Mém.* III.; *Vámbéry*, *Sketches*, p. 81.)

The sketch from the life, on p. 326, of a wandering Tibetan devotee, whom I met once at Hardwár, may give an idea of the sordid *Bacsis* spoken of by Polo.

NOTE 11.—This feat is related more briefly by Odoric: “And jugglers cause cups of gold full of good wine to fly through the air, and to offer themselves to all who list to drink.” (*Cathay*, p. 143.) In the note on that passage I have referred to a somewhat similar story in the *Life of Apollonius*. “Such feats,” says Mr. Jaeschke, “are often mentioned in ancient as well as modern legends of Buddha and other saints; and our Lamas have heard of things very similar performed by conjuring *Bonpos*.” (See p. 323.) The moving of cups and the like is one of the sorceries ascribed in old legends to Simon Magus: “He made statues to walk; leapt into the fire without being burnt; flew in the air; made bread of stones; changed his shape; assumed two faces at once; converted himself into a pillar; caused closed doors to fly open spontaneously; made the vessels in a house seem to move of themselves,” etc. The

* [Cf. Paulin Paris's ed., 1848, II. p. 5.—H. C.]

Jesuit Delrio laments that credulous princes, otherwise of pious repute, should have allowed diabolic tricks to be played before them, "as, for example, things of iron, and silver goblets, or other heavy articles, to be moved by bounds from one end of a table to the other, without the use of a magnet or of any attachment." The pious prince appears to have been Charles IX., and the conjuror a certain Cesare Maltessio. Another Jesuit author describes the veritable mango-trick, speaking of persons who "within three hours' space did cause a genuine shrub of a span in length to grow out of the table, besides other trees that produced both leaves and fruit."

In a letter dated 1st December, 1875, written by Mr. R. B. Shaw, after his last return from Kashgar and Lahore, this distinguished traveller says: "I have heard stories related regarding a Buddhist high priest whose temple is said to be not far to the east of Lanchau, which reminds me of Marco Polo and Kúblái Khan. This high priest is said to have the magic power of attracting cups and plates to him from a distance, so that things fly through the air into his hands." (*MS. Note.*—H. Y.)

The profession and practice of exorcism and magic in general is greatly more prominent in Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism than in any other known form of that religion. Indeed, the old form of Lamaism as it existed in our traveller's day, and till the reforms of Tsongkhapa (1357-1419), and as it is still professed by the *Red* sect in Tibet, seems to be a kind of compromise between Indian Buddhism and the old indigenous Shamanism. Even the reformed doctrine of the Yellow sect recognises an orthodox kind of magic, which is due in great measure to the combination of Sivaism with the Buddhist doctrines, and of which the institutes are contained in the vast collection of the *Jud* or *Tantras*, recognised among the holy books. The magic arts of this code open even a short road to the Buddhahood itself. To attain that perfection of power and wisdom, culminating in the cessation of sensible existence, requires, according to the ordinary paths, a period of three *asankhyas* (or say Un-countable Time \times 3), whereas by means of the magic arts of the *Tantras* it may be reached in the course of three *rebirths* only, nay, of one! But from the *Tantras* also can be learned how to acquire miraculous powers for objects entirely selfish and secular, and how to exercise these by means of *Dhárani* or mystic Indian charms.

Still the orthodox Yellow Lamas professedly repudiate and despise the grosser exhibitions of common magic and charlatanism which the Reds still practise, such as knife-swallowing, blowing fire, cutting off their own heads, etc. But as the vulgar will not dispense with these marvels, every great orthodox monastery in Tibet *keeps a conjuror*, who is a member of the unreformed, and does not belong to the brotherhood of the convent, but lives in a particular part of it, bearing the name of *Choichong*, or protector of religion, and is allowed to marry. The magic of these Choichong is in theory and practice different from the orthodox Tantrist magic. The practitioners possess no literature, and hand down their mysteries only by tradition. Their fantastic equipments, their frantic bearing, and their cries and howls, seem to identify them with the grossest Shamanist devil dancers.

Sanang Setzen enumerates a variety of the wonderful acts which could be performed through the *Dhárani*. Such were, sticking a peg into solid rock; restoring the dead to life; turning a dead body into gold; penetrating everywhere as air does; flying; catching wild beasts with the hand; reading thoughts; making water flow backwards; eating tiles; sitting in the air with the legs doubled under, etc. Some of these are precisely the powers ascribed to Medea, Empedocles, and Simon Magus, in passages already cited. Friar Ricold says on this subject: "There are certain men whom the Tartars honour above all in the world, viz. the *Baxitae* (*i.e.* *Bakhshis*), who are a kind of idol-priests. These are men from India, persons of deep wisdom, well-conducted, and of the gravest morals. They are usually acquainted with magic arts, and depend on the counsel and aid of demons; they exhibit many illusions, and predict some future events. For instance, one of eminence among them was said to fly; the truth, however, was (as it proved), that he did not fly, but did walk close to the surface of the ground without touching it; and *would seem to sit down without having any substance to support him.*" This last performance was witnessed by Ibn

Batuta at Delhi, in the presence of Sultan Mahomed Tughlak; and it was professedly exhibited by a Brahmin at Madras in the present century, a descendant doubtless of those Brahmans whom Apollonius saw walking two cubits from the ground. It is also described by the worthy Francis Valentyn as a performance known and practised in his own day in India. It is related, he says, that "a man will first go and sit on three sticks put together so as to form a tripod; after which, first one stick, then a second, then the third shall be removed from under him, and the man shall not fall but shall still remain sitting in the air! Yet I have spoken with two friends who had seen this at one and the same time; and one of them, I may add, mistrusting his own eyes, had taken the trouble to feel about with a long stick if there were nothing on which the body rested; yet, as the gentleman told me, he could neither feel nor see any such thing. Still, I could only say that I could not believe it, as a thing too manifestly contrary to reason."

Akin to these performances, though exhibited by professed jugglers without claim to religious character, is a class of feats which might be regarded as simply inventions if told by one author only, but which seem to deserve prominent notice from their being recounted by a series of authors, certainly independent of one another, and writing at long intervals of time and place. Our first witness is Ibn Batuta, and it will be necessary to quote him as well as the others in full, in order to show how closely their evidence tallies. The Arab Traveller was present at a great entertainment at the Court of the Viceroy of Khansa (*Kinsay* of Polo, or *Hang-chan fu*): "That same night a juggler, who was one of the Kán's slaves, made his appearance, and the Amír said to him, 'Come and show us some of your marvels.' Upon this he took a wooden ball, with several holes in it, through which long thongs were passed, and, laying hold of one of these, slung it into the air. It went so high that we lost sight of it altogether. (It was the hottest season of the year, and we were outside in the middle of the palace court.) There now remained only a little of the end of a thong in the conjuror's hand, and he desired one of the boys who assisted him to lay hold of it and mount. He did so, climbing by the thong, and we lost sight of him also! The conjuror then called to him three times, but getting no answer, he snatched up a knife as if in a great rage, laid hold of the thong, and disappeared also! By and bye he threw down one of the boy's hands, then a foot, then the other hand, and then the other foot, then the trunk, and last of all the head! Then he came down himself, all puffing and panting, and with his clothes all bloody, kissed the ground before the Amír, and said something to him in Chinese. The Amír gave some order in reply, and our friend then took the lad's limbs, laid them together in their places, and gave a kick, when, presto! there was the boy, who got up and stood before us! All this astonished me beyond measure, and I had an attack of palpitation like that which overcame me once before in the presence of the Sultan of India, when he showed me something of the same kind. They gave me a cordial, however, which cured the attack. The Kazi Afkharuddin was next to me, and quoth he, '*Wallah!* 'tis my opinion there has been neither going up nor coming down, neither marring nor mending; 'tis all hocus pocus!'"

Now let us compare with this, which Ibn Batuta the Moor says he saw in China about the year 1348, the account which is given us by Edward Melton, an Anglo-Dutch traveller, of the performances of a Chinese gang of conjurors, which he witnessed at Batavia about the year 1670 (I have forgotten to note the year). After describing very vividly the *basket-murder* trick, which is well known in India, and now also in Europe, and some feats of bamboo balancing similar to those which were recently shown by Japanese performers in England, only more wonderful, he proceeds: "But now I am going to relate a thing which surpasses all belief, and which I should scarcely venture to insert here had it not been witnessed by thousands before my own eyes. One of the same gang took a ball of cord, and grasping one end of the cord in his hand slung the other up into the air with such force that its extremity was beyond reach of our sight. He then immediately climbed up the cord with indescribable swiftness, and got so high that we could no longer see him. I stood full

of astonishment, not conceiving what was to come of this; when lo! a leg came tumbling down out of the air. One of the conjuring company instantly snatched it up and threw it into the basket whereof I have formerly spoken. A moment later a hand came down, and immediately on that another leg. And in short all the members of the body came thus successively tumbling from the air and were cast together into the basket. The last fragment of all that we saw tumble down was the head, and no sooner had that touched the ground than he who had snatched up all the limbs and put them in the basket turned them all out again topsy-turvy. Then straightway we saw with these eyes all those limbs creep together again, and in short, form a whole



Chinese Conjuring Extraordinary.

man, who at once could stand and go just as before, without showing the least damage! Never in my life was I so astonished as when I beheld this wonderful performance, and I doubted now no longer that these misguided men did it by the help of the Devil. For it seems to me totally impossible that such things should be accomplished by natural means." The same performance is spoken of by Valentyn, in a passage also containing curious notices of the basket-murder trick, the mango trick, the sitting in the air (quoted above), and others; but he refers to Melton, and I am not sure whether he had any other authority for it. The cut on this page is taken from Melton's plate.

Again we have in the Memoirs of the Emperor Jahángir a detail of the wonderful performances of seven jugglers from Bengal who exhibited before him. Two of their

feats are thus described: "*Ninth*. They produced a man whom they divided limb from limb, actually severing his head from the body. They scattered these mutilated members along the ground, and in this state they lay for some time. They then extended a sheet or curtain over the spot, and one of the men putting himself under the sheet, in a few minutes came from below, followed by the individual supposed to have been cut into joints, in perfect health and condition, and one might have safely sworn that he had never received wound or injury whatever. . . . *Twenty-third*. They produced a chain of 50 cubits in length, and in my presence threw one end of it towards the sky, *where it remained as if fastened to something in the air*. A dog was then brought forward, and being placed at the lower end of the chain, immediately ran up, and reaching the other end, *immediately disappeared in the air*. In the same manner a hog, a panther, a lion, and a tiger were successively sent up the chain, and all equally disappeared at the upper end of the chain. At last they took down the chain and put it into a bag, no one ever discovering in what way the different animals were made to vanish into the air in the mysterious manner above described."

[There would appear (says the *Times of India*, quoted by the *Weekly Dispatch*, 15th September, 1889) to be a fine field of unworked romance in the annals of Indian jugglery. One Siddeshur Mitter, writing to the Calcutta paper, gives a thrilling account of a conjurer's feat which he witnessed recently in one of the villages of the Hooghly district. He saw the whole thing himself, he tells us, so there need be no question about the facts. On the particular afternoon when he visited the village the place was occupied by a company of male and female jugglers, armed with bags and boxes and musical instruments, and all the mysterious paraphernalia of the peripatetic *Jadugar*. While Siddeshur was looking on, and in the broad, clear light of the afternoon, a man was shut up in a box, which was then carefully nailed up and bound with cords. Weird spells and incantations of the style we are all familiar with were followed by the breaking open of the box, which, "to the unqualified amazement of everybody, was found to be perfectly empty." All this is much in the usual style; but what followed was so much superior to the ordinary run of modern Indian jugglery that we must give it in the simple Siddeshur's own words. When every one was satisfied that the man had really disappeared, the principal performer, who did not seem to be at all astonished, told his audience that the vanished man had gone up to the heavens to fight Indra. "In a few moments," says Siddeshur, "he expressed anxiety at the man's continued absence in the aerial regions, and said that he would go up to see what was the matter. A boy was called, who held upright a long bamboo, up which the man climbed to the top, whereupon we suddenly lost sight of him, and the boy laid the bamboo on the ground. Then there fell on the ground before us the different members of a human body, all bloody,—first one hand, then another, a foot, and so on, until complete. The boy then elevated the bamboo, and the principal performer, appearing on the top as suddenly as he had disappeared, came down, and seeming quite disconsolate, said that Indra had killed his friend before he could get there to save him. He then placed the mangled remains in the same box, closed it, and tied it as before. Our wonder and astonishment reached their climax when, a few minutes later, on the box being again opened, the man jumped out perfectly hearty and unhurt." Is not this rather a severe strain on one's credulity, even for an Indian jugglery story?]

In Philostratus, again, we may learn the antiquity of some jugglery tricks that have come up as novelties in our own day. Thus at Taxila a man set his son against a board, and then threw darts tracing the outline of the boy's figure on the board. This feat was shown in London some fifteen or twenty years ago, and humorously commemorated in *Punch* by John Leech.

(*Philostratus*, Fr. Transl. Bk. III. ch. xv. and xxvii.; *Mich. Glycas*, Ann. II. 156, Paris ed.; *Delrio, Disquis. Magic.* pp. 34, 100; *Koepfen*, I. 31, II. 82, 114-115, 260, 262, 280; *Vassilyev*, 156; *Della Penna*, 36; *S. Setzen*, 43, 353; *Pereg. Quat.* 117; *I. B.* IV. 39 and 290 *seqq.*; *Asiat. Researches*, XVII. 186; *Valentyjn*, V. 52-54; *Edward Melton, Engelsch Edelmans, Zeldzaame en Gedenkwaardige Zee en Land*

Reizen, etc., aangevangen in den Jaare 1660 en geëindigd in den Jaare 1677, Amsterdam, 1702, p. 468; *Mem. of the Emp. Jahangueir*, pp. 99, 102.)

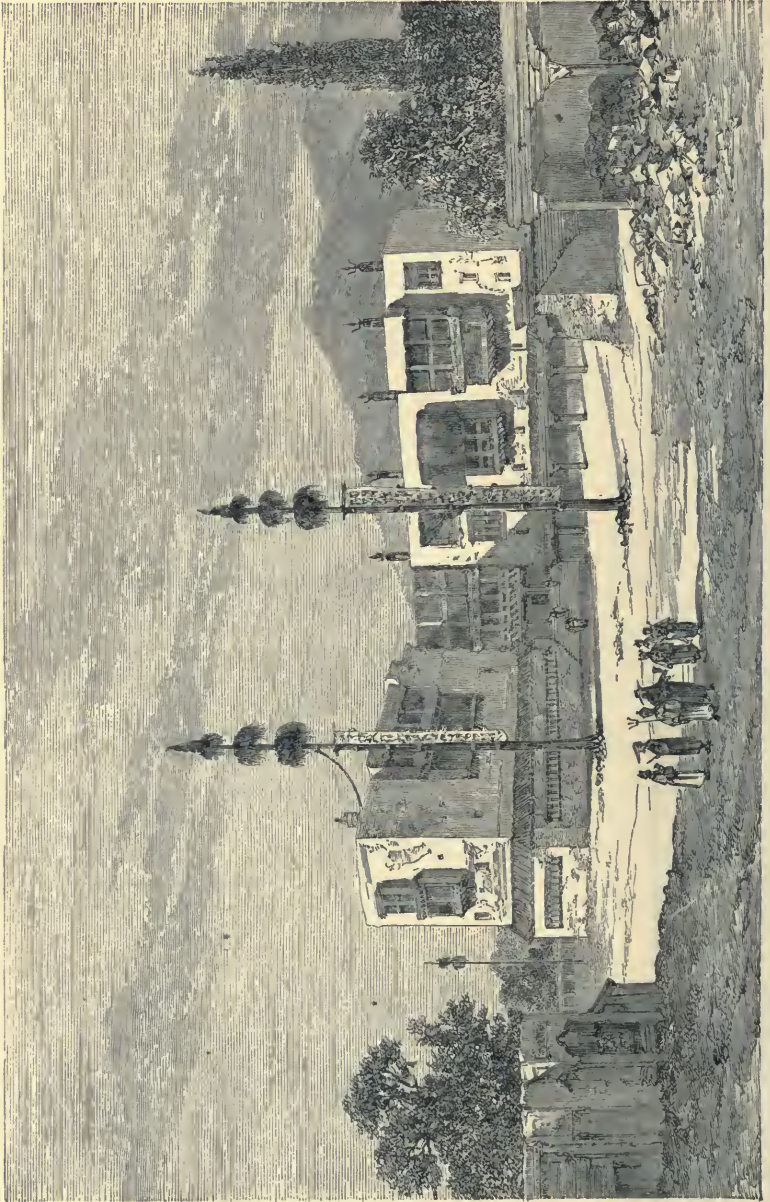
NOTE 12.—[“The maintenance of the Lamas, of their monasteries, the expenses for the sacrifices and for transcription of sacred books, required enormous sums. The Lamas enjoyed a preponderating influence, and stood much higher than the priests of other creeds, living in the palace as if in their own house. The perfumes, which M. Polo mentions, were used by the Lamas for two purposes; they used them for joss-sticks, and for making small turrets, known under the name of *ts'a-ts'a*; the joss-sticks used to be burned in the same way as they are now; the *ts'a-ts'a* were inserted in *suburgas* or buried in the ground. At the time when the *suburga* was built in the garden of the Peking palace in 1271, there were used, according to the Empress' wish, 1008 turrets made of the most expensive perfumes, mixed with pounded gold, silver, pearls, and corals, and 130,000 *ts'a-ts'a* made of ordinary perfumes.” (*Palladius*, 29.—H. C.)

NOTE 13.—There is no exaggeration in this number. Turner speaks of 2500 monks in one Tibetan convent. Huc mentions Chorchí, north of the Great Wall, as containing 2000; and Kúnbum, where he and Gabet spent several months, on the borders of Shensi and Tibet, had nearly 4000. The missionary itinerary from Nepal to L'hasa given by Giorgi, speaks of a group of convents at a place called Brepfung, which formerly contained 10,000 inmates, and at the time of the journey (about 1700) still contained 5000, including attendants. Dr. Campbell gives a list of twelve chief convents in L'hasa and its vicinity (not including the Potala or Residence of the Grand Lama), of which one is said to have 7500 members, resident and itinerant. Major Montgomerie's Pandit gives the same convent 7700 Lamas. In the great monastery at L'hasa called *Labrang*, they show a copper kettle holding more than 100 buckets, which was used to make tea for the Lamas who performed the daily temple service. The monasteries are usually, as the text says, like small towns, clustered round the great temples. That represented at p. 224 is at Jehol, and is an imitation of the Potala at L'hasa. (*Huc's Tartary, etc.*, pp. 45, 208, etc.; *Alph. Tibetan*, 453; *J. A. S. B.* XXIV. 219; *J. R. G. S.* XXXVIII. 168; *Koepfen*, II. 338.) [*La Géographie*, II. 1901, pp. 242-247, has an article by Mr. J. Deniker, *La Première Photographie de Lhasa*, with a view of *Potala*, in 1901, from a photograph by M. O. Norzunov; it is interesting to compare it with the view given by Kircher in 1670.—H. C.]

[“The monasteries with numbers of monks, who, as M. Polo asserts, behaved decently, evidently belonged to Chinese Buddhists, *ho-shang*; in Kúblái's time they had two monasteries in Shangtu, in the north-east and north-west parts of the town.” (*Palladius*, 29.) Rubruck (*Rockhill's* ed. p. 145) says: “All the priests (of the idolaters) shave their heads, and are dressed in saffron colour, and they observe chastity from the time they shave their heads, and they live in congregations of one or two hundred.”—H. C.]

NOTE 14.—There were many anomalies in the older Lamaism, and it permitted, at least in some sects of it which still subsist, the marriage of the clergy under certain limitations and conditions. One of Giorgi's missionaries speaks of a Lama of high *hereditary* rank as a spiritual prince who marries, but separates from his wife as soon as he has a son, who after certain trials is deemed worthy to be his successor. [“A good number of Lamas were married, as M. Polo correctly remarks; their wives were known amongst the Chinese, under the name of *Fan-sao*.” (*Ch'ue keng lu*, quoted by *Palladius*, 28.)—H. C.] One of the “reforms” of Tsongkhapa was the absolute prohibition of marriage to the clergy, and in this he followed the institutes of the oldest Buddhism. Even the *Red Lamas*, or unreformed, cannot now marry without a dispensation.

But even the oldest orthodox Buddhism had its Lay brethren and Lay sisters (*Upásaka* and *Upásiká*), and these are to be found in Tibet and Mongolia (*Voués au blanc*, as it were). They are called by the Mongols, by a corruption of the Sanskrit,



Monastery of Lamas.

Ubashi and *Ubashansa*. Their vows extend to the strict keeping of the five great commandments of the Buddhist Law, and they diligently ply the rosary and the prayer-wheel, but they are not pledged to celibacy, nor do they adopt the tonsure. As a sign of their amphibious position, they commonly wear a red or yellow girdle. These are what some travellers speak of as the lowest order of Lamas, permitted to marry; and Polo may have regarded them in the same light.

(*Koepfen*, II. 82, 113, 276, 291; *Timk.* II. 354; *Erman*, II. 304; *Alph. Tibet.* 449.)

NOTE 15.—[Mr. Rockhill writes to me that "bran" is certainly Tibetan *tsamba* (parched barley).—H. C.]

NOTE 16.—Marco's contempt for *Patarins* slips out in a later passage (Bk. III. ch. xx.). The name originated in the eleventh century in Lombardy, where it came to be applied to the "heretics," otherwise called "Cathari." Muratori has much on the origin of the name *Patarini*, and mentions a monument, which still exists, in the Piazza de' Mercanti at Milan, in honour of Oldrado Podestà of that city in 1233, and which thus, with more pith than grammar, celebrates his meritorious acts:—

"Qui solium struxit Catharos ut debuit UXIT."

Other cities were as piously Catholic. A Mantuan chronicler records under 1276: "Captum fuit Sermionum seu redditum fuit Ecclesiæ, et capti fuerunt cercha CL Patarini contra fidem, inter masculos et feminas; qui omnes ducti fuerunt Veronam, et ibi incarcerationati, et pro magna parte COMBUSTI." (*Murat. Dissert.* III. 238; *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* N.S. I. 49.)

NOTE 17.—Marsden, followed by Pauthier, supposes these unorthodox ascetics to be Hindu Sanyasis, and the latter editor supposes even the name *Sensi* or *Sensin* to represent that denomination. Such wanderers do occasionally find their way to Tartary; Gerbillon mentions having encountered five of them at Kuku Khotan (*supra*, p. 286), and I think John Bell speaks of meeting one still further north. But what is said of the great and numerous idols of the *Sensin* is inconsistent with such a notion, as is indeed, it seems to me, the whole scope of the passage. Evidently no occasional vagabonds from a far country, but some indigenous sectaries, are in question. Nor would bran and hot water be a Hindu regimen. The staple diet of the Tibetans is *Chamba*, the meal of toasted barley, mixed sometimes with warm water, but more frequently with hot tea, and I think it is probable that these were the elements of the ascetic diet rather than the mere *bran* which Polo speaks of. Semedo indeed says that some of the Buddhist devotees professed never to take any food but tea; knowing people said they mixed with it pellets of sun-dried beef. The determination of the sect intended in the text is, I conceive, to be sought in the history of Chinese or Tibetan Buddhism and their rivals.

Both Baldelli and Neumann have indicated a general opinion that the *Taossé* or some branch of that sect is meant, but they have entered into no particulars except in a reference by the former to *Shien-sien*, a title of perfection affected by that sect, as the origin of Polo's term *Sensin*. In the substance of this I think they are right. But I believe that in the text this Chinese sect are, rightly or wrongly, identified with the ancient Tibetan sect of *Bon-po*, and that part of the characters assigned belong to each.

First with regard to the *Taossé*. These were evidently the *Patarini* of the Buddhists in China at this time, and Polo was probably aware of the persecution which the latter had stirred up Kúblái to direct against them in 1281—persecution at least it is called, though it was but a mild proceeding in comparison with the thing contemporaneously practised in Christian Lombardy, for in heathen Cathay, books, and not human creatures, were the subjects doomed to burn, and even that doom was not carried out.

["The Tao-sze," says M. Polo, "were looked upon as heretics by the other sects; that is, of course, by the Lamas and Ho-shangs; in fact in his time a passionate struggle was going on between Buddhists and Tao-sze, or rather a persecution of the latter by the former; the Buddhists attributed to the doctrine of the Tao-sze a pernicious tendency, and accused them of deceit; and in support of these assertions they pointed to some of their sacred books. Taking advantage of their influence at Court, they persuaded Kúblái to decree the burning of these books, and it was carried out in Peking." (*Palladius*, 30.)—H. C.]

The term which Polo writes as *Sensin* appears to have been that popularly applied to the Taossé sect at the Mongol Court. Thus we are told by Rashfduddín in his *History of Cathay*: "In the reign of Din-Wang, the 20th king of this (the 11th) Dynasty, TAI SHANG LAI KÚN, was born. This person is stated to have been accounted a prophet by the people of Khitá; his father's name was HÁN; like Shák-múni he is said to have been conceived by light, and it is related that his mother bore him in her womb no less a period than 80 years. The people who embraced his doctrine were called *شین شین* (*Shán-shán* or *Shinshin*)." This is a correct epitome of the Chinese story of *Laokiun* or *Lao-tsé*, born in the reign of *Ting Wang* of the Cheu Dynasty. The whole title used by Rashfduddín, *Tai Shang Lao Kiun*, "The Great Supreme Venerable Ruler," is that formerly applied by the Chinese to this philosopher.

Further, in a Mongol [and Chinese] inscription of the year 1314 from the department of Si-ngan fu, which has been interpreted and published by Mr. Wylie, the Taossé priests are termed *Senshing*. [See *Devéria, Notes d'Épigraphie*, pp. 39-43, and Prince *R. Bonaparte's Recueil*, Pl. xii. No. 3.—H. C.]

Seeing then that the very term used by Polo is that applied by both Mongol and Persian authorities of the period to the Taossé, we can have no doubt that the latter are indicated, whether the facts stated about them be correct or not.

The word *Senshing-ud* (the Mongol plural) is represented in the Chinese version of Mr. Wylie's inscription by *Sín-sung*, a conventional title applied to literary men, and this perhaps is sufficient to determine the Chinese word which *Sensin* represents. I should otherwise have supposed it to be the *Shin-sian* alluded to by Baldelli, and mentioned in the quotations which follow; and indeed it seems highly probable that two terms so much alike should have been confounded by foreigners. Semedo says of the Taossé: "They pretend that by means of certain exercises and meditations one shall regain his youth, and others shall attain to be *Shien-sien*, i.e. 'Terrestrial Beati,' in whose state every desire is gratified, whilst they have the power to transport themselves from one place to another, however distant, with speed and facility." Schott, on the same subject, says: "By *Sian* or *Shin-sian* are understood in the old Chinese conception, and particularly in that of the Tao-Kiao [or Taossé] sect, persons who withdraw to the hills to lead the life of anchorites, and who have attained, either through their ascetic observances or by the power of charms and elixirs, to the possession of miraculous gifts and of terrestrial immortality." And M. Pauthier himself, in his translation of the *Journey of Khieu*, an eminent doctor of this sect, to the camp of the Great Chinghiz in Turkestan, has related how Chinghiz bestowed upon this personage "a seal with a tiger's head and a diplomá" (surely a lion's head, *Paizah* and *Yarligh*; see *infra*, Bk. II. ch. vii. note 2), "wherein he was styled *Shin Sien* or Divine Anchorite." *Sian-jin* again is the word used by Hiuen Tsang as the equivalent to the name of the Indian *Rishis*, who attain to supernatural powers.

[*Sensin* is a sufficiently faithful transcription of *Sien-seng* (*Sien-shing* in Pekingese); the name given by the Mongols in conversation as well as in official documents, to the Tao-sze, in the sense of preceptors, just as Lamas were called by them *Bacshi*, which corresponds to the Chinese *Sien-seng*. M. Polo calls them fasters and ascetics. It was one of the sects of Taouism. There was another one which practised cabalistic and other mysteries. The Tao-sze had two monasteries in


Shangtu, one in the eastern, the other in the western part of the town." (*Palladius*, 30.)—H. C.]

One class of the Tao priests or devotees does marry, but another class never does. Many of them lead a wandering life, and derive a precarious subsistence from the sale of charms and medical nostrums. They shave the sides of the head, and coil the remaining hair in a tuft on the crown, in the ancient Chinese manner; moreover, says Williams, they "are recognised by their slate-coloured robes." On the feast of one of their divinities whose title Williams translates as "High Emperor of the Sombre Heavens," they assemble before his temple, "and having made a great fire, about 15 or 20 feet in diameter, go over it barefoot, preceded by the priests and bearing the gods in their arms. They firmly assert that if they possess a sincere mind they will not be injured by the fire; but both priests and people get miserably burnt on these occasions." Escayrac de Lauture says that on those days they leap, dance, and whirl round the fire, striking at the devils with a straight Roman-like sword, and sometimes wounding themselves as the priests of Baal and Moloch used to do.

(*Astley*, IV. 671; *Morley* in *J. R. A. S.* VI. 24; *Semedo*, 111, 114; *De Mailla*, IX. 410; *J. As. sér.* V. tom. viii. 138; *Schott über den Buddhismus*, etc. 71; *Voyage de Khieou* in *J. As. sér.* VI. tom. ix. 41; *Middle Kingdom*, II. 247; *Doolittle*, 192; *Esc. de Lauture, Mém. sur la Chine, Religion*, 87, 102; *Pèler. Boudd.* II. 370, and III. 468.)

Let us now turn to the *Bon-po*. Of this form of religion and its sectaries not much is known, for it is now confined to the eastern and least known part of Tibet. It is, however, believed to be a remnant of the old pre-Buddhistic worship of the powers of nature, though much modified by the Buddhistic worship with which it has so long been in contact. Mr. Hodgson also pronounces a collection of drawings of Bonpo divinities, which were made for him by a mendicant friar of the sect from the neighbourhood of Tachindu, or Ta-t'sien-lu, to be saturated with *Sakta* attributes, *i.e.* with the spirit of the Tantrika worship, a worship which he tersely defines as "a mixture of lust, ferocity, and mummery," and which he believes to have originated in an incorporation with the Indian religions of the rude superstitions of the primitive Turanians. Mr. Hodgson was told that the Bonpo sect still possessed numerous and wealthy Vihars (or abbeys) in Tibet. But from the information of the Catholic missionaries in Eastern Tibet, who have come into closest contact with the sect, it appears to be now in a state of great decadence, "oppressed by the Lamas of other sects, the *Peunbo* (Bonpo) think only of shaking off the yoke, and getting deliverance from the vexations which the smallness of their number forces them to endure." In June, 1863, apparently from such despairing motives, the Lamas of Tsodam, a Bonpo convent in the vicinity of the mission settlement of Bonga in E. Tibet, invited the Rev. Gabriel Durand to come and instruct them. "In this temple," he writes, "are the monstrous idols of the sect of Peunbo; horrid figures, whose features only Satan could have inspired. They are disposed about the enclosure according to their power and their seniority. Above the pagoda is a loft, the nooks of which are crammed with all kinds of diabolical trumpery; little idols of wood or copper, hideous masques of men and animals, superstitious Lama vestments, drums, trumpets of human bones, sacrificial vessels, in short, all the utensils with which the devil's servants in Tibet honour their master. And what will become of it all? The Great River, whose waves roll to Martaban (the Lu-kiang or Salwen), is not more than 200 or 300 paces distant. . . . Besides the infernal paintings on the walls, eight or nine monstrous idols, seated at the inner end of the pagoda, were calculated by their size and aspect to inspire awe. In the middle was *Tamba-Shi-Rob*, the great doctor of the sect of the Peunbo, squatted with his right arm outside his red scarf, and holding in his left the vase of knowledge. . . . On his right hand sat *Keumta-Zon-bo*, 'the All-Good,' . . . with ten hands and three heads, one over the other. . . . At his right is *Dreuma*, the most celebrated goddess of the sect. On the left of *Tamba-Shi-Rob* was another goddess, whose name they never could tell me. On the left again of this anonymous goddess appeared *Tam-pla-ni-ber*, . . . a monstrous

dwarf environed by flames and his head garnished with a diadem of skulls. *He trod with one foot on the head of Shakia-tupa* [*Shakya Thubpa*, i.e. 'the Mighty Shakya,' the usual Tibetan appellation of Sakyā Buddha himself]. . . . The idols are made of a coarse composition of mud and stalks kneaded together, on which they put first a coat of plaster and then various colours, or even silver or gold. . . . *Four oxen would scarcely have been able to draw one of the idols.*" Mr. Emilius Schlagintweit, in a paper on the subject of this sect, has explained some of the names used by the missionary. *Tamba-Shi-Rob* is "*bstanpa gShen-rabs*," i.e. the doctrine of Shen-rabs, who is regarded as the founder of the Bon religion. [*Cf. Grenard*, II. 407.—H. C.] *Keun-tu-zon-bo* is "*Kun-tu-bzang-po*," "*the All Best.*"

[*Bon-po* seems to be (according to Grenard, II. 410) a "coarse naturism combined with ancestral worship" resembling Taoism. It has, however, borrowed a good deal from Buddhism. "I noticed," says Mr. Rockhill (*Journey*, 86), "a couple of grimy volumes of Bönbo sacred literature. One of them I examined; it was a funeral service, and was in the usual Bönbo jargon, three-fourths Buddhistic in its nomenclature." The Bonpo Lamas are above all sorcerers and necromancers, and are very similar to the *kam* of the Northern Turks, the *bô* of the Mongols, and lastly to the *Shamans*. During their operations, they wear a tall pointed black hat, surmounted by the feather of a peacock, or of a cock, and a human skull. Their principal divinities are the White God of Heaven, the Black Goddess of Earth, the Red Tiger and the Dragon; they worship an idol called *Kye'-p'ang* formed of a mere block of wood covered with garments. Their sacred symbol is the *svastika* turned from right to left . The

most important of their monasteries is *Zo-chen gum-pa*, in the north-east of Tibet, where they print most of their books. The Bonpos Lamas "are very popular with the agricultural Tibetans, but not so much so with the pastoral tribes, who nearly all belong to the Gélupa sect of the orthodox Buddhist Church." A. K. says, "Buddhism is the religion of the country; there are two sects, one named *Mangba* and the other *Chiba* or *Baimbu*." *Explorations made by A—K—*, 34. *Mangba* means "Esoteric," *Chiba* (*p'yi-ba*), "Exoteric," and *Baimbu* is Bönbo. *Rockhill, Journey*, 289, *et passim*.; *Land of the Lamas*, 217-218; *Grenard, Mission Scientifique*, II. 407 *seqq.*—H. C.]

There is an indication in Koepen's references that the followers of the *Bon* doctrine are sometimes called in Tibet *Nag-choi*, or "Black Sect," as the old and the reformed Lamas are called respectively the "Red" and the "Yellow." If so, it is reasonable to conclude that the first appellation, like the two last, has a reference to the colour of clothing affected by the priesthood.

The Rev. Mr. Jaeschke writes from Lahaul: "There are no Bonpos in our part of the country, and as far as we know there cannot be many of them in the whole of Western Tibet, i.e. in Ladak, Spiti, and all the non-Chinese provinces together; we know, therefore, not much more of them than has been made known to the European public by different writers on Buddhism in Tibet, and lately collected by Emil de Schlagintweit. . . . Whether they can be with certainty identified with the Chinese *Taossé* I cannot decide, as I don't know if anything like historical evidence about their Chinese origin has been detected anywhere, or if it is merely a conclusion from the similarity of their doctrines and practices. . . . But the Chinese author of the *Wei-tsang-tu-Shi*, translated by Klaproth, under the title of *Description du Tibet* (Paris, 1831), renders *Bonpo* by *Taossé*. So much seems to be certain that it was the ancient religion of Tibet, before Buddhism penetrated into the country, and that even at later periods it several times gained the ascendancy when the secular power was of a disposition averse to the Lamaitic hierarchy. Another opinion is that the Bon religion was originally a mere fetishism, and related to or identical with Shamanism; this appears to me very probable and easy to reconcile with the former supposition, for it may afterwards, on becoming acquainted with the Chinese doctrine of the 'Taossé,' have adorned itself with many of its tenets. . . . With regard to the following particulars, I have got most of my information from our Lama, a native of

the neighbourhood of Tashi Lhunpo, whom we consulted about all your questions. The extraordinary asceticism which struck Marco Polo so much is of course not to be understood as being practised by all members of the sect, but exclusively, or more especially, by the *priests*. That these *never* marry, and are consequently more strictly celibatary than many sects of the Lamaitic priesthood, was confirmed by our Lama." (Mr. Jaeschke then remarks upon the *bran* to much the same effect as I have done above.) "The Bonpos are by all Buddhists regarded as heretics. Though they worship idols partly the same, at least in name, with those of the Buddhists, . . . their rites seem to be very different. The most conspicuous and most generally known of their customs, futile in itself, but in the eyes of the common people the greatest sign of their sinful heresy, is that they perform the religious ceremony of making a turn round a sacred object *in the opposite direction* to that prescribed by Buddhism. As to their dress, our Lama said that they had no particular colour of garments, but their priests frequently wore red clothes, as some sects of the Buddhist priesthood do. Mr Heyde, however, once on a journey in our neighbouring county of Langskar, saw a man *clothed in black with blue borders*, who the people said was a *Bonpo*."

[Mr. Rockhill (*Journey*, 63) saw at Kao miao-tzū "a *red-gowned*, long-haired Bönbo Lama," and at Kumbum (p. 68), "was surprised to see quite a large number of Bönbo Lamas, recognisable by their huge mops of hair and their *red gowns*, and also from their being dirtier than the ordinary run of people."—H. C.]

The identity of the Bonpo and Taossé seems to have been accepted by Csoma de Körös, who identifies the Chinese founder of the latter, Lao-tseu, with the Shen-rabs of the Tibetan Bonpos. Klaproth also says, "Bhonbp'o, Bhanpo, and *Shen*, are the names by which are commonly designated (in Tibetan) the Taoszu, or follower of the Chinese philosopher Laotseu."* Schlagintweit refers to Schmidt's Tibetan Grammar (p. 209) and to the Calcutta edition of the *Fo-koué-ki* (p. 218) for the like identification, but I do not know how far any two of these are independent testimonies. General Cunningham, however, fully accepts the identity, and writes to me: "Fahian (ch. xxiii.) calls the heretics who assembled at Râmagrâma *Taossé*,† thus identifying them with the Chinese Finitimists. The Taossé are, therefore, the same as the *Swastikas*, or worshippers of the mystic cross *Swasti*, who are also *Tirthakaras*, or 'Pure-doers.' The synonymous word *Punya* is probably the origin of *Pon* or *Bon*, the Tibetan Finitimists. From the same word comes the Burmese *Pungyi* or *Pungsi*." I may add that the Chinese envoy to Cambodia in 1296, whose narrative Rémusat has translated, describes a sect which he encountered there, apparently Brahminical, as *Taossé*. And even if the Bonpo and the Taossé were not fundamentally identical, it is extremely probable that the Tibetan and Mongol Buddhists should have applied to them one name and character. Each played towards them the same part in Tibet and in China respectively; both were heretic sects and hated rivals; both made high pretensions to asceticism and supernatural powers; both, I think we see reason to believe, affected the dark clothing which Polo assigns to the *Sensin*; both, we may add, had "great idols and plenty of them." We have seen in the account of the Taossé the ground that certain of their ceremonies afford for the allegation that they "sometimes also worship fire," whilst the whole account of that rite and of others mentioned by Duhalde,‡ shows what a powerful element of the old devil-dancing Shamanism there is in their practice. The French Jesuit, on the other hand, shows us what a prominent place female

* *Shen*, or coupled with *jin* "people," *Shenjin*, in this sense affords another possible origin of the word *Sensin*; but it may in fact be at bottom, as regards the first syllable, the same with the etymology we have preferred.

† I do not find this allusion in Mr. Beal's new version of Fahian. [See Rémusat's éd. p. 227; Klaproth says (*Ibid.* p. 230) that the *Tao-ssu* are called in Tibetan *Bonbò* and *Younghroungpa*.—H. C.]

‡ Apparently they had at their command the whole encyclopædia of modern "Spiritualists." Duhalde mentions among their sorceries the art of producing by their invocations the figures of Lao-tseu and their divinities in the air, and of *making a pencil to write answers to questions without anybody touching it*.

divinities occupied in the Bon-po Pantheon,* though we cannot say of either sect that "their idols are all feminine." A strong symptom of relation between the two religions, by the way, occurs in M. Durand's account of the Bon Temple. We see there that *Shen-rabs*, the great doctor of the sect, occupies a chief and central place among the idols. Now in the Chinese temples of the Taossé the figure of *their* Doctor *Lao-tseu* is one member of the triad called the "Three Pure Ones," which constitute the chief objects of worship. This very title recalls General Cunningham's etymology of Bonpo.



Tibetan Bactsi.

[At the quarterly fair (*yueh kai*) of Ta-li (Yun-Nan), Mr. E. C. Baber (*Travels*, 158-159) says: "A Fakir with a praying machine, which he twirled for the salvation of the pious at the price of a few cash, was at once recognised by us; he was our old acquaintance, the Baktisi, whose portrait is given in *Colonel Yule's Marco Polo*." —H. C.]

(Hodgson, in *J. R. A. S.* XVIII. 396 *seqq.*; *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, XXXVI.)

* It is possible that this may point to some report of the mystic impurities of the Tantrists. The *Saktián*, or Tantrists, according to the Dabistan, hold that the worship of a female divinity affords a greater recompense. (II. 155.)

301-302, 424-427; *E. Schlagintweit, Ueber die Bon-pa Sekte in Tibet*, in the *Sitzensberichte* of the Munich Acad. for 1866, Heft I. pp. 1-12; *Koeppen*, II. 260; *Ladak*, p. 358; *J. As. sér. II. tom. i.* 411-412; *Rémusat. Nouv. Mém. Asiat. I.* 112; *Astley*, IV. 205; *Doolittle*, 191.)

NOTE 18.—Pauthier's text has *blons*, no doubt an error for *blous*. In the G. Text it is *bloies*. Pauthier interprets the latter term as "blond ardent," whilst the glossary to the G. Text explains it as both *blue* and *white*. *Raynouard's Romance Dict.* explains *Bloi* as "Blond." Ramusio has *biave*, and I have no doubt that *blue* is the meaning. The same word (*bloie*) is used in the G. Text, where Polo speaks of the bright colours of the Palace tiles at Cambaluc, and where Pauthier's text has "*vermeil et jaune et vert et blou*," and again (*infra*, Bk. II. ch. xix.), where the two corps of huntsmen are said to be clad respectively in *vermeil* and in *bloie*. Here, again, Pauthier's text has *bleu*. The Crusca in the description of the *Sensin* omits the colours altogether; in the two other passages referred to it has *bioda*, *biodo*.

[“The Tao-sze, says Marco Polo, wear dresses of black and blue linen; *i.e.* they wear dresses made of tatters of black and blue linen, as can be seen also at the present day.” (*Palladius*, 30.)—H. C.]

NOTE 19.—[“The idols of the Tao-sze, according to Marco Polo's statement, have female names; in fact, there are in the pantheon of Taoism a great many female divinities, still enjoying popular veneration in China; such are *Tow Mu* (the 'Ursa major,' constellation), *Pi-hia-yuen Kiun* (the celestial queen), female divinities for lying-in women, for children, for diseases of the eyes; and others, which are to be seen everywhere. The Tao-sze have, besides these, a good number of male divinities, bearing the title of *Kiun* in common with female divinities; both these circumstances might have led Marco Polo to make the above statement.” (*Palladius*, p. 30.)—H. C.]

BOOK SECOND.



- (1.) ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT KAAH CUBLAY;
OF HIS PALACES AND CAPITAL; HIS COURT,
GOVERNMENT, AND SPORTS.
- (2.) CITIES AND PROVINCES VISITED BY THE
TRAVELLER ON ONE JOURNEY WESTWARD
FROM THE CAPITAL TO THE FRONTIERS OF
MIEN IN THE DIRECTION OF INDIA.
- (3.) AND ON ANOTHER SOUTHWARD FROM THE
CAPITAL TO FUCHU AND ZAYTON.

BOOK II.

PART I.—THE KAAAN, HIS COURT AND CAPITAL.

CHAPTER I.

OF CUBLAY KAAAN, THE GREAT KAAAN NOW REIGNING, AND OF HIS GREAT PUISSANCE.

x Now am I come to that part of our Book in which I shall tell you of the great and wonderful magnificence of the Great Kaan now reigning, by name CUBLAY KAAAN; *Kaan* being a title which signifyeth "The Great Lord of Lords," or Emperor. And of a surety he hath good right to such a title, for all men know for a certain truth that he is the most potent man, as regards forces and lands and treasure, that existeth in the world, or ever hath existed from the time of our First Father Adam until this day. All this I will make clear to you for truth, in this book of ours, so that every one shall be fain to acknowledge that he is the greatest Lord that is now in the world, or ever hath been. And now ye shall hear how and wherefore.¹

NOTE 1.—According to Sanang Setzen, Chinghiz himself discerned young Kúblái's superiority. On his deathbed he said: "The words of the lad Kúblái are well worth attention; see, all of you, that ye heed what he says! One day he will sit in my seat and bring you good fortune such as you have had in my day!" (p. 105).

The Persian history of Wassáf thus exalts Kúblái: "Although from the frontiers of this country ('Irák) to the Centre of Empire, the Focus of the Universe, the genial abode of the ever-Fortunate Emperor and Just Kaan, is a whole year's journey, yet the stories that have been spread abroad, even in these parts, of his glorious deeds, his institutes, his decisions, his justice, the largeness and acuteness of his intellect, his correctness of judgment, his great powers of administration, from the mouths of credible witnesses, of well-known merchants and eminent travellers, are so surpassing, that one beam of his glories, one fraction of his great qualities, suffices to eclipse all that history tells of the Cæsars of Rome, of the Chosroes of Persia, of the Khagans of China, of the (Himyarite) Kails of Arabia, of the Tobbas of Yemen, and the Rajas of India, of the monarchs of the houses of Sassan and Búya, and of the Seljukian Sultans." (*Hammer's Wassaf*, orig. p. 37.)

Some remarks on Kúblái and his government by a Chinese author, in a more rational and discriminative tone, will be found below under ch. xxiii., note 2.

A curious Low-German MS. at Cologne, giving an account of the East, says of the "Keyser von Kathagien—syn recht Name is der groisse *Hunt!*" (Magnus Canis, the Big Bow-wow as it were. See *Orient und Occident*, vol. i. p. 640.)

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE REVOLT OF NAYAN, WHO WAS UNCLE TO THE GREAT KAAAN CUBLAY.

Now this Cublay Kaan is of the right Imperial lineage, being descended from Chinghis Kaan, the first sovereign of all the Tartars. And he is the sixth Lord in that succession, as I have already told you in this book. He came to the throne in the year of Christ, 1256, and the Empire fell to him because of his ability and valour and great worth, as was right and reason.¹ His brothers, indeed, and other kinsmen disputed his claim, but his it remained, both because maintained by his great valour, and because it was in law and right his, as being directly sprung of the Imperial line.

Up to the year of Christ now running, to wit 1298, he hath reigned two-and-forty years, and his age is about eighty-five, so that he must have been about forty-three years of age when he first came to the throne.² Before that time he had often been to the wars, and had shown himself a gallant soldier and an

excellent captain. But after coming to the throne he never went to the wars in person save once.³ This befel in the year of Christ, 1286, and I will tell you why he went.

There was a great Tartar Chief, whose name was NAYAN,⁴ a young man [of thirty], Lord over many lands and many provinces; and he was Uncle to the Emperor Cublay Kaan of whom we are speaking. And when he found himself in authority this Nayan waxed proud in the insolence of his youth and his great power; for indeed he could bring into the field 300,000 horsemen, though all the time he was liegeman to his nephew, the Great Kaan Cublay, as was right and reason. Seeing then what great power he had, he took it into his head that he would be the Great Kaan's vassal no longer; nay more, he would fain wrest his empire from him if he could. So this Nayan sent envoys to another Tartar Prince called CAIDU, also a great and potent Lord, who was a kinsman of his, and who was a nephew of the Great Kaan and his lawful liegeman also, though he was in rebellion and at bitter enmity with his sovereign Lord and Uncle. Now the message that Nayan sent was this: That he himself was making ready to march against the Great Kaan with all his forces (which were great), and he begged Caidu to do likewise from his side, so that by attacking Cublay on two sides at once with such great forces they would be able to wrest his dominion from him.

And when Caidu heard the message of Nayan, he was right glad thereat, and thought the time was come at last to gain his object. So he sent back answer that he would do as requested; and got ready his host, which mustered a good hundred thousand horsemen.

Now let us go back to the Great Kaan, who had news of all this plot.

NOTE 1.—There is no doubt that Kúblái was proclaimed Kaan in 1260 (4th month), his brother Mangku Kaan having perished during the siege of Hochau in Szechwan in August of the preceding year. But Kúblái had come into Cathay some years before as his brother's Lieutenant.

He was the *fifth*, not sixth, Supreme Kaan, as we have already noticed. (Bk. I. ch. li. note 2.)

NOTE 2.—Kúblái was born in the eighth month of the year corresponding to 1216, and had he lived to 1298 would have been eighty-two years old. [According to Dr. E. Bretschneider (*Peking*, 30), quoting the *Yuen-Shi*, Kúblái died at Khanbaligh, in the Tze-t'an tien in February, 1294.—H. C.] But by Mahomedan reckoning he would have been close upon eighty-five. He was the fourth son of Tuli, who was the youngest of Chinghiz's four sons by his favourite wife Burté Fujin. (See *De Mailla*, IX. 255, etc.)

NOTE 3.—This is not literally true; for soon after his accession (in 1261) Kúblái led an army against his brother and rival Arikbuga, and defeated him. And again in his old age, if we credit the Chinese annalist, in 1289, when his grandson Kanmala (or Kambala) was beaten on the northern frontier by Kaidu, Kúblái took the field himself, though on his approach the rebels disappeared.

Kúblái and his brother Hulaku, young as they were, commenced their military career on Chinghiz's last expedition (1226-1227). His most notable campaign was the conquest of Yunnan in 1253-1254. (*De Mailla*, IX. 298, 441.)

NOTE 4.—NAYAN was no "uncle" of Kúblái's, but a cousin in a junior generation. For Kúblái was the grandson of Chinghiz, and Nayan was the great-great-grandson of Chinghiz's brother Uchegin, called in the Chinese annals Pilgutai. [Belgutai was Chinghiz's step-brother. (*Palladius*).—H. C.] On this brother, the great-uncle of Kúblái, and the commander of the latter's forces against Arikbuga in the beginning of the reign, both Chinghiz and Kúblái had bestowed large territories in Eastern Tartary towards the frontier of Corea, and north of Liaotung towards the Manchu country. ["The situation and limits of his appanage are not clearly defined in history. According to Belgutai's biography, it was between the Onon and Kerulen (*Yuen shi*), and according to Shin Yao's researches (*Lo fung low wen kao*), at the confluence of the Argun and Shilka. Finally, according to Harabadur's biography, it was situated in Abalahu, which geographically and etymologically corresponds to modern Butkha (*Yuen shi*); Abalahu, as Kúblái himself said, was rich in fish; indeed, after the suppression of Nayan's rebellion, the governor of that country used to send to the Peking Court fishes weighing up to a thousand Chinese pounds (*kin*). It was evidently a country near the Amur River." (*Palladius*, l.c. 31.)—H. C.] Nayan had added to his inherited territory, and become very powerful. ["History has apparently connected Nayan's appanage with that of Hatan (a grandson of Ilachiun, brother of Chinghiz Khan), whose *ordo* was contiguous to Nayan's, on the left bank of the Amur, hypothetically east of Blagovietschensk, on the spot, where still the traces of an ancient city can be seen. Nayan's possessions stretched south to Kwangning, which belonged to his appanage, and it was from this town that he had the title of prince of Kwang-ning (*Yuen shi*)." (*Palladius*, l.c. 31.)—H. C.] Kaidu had gained influence over Nayan, and persuaded him to rise against Kúblái. A number of the other Mongol princes took part with him. Kúblái was much disquieted at the rumours, and sent his great lieutenant BAYAN to reconnoitre. Bayan was nearly captured, but escaped to court and reported to his master the great armament that Nayan was preparing. Kúblái succeeded by diplomacy in detaching some of the princes from the enterprise, and resolved to march in person to the scene of action, whilst despatching Bayan to the Karakorum frontier to intercept Kaidu. This was in the summer of 1287. What followed will be found in a subsequent note (ch. iv. note 6). (For Nayan's descent, see the Genealogical Table in the Appendix (A).)

CHAPTER III.

HOW THE GREAT KAAK MARCHED AGAINST NAYAN.

WHEN the Great Kaan heard what was afoot, he made his preparations in right good heart, like one who feared not the issue of an attempt so contrary to justice. Confident in his own conduct and prowess, he was in no degree disturbed, but vowed that he would never wear crown again if he brought not those two traitorous and disloyal Tartar chiefs to an ill end. So swiftly and secretly were his preparations made, that no one knew of them but his Privy Council, and all were completed within ten or twelve days. In that time he had assembled good 360,000 horsemen, and 100,000 footmen, —but a small force indeed for him, and consisting only of those that were in the vicinity. For the rest of his vast and innumerable forces were too far off to answer so hasty a summons, being engaged under orders from him on distant expeditions to conquer divers countries and provinces. If he had waited to summon all his troops, the multitude assembled would have been beyond all belief, a multitude such as never was heard of or told of, past all counting. In fact, those 360,000 horsemen that he got together consisted merely of the falconers and whippers-in that were about the court!¹

And when he had got ready this handful (as it were) of his troops, he ordered his astrologers to declare whether he should gain the battle and get the better of his enemies. After they had made their observations, they told him to go on boldly, for he would conquer and gain a glorious victory: whereat he greatly rejoiced.

So he marched with his army, and after advancing for 20 days they arrived at a great plain where Nayan lay with all his host, amounting to some 400,000 horse.

Now the Great Kaan's forces arrived so fast and so suddenly that the others knew nothing of the matter. For the Kaan had caused such strict watch to be made in every direction for scouts that every one that appeared was instantly captured. Thus Nayan had no warning of his coming and was completely taken by surprise; insomuch that when the Great Kaan's army came up, he was asleep in the arms of a wife of his of whom he was extravagantly fond. So thus you see why it was that the Emperor equipped his force with such speed and secrecy.

NOTE I.—I am afraid Marco, in his desire to impress on his readers the great power of the Kaan, is here giving the reins to exaggeration on a great scale.

Ramusio has here the following explanatory addition:—"You must know that in all the Provinces of Cathay and Mangi, and throughout the Great Kaan's dominions, there are too many disloyal folk ready to break into rebellion against their Lord, and hence it is needful in every province containing large cities and much population, to maintain garrisons. These are stationed four or five miles from the cities, and the latter are not allowed to have walls or gates by which they might obstruct the entrance of the troops at their pleasure. These garrisons as well as their commanders the Great Khan causes to be relieved every two years; and bridled in this way the people are kept quiet, and can make no disturbance. The troops are maintained not only by the pay which the Kaan regularly assigns from the revenues of each province, but also by the vast quantities of cattle which they keep, and by the sale of milk in the cities, which furnishes the means of buying what they require. They are scattered among their different stations, at distances of 30, 40, or 60 days (from the capital); and had Cublay decided to summon but the half of them, the number would have been incredible," etc.

[Palladius says (p. 37) that in the Mongol-Chinese documents, the Mongol garrisons cantoned near the Chinese towns are mentioned under the name of *Aolu*, but no explanation of the term is given.—H. C.]

The system of controlling garrisons, quartered at a few miles from the great cities, is that which the Chinese followed at Kashgar, Yarkand, etc. It is, in fact, our own system in India, as at Barrackpúr, Dinapúr, Sikandarábád, Mián Mír.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE BATTLE THAT THE GREAT KAAAN FOUGHT WITH NAYAN.

WHAT shall I say about it? When day had well broken, there was the Kaan with all his host upon a hill overlooking the plain where Nayan lay in his tent,

in all security, without the slightest thought of any one coming thither to do him hurt. In fact, this confidence of his was such that he kept no vedettes whether in front or in rear; for he knew nothing of the coming of the Great Kaan, owing to all the approaches having been completely occupied as I told you. Moreover, the place was in a remote wilderness, more than thirty marches from the Court, though the Kaan had made the distance in twenty, so eager was he to come to battle with Nayan.

And what shall I tell you next? The Kaan was there on the hill, mounted on a great wooden bartizan,¹ which was borne by four well-trained elephants, and over him was hoisted his standard, so high aloft that it could be seen from all sides. His troops were ordered in battles of 30,000 men apiece; and a great part of the horsemen had each a foot-soldier armed with a lance set on the crupper behind him (for it was thus that the footmen were disposed of);² and the whole plain seemed to be covered with his forces. So it was thus that the Great Kaan's army was arrayed for battle.

When Nayan and his people saw what had happened, they were sorely confounded, and rushed in haste to arms. Nevertheless they made them ready in good style and formed their troops in an orderly manner. And when all were in battle array on both sides as I have told you, and nothing remained but to fall to blows, then might you have heard a sound arise of many instruments of various music, and of the voices of the whole of the two hosts loudly singing. For this is a custom of the Tartars, that before they join battle they all unite in singing and playing on a certain two-stringed instrument of theirs, a thing right pleasant to hear. And so they continue in their array of battle, singing and playing in this pleasing manner, until the

great Naccara of the Prince is heard to sound. As soon as that begins to sound the fight also begins on both sides; and in no case before the Prince's Naccara sounds dare any commence fighting.³

So then, as they were thus singing and playing, though ordered and ready for battle, the great Naccara of the Great Khan began to sound. And that of Nayan also began to sound. And thenceforward the din of battle began to be heard loudly from this side and from that. And they rushed to work so doughtily with their bows and their maces, with their lances and swords, and with the arblasts of the footmen, that it was a wondrous sight to see. Now might you behold such flights of arrows from this side and from that, that the whole heaven was canopied with them and they fell like rain. Now might you see on this side and on that full many a cavalier and man-at-arms fall slain, insomuch that the whole field seemed covered with them. From this side and from that such cries arose from the crowds of the wounded and dying that had God thundered, you would not have heard Him! For fierce and furious was the battle, and quarter there was none given.⁴

But why should I make a long story of it? You must know that it was the most parlous and fierce and fearful battle that ever has been fought in our day. Nor have there ever been such forces in the field in actual fight, especially of horsemen, as were then engaged—for, taking both sides, there were not fewer than 760,000 horsemen, a mighty force! and that without reckoning the footmen, who were also very numerous. The battle endured with various fortune on this side and on that from morning till noon. But at the last, by God's pleasure and the right that was on his side, the Great Khan had the victory, and Nayan

lost the battle and was utterly routed. For the army of the Great Kaan performed such feats of arms that Nayan and his host could stand against them no longer, so they turned and fled. But this availed nothing for Nayan; for he and all the barons with him were taken prisoners, and had to surrender to the Kaan with all their arms.

Now you must know that Nayan was a baptized Christian, and bore the cross on his banner; but this nought availed him, seeing how grievously he had done amiss in rebelling against his Lord. For he was the Great Kaan's liegeman,⁵ and was bound to hold his lands of him like all his ancestors before him.⁶

NOTE 1.—“*Une grande bretesche.*” *Bretesche, Bertisca* (whence old English *Brattice*, and *Bartizan*), was a term applied to any boarded structure of defence or attack, but especially to the timber parapets and roofs often placed on the top of the flanking-towers in mediæval fortifications; and this use quite explains the sort of structure here intended. The term and its derivative *Bartizan* came later to be applied to projecting *gubrites* or watch-towers of masonry. *Brattice* in English is now applied to a fence round a pit or dangerous machinery. (See *Muratori, Dissert.* I. 334; *Wedgwood's Dict. of Etym.* sub. v. *Brattice*; *Viollet le Duc*, by *Macdermott*, p. 40; *La Curne de Sainte—Palaye, Dict.*; *F. Godefroy, Dict.*)

[John Ranking (*Hist. Res. on the Wars and Sports of the Mongols and Romans*) in a note regarding this battle writes (p. 60): “It appears that it is an old custom in Persia, to use four elephants a-breast.” The Senate decreed Gordian III. to represent him triumphing after the Persian mode, with chariots drawn with four elephants. *Augustan Hist.* vol. ii. p. 65. See plate, p. 52.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—This circumstance is mentioned in the extract below from Gaubil. He may have taken it from Polo, as it is not in Pauthier's Chinese extracts; but Gaubil has other facts not noticed in these.

[Elephants came from the Indo-Chinese Kingdoms, Burma, Siam, Ciampa.—H. C.]

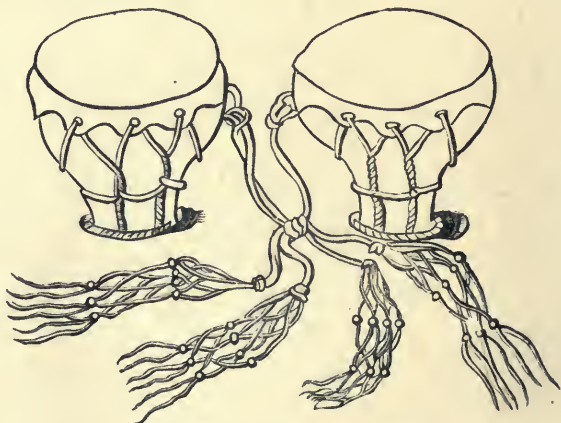
NOTE 3.—The specification of the Tartar instrument of two strings is peculiar to Pauthier's texts. It was no doubt what Dr. Clarke calls “the *balalaika* or two-stringed lyre,” the most common instrument among the Kalmaks.

The sounding of the Nakkára as the signal of action is an old Pan-Asiatic custom, but I cannot find that this very striking circumstance of the whole host of Tartars playing and singing in chorus, when ordered for battle and waiting the signal from the boom of the Big Drum, is mentioned by any other author.

The *Naḡḡárah* or *Nagárah* was a great kettledrum, formed like a brazen caldron, tapering to the bottom and covered with buffalo-hide—at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 feet in diameter. Bernier, indeed, tells of *Naḡḡáras* in use at the Court of Delhi that were not less than a fathom across; and Tod speaks of them in Rájputána as “about 8 or 10 feet in diameter.” The Tartar *Naḡḡárah*s were usually, I presume, carried on a camel; but as Kúblái had begun to use elephants, his may have been carried on an

elephant, as is sometimes the case in India. Thus, too, P. della Valle describes those of an Indian Embassy at Ispahan: "The Indian Ambassador was also accompanied by a variety of warlike instruments of music of strange kinds, and particularly by certain Naccheras of such immense size that each pair had an elephant to carry them, whilst an Indian astride upon the elephant between the two Naccheras played upon them with both hands, dealing strong blows on this one and on that; what a din was made by these vast drums, and what a spectacle it was, I leave you to imagine."

Joinville also speaks of the Nakkara as the signal for action: "So he was setting his host in array till noon, and then he made those drums of theirs to sound that they call *Nacaires*, and then they set upon us horse and foot." The Great Nakkara of the Tartars appears from several Oriental histories to have been called *Kürkah*. I cannot find this word in any dictionary accessible to me, but it is in the *Ain Akbari* (*Kawargah*) as distinct from the *Nakkarah*. Abulfazl tells us that Akbar not only had a rare knowledge of the science of music, but was likewise an excellent performer—especially on the *Nakkarah*!



Nakkaras. (From a Chinese original.)

The privilege of employing the Nakkara in personal state was one granted by the sovereign as a high honour and reward.

The crusades naturalised the word in some form or other in most European languages, but in our own apparently with a transfer of meaning. For Wright defines *Naker* as "a cornet or horn of brass." And Chaucer's use seems to countenance this:—

"Pipes, Trompes, Nakeres, and Clariounes,
That in the Bataille blowen bloody sounes."

—*The Knight's Tale*.

On the other hand, *Nacchera*, in Italian, seems always to have retained the meaning of *kettle-drum*, with the slight exception of a local application at Siena to a metal circle or triangle struck with a rod. The fact seems to be that there is a double origin, for the Arabic dictionaries not only have *Nakkarah*, but *Nakir*, and *Nakir*, "cornu, tuba." The orchestra of Bibars Bundukdâri, we are told, consisted of 40 pairs of kettle-drums, 4 drums, 4 hautbois, and 20 trumpets (*Nakir*). (*Sir B. Frere; Della Valle*, II. 21; *Tod's Râjasthân*, I. 328; *Joinville*, p. 83; *N. et E.* XIV. 129, and following note; *Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 50-51; *Ducange*, by Haenschel, s.v.; *Makrizi*, I. 173.)

[Dozy (*Supp. aux Dict. Arabes*) has **نقارة** [*naqqārē*] “petit tambour ou timbale, bassin de cuivre ou de terre recouvert d’une peau tendue,” and “grosses timbales en cuivre portées sur un chameau ou un mulet.”—Devic (*Dict. Étym.*) writes: “Bas Latin, *nacara*; bas grec, *ἀνάχαρα*. Ce n’est point comme on l’a dit, l’Arabe **نقير** *naqīr* ou **نقور** *nāqōr*, qui signifient *trompette, clairon*, mais le persan **نقار**, en arabe, **نقارة** *naqāra*, *timbale*.” It is to be found also in Abyssinia and south of Gondokoro; it is mentioned in the *Sedjarat Malayu*.

In French, it gives *nacaire* and *gnacare* from the Italian *gnacare*. “Quatre jouent de la guitare, quatre des castagnettes, quatre des gnacares.” (MOLIÈRE, *Pastorale Comique*.)—H. C.]



Nakkaras. (From an Indian original.)

NOTE 4.—This description of a fight will recur again and again till we are very tired of it. It is difficult to say whether the style is borrowed from the historians of the East or the romancers of the West. Compare the two following parallels. First from an Oriental history:—

“The Ear of Heaven was deafened with the din of the great *Kurkaks* and Drums, and the Earth shook at the clangour of the Trumpets and Clarions. The shafts began to fall like the rain-drops of spring, and blood flowed till the field looked like the Oxus.” (*J. A. S. sér. IV. tom. xix. 256*)

Next from an Occidental Romance:—

“Now rist grete tabour betyng,
Blaweyng of pypes, and ek trumpying,
Stedes lepyng, and ek arnyng,
Of sharp speres, and avalyng
Of stronge knighttes, and wygth meetyng;
Launces breche and increpyng;
Knighttes fallyng, stedes lesyng;
Herte and hevodes thorough keryng;
Swertes draweyng, lymes lesyng
Hard assaylyng, strong defendyng,
Stiff withstondyng and wighth fleigheyng.
Sharp of takyng armes spoylyng;
So gret bray, so gret crieyng,

Ifor the folk there was dyeing;
So muche dent, noise of sweord,
The thondur blast no myghte beo hirde,
 No the sunne hadde beo seye,
 For the dust of the poudré!
No the weolkyn seon be myght,
So was arewes and quarels flyght."

—*King Alisaunder, in Weber, I. 93-94.*

And again:—

"The eorthe quaked heom undur,
No scholde mon have herd the thondur."

—*Ibid. 142.*

Also in a contemporary account of the fall of Acre (1291): "Renovatur ergo bellum terribile inter alterutros . . . clamoribus interjectis hinc et inde ad terrorem; ita ut nec Deus tonans in sublime coaudiri potuisset." (*De Excidio Acconis, in Martene et Durand, V. 780.*)

NOTE 5.—"Car il estoit homme au Grant Kaan." (See note 2, ch. xiv., in Prologue.)

NOTE 6.—In continuation of note 4, chap. ii., we give Gaubil's conclusion of the story of Nayan: "The Emperor had gone ahead with a small force, when Nayan's General came forward with 100,000 men to make a reconnaissance. The Sovereign, however, put on a bold front, and though in great danger of being carried off, showed no trepidation. It was night, and an urgent summons went to call troops to the Emperor's aid. They marched at once, the horsemen taking the foot soldiers on the crupper behind them. Nayan all this while was taking it quietly in his camp, and his generals did not venture to attack the Emperor, suspecting an ambushade. Liting then took ten resolute men, and on approaching the General's camp, caused a Fire-Pao to be discharged; the report caused a great panic among Nayan's troops, who were very ill disciplined at the best. Meanwhile the Chinese and Tartar troops had all come up, and Nayan was attacked on all sides: by Liting at the head of the Chinese, by Yusitemur at the head of the Mongols, by Tutuha and the Emperor in person at the head of his guards and the troops of *Kincha* (Kipchak). The presence of the Emperor rendered the army invincible, and Nayan's forces were completely defeated. That prince himself was taken, and afterwards put to death. The battle took place in the vicinity of the river Liao, and the Emperor returned in triumph to Shangtu" (207). The Chinese record given in detail by Pauthier is to the like effect, except as to the Kaan's narrow escape, of which it says nothing.

As regards the Fire-Pao (the latter word seems to have been applied to military machines formerly, and now to artillery), I must refer to Favé and Reinaud's very curious and interesting treatise on the Greek fire (*du Feu Grégeois*). They do not seem to assent to the view that the arms of this description which are mentioned in the Mongol wars were cannon, but rather of the nature of rockets.

[Dr. G. Schlegel (*Toung Pao*, No. 1, 1902), in a paper entitled, *On the Invention and Use of Fire-Arms and Gunpowder in China, prior to the Arrival of Europeans*, says that "now, notwithstanding all what has been alleged by different European authors against the use of gunpowder and fire-arms in China, I maintain that not only the Mongols in 1293 had cannon, but that they were already acquainted with them in 1232." Among his many examples, we quote the following from the Books of the Ming Dynasty: "What were anciently called *P'ao* were all machines for hurling stones. In the beginning of the Mongol Dynasty (A.D. 1260), *p'ao* (catapults) of the Western regions were procured. In the siege [in 1233] of the city of *Ts'ai chow* of the *Kin* (Tatars), fire was for the first time employed (in these *p'ao*), but the art of making them was not handed down, and they were afterwards seldom used."—H. C.]

CHAPTER V.

HOW THE GREAT KAAH CAUSED NAYAN TO BE PUT TO DEATH.

AND when the Great Kaan learned that Nayan was taken right glad was he, and commanded that he should be put to death straightway and in secret, lest endeavours should be made to obtain pity and pardon for him, because he was of the Kaan's own flesh and blood. And this was the way in which he was put to death: he was wrapt in a carpet, and tossed to and fro so mercilessly that he died. And the Kaan caused him to be put to death in this way because he would not have the blood of his Line Imperial spilt upon the ground or exposed in the eye of Heaven and before the Sun.¹

And when the Great Kaan had gained this battle, as you have heard, all the Barons and people of Nayan's provinces renewed their fealty to the Kaan. Now these provinces that had been under the Lordship of Nayan were four in number; to wit, the first called CHORCHA; the second CAULY; the third BARSCOL; the fourth SIKINTINJU. Of all these four great provinces had Nayan been Lord; it was a very great dominion.²

And after the Great Kaan had conquered Nayan, as you have heard, it came to pass that the different kinds of people who were present, Saracens and Idolaters and Jews,³ and many others that believed not in God, did gibe those that were Christians because of the cross that Nayan had borne on his standard, and that so grievously that there was no bearing it. Thus they would say to the Christians: "See now what precious help this God's Cross of yours hath

rendered Nayan, who was a Christian and a worshipper thereof." And such a din arose about the matter that it reached the Great Kaan's own ears. When it did so, he sharply rebuked those who cast these gibes at the Christians; and he also bade the Christians be of good heart, "for if the Cross had rendered no help to Nayan, in that It had done right well; nor could that which was good, as It was, have done otherwise; for Nayan was a disloyal and traitorous Rebel against his Lord, and well deserved that which had befallen him. Wherefore the Cross of your God did well in that It gave him no help against the right." And this he said so loud that everybody heard him. The Christians then replied to the Great Kaan: "Great King, you say the truth indeed, for our Cross can render no one help in wrong-doing; and therefore it was that It aided not Nayan, who was guilty of crime and disloyalty, for It would take no part in his evil deeds."

And so thenceforward no more was heard of the floutings of the unbelievers against the Christians; for they heard very well what the Sovereign said to the latter about the Cross on Nayan's banner, and its giving him no help.

NOTE 1.—Friar Ricold mentions this Tartar maxim: "One Khan will put another to death, to get possession of the throne, but he takes great care that the blood be not spilt. For they say that it is highly improper that the blood of the Great Khan should be spilt upon the ground; so they cause the victim to be smothered somehow or other." The like feeling prevails at the Court of Burma, where a peculiar mode of execution without bloodshed is reserved for Princes of the Blood. And Kaempfer, relating the conspiracy of Faulcon at the Court of Siam, says that two of the king's brothers, accused of participation, were beaten to death with clubs of sandal-wood, "for the respect entertained for the blood-royal forbids its being shed." See also note 6, ch. vi. Bk. I., on the death of the Khalif Mosta'sim Billah. (*Pereg. Quat.* p. 115; *Mission to Ava*, p. 229; *Kaempfer*, I. 19.)

NOTE 2.—CHORCHA is the Manchu country, Niuché of the Chinese. (*Supra*, note 2, ch. xlv. Bk. I.) ["Chorcha is Churchin.—Nayan, as vassal of the Mongol khans, had the commission to keep in obedience the people of Manchuria (subdued in 1233), and to care for the security of the country (*Yuen shi*); there is no doubt that he shared these obligations with his relative Hatan, who stood nearer to the native tribes of Manchuria." (*Palladius*, 32.)—H. C.]

KAULI is properly Corea, probably here a district on the frontier thereof, as it is improbable that Nayan had any rule over Corea. ["The Korean kingdom proper could not be a part of the prince's appanage. Marco Polo might mean the northern part of Corea, which submitted to the Mongols in A.D. 1269, with sixty towns, and which was subordinated entirely to the central administration in Liao-yang. As to the southern part of Corea, it was left to the king of Corea, who, however, was a vassal of the Mongols." (*Palladius*, 32.) The king of Corea (*Ko rye*, *K'ao-li*) was in 1288 Chyong ryel wang (1274-1298); the capital was Syong-to, now K'ai syeng (K'ai-ch'eng).—H. C.]

BARSKUL, "Leopard-Lake," is named in Sanang Setsen (p. 217), but seems there to indicate some place in the west of Mongolia, perhaps the *Barkul* of our maps. This Barskul must have been on the Manchu frontier. [There are in the *Yuen-shi* the names of the department of *P'u-yü-lu*, and of the place *Pu-lo-ho*, which, according to the system of Chinese transcription, approach to Barscol; but it is difficult to prove this identification, since our knowledge of these places is very scanty; it only remains to identify Barscol with Abalahu, which is already known; a conjecture all the more probable as the two names of P'u-yü-lu and Pu-lo-ho have also some resemblance to Abalahu. (*Palladius*, 32.) Mr. E. H. Parker says (*China Review*, xviii. p. 261) that Barscol may be Pa-la ssü or Bars Koto [in Tsetsen]. "This seems the more probable in that Cauly and Chorchu are clearly proved to be Corea and Niuché or Manchuria, so that Bars Koto would naturally fall within Nayan's appanage."—H. C.]

The reading of the fourth name is doubtful, *Sichuigiu*, *Sichingiu* (G. T.), *Sichintingiu*, etc. The Chinese name of Mukden is *Shing-king*, but I know not if it be so old as our author's time. I think it very possible that the real reading is *Sinchintingiu*, and that it represents SHANGKING-TUNGKING, expressing the two capitals of the Kitan Dynasty in this region, the position of which will be found indicated in No. IV. map of Polo's itineraries. (See *Schott, Aelteste Nachrichten von Mongolen und Tartaren*, Berlin Acad. 1845, pp. 11-12.)

[Sikintinju is Kien chau "belonging to" a town which was in Nayan's appanage, and is mentioned in the history of his rebellion. There were two Kien-chow, one in the time of the Kin in the modern aimak of Khorchin; the other during the Mongol Dynasty, on the upper part of the river Ta-ling ho, in the limits of the modern aimak of Kharachin (*Man chow yuen lew K'ao*); the latter depended on Kuang-ning (*Yuen-shi*). Mention is made of Kien-chow, in connection with the following circumstance. When Nayan's rebellion broke out, the Court of Peking sent orders to the King of Corea, requiring from him auxiliary troops; this circumstance is mentioned in the *Corean Annals*, under the year 1288 (*K'ao li shi*, ch. xxx. f. 11) in the following words:—"In the present year, in the fourth month, orders were received from Peking to send five thousand men with provisions to Kien-chow, which is 3000 *li* distant from the King's residence." This number of *li* cannot of course be taken literally; judging by the distances estimated at the present day, it was about 2000 *li* from the *Corean K'ai-ch'eng fu* (then the *Corean capital*) to the Mongol Kien-chow; and as much to the Kien-chow of the Kin (through Mukden and the pass of Fa-k'u mun in the willow palisade). It is difficult to decide to which of these two cities of the same name the troops were ordered to go, but at any rate, there are sufficient reasons to identify Sikintinju of Marco Polo with Kien-chow." (*Palladius*, 33.)—H. C.]

We learn from Gaubil that the rebellion did not end with the capture of Nayan. In the summer of 1288 several of the princes of Nayan's league, under Hatan (apparently the *Abkan* of Erdmann's genealogies), the grandson of Chinghiz's brother Kajyun [Hachiu], threatened the provinces north-east of the wall. Kúblái sent his grandson and designated heir, Teimur, against them, accompanied by some of his best generals. After a two days' fight on the banks of the River Kweilei, the rebels were completely beaten. The territories on the said River *Kweilei*, the *Tiro*, or *Torro*, and the *Liao*, are mentioned both by Gaubil and De Mailla as among those which

had belonged to Nayan. As the Kweilei and Toro appear on our maps and also the better-known Liao, we are thus enabled to determine with tolerable precision Nayan's country. (See *Gaubil*, p. 209, and *De Mailla*, 431 *seqq.*)

["The rebellion of Nayan and Hatan is incompletely and contradictorily related in Chinese history. The suppression of both these rebellions lasted four years. In 1287 Nayan marched from his *ordo* with sixty thousand men through Eastern Mongolia. In the 5th moon (*var.* 6th) of the same year Khubilai marched against him from Shangtu. The battle was fought in South-Eastern Mongolia, and gained by Khubilai, who returned to Shangtu in the 8th month. Nayan fled to the south-east, across the mountain range, along which a willow palisade now stands; but forces had been sent beforehand from Shin-chow (modern Mukden) and Kuang-ning (probably to watch the pass), and Nayan was made prisoner.

"Two months had not passed, when Hatan's rebellion broke out (so that it took place in the same year 1287). It is mentioned under the year 1288, that Hatan was beaten, and that the whole of Manchuria was pacified; but in 1290, it is again recorded that Hatan disturbed Southern Manchuria, and that he was again defeated. It is to this time that the narratives in the biographies of Liting, Yuesi Femur, and Mangwu ought to be referred. According to the first of these biographies, Hatan, after his defeat by Liting on the river Kui lui (Kuilar?), fled, and perished. According to the second biography, Hatan's dwelling (on the Amur River) was destroyed, and he disappeared. According to the third, Mangwu and Naimatai pursued Hatan to the extreme north, up to the eastern sea-coast (the mouth of the Amur). Hatan fled, but two of his wives and his son Lao-ti were taken; the latter was executed, and this was the concluding act of the suppression of the rebellion in Manchuria. We find, however, an important *variante* in the history of Corea; it is stated there that in 1290, Hatan and his son Lao-ti were carrying fire and slaughter to Corea, and devastated that country; they slew the inhabitants and fed on human flesh. The King of Corea fled to the Kiang-hwa island. The Coreans were not able to withstand the invasion. The Mongols sent to their aid in 1291, troops under the command of two generals, Seshekan (who was at that time governor of Liao-tung) and Namantai (evidently the above-mentioned Naimatai). The Mongols conjointly with the Coreans defeated the insurgents, who had penetrated into the very heart of the country; their corpses covered a space 30 *li* in extent; Hatan and his son made their way through the victorious army and fled, finding a refuge in the Niuchi (Djurdji) country, from which Laotai made a later incursion into Corea. Such is the discrepancy between historians in relating the same fact. The statement found in the Corean history seems to me more reliable than the facts given by Chinese history." (*Palladius*, 35-37.)—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—This passage, and the extract from Ramusio's version attached to the following chapter, contain the only allusions by Marco to Jews in China. John of Monte Corvino alludes to them, and so does Marignolli, who speaks of having held disputations with them at Cambaluc; Ibn Batuta also speaks of them at Khansa or Hangchau. Much has been written about the ancient settlement of Jews at Kaifungfu, in Honan. One of the most interesting papers on the subject is in the *Chinese Repository*, vol. xx. It gives the translation of a Chinese-Jewish Inscription, which in some respects forms a singular parallel to the celebrated Christian Inscription of Si-ngan fu, though it is of far more modern date (1511). It exhibits, as that inscription does, the effect of Chinese temperament or language, in modifying or diluting doctrinal statements. Here is a passage: "With respect to the Israelitish religion, we find on inquiry that its first ancestor, Adam, came originally from India, and that during the (period of the) Chau State the Sacred Writings were already in existence. The Sacred Writings, embodying Eternal Reason, consist of 53 sections. The principles therein contained are very abstruse, and the Eternal Reason therein revealed is very mysterious, being treated with the same veneration as Heaven. The founder of the religion is Abraham, who is considered the first teacher of it.

Then came Moses, who established the Law, and handed down the Sacred Writings. After his time, during the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A.D. 221), this religion entered China. In (A.D.) 1164, a synagogue was built at P'ien. In (A.D.) 1296, the old Temple was rebuilt, as a place in which the Sacred Writings might be deposited with veneration."

[According to their oral tradition, the Jews came to China from *Si Yih* (Western Regions), probably Persia, by Khorasan and Samarkand, during the first century of our era, in the reign of the Emperor Ming-ti (A.D. 58-75) of the Han Dynasty. They were at times confounded with the followers of religions of India, *T'ien Chu kiao*, and very often with the Mohammedans *Hwui-Hwui* or *Hwui-tzū*; the common name of their religion was *Tiao kin kiao*, "Extract Sineu Religion." However, three lapidary inscriptions, kept at Kai-fung, give different dates for the arrival of the Jews in China: one dated 1489 (2nd year Hung Che, Ming Dynasty) says that seventy Jewish families arrived at P'ien liang (Kai-fung) at the time of the Sung (A.D. 960-1278); one dated 1512 (7th year Chêng Têh) says that the Jewish religion was introduced into China under the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206-A.D. 221), and the last one dated 1663 (2nd year K'ang-hi) says that this religion was first preached in China under the Chau Dynasty (B.C. 1122-255); this will not bear discussion.

The synagogue, according to these inscriptions, was built in 1163, under the Sung Emperor Hiao; under the Yuen, in 1279, the rabbi rebuilt the ancient temple known as *T'ing Chen sse*, probably on the site of a ruined mosque; the synagogue was rebuilt in 1421 during the reign of Yung-lo; it was destroyed by an inundation of the Hwang-ho in 1642, and the Jews began to rebuild it once more in 1653.

The first knowledge Europeans had of a colony of Jews at K'ai-fung fu, in the Ho-nan province, was obtained through the Jesuit missionaries at Peking, at the beginning of the 17th century; the celebrated Matteo Ricci having received the visit of a young Jew, the Jesuits Aleni (1613), Gozani (1704), Gaubil and Domenge who made in 1721 two plans of the synagogue, visited Kai-fung and brought back some documents. In 1850, a mission of enquiry was sent to that place by the *London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews*; the results of this mission were published at Shang-hai, in 1851, by Bishop G. Smith of Hongkong; fac-similes of the Hebrew manuscripts obtained at the synagogue of Kai-fung were also printed at Shang-hai at the London Missionary Society's Press, in the same year. The Jewish merchants of London sent in 1760 to their brethren of Kai-fung a letter written in Hebrew; a Jewish merchant of Vienna, J. L. Liebermann, visited the Kai-fung colony in 1867. At the time of the T'ai-P'ing rising, the rebels marched against Kai-fung in 1857, and with the rest of the population, the Jews were dispersed. (*J. Tobar, Insc. juives de Kai-fong-fou*, 1900; *Henri Cordier, Les Juifs en Chine*, and *Fung and Wagnall's Jewish Encyclopedia*.) Palladius writes (p. 38), "The Jews are mentioned for the first time in the *Yuen shi* (ch. xxxiii. p. 7), under the year 1329, on the occasion of the re-establishment of the law for the collection of taxes from dissidents. Mention of them is made again under the year 1354, ch. xliii. fol. 10, when on account of several insurrections in China, rich Mahometans and Jews were invited to the capital in order to join the army. In both cases they are named *Chu hu* (Djuhud)."—H. C.]

The synagogue at Kai-fungfu has recently been demolished for the sake of its materials, by the survivors of the Jewish community themselves, who were too poor to repair it. The tablet that once adorned its entrance, bearing in gilt characters the name ESZLOYIH (Israel), has been appropriated by a mosque. The 300 or 400 survivors seem in danger of absorption into the Mahomedan or heathen population. The last Rabbi and possessor of the sacred tongue died some thirty or forty years ago, the worship has ceased, and their traditions have almost died away.

(*Cathay*, 225, 341, 497; *Ch. Rep.* XX. 436; *Dr. Martin*, in *J. N. China Br. R.A.S.* 1866, pp. 32-33.)

CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE GREAT KAAH WENT BACK TO THE CITY OF CAMBALUC.

AND after the Great Kaan had defeated Nayan in the way you have heard, he went back to his capital city of Cambaluc and abode there, taking his ease and making festivity. And the other Tartar Lord called Caydu was greatly troubled when he heard of the defeat and death of Nayan, and held himself in readiness for war; but he stood greatly in fear of being handled as Nayan had been.¹

I told you that the Great Kaan never went on a campaign but once, and it was on this occasion; in all other cases of need he sent his sons or his barons into the field. But this time he would have none go in command but himself, for he regarded the presumptuous rebellion of Nayan as far too serious and perilous an affair to be otherwise dealt with.

NOTE I.—Here Ramusio has a long and curious addition. Kúblái, it says, remained at Cambaluc till March, "in which our Easter occurs; and learning that this was one of our chief festivals, he summoned all the Christians, and bade them bring with them the Book of the Four Gospels. This he caused to be incensed many times with great ceremony, kissing it himself most devoutly, and desiring all the barons and lords who were present to do the same. And he always acts in this fashion at the chief Christian festivals, such as Easter and Christmas. And he does the like at the chief feasts of the Saracens, Jews, and Idolaters. On being asked why, he said: 'There are Four Prophets worshipped and revered by all the world. The Christians say their God is Jesus Christ; the Saracens, Mahomet; the Jews, Moses; the Idolaters, Sogomon Borcan [*Sakya-Muni Burkhan* or Buddha], who was the first god among the idols; and I worship and pay respect to all four, and pray that he among them who is greatest in heaven in very truth may aid me.' But the Great Khan let it be seen well enough that he held the Christian Faith to be the truest and best—for, as he says, it commands nothing that is not perfectly good and holy. But he will not allow the Christians to carry the Cross before them, because on it was scourged and put to death a person so great and exalted as Christ.

"Some one may say: 'Since he holds the Christian faith to be best, why does he not attach himself to it, and become a Christian?' Well, this is the reason that he gave to Messer Nicolo and Messer Maffeo, when he sent them as his envoys to the Pope, and when they sometimes took occasion to speak to him about the faith of Christ. He said: 'How would you have me to become a Christian? You see that

the Christians of these parts are so ignorant that they achieve nothing and can achieve nothing, whilst you see the Idolaters can do anything they please, insomuch that when I sit at table the cups from the middle of the hall come to me full of wine or other liquor without being touched by anybody, and I drink from them. They control storms, causing them to pass in whatever direction they please, and do many other marvels; whilst, as you know, their idols speak, and give them predictions on whatever subjects they choose. But if I were to turn to the faith of Christ and become a Christian, then my barons and others who are not converted would say: "What has moved you to be baptised and to take up the faith of Christ? What powers or miracles have you witnessed on His part?" (You know the Idolaters here say that their wonders are performed by the sanctity and power of their idols.) Well, I should not know what answer to make; so they would only be confirmed in their errors, and the Idolaters, who are adepts in such surprising arts, would easily compass my death. But now you shall go to your Pope, and pray him on my part to send hither an hundred men skilled in your law, who shall be capable of rebuking the practices of the Idolaters to their faces, and of telling them that they too know how to do such things but will not, because they are done by the help of the devil and other evil spirits, and shall so control the Idolaters that these shall have no power to perform such things in their presence. When we shall witness this we will denounce the Idolaters and their religion, and then I will receive baptism; and when I shall have been baptised, then all my barons and chiefs shall be baptised also, and their followers shall do the like, and thus in the end there will be more Christians here than exist in your part of the world!

"And if the Pope, as was said in the beginning of this book, had sent men fit to preach our religion, the Grand Kaan would have turned Christian; for it is an undoubted fact that he greatly desired to do so."

In the simultaneous patronage of different religions, Kúblái followed the practice of his house. Thus Rubruquis writes of his predecessor Mangku Kaan: "It is his custom, on such days as his diviners tell him to be festivals, or any of the Nestorian priests declare to be holydays, to hold a court. On these occasions the Christian priests enter first with their paraphernalia, and pray for him, and bless his cup. They retire, and then come the Saracen priests and do likewise; the priests of the Idolaters follow. He all the while believes in none of them, though they all follow his court as flies follow honey. He bestows his gifts on all of them, each party believes itself to be his favourite, and all prophesy smooth things to him." Abulfaragius calls Kúblái "a just prince and a wise, who loved Christians and honoured physicians of learning, whatsoever their nation."

There is a good deal in Kúblái that reminds us of the greatest prince of that other great Mongol house, Akbar. And if we trusted the first impression of the passage just quoted from Ramusio, we might suppose that the grandson of Chinghiz too had some of that real wistful regard towards the Lord Jesus Christ, of which we seem to see traces in the grandson of Baber. But with Kúblái, as with his predecessors, religion seems to have been only a political matter; and this aspect of the thing will easily be recognised in a re-perusal of his conversation with Messer Nicolas and Messer Maffeo. The Kaan must be obeyed; how man shall worship God is indifferent; this was the constant policy of his house in the days of its greatness. Kúblái, as Koeppen observes, the first of his line to raise himself above the natural and systematic barbarism of the Mongols, probably saw in the promotion of Tibetan Buddhism, already spread to some extent among them, the readiest means of civilising his countrymen. But he may have been quite sincere in saying what is here ascribed to him in *this* sense, viz.: that if the Latin Church, with its superiority of character and acquirement, had come to his aid as he had once requested, he would gladly have used *its* missionaries as his civilising instruments instead of the Lamas and their trumpery. (*Rubr.* 313; *Assemani*, III. pt. ii. 107; *Koeppen*, II. 89, 96.)

CHAPTER VII.

HOW THE KAAK REWARDED THE VALOUR OF HIS CAPTAINS.

So we will have done with this matter of Nayan, and go on with our account of the great state of the Great Kaan.

We have already told you of his lineage and of his age; but now I must tell you what he did after his return, in regard to those barons who had behaved well in the battle. Him who was before captain of 100 he made captain of 1000; and him who was captain of 1000 men he made to be captain of 10,000, advancing every man according to his deserts and to his previous rank. Besides that, he also made them presents of fine silver plate and other rich appointments; gave them Tablets of Authority of a higher degree than they held before; and bestowed upon them fine jewels of gold and silver, and pearls and precious stones; insomuch that the amount that fell to each of them was something astonishing. And yet 'twas not so much as they had deserved; for never were men seen who did such feats of arms for the love and honour of their Lord, as these had done on that day of the battle.¹

Now those Tablets of Authority, of which I have spoken, are ordered in this way. The officer who is a captain of 100 hath a tablet of silver; the captain of 1000 hath a tablet of gold or silver-gilt; the commander of 10,000 hath a tablet of gold, with a lion's head on it. And I will tell you the weight of the different tablets, and what they denote. The tablets of the captains of 100 and 1000 weigh each of them 120 *saggi*; and the tablet with the lion's head engraven on it, which is that of the commander of 10,000, weighs 220 *saggi*. And on

each of the tablets is inscribed a device, which runs :
“*By the strength of the great God, and of the great grace which He hath accorded to our Emperor, may the name of the Kaan be blessed ; and let all such as will not obey him be slain and be destroyed.*” And I will tell you besides that all who hold these tablets likewise receive warrants in writing, declaring all their powers and privileges.

I should mention too that an officer who holds the chief command of 100,000 men, or who is general-in-chief of a great host, is entitled to a tablet that weighs 300 *saggi*. It has an inscription thereon to the same purport that I have told you already, and below the inscription there is the figure of a lion, and below the lion the sun and moon. They have warrants also of their high rank, command, and power.² Every one, moreover, who holds a tablet of this exalted degree is entitled, whenever he goes abroad, to have a little golden canopy, such as is called an umbrella, carried on a spear over his head in token of his high command. And whenever he sits, he sits in a silver chair.³

To certain very great lords also there is given a tablet with *gerfalcons* on it ; this is only to the very greatest of the Kaan's barons, and it confers on them his own full power and authority ; so that if one of those chiefs wishes to send a messenger any whither, he can seize the horses of any man, be he even a king, and any other chattels at his pleasure.⁴

NOTE 1.—So Sanang Setzen relates that Chinghiz, on returning from one of his great campaigns, busied himself in reorganising his forces and bestowing rank and title, according to the deserts of each, on his nine *Orlok*, or marshals, and all who had done good service. “He named commandants over hundreds, over thousands, over ten thousands, over hundred thousands, and opened his treasury to the multitude of the people” (p. 91).

NOTE 2.—We have several times already had mention of these tablets. (See Prologue, ch. viii. and xviii.) The earliest European allusion to them is in Rubruquis : “And Mangu gave to the Moghul (whom he was going to send to the

King of France) a bull of his, that is to say, a golden plate of a palm in breadth and half a cubit in length, on which his orders were inscribed. Whosoever is the bearer of that may order what he pleases, and his order shall be executed straightway."

These golden bulls of the Mongol Kaans appear to have been originally tokens of high favour and honour, though afterwards they became more frequent and conventional. They are often spoken of by the Persian historians of the Mongols under the name of *Pāizah*, and sometimes *Pāizah Sir-i-Sher*, or "Lion's Head Paizah." Thus, in a firmán of Ghazan Khan, naming a viceroy to his conquests in Syria, the Khan confers on the latter "the sword, the august standard, the drum, and the *Lion's Head Paizah*." Most frequently the grant of this honour is coupled with *Yarligh*; "to such an one were granted *Yarligh* and *Pāizah*," the former word (which is still applied in Turkey to the Sultan's rescripts) denoting the written patent which accompanies the grant of the tablet, just as the sovereign's warrant accompanies the badge of a modern Order. Of such written patents also Marco speaks in this passage, and as he uttered it, no doubt the familiar words *Yarligh u Pāizah* were in his mind. The Armenian history of the Orpeliens, relating the visit of Prince Sempad, brother of King Hayton, to the court of Mangku Kaan, says: "They gave him also a *Pāizah* of gold, *i.e.* a tablet whereon the name of God is written by the Great Kaan himself; and this constitutes the greatest honour known among the Mongols. Farther, they drew up for him a sort of patent, which the Mongols call *Iarlek*," etc. The Latin version of a grant by Uzbek Khan of Kipchak to the Venetian Andrea Zeno, in 1333,* ends with the words: "*Dedimus* baixa et privilegium cum bullis rubeis," where the latter words no doubt represent the *Yarligh at-tanghd*, the warrant with the red seal or stamp,† as it may be seen upon the letter of Arghun Khan. (See plate at ch. xvii. of Bk. IV.). So also Janibek, the son of Uzbek, in 1344, confers privileges on the Venetians, "*eisdem dando* baissinum de auro"; and again Bardibeg, son, murderer, and successor of Janibeg, in 1358, writes: "Aveno dado comandamento [*i.e.* *Yarligh*] cum le bolle rosse, et lo *paysam*."

Under the Persian branch, at least, of the house the degree of honour was indicated by the number of lions' heads upon the plate, which varied from 1 to 5. The Lion and Sun, a symbol which survives, or has been revived, in the modern Persian decoration so called, formed the emblem of the Sun in Leo, *i.e.* in highest power. It had already been used on the coins of the Seljukian sovereigns of Persia and Iconium; it appears on coins of the Mongol Ilkhans Ghazan, Oljaitu, and Abusaid, and it is also found on some of those of Mahomed Uzbek Khan of Kipchak.

Hammer gives regulations of Ghazan Khan's on the subject of the Paizah, from which it is seen that the latter were of different kinds as well as degrees. Some were held by great governors and officers of state, and these were cautioned against letting the Paizah out of their own keeping; others were for officers of inferior order; and, again, "for persons travelling on state commissions with post-horses, particular paizah (which Hammer says were of brass) are appointed, on which their names are inscribed." These last would seem therefore to be merely such permissions to travel by the Government post-horses as are still required in Russia, perhaps in lineal derivation from Mongol practice. The terms of Ghazan's decree and other contemporary notices show that great abuses were practised with the Paizah, as an authority for living at free quarters and making other arbitrary exactions.

The word *Paizah* is said to be Chinese, *Pai-tseu*, "a tablet." A trace of the name and the thing still survives in Mongolia. The horse-*Bai* is the name applied to



Seljukian Coin with the Lion and Sun.

* "In anno Simiæ, octavâ lunâ, die quarto exeunte, juxta fluvium Cobam (*the Kuban*), apud Ripam Rubeam existentes scripsimus." The original was in lingua Persayca.

† See *Golden Horde*, p. 218.

a certain ornament on the horse caparison, which gives the rider a title to be furnished with horses and provisions on a journey.

Where I have used the Venetian term *saggio*, the French texts have here and elsewhere *saics* and *saies*, and sometimes *pois*. *Saic* points to *saiga*, which, according to Dupré de St. Maur, is in the Salic laws the equivalent of a denier or the twelfth part of a sol. *Saggio* is possibly the same word, or rather may have been confounded with it, but the *saggio* was a recognised Venetian weight equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of an ounce. We shall see hereafter that Polo appears to use it to indicate the *miskál*, a weight which may be taken at 74 grains Troy. On that supposition the smallest tablet specified in the text would weigh $18\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. Troy.

I do not know if any gold Paizah has been discovered, but several of silver have been found in the Russian dominions; one near the Dnieper, and two in Eastern Siberia. The first of our plates represents one of these, which was found in the Minusinsk circle of the Government of Yenisei in 1846, and is now in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of St. Petersburg. For the sake of better illustration of our text, I have taken the liberty to represent the tablet as of gold, instead of silver with only the inscription gilt. The moulded ring inserted in the orifice, to suspend the plate by, is of iron. On the reverse side the ring bears some Chinese characters engraved, which are interpreted as meaning "Publication No. 42." The inscription on the plate itself is in the Mongol language and Baspa character (*supra*, Prologue, note 1, ch. xv.), and its purport is a remarkable testimony to the exactness of Marco's account, and almost a proof of his knowledge of the language and character in which the inscriptions were engraved. It runs, according to Schmidt's version: "*By the strength of the eternal heaven! May the name of the Khagan be holy! Who pays him not reverence is to be slain; and must die!*" The inscriptions on the other plates discovered were essentially similar in meaning. Our second plate shows one of them with the inscription in the Uighúr character.

The superficial dimensions of the Yenisei tablet, as taken from Schmidt's full-size drawing, are 12.2 in. by 3.65 in. The weight is not given.

In the French texts nothing is said of the size of the tablets. But Ramusio's copy in the Prologue, where the tables given by Kiacatu are mentioned (*supra*, p. 35), says that they were a cubit in length and 5 fingers in breadth, and weighed 3 to 4 marks each, *i.e.* 24 to 32 ounces.

(Dupré de St. Maur, *Essai sur les Monnoies*, etc., 1746, p. viii.; also (on *saiga*) see *Pertz, Script.* XVII. 357; *Rubruq.* 312; *Golden Horde*, 219-220, 521; *Ilch.* II. 166 *seqq.*, 355-356; *D'Ohsson*, III. 412-413; *Q. R.* 177-180; *Ham. Wasssd.* 154, 176; *Makrizi*, IV. 158; *St. Martin, Mém. sur l'Arménie*, II. 137, 169; *M. Mas Latrie* in *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, IV. 585 *seqq.*; *J. As. sér.* V. tom. xvii. 536 *seqq.*; *Schmidt, über eine Mongol. Quadratschrift*, etc., Acad. St. P., 1847; Russian paper by Grigorieff on same subject, 1846.)

["The History tells us (*Liao Shih*, Bk. LVII. f. 2) that the official silver tablets *p'ai tsü* of the period were 600 in number, about a foot in length, and that they were engraved with an inscription like the above ['Our imperial order for post horses. Urgent.'] in national characters (*kuo tsü*), and that when there was important state business the Emperor personally handed the tablet to the envoy, which entitled him to demand horses at the post stations, and to be treated as if he were the Emperor himself travelling. When the tablet was marked 'Urgent,' he had the right to take private horses, and was required to ride, night and day, 700 *li* in twenty-four hours. On his return he had to give back the tablet to the Emperor, who handed it to the prince who had the custody of the state tablets and seals." (*Dr. S. W. Bushell, Actes XI. Cong. Int. Orient.*, Paris, p. 17.)

"The Kin, in the thirteenth century, used badges of office made of silver. They were rectangular, bore the imperial seal, and an inscription indicative of the duty of the bearer. (*Chavannes, Voyageurs chez les Khitans*, 102.) The Nü-chên at an earlier date used wooden *pai-tsü* tied to each horseman and horse, to distinguish them by. (*Ma Tuan-lin*, Bk. 327, 11.)" (*Rockhill, Rubruck*, p. 181, note.)

"Tiger's tablets—*Sinice Hu fu*, and *p'ai tsæ* in the common language. The Mongols had them of several kinds, which differed by the metal, of which they were made, as well as by the number of pearls (one, two, or three in number), which were incrustated in the upper part of the tablet. Falcon's tablets with the figure of a falcon were round, and used to be given only to special couriers and envoys of the Khan. [*Yuen shi lui pien* and *Yuen ck'ao tien chang*.] The use of the *Hu-fu* was adopted by the Mongols probably from the Kin." (*Palladius, l.c.* p. 39.)

Rubruquis (Rockhill's ed. pp. 153-154) says:—"And whenever the principal envoy [of Longa] came to court he carried a highly-polished tablet of ivory about a cubit long and half a palm wide. Every time he spoke to the chan or some great personage, he always looked at that tablet as if he found there what he had to say, nor did he look to the right or the left, nor in the face of him with whom he was talking. Likewise, when coming into the presence of the Lord, and when leaving it, he never looked at anything but his tablet." Mr. Rockhill observes: "These tablets are called *hu* in Chinese, and were used in China and Korea; in the latter country down to quite recent times. They were made of jade, ivory, bamboo, etc., according to the rank of the owner, and were about three feet long. The *hu* was originally used to make memoranda on of the business to be submitted by the bearer to the Emperor or to write the answers to questions he had had submitted to them. Odoric also refers to 'the tablets of white ivory which the Emperor's barons held in their hands as they stood silent before him.'"

(Cf. the golden tablets which were of various classes with a tiger for image and pearls for ornaments, *Devéria, Epigraphie*, p. 15 et seq.)—II. C.]

NOTE 3.—*Umbrella*. The phrase in Pauthier's text is "*Palieque que on dit ombrel*." The Latin text of the Soc. de Géographie has "*unum pallium de auro*," which I have adopted as probably correct, looking to Burma, where the old etiquettes as to umbrellas are in full force. These etiquettes were probably in both countries of old Hindu origin. *Pallium*, according to Muratori, was applied in the Middle Ages to a kind of square umbrella, by which is probably meant rather a canopy on four staves, which was sometimes assigned by authority as an honourable privilege.

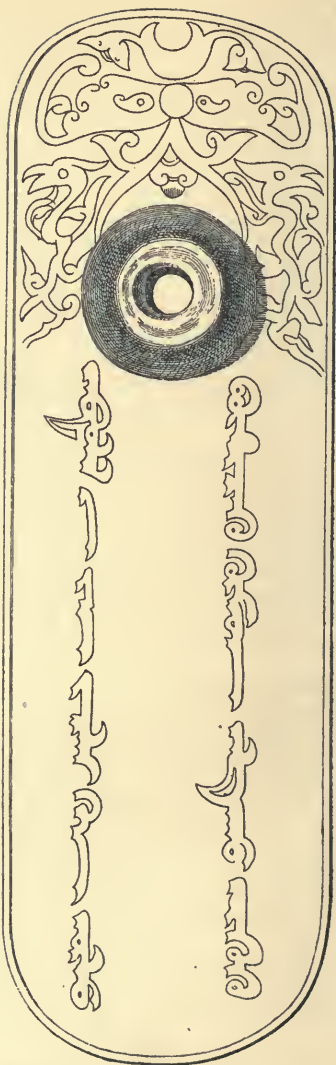
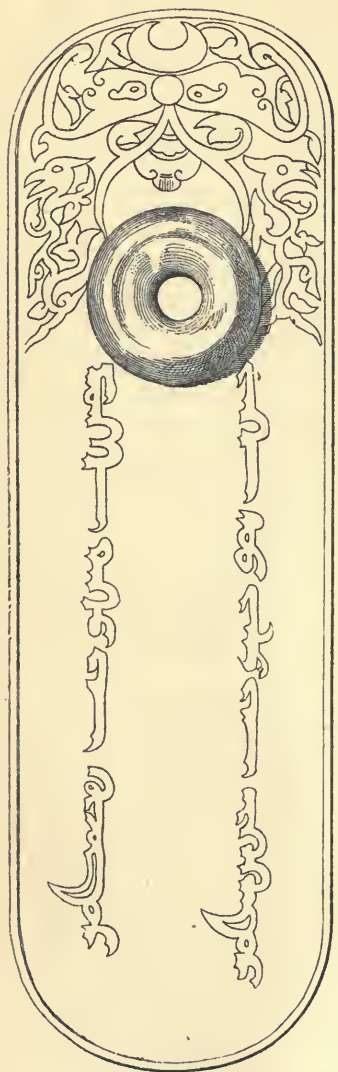
But the genuine umbrella would seem to have been used also, for Polo's contemporary, Martino da Canale, says that, when the Doge goes forth of his palace, "*si vait apres lui un damoiseau qui porte une umbrele de dras à or sur son chief*," which umbrella had been given by "*Monseigneur l'Apostolle*." There is a picture by Girolamo Gambarota, in the Sala del Gran Consiglio, at Venice, which represents the investiture of the Doge with the umbrella by Pope Alexander III., and Frederick Barbarossa (concerning which see *Sanuto Junior*, in *Muratori*, XXII. 512).

The word *Parasol* also occurs in the Petrarchian vocabulary (14th century) as the equivalent of *saioual* (Pers. *sáyában* or *sáiwán*, an umbrella). Carpini notices that umbrellas (*solinum vel tentoriolum in hastâ*) were carried over the Tartar nobles and their wives, even on horseback; and a splendid one, covered with jewels, was one of the presents made to Kuyuk Kaan on his enthronement.

With respect to the honorary character attaching to umbrellas in China, I may notice that recently an English resident of Ningpo, on his departure for Europe, was presented by the Chinese citizens, as a token of honour, with a pair of *Wan min sán*, umbrellas of enormous size.

The umbrella must have gone through some curious vicissitudes; for at one time we find it familiar, at a later date apparently unknown, and then reintroduced as some strange novelty. Arrian speaks of the *σκιάδια*, or umbrellas, as used by all Indians of any consideration; but the thing of which he spoke was familiar to the use of Greek and Roman ladies, and many examples of it, borne by slaves behind their mistresses, are found on ancient vase-paintings. Athenæus quotes from Anacreon the description of a "beggar on horseback" who

"like a woman bears
An ivory parasol over his delicate head."



Second Example of a
 MONGOL PAIZA,
 with Superscription in the *Uighur* Character,
 found near the River Dnieper,
 1845.
 (Half the Length and Breadth of the Original.)

[To face p. 355.]

invested with *both* the Mongol symbols of delegated sovereignty, the Golden Lion's Head, and the golden *Cat's Head*." It would certainly have been more satisfactory to find "Gerfalcon's Head" in lieu of the latter; but it is probable that the same object is meant. The cut below exhibits the conventional effigy of a gerfalcon as sculptured over one of the gates of Iconium, Polo's Conia. The head might easily pass for a conventional representation of a cat's head, and is indeed strikingly like the grotesque representation that bears that name in mediæval architecture. (*Erdmann, Numi Asiatici*, I. 339; *Ilch.* I. 370.)

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE PERSON OF THE GREAT KAAH.

THE personal appearance of the Great Kaan, Lord of Lords, whose name is Cublay, is such as I shall now tell you. He is of a good stature, neither tall nor short, but of a middle height. He has a becoming amount of flesh, and is very shapely in all his limbs. His complexion is white and red, the eyes black and fine,¹ the nose well formed and well set on. He has four wives, whom he retains permanently as his legitimate consorts; and the eldest of his sons by those four wives ought by rights to be emperor;—I mean when his father dies. Those four ladies are called empresses, but each is distinguished also by her proper name. And each of them has a special court of her own, very grand and ample; no one of them having fewer than 300 fair and charming damsels. They have also many pages and eunuchs, and a number of other attendants of both sexes; so that each of these ladies has not less than 10,000 persons attached to her court.²

When the Emperor desires the society of one of these four consorts, he will sometimes send for the lady to his apartment and sometimes visit her at her own. He has also a great number of concubines, and I will tell you how he obtains them.

You must know that there is a tribe of Tartars called UNGRAT, who are noted for their beauty. Now every year an hundred of the most beautiful maidens of this tribe are sent to the Great Kaan, who commits them to the charge of certain elderly ladies dwelling in his palace. And these old ladies make the girls sleep



Portrait of Kúblái Kaan. (From a Chinese Engraving.)

with them, in order to ascertain if they have sweet breath [and do not snore], and are sound in all their limbs. Then such of them as are of approved beauty, and are good and sound in all respects, are appointed to attend on the Emperor by turns. Thus six of these damsels take their turn for three days and nights, and

wait on him when he is in his chamber and when he is in his bed, to serve him in any way, and to be entirely at his orders. At the end of the three days and nights they are relieved by other six. And so throughout the year, there are reliefs of maidens by six and six, changing every three days and nights.³

NOTE 1.—We are left in some doubt as to the colour of Kúblái's eyes, for some of the MSS. read *vairs* and *voirs*, and others *noirs*. The former is a very common epithet for eyes in the mediæval romances. And in the ballad on the death of St. Lewis, we are told of his son Tristram :—

“ Droiz fu comme un rosel, *iex vairs comme faucon*,
Dès le tens Moysel ne nasqui sa façon.”

The word has generally been interpreted *bluish-grey*, but in the passage just quoted, Fr.-Michel explains it by *brillans*. However, the evidence for *noirs* here seems strongest. Rashiduddin says that when Kúblái was born Chinghiz expressed surprise at the child's being so *brown*, as its father and all his other sons were fair. Indeed, we are told that the descendants of Yesugai (the father of Chinghiz) were in general distinguished by blue eyes and reddish hair. (*Michel's Joinville*, p. 324 ; *D'Ohsson*, II. 475 ; *Erdmann*, 252.)

NOTE 2.—According to Hammer's authority (Rashid?) Kúblái had *seven* wives ; Gaubil's Chinese sources assign him *five*, with the title of empress (*Hwang-heu*). Of these the best beloved was the beautiful Jamúi Khátún (Lady or Empress Jamúi, illustrating what the text says of the manner of styling these ladies, who bore him four sons and five daughters. Rashiduddin adds that she was called *Kiün K'ü*, or the great consort, evidently the term *Hwang-heu*. (Gen. Tables in *Hammer's Ilkhans ; Gaubil*, 223 ; *Erdmann*, 200.)

[“Kúblái's four wives, *i.e.* the empresses of the first, second, third, and fourth *ordos*. *Ordo* is, properly speaking, a separate palace of the Khan, under the management of one of his wives. Chinese authors translate therefore the word *ordo* by 'harem.' The four *Ordo* established by Chingis Khan were destined for the empresses, who were chosen out of four different nomad tribes. During the reign of the first four Khans, who lived in Mongolia, the four *ordo* were considerably distant one from another, and the Khans visited them in different seasons of the year ; they existed nominally as long as China remained under Mongol domination. The custom of choosing the empress out of certain tribes, was in the course of time set aside by the Khans. The empress, wife of the last Mongol Khan in China, was a Korean princess by birth ; and she contributed in a great measure to the downfall of the Mongol Dynasty.” (*Palladius*, 40.)

I do not believe that Rashiduddin's *Kiün K'ü* is the term *Hwang-heu* ; it is the term *Kiün Chu*, King or Queen, a sovereign.—H. Ç.]

NOTE 3.—*Ungrat*, the reading of the Crusca, seems to be that to which the others point, and I doubt not that it represents the great Mongol tribe of KÜNGURAT, which gave more wives than any other to the princes of the house of Chinghiz ; a conclusion in which I find I have been anticipated by De Mailla or his editor (IX. 426). To this tribe (which, according to Vámbéry, took its name from (Turki) *Kongur-At*, “Chestnut Horse”) belonged Burteh Fujin, the favourite wife of Chinghiz himself, and mother of his four heirs ; to the same tribe belonged the two wives of Chagatai,

two of Hulaku's seven wives, one of Mangku Kaan's, two at least of Kúblái's including the beloved Jamúi Khátún, one at least of Abaka's, two of Ahmed Tigudar's, two of Arghun's, and two of Ghazan's.

The seat of the Kungurats was near the Great Wall. Their name is still applied to one of the tribes of the Uzbeks of Western Turkestan, whose body appears to have been made up of fractions of many of the Turk and Mongol tribes. Kungurat is also the name of a town of Khiva, near the Sea of Aral, perhaps borrowed from the Uzbek clan.

The conversion of *Kungurat* into *Ungrat* is due, I suppose, to that Mongol tendency to soften gutturals which has been before noticed. (*Erdm.* 199-200; *Hammer, passim*; *Burnes*, III. 143, 225.)

The Ramusian version adds here these curious and apparently genuine particulars:—

“The Great Kaan sends his commissioners to the Province to select four or five hundred, or whatever number may be ordered, of the most beautiful young women, according to the scale of beauty enjoined upon them. And they set a value upon the comparative beauty of the damsels in this way. The commissioners on arriving assemble all the girls of the province, in presence of appraisers appointed for the purpose. These carefully survey the points of each girl in succession, as (for example) her hair, her complexion, eyebrows, mouth, lips, and the proportion of all her limbs. They will then set down some as estimated at 16 carats, some at 17, 18, 20, or more or less, according to the sum of the beauties or defects of each. And whatever standard the Great Kaan may have fixed for those that are to be brought to him, whether it be 20 carats or 21, the commissioners select the required number from those who have attained that standard, and bring them to him. And when they reach his presence he has them appraised anew by other parties, and has a selection made of 30 or 40 of those, who then get the highest valuation.”

Marsden and Murray miss the meaning of this curious statement in a surprising manner, supposing the carat to represent some absolute value, 4 grains of gold according to the former, whence the damsel of 20 carats was estimated at 13s. 4d. ! This is sad nonsense; but Marsden would not have made the mistake had he not been fortunate enough to live before the introduction of Competitive Examinations. This Kungurat business was in fact a competitive examination in beauty; total marks attainable 24; no candidate to pass who did not get 20 or 21. *Carat* expresses $n \div 24$, not any absolute value.

Apart from the mode of valuation, it appears that a like system of selection was continued by the Ming, and that some such selection from the daughters of the Manchu nobles has been maintained till recent times. Herodotus tells that the like custom prevailed among the Adyrmachidae, the Libyan tribe next Egypt. Old Eden too relates it of the “Princes of Moscovia.” (*Middle Km.* I. 318; *Herod.* IV. 168, Rawl.; *Notes on Russia*, Hak. Soc. II. 253.)

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE GREAT KAAŃ'S SONS.

THE Emperor hath, by those four wives of his, twenty-two male children; the eldest of whom was called CHINKIN for the love of the good Chinghis Kaan, the

first Lord of the Tartars. And this Chinkin, as the Eldest Son of the Kaan, was to have reigned after his father's death; but, as it came to pass, he died. He left a son behind him, however, whose name is TEMUR, and he is to be the Great Kaan and Emperor after the death of his Grandfather, as is but right; he being the child of the Great Kaan's eldest son. And this Temur is an able and brave man, as he hath already proven on many occasions.¹

The Great Kaan hath also twenty-five other sons by his concubines; and these are good and valiant soldiers, and each of them is a great chief. I tell you moreover that of his children by his four lawful wives there are seven who are kings of vast realms or provinces, and govern them well; being all able and gallant men, as might be expected. For the Great Kaan their sire is, I tell you, the wisest and most accomplished man, the greatest Captain, the best to govern men and rule an Empire, as well as the most valiant, that ever has existed among all the Tribes of Tartars.²

NOTE 1.—Kúblái had a son older than CHIMKIN or CHINGKIM, to whom Hammer's Genealogical Table gives the name of *Jurji*, and attributes a son called Ananda. / The Chinese authorities of Gaubil and Pauthier call him *Turchi* or *Torchi*, i.e. *Dorjé*, "Noble Stone," the Tibetan name of a sacred Buddhist emblem in the form of a dumb-bell, representing the *Vajra* or Thunderbolt. Probably Dorjé died early, as in the passage we shall quote from Wassáf also Chingkim is styled the Eldest Son: Marco is probably wrong in connecting the name of the latter with that of Chinghiz. Schmidt says that he does not know what *Chingkim* means.

[Mr. Parker says that Chen kim was the *third* son of Kúblái (*China Review*, xxiv. p. 94.) Teimur, son of Chen kim, wore the temple name (*miao-hao*) of *Ch'êng Tsung* and the title of reign (*nien-hao*) of *Yuen Chêng* and *Ta Têh*.—H. C.]

Chingkim died in the 12th moon of 1284-1285, aged 43. He had received a Chinese education, and the Chinese Annals ascribe to him all the virtues which so often pertain in history to heirs apparent who have not reigned.

"When Kúblái approached his 70th year," says Wassáf, "he desired to raise his eldest son Chimkin to the position of his representative and declared successor, during his own lifetime; so he took counsel with the chiefs, in view to giving the Prince a share of his authority and a place on the Imperial Throne. The chiefs, who are the Pillars of Majesty and Props of the Empire, represented that His Majesty's proposal to invest his Son, during his own lifetime, with Imperial authority, was not in accordance with the precedents and Institutes (*Yasa*) of the World-conquering

Padshah Chinghiz Khan; but still they would consent to execute a solemn document, securing the Kaanship to Chimkin, and pledging themselves to lifelong obedience and allegiance to him. It was, however, the Divine Fiat that the intended successor should predecease him who bestowed the nomination. . . . The dignitaries of the Empire then united their voices in favour of TEIMUR, the son of Chimkin."

Teimur, according to the same authority, was the third son of Chimkin; but the eldest, Kambala, *squinted*; the second, Tarmah (properly *Tarmabala* for *Dharma-phala*, a Buddhist Sanskrit name) was rickety in constitution; and on the death of the old Kaan (1294) Teimur was unanimously named to the Throne, after some opposition from Kambala, which was put down by the decided bearing of the great soldier Bayan. (*Schmidt*, p. 399; *De Mailla*, IX. 424; *Gaubil*, 203; *Wassáf*, 46.)

[The Rev. W. S. Ament (*Marco Polo in Cambaluc*, p. 106), makes the following remarks regarding this young prince (Chimkin): "The historians give good reasons for their regard for Chen Chin. He had from early years exhibited great promise and had shown great proficiency in the military art, in government, history, mathematics, and the Chinese classics. He was well acquainted with the condition and numbers of the inhabitants of Mongolia and China, and with the topography and commerce of the Empire (Howorth). He was much beloved by all, except by some of his father's own ministers, whose lives were anything but exemplary. That Kúblái had full confidence in his son is shown by the fact that he put the collecting of taxes in his hands. The native historians represent him as economical in the use of money and wise in the choice of companions. He carefully watched the officers in his charge, and would tolerate no extortion of the people. After droughts, famines or floods, he would enquire into the condition of the people and liberally supply their needs, thus starting them in life again. Polo ascribes all these virtues to the Khan himself. Doubtless he possessed them in greater or less degree, but father and son were one in all these benevolent enterprises."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The Chinese Annals, according to Pauthier and Gaubil, give only *ten* sons to Kúblái, at least by his legitimate wives; Hammer's Table gives *twelve*. It is very probable that xxii. was an early clerical error in the texts of Polo for xii. *Dodeci* indeed occurs in one MS. (No. 37 of our Appendix F), though not one of much weight.

Of these legitimate sons Polo mentions, in different parts of his work, five by name. The following is the list from Hammer and D'Ohsson, with the Chinese forms from Pauthier in parentheses. The seven whose names are in capitals had the title of *Wang* or "King" of particular territories, as M. Pauthier has shown from the Chinese Annals, thus confirming Marco's accuracy on that point.

I. Jurji or Dorjé (Torchí). II. CHIMKIN or CHINGKIM (Yu Tsung, King of Yen, *i.e.* Old Peking). III. MANGALAI (Mankola, "King of the Pacified West"), mentioned by Polo (*infra*, ch. xli.) as King of Kenjanfu or Shensi. IV. NUMUGAN (Numukan, "Pacifying King of the North"), mentioned by Polo (Bk. IV. ch. ii.) as with King George joint leader of the Kaan's army against Kaidu. V. Kuridai (not in Chinese List). VI. HUKAJI (Hukochi, "King of Yunnan"), mentioned by Polo (*infra*, ch. xlix.) as King of Carajan. VII. AGHRUKJI or UKURUJI (Gaoluchi, "King of Siping" or Tibet). VIII. Abaji (Gaiyachi?). IX. KUKJU or GEUKJU (Khokhochu, "King of Ning" or Tangut). X. Kutuktemur (Hutulu Temurh). XI. TUKAN (Thohan, "King of Chinnan"). His command lay on the Tungking frontier, where he came to great grief in 1288, in consequence of which he was disgraced. (See *Cathay*, p. 272.) XII. Temkan (not in Chinese List). Gaubil's Chinese List omits *Hutulu Temurh*, and introduces a prince called *Gantanponhoa* as 4th son.

M. Pauthier lays great stress on Polo's intimate knowledge of the Imperial affairs (p. 263) because he knew the name of the Hereditary Prince to be Teimur; this being, he says, the private name which could not be known until after the owner's death, except by those in the most confidential intimacy. The public only

then discovered that, like the Irishman's dog, his real name was Turk, though he had always been called Toby! But M. Pauthier's learning has misled him. At least the secret must have been very badly kept, for it was known in Teimur's lifetime not only to Marco, but to Rashiduddin in Persia, and to Hayton in Armenia; to say nothing of the circumstance that the name *Temur Khaghan* is also used during that Emperor's life by Oljaitu Khan of Persia in writing to the King of France a letter which M. Pauthier himself republished and commented upon. (See his book, p. 780.)

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING THE PALACE OF THE GREAT KAAN.

YOU must know that for three months of the year, to wit December, January, and February, the Great Kaan resides in the capital city of Cathay, which is called CAMBALUC, [and which is at the north-eastern extremity of the country]. In that city stands his great Palace, and now I will tell you what it is like.

It is enclosed all round by a great wall forming a square, each side of which is a mile in length; that is to say, the whole compass thereof is four miles. This you may depend on; it is also very thick, and a good ten paces in height, whitewashed and loop-holed all round.¹ At each angle of the wall there is a very fine and rich palace in which the war-harness of the Emperor is kept, such as bows and quivers,² saddles and bridles, and bowstrings, and everything needful for an army. Also midway between every two of these Corner Palaces there is another of the like; so that taking the whole compass of the enclosure you find eight vast Palaces stored with the Great Lord's harness of war.³ And you must understand that each Palace is assigned to only one kind of article; thus one is stored with bows, a second with saddles, a third with bridles, and so on in succession right round.⁴

The great wall has five gates on its southern face, the middle one being the great gate which is never opened on any occasion except when the Great Kaan himself goes forth or enters. Close on either side of this great gate is a smaller one by which all other people pass; and then towards each angle is another great gate, also open to people in general; so that on that side there are five gates in all.⁵

Inside of this wall there is a second, enclosing a space that is somewhat greater in length than in breadth. This enclosure also has eight palaces corresponding to those of the outer wall, and stored like them with the Lord's harness of war. This wall also hath five gates on the southern face, corresponding to those in the outer wall, and hath one gate on each of the other faces, as the outer wall hath also. In the middle of the second enclosure is the Lord's Great Palace, and I will tell you what it is like.⁶

You must know that it is the greatest Palace that ever was. [Towards the north it is in contact with the outer wall, whilst towards the south there is a vacant space which the Barons and the soldiers are constantly traversing.⁷ The Palace itself] hath no upper story, but is all on the ground floor, only the basement is raised some ten palms above the surrounding soil [and this elevation is retained by a wall of marble raised to the level of the pavement, two paces in width and projecting beyond the base of the Palace so as to form a kind of terrace-walk, by which people can pass round the building, and which is exposed to view, whilst on the outer edge of the wall there is a very fine pillared balustrade; and up to this the people are allowed to come]. The roof is very lofty, and the walls of the Palace are all covered with gold and silver. They are also adorned with representations of dragons [sculptured and gilt],

beasts and birds, knights and idols, and sundry other subjects. And on the ceiling too you see nothing but gold and silver and painting. [On each of the four sides there is a great marble staircase leading to the top of the marble wall, and forming the approach to the Palace.]⁸

The Hall of the Palace is so large that it could easily dine 6000 people ; and it is quite a marvel to see how many rooms there are besides. The building is altogether so vast, so rich, and so beautiful, that no man on earth could design anything superior to it. The outside of the roof also is all coloured with vermilion and yellow and green and blue and other hues, which are fixed with a varnish so fine and exquisite that they shine like crystal, and lend a resplendent lustre to the Palace as seen for a great way round.⁹ This roof is made too with such strength and solidity that it is fit to last for ever.

[On the interior side of the Palace are large buildings with halls and chambers, where the Emperor's private property is placed, such as his treasures of gold, silver, gems, pearls, and gold plate, and in which reside the ladies and concubines. There he occupies himself at his own convenience, and no one else has access.]

Between the two walls of the enclosure which I have described, there are fine parks and beautiful trees bearing a variety of fruits. There are beasts also of sundry kinds, such as white stags and fallow deer, gazelles and roebucks, and fine squirrels of various sorts, with numbers also of the animal that gives the musk, and all manner of other beautiful creatures,¹⁰ insomuch that the whole place is full of them, and no spot remains void except where there is traffic of people going and coming. [The parks are covered with abundant grass ; and the roads through them being all paved and raised

two cubits above the surface, they never become muddy, nor does the rain lodge on them, but flows off into the meadows, quickening the soil and producing that abundance of herbage.]

From that corner of the enclosure which is towards the north-west there extends a fine Lake, containing foison of fish of different kinds which the Emperor hath caused to be put in there, so that whenever he desires any he can have them at his pleasure. A river enters this lake and issues from it, but there is a grating of iron or brass put up so that the fish cannot escape in that way.¹¹

Moreover on the north side of the Palace, about a bow-shot off, there is a hill which has been made by art [from the earth dug out of the lake]; it is a good hundred paces in height and a mile in compass. This hill is entirely covered with trees that never lose their leaves, but remain ever green. And I assure you that wherever a beautiful tree may exist, and the Emperor gets news of it, he sends for it and has it transported bodily with all its roots and the earth attached to them, and planted on that hill of his. No matter how big the tree may be, he gets it carried by his elephants; and in this way he has got together the most beautiful collection of trees in all the world. And he has also caused the whole hill to be covered with the ore of azure,¹² which is very green. And thus not only are the trees all green, but the hill itself is all green likewise; and there is nothing to be seen on it that is not green; and hence it is called the GREEN MOUNT; and in good sooth 'tis named well.¹³

On the top of the hill again there is a fine big palace which is all green inside and out; and thus the hill, and the trees, and the palace form together a charming spectacle; and it is marvellous to see their uniformity

of colour! Everybody who sees them is delighted. And the Great Kaan had caused this beautiful prospect to be formed for the comfort and solace and delectation of his heart.

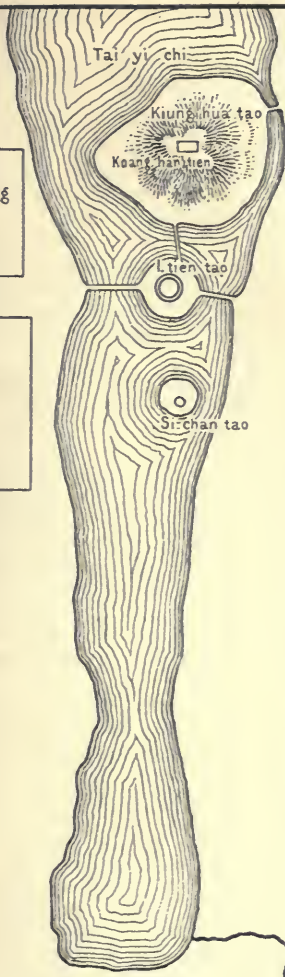
You must know that beside the Palace (that we have been describing), *i.e.* the Great Palace, the Emperor has caused another to be built just like his own in every respect, and this he hath done for his son when he shall reign and be Emperor after him.¹⁴ Hence it is made just in the same fashion and of the same size, so that everything can be carried on in the same manner after his own death. [It stands on the other side of the lake from the Great Kaan's Palace, and there is a bridge crossing the water from one to the other.]¹⁵ The Prince in question holds now a Seal of Empire, but not with such complete authority as the Great Kaan, who remains supreme as long as he lives.

Now I am going to tell you of the chief city of Cathay, in which these Palaces stand; and why it was built, and how.

NOTE 1.—[According to the *Ch'ue keng lu*, translated by Bretschneider, 25, "the wall surrounding the palace . . . is constructed of bricks, and is 35 *ch'i* in height. The construction was begun in A.D. 1271, on the 17th of the 8th month, between three and five o'clock in the afternoon, and finished next year on the 15th of the 3rd month."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Tarcasci* (G. T.) This word is worthy of note as the proper form of what has become in modern French *carquois*. The former is a transcript of the Persian *Türkîsh*; the latter appears to be merely a corruption of it, arising perhaps clerically from the constant confusion of *c* and *t* in MSS. (See *Defrémery*, quoted by Pauthier, *in loco*.) [Old French *tarquais* (13th century), Hatzfeldt and Darmesteter's *Dict.* gives: "Coivres orent ceinz et tarchais." (WACE, *Rou*, III., 7698; 12th century).]

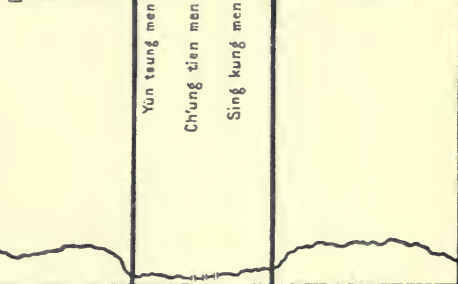
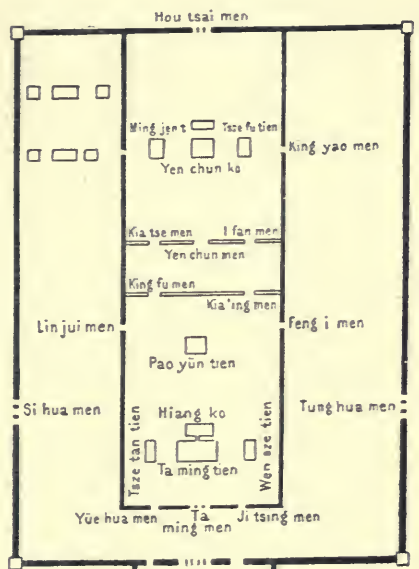
NOTE 3.—["It seems to me [Dr. Bretschneider] that Polo took the towers, mentioned by the Chinese author, in the angles of the galleries and of the Kung-ch'eng for palaces; for further on he states, that 'over each gate [of Cambaluc] there is a great and handsome palace.' I have little doubt that over the gates of Cambaluc, stood lofty buildings similar to those over the gates of modern Peking. These tower-like buildings are called *lou* by the Chinese. It may be very likely, that at the time of Marco Polo, the war harness of the Khan was stored in these towers of the palace wall. The author of the *Ch'ue keng lu*, who wrote more than fifty years later, assigns to it another place." (Bretschneider, *Peking*, 32.)—H. C.]



Shing sheng
Kung

Lung fu
Kung

Ling yu Park



Rampart Siao ts'ing
Ling sing men
Southern Rampart of Khanbaligh
Li cheng men

IDEAL PLAN
of the
ANCIENT PALACES
of the
MONGOL EMPERORS
AT KHANBALIGH
According to Dr. Bretschneider.

NOTE 4.—The stores are now outside the walls of the “Prohibited City,” corresponding to Polo’s Palace-Wall, but within the walls of the “Imperial City.” (*Middle Kingdom*, I. 61.) See the cut at p. 376.

NOTE 5.—The two gates near the corners apparently do not exist in the Palace now. “On the south side there are three gates to the Palace, both in the inner and the outer walls. The middle one is absolutely reserved for the entrance or exit of the Emperor; all other people pass in and out by the gate to the right or left of it.” (*Trigautius*, Bk. I. ch. vii.) This custom is not in China peculiar to Royalty. In private houses it is usual to have three doors leading from the court to the guest-rooms, and there is a great exercise of politeness in reference to these; the guest after much pressing is prevailed on to enter the middle door, whilst the host enters by the side. (See *Deguignes, Voyages*, I. 262.) [See also *H. Cordier’s Hist. des Relat. de la Chine*, III. ch. x. *Audience Impériale*.]

[“It seems Polo took the three gateways in the middle gate (*Ta-ming men*) for three gates, and thus speaks of five gates instead of three in the southern wall.” (*Bretschneider, Peking*, 27, note.)—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—Ramusio’s version here diverges from the old MSS. It makes the inner enclosure a mile square; and the second (the city of Taidu) six miles square, as here, but adds, at a mile interval, a third of eight miles square. Now it is remarkable that Mr. A. Wylie, in a letter dated 4th December 1873, speaking of a recent visit to Peking, says: “I found from various inquiries that there are several remains of a very much larger city wall, inclosing the present city; but time would not allow me to follow up the traces.”

Pauthier’s text (which I have corrected by the G. T.), after describing the *outer inclosure* to be a mile every way, says that the inner inclosure lay at an interval of a mile within it!

[Dr. Bretschneider observes “that in the ancient Chinese works, three concentric inclosures are mentioned in connection with the palace. The innermost inclosed the *Ta-nei*, the middle inclosure, called *Kung-ch’eng* or *Huang-ch’eng*, answering to the wall surrounding the present prohibited city, and was about 6 *li* in circuit. Besides this there was an outer wall (a rampart apparently) 20 *li* in circuit, answering to the wall of the present imperial city (which now has 18 *li* in circuit.” The *Huang-ch’eng* of the Yuen was measured by imperial order, and found to be 7 *li* in circuit; the wall of the Mongol palace was 6 *li* in circuit, according to the *Ch’ue keng lu*. (*Bretschneider, Peking*, 24.)—Marco Polo’s mile could be approximately estimated = 2·77 Chinese *li*. (*Ibid.* 24, note.) The common Chinese *li* = 360 *pu*, or 180 chang, or 1800 *ch’i* (feet); 1 *li* = 1894 English feet or 575 mètres; at least according to the old Venice measures quoted in *Yule’s Marco Polo*, II., one pace = 5 feet. Besides the common *li*, the Chinese have another *li*, used for measuring fields, which has only 240 *pu* or 1200 *ch’i*. This is the *li* spoken of in the *Ch’ue keng lu*. (*Ibid.* 13, note.)—H. C.]

NOTE 7.—[“Near the southern face of the wall are barracks for the Life Guards.” (*Ch’ue keng lu*, translated by Bretschneider, 25.)—H. C.]

NOTE 8.—This description of palace (see opposite cut), an elevated basement of masonry with a superstructure of timber (in general carved and gilded), is still found in Burma, Siam, and Java, as well as in China. If we had any trace of the palaces of the ancient Asokas and Vikramadityas of India, we should probably find that they were of the same character. It seems to be one of those things that belonged to some ancient Panasiatic fashion, as the palaces of Nineveh were of a somewhat similar construction. In the Audience Halls of the Moguls at Delhi and Agra we can trace the ancient form, though the superstructure has there become an arcade of marble instead of a pavilion on timber columns.

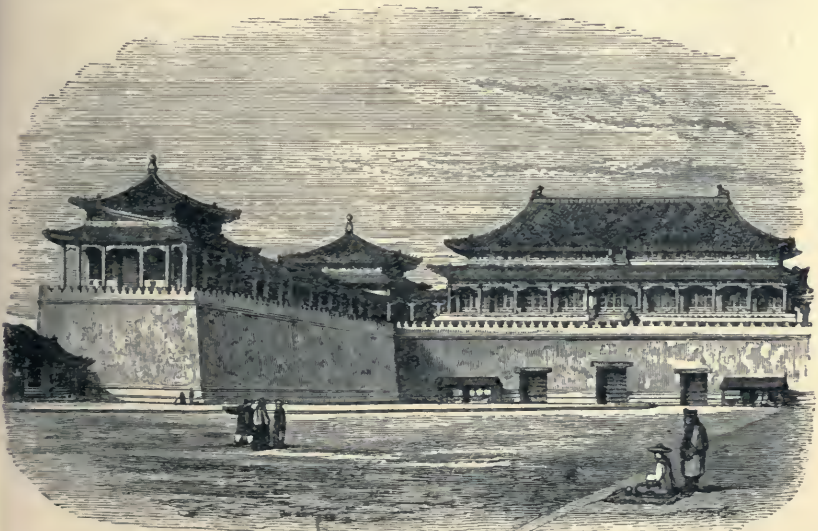
[“The *Ta-ming tien* (Hall of great brightness) is without doubt what Marco Polo calls ‘the Lord’s Great Palace.’ . . . He states, that it ‘hath no upper story’; and indeed, the palace buildings which the Chinese call *tien* are always of one story. Polo speaks also of a ‘very fine pillared balustrade’ (the *chu lang*, pillared verandah,



A. Houssier J.

Palace at Khan-baligh. (From the *Livre des Merveilles*.)

of the Chinese author). Marco Polo states that the basement of the great palace ‘is raised some ten palms above the surrounding soil.’ We find in the *Ku kung i lu*: ‘The basement of the *Ta-ming tien* is raised about 10 *ch’i* above the soil.’ There can also be no doubt that the *Ta-ming tien* stood at about the same place



Winter Palace at Peking.

where now the *T'ai-ho tien*, the principal hall of the palace, is situated." (*Bretschneider, Peking*, 28, note.)

The *Ch'ue keng lu*, translated by Bretschneider, 25, contains long articles devoted to the description of the palace of the Mongols and the adjacent palace grounds. They are too long to be reproduced here.—II. C.]

NOTE 9.—"As all that one sees of these palaces is varnished in those colours, when you catch a distant view of them at sunrise, as I have done many a time, you would think them all made of, or at least covered with, pure gold enamelled in azure and green, so that the spectacle is at once majestic and charming." (*Magailans*, p. 353.)

NOTE 10.—[This is the *Ling yu* or "Divine Park," to the east of the *Wan-sui shan*, "in which rare birds and beasts are kept. Before the Emperor goes to Shang-tu, the officers are accustomed to be entertained at this place." (*Ch'ue keng lu*, quoted by Bretschneider, 36.)—H. C.]

NOTE 11.—"On the west side, where the space is amplest, there is a lake very full of fish. It is in the form of a fiddle, and is an Italian mile and a quarter in length. It is crossed at the narrowest part, which corresponds to gates in the walls, by a handsome bridge, the extremities of which are adorned by two triumphal arches of three openings each. . . . The lake is surrounded by palaces and pleasure houses, built partly in the water and partly on shore, and charming boats are provided on it for the use of the Emperor when he chooses to go a-fishing or to take an airing." (*Ibid.* 282-283.) The marble bridge, as it now exists, consists of nine arches, and is 600 feet long. (*Rennie's Peking*, II. 57.)

Ramusio specifies another lake in the city, fed by the same stream before it enters the palace, and used by the public for watering cattle.

[“The lake which Marco Polo saw is the same as the *T'ai-yi ch'i* of our days. It has, however, changed a little in its form. This lake and also its name *T'ai-yi ch'i* date from the twelfth century, at which time an Emperor of the Kin first gave orders to collect together the water of some springs in the hills, where now the summer palaces stand, and to conduct it to a place north of his capital, where pleasure gardens were laid out. The river which enters the lake and issues from it exists still, under its ancient name *Kin-shui*.” (*Bretschneider, Peking*, 34.)—H. C.]

NOTE 12.—The expression here is in the Geog. Text, "*Roze de Pasur*," and in Pauthier's "*de rose et de Pasur*." *Rose Minerale*, in the terminology of the alchemists, was a red powder produced in the sublimation of gold and mercury, but I can find no elucidation of the term Rose of Azure. The Crusca Italian has in the same place *Terra dello Azzurro*. Having ventured to refer the question to the high authority of Mr. C. W. King, he expresses the opinion that *Roze* here stands for *Roche*, and that probably the term *Roche de Pasur* may have been used loosely for *blue-stone*, i.e. carbonate of copper, which would assume a green colour through moisture. He adds: "Nero, according to Pliny, actually used *chrysocolia*, the siliceous carbonate of copper, in powder, for strewing the circus, to give the course the colour of his favourite faction, the *prasine* (or green). There may be some analogy between this device and that of Kúblái Khan." This parallel is a very happy one.

NOTE 13.—Friar Odoric gives a description, short, but closely agreeing in substance with that in the Text, of the Palace, the Park, the Lake, and the Green Mount.

A green mount, answering to the description, and about 160 feet in height, stands immediately in rear of the palace buildings. It is called by the Chinese *King-Shan*, "Court Mountain," *Wan-su-Shan*, "Ten Thousand Year Mount," and *Mei-Shan*, "Coal Mount," the last from the material of which it is traditionally said to be composed (as a provision of fuel in case of siege).* Whether this is Kúblái's Green Mount

* Some years ago, in Calcutta, I learned that a large store of charcoal existed under the soil of Fort William, deposited there, I believe, in the early days of that fortress.

[“The *Jihia* says that the name of *Mei shan* (Coal hill) was given to it from the stock of coal buried at its foot, as a provision in case of siege.” (*Bretschneider, Peking*, 38.)—H. C.]



Mei Shan.

does not seem to be quite certain. Dr. Lockhart tells me that, according to the information he collected when living at Peking, it is not so, but was formed by the Ming Emperors from the excavation of the existing lake on the site which the Mongol Palace had occupied. There is another mount, he adds, adjoining the east shore of the lake, which must be of older date even than Kúblái, for a Dagoba standing on it is ascribed to the *Kin*.

[The "Green Mount" was an island called *K'ung-hua* at the time of the *Kin*; in 1271 it received the name of *Wan-sui shan*; it is about 100 feet in height, and is the only hill mentioned by Chinese writers of the Mongol time who refer to the palace grounds. It is not the present *K'ing-shan*, north of the palace, called also *Wan-sui-shan* under the Ming, and now the *Mei-shan*, of more recent formation. "I have no doubt," says Bretschneider (*Peking*, l.c. 35), "that Marco Polo's handsome palace on the top of the Green Mount is the same as the *Kuang-han tien*" of the *Ch'ue keng lu*. It was a hall in which there was a jar of black jade, big enough to hold more than 30 piculs of wine; this jade had white veins, and in accordance with these veins, fish and animals have been carved on the jar. (*Ibid.* 35.) "The *Ku kung i lu*, in describing the *Wan-sui-shan*, praises the beautiful shady green of the vegetation there." (*Ibid.* 37.)—H. C.]

[Near the eastern end of the bridge (*Kin-ao yü-tung* which crosses the lake) the visitor sees a circular wall, which is called *yüan ch'eng* (round wall). It is about 350 paces in circuit. Within it is an imperial building *Ch'eng-kuang tien*, dating from the Mongol time. From this circular enclosure, another long and beautifully executed marble bridge leads northwards, to a charming hill, covered with shady trees, and capped by a magnificent white *suburga*." (*Bretschneider*, p. 22.)—H. C.]

In a plate attached to next chapter, I have drawn, on a small scale, the existing cities of Peking, as compared with the Mongol and Chinese cities in the time of Kúblái. The plan of the latter has been constructed (1) from existing traces, as exhibited in the Russian Survey republished by our War Office; (2) from information kindly afforded by Dr. Lockhart; and (3) from Polo's description and a few slight notices by Gaubil and others. It will be seen, even on the small scale of these plans, that the general arrangement of the palace, the park, the lakes (including that in the city, which appears in Ramusio's version), the bridge, the mount, etc., in the existing Peking, very closely correspond with Polo's indications; and I think the strong probability is that the Ming really built on the old traces, and that the lake, mount, etc., as they now stand, are substantially those of the Great Mongol, though Chinese policy or patriotism may have spread the belief that the foreign traces were obliterated. Indeed, if that belief were true, the Mongol Palace must have been very much out of the axis of the City of Kúblái, which is in the highest degree improbable. The *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie* for September 1873, contains a paper on Peking by the physician to the French Embassy there. Whatever may be the worth of the meteorological and hygienic details in that paper, I am bound to say that the historical and topographical part is so inaccurate as to be of no value.

NOTE 14.—For son, read grandson. But the G. T. actually names the Emperor's son Chingkim, whose death our traveller has himself already mentioned.

NOTE 15.—["Marco Polo's bridge, crossing the lake from one side to the other, must be identified with the wooden bridge mentioned in the *Ch'ue keng lu*. The present marble bridge spanning the lake was only built in 1392." "A marble bridge connects this island (an islet with the hall *I-t'ien tien*) with the *Wan-sui shan*. Another bridge, made of wood, 120 *ch'i* long and 22 broad, leads eastward to the wall of the Imperial Palace. A third bridge, a wooden draw-bridge 470 *ch'i* long, stretches to the west over the lake to its western border, where the palace *Hing-sheng kung* [built in 1308] stands." (*Bretschneider*, *Peking*, 36.)—H. C.]



Yitan ch'eng.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAMBALUC.

Now there was on that spot in old times a great and noble city called CAMBALUC, which is as much as to say in our tongue "The city of the Emperor."¹ But the Great Kaan was informed by his Astrologers that this city would prove rebellious, and raise great disorders against his imperial authority. So he caused the present city to be built close beside the old one, with only a river between them.² And he caused the people of the old city to be removed to the new town that he had founded; and this is called TAÏDU. [However, he allowed a portion of the people which he did not suspect to remain in the old city, because the new one could not hold the whole of them, big as it is.]

As regards the size of this (new) city you must know that it has a compass of 24 miles, for each side of it hath a length of 6 miles, and it is four-square. And it is all walled round with walls of earth which have a thickness of full ten paces at bottom, and a height of more than 10 paces;³ but they are not so thick at top, for they diminish in thickness as they rise, so that at top they are only about 3 paces thick. And they are provided throughout with loop-holed battlements, which are all whitewashed.

There are 12 gates, and over each gate there is a great and handsome palace, so that there are on each side of the square three gates and five palaces; for (I ought to mention) there is at each angle also a great and handsome palace. In those palaces are vast halls in which are kept the arms of the city garrison.⁴

The streets are so straight and wide that you can

see right along them from end to end and from one gate to the other. And up and down the city there are beautiful palaces, and many great and fine hostelries, and fine houses in great numbers. [All the plots of ground on which the houses of the city are built are four-square, and laid out with straight lines; all the plots being occupied by great and spacious palaces, with courts and gardens of proportionate size. All these plots were assigned to different heads of families. Each square plot is encompassed by handsome streets for traffic; and thus the whole city is arranged in squares just like a chess-board, and disposed in a manner so perfect and masterly that it is impossible to give a description that should do it justice.]⁵

Moreover, in the middle of the city there is a great clock—that is to say, a bell—which is struck at night. And after it has struck three times no one must go out in the city, unless it be for the needs of a woman in labour, or of the sick.⁶ And those who go about on such errands are bound to carry lanterns with them. Moreover, the established guard at each gate of the city is 1000 armed men; not that you are to imagine this guard is kept up for fear of any attack, but only as a guard of honour for the Sovereign, who resides there, and to prevent thieves from doing mischief in the town.⁷

NOTE 1.— †: The history of the city on the site of Peking goes back to very old times, for it had been [under the name of *Ki*] the capital of the kingdom of Yén, previous to B.C. 222, when it was captured by the Prince of the T'sin Dynasty. [Under the T'ang dynasty (618-907) it was known under the name of Yu-chau.] It became one of the capitals of the Khitans in A.D. 936, and of the Kin sovereigns, who took it in 1125, in 1151 under the name of Chung-tu. Under the name of Yenking, [given to this city in 1013] it has a conspicuous place in the wars of Chinghiz against the latter dynasty. He captured it in 1215. In 1264, Kúblái adopted it as his chief residence, and founded in 1267, the new city of TATU ("Great Court"), called by the Mongols Taidu or Daitu since 1271 (see Bk. I. ch. lxi. note 1), at a little distance—Odoric says half a mile—to the north-east of the old Yenking. Tatu was completed in the summer of 1267.

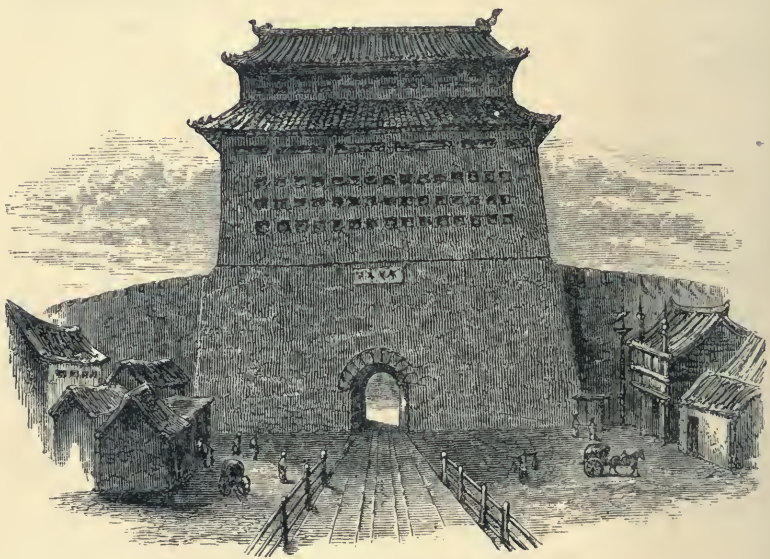
Old Yenking had, when occupied by the Kin, a circuit of 27 *li* (commonly estimated at 9 miles, but in early works the *li* is not more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile), afterwards increased to 30 *li*. But there was some kind of outer wall about the city and its suburbs, the circuit of which is called 75 *li*. ["At the time of the Yuen the walls still existed, and the ancient city of the Kin was commonly called Nan-ch'eng (Southern city), whilst the Mongol capital was termed the northern city." *Bretschneider, Peking*, 10.—H. C.] (*Lockhart*; and see *Amyot*, II. 553, and note 6 to last chapter.)

Polo correctly explains the name *Cambaluc*, i.e. *Kaan-baligh*, "The City of the Kaan."

NOTE 2.—The river that ran between the old and new city must have been the little river *Yu*, which still runs through the modern Tartar city, and fills the city ditches.

[Dr. Bretschneider (*Peking*, 49) thinks that there is a strong probability that Polo speaks of the *Wen-ming ho*, a river which, according to the ancient descriptions, ran near the southern wall of the Mongol capital.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—This height is from Pauthier's Text; the G. Text has, "twenty paces,"



South Gate of Imperial City at Peking.

"Elle a douze portes, et sur chacune porte a une grandissime palais et biaux."

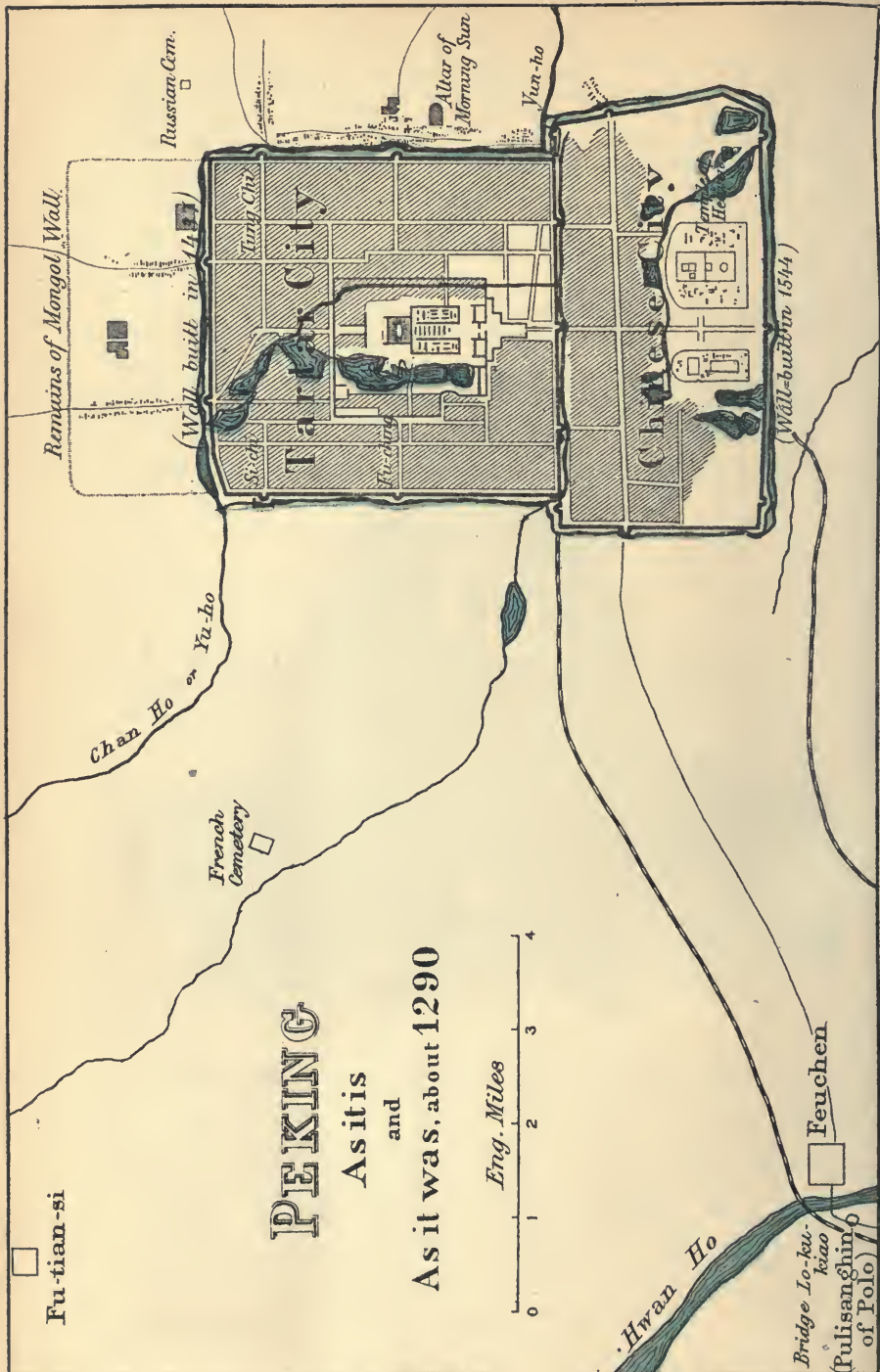
i.e. 100 feet. A recent French paper states the dimensions of the existing walls as 14 mètres (45 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet) high, and 14.50 (47 $\frac{1}{4}$ feet) thick, "the top forming a paved promenade, unique of its kind, and recalling the legendary walls of Thebes and Babylon." (*Ann. d'Hygiène Publique*, 2nd s. tom. xxxii. for 1869, p. 21.)

[According to the French astronomers (Fleuriais and Lapied) sent to Peking for the Transit of Venus in December, 1875, the present Tartar city is 23 kil. 55 in circuit, viz. if 1 *li* = 575 m., 41 *li*; from the north to the south 5400 mètres; from east to west 6700 mètres; the wall is 13 mètres in height and 12 mètres in width.—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—Our attempted plan of Cambaluc, as in 1290, differs somewhat from this description, but there is no getting over certain existing facts.

37⁶





PEKING
 As it is
 and
 As it was, about 1290

0 1 2 3 4
 Eng. Miles

37a

A. D. 1290.



The existing Tartar city of Peking (technically *Nei-ch'ing*, "The Interior City," or *King-ch'ing*, "City of the Court") stands on the site of Taidu, and represents it. After the expulsion of the Mongols (1368) the new native Dynasty of Ming established their capital at Nanking. But this was found so inconvenient that the third sovereign of the Dynasty re-occupied Taidu or Cambaluc, the repairs of which began in 1409. He reduced it in size by cutting off nearly a third part of the city at the north end. The remains of this abandoned portion of wall are, however, still in existence, approaching 30 feet in height all round. This old wall is called by the Chinese *The Wall of the Yuen* (i.e. the Mongol Dynasty), and it is laid down in the Russian Survey. [The capital of the Ming was 40 *li* in circuit, according to the *Ch'ang an k'o hua*.] The existing walls were built, or restored rather (the north wall being in any case, of course, entirely new), in 1437. There seems to be no doubt that the present south front of the Tartar city was the south front of Taidu. The whole outline of Taidu is therefore still extant, and easily measurable. If the scale on the War Office edition of the Russian Survey be correct, the long sides measure close upon 5 miles and 500 yards; the short sides, 3 miles and 1200 yards. Hence the whole perimeter was just about 18 English miles, or less than 16 Italian miles. If, however, a pair of compasses be run round Taidu and Yenking (as we have laid the latter down from such data as could be had) *together*, the circuit will be something like 24 Italian miles, and this may have to do with Polo's error.

["The *Yuen shi* states that *Ta-tu* was 60 *li* in circumference. The *Ch'ue keng lu*, a work published at the close of the Yuen Dynasty, gives the same number of *li* for the circuit of the capital, but explains that *li* of 240 *pu* each are meant. If this statement be correct, it would give only 40 common or geographical *li* for the circuit of the Mongol town." (*Bretschneider, Peking*, 13.) Dr. Bretschneider writes (p. 20): "The outlines of Khanbaligh, partly in contradiction with the ancient Chinese records, if my view be correct, would have measured about 50 common *li* in circuit (13 *li* and more from north to south, 11·64 from east to west.)"—H. C.]

Polo [and Odoric] again says that there were 12 gates—3 to every side. Both Gaubil and Martini also say that there were 12 gates. But I believe that both are trusting to Marco. There are 9 gates in the present Tartar city—viz. 3 on the south side and 2 on each of the other sides. The old Chinese accounts say there were 11 gates in Taidu. (See *Amoyot, Mém.* II. 553.) I have in my plan, therefore, assumed that one gate on the east and one on the west were obliterated in the reduction of the *enceinte* by the Ming. But I must observe that Mr. Lockhart tells me he did not find the traces of gates in those positions, whilst the 2 gates on the *north* side of the old Mongol rampart are quite distinct, with the barbicans in front, and the old Mongol bridge over the ditch still serving for the public thoroughfare.*

["The *Yuen shi* as well as the *Ch'ue keng lu*, and other works of the Yuen, agree in stating that the capital had eleven gates. They are enumerated in the following order: Southern wall—(1) The gate direct south (mid.) was called *Li-cheng men*; (2) the gate to the left (east), *Wen-ming men*; (3) the gate to the right (west), *Shun-ch'eng men*. Eastern wall—(4) The gate direct east (mid.), *Ch'ung-jen men*; (5) the gate to the south-east, *T'si-hua men*; (6) the gate to the north-east, *Kuang-hi men*. Western wall—(7) The gate direct west (mid.), *Ho-i men*; (8) the gate to the south-west, *P'ing-tse men*; (9) the gate to the north-west, *Su-ts'ing men*. Northern Wall—(10) The gate to the north-west, *K'ien-te men*; (11) the gate to the north-east, *An-chen men*." (*Bretschneider, Peking*, 13-14.)—H. C.]

When the Ming established themselves on the old Mongol site, population seems to have gathered close about the southern wall, probably using material from the remains of Yenking. This excrescence was inclosed by a new wall in 1554, and was

* Mr. Wylie confirms my assumption: "Whilst in Peking I traced the old mud wall, . . . and found it quite in accordance with the outline in your map. Mr. Gilmour (a missionary to the Mongols) and I rode round it, he taking the outside and I the inside. . . . Neither of us observed the arch that Dr. Lockhart speaks of. . . . There are gate-openings about the middle of the east and west sides, but no barbicans." (4th December 1873.)

called the "Outer Town." It is what is called by Europeans the *Chinese City*. Its western wall exhibits in the base sculptured stones, which seem to have belonged to the old palace of Yenking. Some traces of Yenking still existed in Gaubil's time; the only relic of it now pointed out is a pagoda outside of the Kwang-An-Măn, or western gate of the Outer City, marked in the War Office edition of the Russian Map as "Tower." (Information from *Dr. Lockhart*.)

The "Great Palaces" over the gates and at the corner bastions are no doubt well illustrated by the buildings which still occupy those positions. There are two such lofty buildings at each of the gates of the modern city, the outer one (shown on p. 376) forming an elevated redoubt.

NOTE 5.—The French writer cited under note 3 says of the city as it stands: "La ville est de la sorte coupée en échiquier à peu près régulier dont les cadres circonscrits par des larges avenues sont percés eux-mêmes d'une multitude de rues et ruelles . . . qui toutes à peu près sont orientées N. et S., E. et O. Une seule volonté a évidemment présidé à ce plan, et jamais édilité n'a eu à exécuter d'un seul coup aussi vaste entreprise."

NOTE 6.—Martini speaks of the public clock-towers in the Chinese cities, which in his time were furnished with water-clocks. A watchman struck the hour on a great gong, at the same time exhibiting the hour in large characters. The same person watched for fires, and summoned the public with his gong to aid in extinguishing them.

[The Rev. G. B. Farthing mentions (*North-China Herald*, 7th September, 1884) at T'ai-yuen fu the remains of an object in the bell-tower, which was, and is still known, as one of the eight wonders of this city; it is a vessel of brass, a part of a water-clock from which water formerly used to flow down upon a drum beneath and mark off time into equal divisions.—H. C.]

The tower indicated by Marco appears still to exist. It occupies the place which I have marked as Alarm Tower in the plan of Taidu. It was erected in 1272, but probably rebuilt on the Ming occupation of the city. ["The *Yuen yi t'ung chi*, or 'Geography of the Mongol Empire' records: 'In the year 1272, the bell-tower and the drum-tower were built in the middle of the capital.' A bell-tower (*chung-lou*) and a drum-tower (*ku-lou*) exist still in Peking, in the northern part of the Tartar City. The *ku-lou* is the same as that built in the thirteenth century, but the bell-tower dates only from the last century. The bell-tower of the Yuen was a little to the east of the drum-tower, where now the temple *Wan-ning sse* stands. This temple is nearly in the middle of the position I (Bretschneider) assign to Khanbaligh." (*Bretschneider, Peking*, 20.)—H. C.] In the Court of the Old Observatory at Peking there is preserved, with a few other ancient instruments, which date from the Mongol era, a very elaborate water-clock, provided with four copper basins embedded in brickwork, and rising in steps one above the other. A cut of this courtyard, with its instruments and aged trees, also ascribed to the Mongol time, will be found in ch. xxxiii. (*Atlas Sinensis*, p. 10; *Magailans*, 149-151; *Chine Moderne*, p. 26; *Tour du Monde* for 1864, vol. ii. p. 34.)

NOTE 7.—"Nevertheless," adds the Ramusian, "there does exist I know not what uneasiness about the people of Cathay."

CHAPTER XII.

HOW THE GREAT KAAAN MAINTAINS A GUARD OF TWELVE THOUSAND HORSE, WHICH ARE CALLED KESHICAN.

YOU must know that the Great Kaan, to maintain his state, hath a guard of twelve thousand horsemen, who are styled KESHICAN, which is as much as to say "Knights devoted to their Lord." Not that he keeps these for fear of any man whatever, but merely because of his own exalted dignity. These 12,000 men have four captains, each of whom is in command of 3000; and each body of 3000 takes a turn of three days and nights to guard the palace, where they also take their meals. After the expiration of three days and nights they are relieved by another 3000, who mount guard for the same space of time, and then another body takes its turn, so that there are always 3000 on guard. Thus it goes until the whole 12,000, who are styled (as I said) Keshican, have been on duty; and then the tour begins again, and so runs on from year's end to year's end."¹

NOTE I.—I have *deduced* a reading for the word *Quescican* (Keshican), which is not found precisely in any text. Pauthier reads *Questiau* and *Quesitau*; the G. Text has *Quesitam* and *Quecitain*; the Crusca *Questi Tan*; Ramusio, *Casitan*; the Riccardiana, *Quescitan*. Recollecting the constant clerical confusion between *c* and *t*, what follows will leave no doubt I think that the true reading to which all these variations point is *Quescican*.*

In the Institutes of Ghazan Khan, we find established among other formalities for the authentication of the royal orders, that they should be stamped on the back, in black ink, with the seals of the *Four Commanders* of the *Four Kiziks*, or *Corps of the Life Guard*.

Wassáf also, in detailing the different classes of the great dignitaries of the Mongol monarchy, names (1) the *Noyáns* of the Ulus, or princes of the blood; (2) the great chiefs of the tribes; (3) the *Amírs of the four Keshik*, or *Corps of the Body Guard*; (4) the officers of the army, commanding ten thousands, thousands, and so on.

Moreover, in Rashiduddin, we find the identical plural form used by our author. He says that, after the sack of Baghdad, Hulaku, who had escaped from the polluted atmosphere of the city, sent "Ilká Noyán and Qarábúgá, with 3000 Moghul horse

* One of the nearest readings is that of the Brandenburg Latin collated by Müller, which has *Quaesicam*.

into Baghdad, in order to have the buildings repaired, and to put things generally in order. These chiefs posted sentries from the KISHÍKÁN (كشيكان), and from their own followings in the different quarters of the town, had the carcasses of beasts removed from the streets, and caused the bazaars to be rebuilt."

We find *Kishik* still used at the court of Hindustan, under the great kings of Tinnur's House, for the corps on tour of duty at the palace; and even for the sets of matchlocks and sabres, which were changed weekly from Akbar's armoury for the royal use. The royal guards in Persia, who watch the king's person at night, are termed *Keshikchi*, and their captain *Keshikchi Bashi*. ["On the night of the 11th of Jemady ul Sany, A.H. 1160 (or 8th June, 1747), near the city of Khojooon, three days' journey from Meshed, Mohammed Kuly Khan Ardemece, who was of the same tribe with Nadir Shah, his relation, and Kushukchee Bashee, with seventy of the *Kukshek* or guard, . . . bound themselves by an oath to assassinate Nadir Shah." (*Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurream . . . transl. by F. Gladwin*, Calcutta, 1788, pp. 166-167).]

Friar Odoric speaks of the four barons who kept watch by the Great Kaan's side as the *Cuthé*, which probably represents the Chinese form *Kiesie* (as in De Mailla), or *Kuesie* (as in Gaubil). The latter applies the term to four devoted champions of Chinghiz, and their descendants, who were always attached to the Kaan's body-guard, and he identifies them with the *Quesitan* of Polo, or rather with the captains of the latter; adding expressly that the word *Kuesie* is Mongol.

I see *Kishik* is a proper name among the Kalmak chiefs; and *Keshikten* also is the name of a Mongol tribe, whose territory lies due north of Peking, near the old site of Shangtu. (Bk. I. ch. li.) [*Keshikhteng*, a tribe (*pu*; mong. *aimak*) of the Chao Uda League (*méng*; mong. *chogolgán*) among the twenty-four tribes of the *Nei Mung-ku* (Inner Mongols). (See *Mayers' Chinese Government*, p. 81.)—H. C.] In Kovalevsky, I find the following:—

(No. 2459) "*Keshik*, grace, favour, bounty, benefit, good fortune, charity."

(No. 2461) "*Keshikten*, fortunate, happy, blessed."

(No. 2541) "*Kichyeku*, to be zealous, assiduous, devoted."

(No. 2588) "*Kushiku*, to hinder, to bar the way to," etc.

The third of these corresponds closely with Polo's etymology of "knights devoted to their lord," but perhaps either the first or the last may afford the real derivation.

In spite of the different initials (ق instead of ك), it can scarcely be doubted that the *Ḳalchi* and *Ḳalāḳchi* of Timur's Institutes are mere mistranscriptions of the same word, e.g.: "I ordered that 12,000 *Ḳalchi*, men of the sword completely armed, should be cantoned in the Palace; to the right and to the left, to the front, and in the rear of the imperial diwán; thus, that 1000 of those 12,000 should be every night upon guard," etc.. The translator's note says of *Ḳalchi*, "A Mogul word supposed to mean *guards*." We see that even the traditional number of 12,000, and its division into four brigades, are maintained. (See *Timour's Inst.*, pp. 299 and 235, 237.)

I must add that Professor Vámbéry does not assent to the form *Keshikku*, on the ground that this Persian plural is impossible in an old Tartar dialect, and he supposes the true word to be *Kechilan* or *Kechiklen*, "the night-watchers," from *Kiche* or *Kichek* (Chag. and Uighúr), = "night."

I believe, however, that Persian was the colloquial language of foreigners at the Kaan's court, who would not scruple to make a Persian plural when wanted; whilst Rashid has exemplified the actual use of this one.

(*D'Ohsson*, IV. 410; *Gold. Horde*, 228, 238; *Ilch.* II. 184; *Q. R.* pp. 308-309; *Ayeen Akb.* I. 270, and *Blochmann's*, p. 115; *J. As. sér.* IV. tom. xix. 276; *Olearius*, ed. 1659, I. 656; *Cathay*, 135; *De Mailla*, ix. 106; *Gaubil*, p. 6; *Pallas, Samml.* I. 35.)

["By *Keshican* in Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, *Keshikten* is evidently meant. This is a general Mongol term to designate the Khan's lifeguard. It is derived from the

word *Keshik*, meaning a guard by turns; a corps on tour of duty. *Keshik* is one of the archaisms of the Mongol language, for now this word has another meaning in Mongol. Colonel Yule has brought together several explanations of the term. It seems to me that among his suppositions the following is the most consistent with the ancient meaning of the word:—

“We find *Kishik* still used at the court of Hindustan, under the great kings of Timur's House, for the corps on tour of duty at the palace. . . . The royal guards in Persia, who watch the King's person at night, are termed *Keshikchi*.”

“The Keshikten was divided into a day-watch called *Turgaut* and a night-watch *Kebteul*. The *Kebte-ul* consisted of pure Mongols, whilst the *Turgaut* was composed of the sons of the vassal princes and governors of the provinces, and of hostages. The watch of the Khan was changed every three days, and contained 400 men. In 1330 it was reduced to 100 men.” (*Palladius*, 42-43.) Mr. E. H. Parker writes in the *China Review*, XVIII. p. 262, that they “are evidently the ‘body guards’ of the modern viceroys, now pronounced *Kashiha*, but, evidently, originally *Këshigha*.” —H. C.]

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FASHION OF THE GREAT KAAK'S TABLE AT HIS HIGH FEASTS.

AND when the Great Kaan sits at table on any great court occasion, it is in this fashion. His table is elevated a good deal above the others, and he sits at the north end of the hall, looking towards the south, with his chief wife beside him on the left. On his right sit his sons and his nephews, and other kinsmen of the Blood Imperial, but lower, so that their heads are on a level with the Emperor's feet. And then the other Barons sit at other tables lower still. So also with the women; for all the wives of the Lord's sons, and of his nephews and other kinsmen, sit at the lower table to his right; and below them again the ladies of the other Barons and Knights, each in the place assigned by the Lord's orders. The tables are so disposed that the Emperor can see the whole of them from end to end, many as they are.¹ [Further, you are not to suppose that everybody sits at table; on the contrary, the greater part of the soldiers and their officers sit at their meal in the hall

on the carpets.] Outside the hall will be found more than 40,000 people; for there is a great concourse of folk bringing presents to the Lord, or come from foreign countries with curiosities.

In a certain part of the hall near where the Great Kaan holds his table, there [is set a large and very beautiful piece of workmanship in the form of a square coffer, or buffet, about three paces each way, exquisitely wrought with figures of animals; finely carved and gilt. The middle is hollow, and in it] stands a great vessel of pure gold, holding as much as an ordinary butt; and at each corner of the great vessel is one of smaller size [of the capacity of a firkin], and from the former the wine or beverage flavoured with fine and costly spices is drawn off into the latter. [And on the buffet aforesaid are set all the Lord's drinking vessels, among which are certain pitchers of the finest gold,] which are called *verniques*,² and are big enough to hold drink for eight or ten persons. And one of these is put between every two persons, besides a couple of golden cups with handles, so that every man helps himself from the pitcher that stands between him and his neighbour. And the ladies are supplied in the same way. The value of these pitchers and cups is something immense; in fact, the Great Kaan has such a quantity of this kind of plate, and of gold and silver in other shapes, as no one ever before saw or heard tell of, or could believe.³

[There are certain Barons specially deputed to see that foreigners, who do not know the customs of the Court, are provided with places suited to their rank; and these Barons are continually moving to and fro in the hall, looking to the wants of the guests at table, and causing the servants to supply them promptly with wine, milk, meat, or whatever they lack. At every door of the hall (or, indeed, wherever the Emperor may be)

there stand a couple of big men like giants, one on each side, armed with staves. Their business is to see that no one steps upon the threshold in entering, and if this does happen, they strip the offender of his clothes, and he must pay a forfeit to have them back again; or in lieu of taking his clothes, they give him a certain number of blows. If they are foreigners ignorant of the order, then there are Barons appointed to introduce them, and explain it to them. They think, in fact, that it brings bad luck if any one touches the threshold. Howbeit, they are not expected to stick at this in going forth again, for at that time some are like to be the worse for liquor, and incapable of looking to their steps.^{4]}

And you must know that those who wait upon the Great Kaan with his dishes and his drink are some of the great Barons. They have the mouth and nose muffled with fine napkins of silk and gold, so that no breath nor odour from their persons should taint the dish or the goblet presented to the Lord. And when the Emperor is going to drink, all the musical instruments, of which he has vast store of every kind, begin to play. And when he takes the cup all the Barons and the rest of the company drop on their knees and make the deepest obeisance before him, and then the Emperor doth drink. But each time that he does so the whole ceremony is repeated.⁵

I will say nought about the dishes, as you may easily conceive that there is a great plenty of every possible kind. But you should know that in every case where a Baron or Knight dines at those tables, their wives also dine there with the other ladies. And when all have dined and the tables have been removed, then come in a great number of players and jugglers, adepts at all sorts of wonderful feats,⁶ and perform before the Emperor and the rest of the company, creating great

diversion and mirth, so that everybody is full of laughter and enjoyment. And when the performance is over, the company breaks up and every one goes to his quarters.

NOTE 1.—We are to conceive of rows of small tables, at each of which were set probably but two guests. This seems to be the modern Chinese practice, and to go back to some very old accounts of the Tartar nations. Such tables we find in use in the tenth century, at the court of the King of Bolghar (see *Prologue*, note 2, ch. ii.), and at the Chinese entertainments to Shah Rukh's embassy in the fifteenth century. Megasthenes described the guests at an Indian banquet as having a table set before each individual. (*Athenaeus*, IV. 39, *Yongé's Transl.*)

[Compare Rubruck's account, Rockhill's ed., p. 210: "The Chan sits in a high place to the north, so that he can be seen by all . . ." (See also Friar Odoric, *Cathay*, p. 141.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—This word (G. T. and Ram.) is in the Crusca Italian transformed into an adjective, "*vaselle vernicate d'oro*," and both Marsden and Pauthier have substantially adopted the same interpretation, which seems to me in contradiction with the text. In Pauthier's text the word is *vernigal*, pl. *vernigaux*, which he explains, I know not on what authority, as "*coupes sans anses vernies ou laquées d'or*." There is, indeed, a Venetian sea-term, *Vernegal*, applied to a wooden bowl in which the food of a mess is put, and it seems possible that this word may have been substituted for the unknown *Vernique*. I suspect the latter was some Oriental term, but I can find nothing nearer than the Persian *Bärni*, Ar. *Al-Bärnīya*, "vas fictile in quo quid recondunt," whence the Spanish word *Albornia*, "a great glazed vessel in the shape of a bowl, with handles." So far as regards the form, the change of *Barniya* into *Vernique* would be quite analogous to that change of *Hundwányt* into *Odanique*, which we have already met with. (See *Dozy et Engelmann, Glos. des Mots Espagnols*, etc., 2nd ed., 1867, p. 73; and *Boerio, Diz. del. Dial. Venez.*)

[*F. Godefroy, Dict., s.v. Vernigal*, writes: "Coupe sans anse, vernie ou laquée d'or," and quotes, besides Marco Polo, the *Regle du Temple*, p. 214, éd. Soc. Hist. de France:

"Les *vernigaus* et les *escuelles*."

About *vernegal*, cf. *Rockhill, Rubruck*, p. 86, note. Rubruck says (*Soc. de Géog.* p. 241): "Implevimus unum *veringal* de biscocto et platellum unum de pomis et aliis fructibus." Mr. Rockhill translates *veringal* by *basket*.

Dr. Bretschneider (*Peking*, 28) mentions "a large jar made of wood and *varnished*, the inside lined with silver," and he adds in a note "perhaps this statement may serve to explain Marco Polo's *verniques* or *vaselle vernicate d'oro*, big enough to hold drink for eight or ten persons."—H. C.]

A few lines above we have "of the capacity of a *firkin*." The word is *bigoncio*, which is explained in the *Vocab. Univ. Ital.* as a kind of tub used in the vintage, and containing 3 *mine*, each of half a *stajo*. This seems to point to the *Tuscan* mina, or half *stajo*, which is = $\frac{1}{2}$ of a bushel. Hence the *bigoncio* would = a bushel, or, in old liquid measure, about a firkin.

NOTE 3.—A buffet, with flagons of liquor and goblets, was an essential feature in the public halls or tents of the Mongols and other Asiatic races of kindred manners. The ambassadors of the Emperor Justin relate that in the middle of the pavilion of Dizabulus, the Khan of the Turks, there were set out drinking-vessels, and flagons and great jars, all of gold; corresponding to the *coupes* (or *hanas à mances*), the *verniques*, and the *grant peitere* and *petietes peiteres* of Polo's account. Rubruquis describes in Batu Khan's tent a buffet near the entrance, where *Kumiz* was set forth,

with great goblets of gold and silver, etc., and the like at the tent of the Great Kaan. At a festival at the court of Oljaitu, we are told, "Before the throne stood golden buffets . . . set out with full flagons and goblets." Even in the private huts of the Mongols there was a buffet of a humbler kind exhibiting a skin of *Kumiz*, with other kinds of drink, and cups standing ready; and in a later age at the banquets of Shah Abbas we find the great buffet in a slightly different form, and the golden flagon still set to every two persons, though it no longer contained the liquor, which was handed round. (*Cathay*, clxiv., cci.; *Rubr.* 224, 268, 305; *Ich.* II. 183; *Della Valle*, I. 654 and 750-751.)

[Referring to the "large and very beautiful piece of workmanship," Mr. Rockhill, *Rubruck*, 208-209, writes: "Similar works of art and mechanical contrivances were often seen in Eastern courts. The earliest I know of is the golden plane-tree and grape vine with bunches of grapes in precious stones, which was given to Darius by Pythius the Lydian, and which shaded the king's couch. (Herodotus, IV. 24.) The most celebrated, however, and that which may have inspired Mangu with the desire to have something like it at his court, was the famous Throne of Solomon (Σολομώντεος Θρόνος) of the Emperor of Constantinople, Theophilus (A. D. 829-842). . . . Abulfeda states that in A. D. 917 the envoys of Constantine Porphyrogenitus to the Caliph el Moktader saw in the palace of Bagdad a tree with eighteen branches, some of gold, some of silver, and on them were gold and silver birds, and the leaves of the tree were of gold and silver. By means of machinery, the leaves were made to rustle and the birds to sing. Mirkhond speaks also of a tree of gold and precious stones in the city of Sultanieh, in the interior of which were conduits through which flowed drinks of different kinds. Clavijo describes a somewhat similar tree at the court of Timur."

Dr. Bretschneider (*Peking*, 28, 29) mentions a clepsydra with a lantern. By means of machinery put in motion by water, at fixed times a little man comes forward exhibiting a tablet, which announces the hours. He speaks also of a musical instrument which is connected, by means of a tube, with two peacocks sitting on a cross-bar, and when it plays, the mechanism causes the peacocks to dance.—H. C.]

Odoric describes the great jar of liquor in the middle of the palace hall, but in his time it was made of a great mass of jade (p. 130).

NOTE 4.—This etiquette is specially noticed also by Odoric, as well as by Makrizi, by Rubruquis, and by Plano Carpini. According to the latter the breach of it was liable to be punished with death. The prohibition to tread on the threshold is also specially mentioned in a Mahomedan account of an embassy to the court of Barka Khan. And in regard to the tents, Rubruquis says he was warned not to touch the ropes, for these were regarded as representing the threshold. A Russo-Mongol author of our day says that the memory of this etiquette or superstition is still preserved by a Mongol proverb: "Step not on the threshold; it is a sin!" But among some of the Mongols more than this survives, as is evident from a passage in Mr. Michie's narrative: "There is a right and a wrong way of approaching a *yourt* also. Outside the door there are generally ropes lying on the ground, held down by stakes, for the purpose of tying up the animals when they want to keep them together. There is a way of getting over or round these ropes that I never learned, but on one occasion the ignorant breach of the rule on our part excluded us from the hospitality of the family." The feeling or superstition was in full force in Persia in the 17th century, at least in regard to the threshold of the king's palace. It was held a sin to tread upon it in entering. (*Cathay*, 132; *Rubr.* 255, 268, 319; *Plan. Carp.* 625, 741; *Makrizi*, I. 214; *Mél. Asiat. Ac. St. Petersb.* II. 660; *The Siberian Overland Route*, p. 97; *P. Della Valle*, II. 171.)

[Mr. Rockhill writes (*Rubruck*, p. 104): "The same custom existed among the Fijians, I believe. I may note that it also prevailed in ancient China. It is said of Confucius 'when he was standing he did not occupy the middle of the gate-way; when he passed in or out, he did not tread on the threshold.' (*Lun-yü*, Bk. X. ch.

iv. 2.) In China, the bride's feet must not touch the threshold of the bridegroom's house. (Cf. *Dennys' Folk-lore in China*, p. 18.)

"The author of the *Ch'ue keng lu* mentions also the athletes with clubs standing at the door, at the time of the khan's presence in the hall. He adds, that next to the Khan, two other life-guards used to stand, who held in their hands 'natural' axes of jade (axes found fortuitously in the ground, probably primitive weapons)." (*Paladius*, p. 43.)—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—Some of these etiquettes were probably rather Chinese than Mongol, for the regulations of the court of Kúblái apparently combined the two. In the visit of Shah Rukh's ambassadors to the court of the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu of the Ming Dynasty in 1421, we are told that by the side of the throne, at an imperial banquet, "there stood two eunuchs, each having a band of thick paper over his mouth, and extending to the tips of his ears. . . . Every time that a dish, or a cup of *darassun* (rice-wine) was brought to the emperor, all the music sounded." (*N. et Ext.* XIV. 408, 409.) In one of the Persepolitan sculptures, there stands behind the King an eunuch bearing a fan, and with his mouth covered; at least so says Heeren. (*Asia*, I. 178.)

NOTE 6.—"*Jougleours et entregetours de maintes plusieurs manieres de granz experimenz*" (P.); "*de Giuculer et de Tregiteor*" (G. T.). Ital. *Tragetatore*, a juggler; Romance, *Trasjitar*, *Tragitar*, to juggle. Thus Chaucer:—

"There saw I playing Jogelours,
Magiciens, and *Tragetours*,
And Phetonisses, Charmeresses,
Old Witches, Sorceresses," etc.

—*House of Fame*, III. 169.

And again:—

"For oft at festes have I wel herd say,
That *Tregetoures*, within an halle large,
Have made come in a water and a barge,
And in the halle rowen up and down.
Somtime hath semed come a grim leoun ;
* * * * *

Somtime a Castel al of lime and ston,
And whan hem liketh, voideth it anon."

—*The Franklin's Tale*, II. 454.

Performances of this kind at Chinese festivities have already been spoken of in note 9 to ch. lxi. of Book I. Shah Rukh's people, Odoric, Ysbrandt Ides, etc., describe them also. The practice of introducing such *artistes* into the dining-hall after dinner seems in that age to have been usual also in Europe. See, for example, *Wright's Domestic Manners*, pp. 165-166, and the Court of the Emperor Frederic II., in *Kington's Life* of that prince, I. 470. (See also *N. et E.* XIV. 410; *Cathay*, 143; *Ysb. Ides*, p. 95.)

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCERNING THE GREAT FEAST HELD BY THE GRAND KAAN EVERY
YEAR ON HIS BIRTHDAY.

You must know that the Tartars keep high festival yearly on their birthdays. And the Great Kaan was

born on the 28th day of the September moon, so on that day is held the greatest feast of the year at the Kaan's Court, always excepting that which he holds on New Year's Day, of which I shall tell you afterwards.¹

Now, on his birthday, the Great Kaan dresses in the best of his robes, all wrought with beaten gold;² and full 12,000 Barons and Knights on that day come forth dressed in robes of the same colour, and precisely like those of the Great Kaan, except that they are not so costly; but still they are all of the same colour as his, and are also of silk and gold. Every man so clothed has also a girdle of gold; and this as well as the dress is given him by the Sovereign. And I will aver that there are some of these suits decked with so many pearls and precious stones that a single suit shall be worth full 10,000 golden bezants.

And of such raiment there are several sets. For you must know that the Great Kaan, thirteen times in the year, presents to his Barons and Knights such suits of raiment as I am speaking of.³ And on each occasion they wear the same colour that he does, a different colour being assigned to each festival. Hence you may see what a huge business it is, and that there is no prince in the world but he alone who could keep up such customs as these.

On his birthday also, all the Tartars in the world, and all the countries and governments that owe allegiance to the Kaan, offer him great presents according to their several ability, and as prescription or orders have fixed the amount. And many other persons also come with great presents to the Kaan, in order to beg for some employment from him. And the Great Kaan has chosen twelve Barons on whom is laid the charge of assigning to each of these supplicants a suitable answer.

On this day likewise all the Idolaters, all the

Saracens, and all the Christians and other descriptions of people make great and solemn devotions, with much chaunting and lighting of lamps and burning of incense, each to the God whom he doth worship, praying that He would save the Emperor, and grant him long life and health and happiness.

And thus, as I have related, is celebrated the joyous feast of the Kaan's birthday.⁴

Now I will tell you of another festival which the Kaan holds at the New Year, and which is called the White Feast.

NOTE 1.—The Chinese Year commences, according to Duhalde, with the New Moon nearest to the Sun's Passage of the middle point of Aquarius; according to Pauthier, with the New Moon immediately preceding the Sun's entry into Pisces. (These would almost always be identical, but not always.) Generally speaking, the first month will include part of February and part of March. The eighth month will then be September-October (*v. ante*, ch. ii. note 2).

[According to Dr. S. W. Williams (*Middle Kingdom*, II. p. 70): "The year is lunar, but its commencement is regulated by the sun. New Year falls on the first new moon after the sun enters Aquarius, which makes it come not before January 21st nor after February 19th." "The beginning of the civil year, writes Peter Hoang (*Chinese Calendar*, p. 13), depends upon the good pleasure of the Emperors. Under the Emperor Hwang-ti (2697 B.C.) and under the Hsia Dynasty (2205 B.C.), it was made to commence with the 3rd month *yin-yüeh* [Pisces]; under the Shang Dynasty (1766 B.C.) with the 2nd month *ch'ou-yüeh* [Aquarius], and under the Chou Dynasty (1122 B.C.) with the 1st month *tsu-yüeh* [Capricorn]."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The expression "*à or batuz*" as here applied to robes, is common among the mediæval poets and romance-writers, *e.g.* Chaucer:—

"Full yong he was and merry of thought,
And in samette with birdes wrought
And with gold beaten full fetously,
His bodie was clad full richely."

—*Rom. of the Rose*, 836-839.

M. Michel thinks that in a stuff so termed the gold wire was *beaten out* after the execution of the embroidery, a process which widened the metallic surface and gave great richness of appearance. The fact was rather, however, according to Dr. Rock, that the gold used in weaving such tissues was *not* wire but beaten sheets of gold cut into narrow strips. This would seem sufficient to explain the term "beaten gold," though Dr. Rock in another passage refers it to a custom which he alleges of sewing goldsmith's work upon robes. (*Fr. Michel, Recherches*, II. 389, also I. 371; *Rock's Catalogue*, pp. xxv. xxix. xxxviii. cvi.)

NOTE 3.—The number of these festivals and distributions of dresses is *thirteen* in all the old texts, except the Latin of the Geog. Soc., which has *twelve*. Thirteen would seem therefore to have been in the original copy. And the Ramusian version expands this by saying, "Thirteen great feasts that the Tartars keep with much

solemnity to each of the thirteen moons of the year." * It is possible, however, that this latter sentence is an interpolated gloss; for, besides the improbability of munificence so frequent, Pauthier has shown some good reasons why *thirteen* should be regarded as an error for *three*. The official History of the Mongol Dynasty, which he quotes, gives a detail of raiment distributed in presents on great state occasions *three* times a year. Such a mistake might easily have originated in the first dictation, *treize* substituted for *trois*, or rather for the old form *tres*; but we must note that the number 13 is repeated and corroborated in ch. xvi. Odoric speaks of *four* great yearly festivals, but there are obvious errors in what he says on this subject. Hammer says the great Mongol Feasts were three, viz. New Year's Day, the Kaan's Birthday, and the Feast of the Herds.

Something like the changes of costume here spoken of is mentioned by Rubruquis at a great festival of four days' duration at the court of Mangku Kaan: "Each day of the four they appeared in different raiment, suits of which were given them for each day of a different colour, but everything on the same day of one colour, from the boots to the turban." So also Carpini says regarding the assemblies of the Mongol nobles at the inauguration of Kuyuk Kaan: "The first day they were all clad in white pourpre (? *albis purpuris*, see Bk. I. ch. vi. note 4), the second day in ruby pourpre, the third day in blue pourpre, the fourth day in the finest baudekins." (*Cathay*, 141; *Rubr.* 368; *Pl. Car.* 755.)

[Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 247, note) makes the following remarks: "Odoric, however, says that the colours differed according to the rank. The custom of presenting *khilats* is still observed in Central Asia and Persia. I cannot learn from any other authority that the Mongols ever wore turbans. Odoric says the Mongols of the imperial feasts wore 'coronets' (*in capite coronati*)."—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—["The accounts given by Marco Polo regarding the feasts of the Khan and the festival dresses at his Court, agree perfectly with the statements on the same subject of contemporary Chinese writers. Banquets were called in the common Mongol language *chama*, and festival dresses *chisun*. General festivals used to be held at the New Year and at the Birthday of the Khan. In the *Mongol-Chinese Code*, the ceremonies performed in the provinces on the Khan's Birthday are described. One month before that day the civil and military officers repaired to a temple, where a service was performed to the Khan's health. On the morning of the Birthday a sumptuously adorned table was placed in the open air, and the representatives of all classes and all confessions were obliged to approach the table, to prostrate themselves and exclaim three times: *Wan-sui* (*i.e.* 'Ten thousand years' life to the Khan). After that the banquet took place. In the same code (in the article on the *Ye li ke un* [Christians, *Erke-un*]) it is stated, that in the year 1304,—owing to a dispute, which had arisen in the province of Kiang-nan between the *ho-shang* (Buddhist priests) and the Christian missionaries, as to precedence in the above-mentioned ceremony,—a special edict was published, in which it was decided that in the rite of supplication, Christians should follow the Buddhist and Taouist priests." (*Palladius*, pp. 44-45.)—H. C.]

* There are thirteen months to the Chinese year in seven out of every nineteen.

[“This interval of 10 years comprises 235 lunar months, generally 125 long months of 30 days 110 short months of 29 days, (but sometimes 124 long and 111 short months), and 7 intercalary months. The year of twelve months is called a common year, that of thirteen months, an *intercalary* year.” (*P. Hoang, Chinese Calendar*, p. 12.—H. C.)]

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE GREAT FESTIVAL WHICH THE KAAAN HOLDS ON NEW YEAR'S DAY.

THE beginning of their New Year is the month of February, and on that occasion the Great Kaan and all his subjects made such a Feast as I now shall describe.

It is the custom that on this occasion the Kaan and all his subjects should be clothed entirely in white; so, that day, everybody is in white, men and women, great and small. And this is done in order that they may thrive all through the year, for they deem that white clothing is lucky.¹ On that day also all the people of all the provinces and governments and kingdoms and countries that own allegiance to the Kaan bring him great presents of gold and silver, and pearls and gems, and rich textures of divers kinds. And this they do that the Emperor throughout the year may have abundance of treasure and enjoyment without care. And the people also make presents to each other of white things, and embrace and kiss and make merry, and wish each other happiness and good luck for the coming year. On that day, I can assure you, among the customary presents there shall be offered to the Kaan from various quarters more than 100,000 white horses, beautiful animals, and richly caparisoned. [And you must know 'tis their custom in offering presents to the Great Kaan (at least when the province making the present is able to do so), to present nine times nine articles. For instance, if a province sends horses, it sends nine times nine or 81 horses; of gold, nine times

nine pieces of gold, and so with stuffs or whatever else the present may consist of.]²

On that day also, the whole of the Kaan's elephants, amounting fully to 5000 in number, are exhibited, all covered with rich and gay housings of inlaid cloth representing beasts and birds, whilst each of them carries on his back two splendid coffers; all of these being filled with the Emperor's plate and other costly furniture required for the Court on the occasion of the White Feast.³ And these are followed by a vast number of camels which are likewise covered with rich housings and laden with things needful for the Feast. All these are paraded before the Emperor, and it makes the finest sight in the world.

Moreover, on the morning of the Feast, before the tables are set, all the Kings, and all the Dukes, Marquesses, Counts, Barons, Knights, and Astrologers, and Philosophers, and Leeches, and Falconers, and other officials of sundry kinds from all the places round about, present themselves in the Great Hall before the Emperor; whilst those who can find no room to enter stand outside in such a position that the Emperor can see them all well. And the whole company is marshalled in this wise. First are the Kaan's sons, and his nephews, and the other Princes of the Blood Imperial; next to them all Kings; then Dukes, and then all others in succession according to the degree of each. And when they are all seated, each in his proper place, then a great prelate rises and says with a loud voice: "Bow and adore!" And as soon as he has said this, the company bow down until their foreheads touch the earth in adoration towards the Emperor as if he were a god. And this adoration they repeat four times, and then go to a highly decorated altar, on which is a vermilion tablet with the name of the Grand Kaan inscribed thereon,

and a beautiful censer of gold. So they incense the tablet and the altar with great reverence, and then return each man to his seat.⁴

When all have performed this, then the presents are offered, of which I have spoken as being so rich and costly. And after all have been offered and been seen by the Emperor, the tables are set, and all take their places at them with perfect order as I have already told you. And after dinner the jugglers come in and amuse the Court as you have heard before; and when that is over, every man goes to his quarters.

NOTE 1.—The first month of the year is still called by the Mongols *Chaghan* or *Chaghan Sara*, “the White” or the “White Month”; and the wearing of white clothing on this festive occasion must have been purely a Mongol custom. For when Shah Rukh’s ambassadors were present at the New Year’s Feast at the Court of the succeeding *Chinese* Dynasty (2nd February, 1421) they were warned that *no one* must wear white, as that among the Chinese was the colour of mourning. (*Koeppen*, I. 574, II. 309; *Cathay*, p. ccvii.)

NOTE 2.—On the mystic importance attached to the number 9 on all such occasions among the Mongols, see *Hammer’s Golden Horde*, p. 208; *Hayton*, ch. iii. in Ramusio II.; *Not. et Ext.* XIV. Pt. 1. 32; and *Strahlenberg* (II. 210 of Amsterd. ed. 1757). Vámbéry, speaking of the *Kálin* or marriage price among the Uzbegs, says: “The question is always how many times *nine* sheep, cows, camels, or horses, or how many times nine ducats (as is the custom in a town), the father is to receive for giving up his daughter.” (*Sketches of Cent. Asia*, p. 103.) Sheikh Ibrahim of Darband, making offerings to Timur, presented *nines* of everything else, but of slaves *eight* only. “Where is the ninth?” enquired the court official. “Who but I myself?” said the Sheikh, and so won the heart of Timur. (*A. Arabsiadis . . . Timuri Hist.* p. 357.)

NOTE 3.—The elephant stud of the Son of Heaven had dwindled till in 1862 Dr. Rennie found but one animal; now none remain. [Dr. S. W. Williams writes (*Middle Kingdom*, I. pp. 323-324): “Elephants are kept at Peking for show, and are used to draw the state chariot when the Emperor goes to worship at the Altars of Heaven and Earth, but the sixty animals seen in the days of Kienlung, by Bell, have since dwindled to one or two. Van Braam met six going into Peking, sent thither from Yun-Nan.” These were no doubt carrying tribute from Burmah.—H. C.] It is worth noticing that the housings of cut cloth or *appliqué* work (“*draps entailles*”) are still in fashion in India for the caparison of elephants.

NOTE 4.—In 1263 Kúblái adopted the Chinese fashion of worshipping the tablets of his own ancestors, and probably at the same time the adoration of his own tablet by his subjects was introduced. Van Braam ingenuously relates how he and the rest of the Dutch Legation of 1794 performed the adoration of the Emperor’s Tablet on first entering China, much in the way described in the text.

There is a remarkable amplification in the last paragraph of the chapter as given by Ramusio: “When all are in their proper places, a certain great personage, or

high prelate as it were, gets up and says with a loud voice: 'Bow yourselves and adore!' On this immediately all bend and bow the forehead to the ground. Then the prelate says again: 'God save and keep our Lord the Emperor, with length of years and with mirth and happiness.' And all answer: 'So may it be!' And then again the prelate says: 'May God increase and augment his Empire and its prosperity more and more, and keep all his subjects in peace and goodwill, and may all things go well throughout his Dominion!' And all again respond: 'So may it be!' And this adoration is repeated four times."

One of Pauthier's most interesting notes is a long extract from the official Directory of Ceremonial under the Mongol Dynasty, which admirably illustrates the chapters we have last read. I borrow a passage regarding this adoration: "The Musician's Song having ceased, the Ministers shall recite with a loud voice the following Prayer: 'Great Heaven, that extendest over all! Earth which art under the guidance of Heaven! We invoke You and beseech You to heap blessings upon the Emperor and the Empress! Grant that they may live ten thousand, a hundred thousand years!'

"Then the first Chamberlain shall respond: 'May it be as the prayer hath said!' The Ministers shall then prostrate themselves, and when they rise return to their places, and take a cup or two of wine."

The K'o-tow (*K'heu-théu*) which appears repeatedly in this ceremonial and which in our text is indicated by the four prostrations, was, Pauthier alleges, not properly a Chinese form, but only introduced by the Mongols. Baber indeed speaks of it as the *Kornish*, a Moghul ceremony, in which originally "the person who performed it kneeled nine times and touched the earth with his brow each time." He describes it as performed very elaborately (nine times *twice*) by his younger uncle in visiting the elder. But in its essentials the ceremony must have been of old date at the Chinese Court; for the Annals of the Thang Dynasty, in a passage cited by M. Pauthier himself,* mention that ambassadors from the famous Hárún ar Rashíd in 798 had to perform the "ceremony of kneeling and striking the forehead against the ground." And M. Pauthier can scarcely be right in saying that the practice was disused by the Ming Dynasty and only reintroduced by the Manchus; for in the story of Shah Rukh's embassy the performance of the K'o-tow occurs repeatedly.

["It is interesting to note," writes Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 22), "that in A. D. 981 the Chinese Envoy, Wang Yen-tê, sent to the Uigur Prince of Kao-chang, refused to make genuflexions (*paï*) to him, as being contrary to the established usages as regards envoys. The prince and his family, however, on receiving the envoy, all faced eastward (towards Peking) and made an obeisance (*paï*) on receiving the imperial presents (*shou-tzû*)." (*Ma Twan-lin*, Bk. 336, 13.)—H. C.]

(*Gaubil*, 142; *Van Braam*, I. 20-21; *Baber*, 106; *N. et E.* XIV. Pt. I. 405, 407, 418.)

The enumeration of *four* prostrations in the text is, I fancy, quite correct. There are several indications that this number was used instead of the three times three of later days. Thus Carpini, when introduced to the Great Kaan, "bent the left knee four times." And in the Chinese bridal ceremony of "Worshipping the Tablets," the genuflexion is made four times. At the court of Shah Abbas an obeisance evidently identical was repeated four times. (*Carp.* 759; *Doolittle*, p. 60; *P. Della Valle*, I. 646.)

* *Gaubil*, cited in *Pauthier's Hist. des Relations Politiques de la Chine*, etc., p. 226

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCERNING THE TWELVE THOUSAND BARONS WHO RECEIVE ROBES OF CLOTH OF GOLD FROM THE EMPEROR ON THE GREAT FESTIVALS, THIRTEEN CHANGES A-PIECE.

Now you must know that the Great Kaan hath set apart 12,000 of his men who are distinguished by the name of *Keshican*, as I have told you before; and on each of these 12,000 Barons he bestows thirteen changes of raiment, which are all different from one another: I mean that in one set the 12,000 are all of one colour; the next 12,000 of another colour, and so on; so that they are of thirteen different colours. These robes are garnished with gems and pearls and other precious things in a very rich and costly manner.¹ And along with each of these changes of raiment, *i.e.* 13 times in the year, he bestows on each of those 12,000 Barons a fine golden girdle of great richness and value, and likewise a pair of boots of *Camut*, that is to say of *Borgal*, curiously wrought with silver thread; insomuch that when they are clothed in these dresses every man of them looks like a king!² And there is an established order as to which dress is to be worn at each of those thirteen feasts. The Emperor himself also has his thirteen suits corresponding to those of his Barons; in *colour*, I mean (though his are grander, richer, and costlier), so that he is always arrayed in the same colour as his Barons, who are, as it were, his comrades. And you may see that all this costs an amount which it is scarcely possible to calculate.

Now I have told you of the thirteen changes of raiment received from the Prince by those 12,000 Barons, amounting in all to 156,000 suits of so great cost and value, to say nothing of the girdles and the boots which

are also worth a great sum of money. All this the Great Lord hath ordered, that he may attach the more of grandeur and dignity to his festivals.

And now I must mention another thing that I had forgotten, but which you will be astonished to learn from this Book. You must know that on the Feast Day a great Lion is led to the Emperor's presence, and as soon as it sees him it lies down before him with every sign of the greatest veneration, as if it acknowledged him for its lord; and it remains there lying before him, and entirely unchained. Truly this must seem a strange story to those who have not seen the thing!³

NOTE 1.—On the *Keshican*, see note 1 to chap. xii., and on the changes of raiment note 3 to chap. xiv., and the remarks there as to the number of distributions. I confess that the stress laid upon the number 13 in this chapter makes the supposition of error more difficult. But there is something odd and unintelligible about the whole of the chapter except the last paragraph. For the 12,000 *Keshican* are here all elevated to *Barons*; and at the same time the statement about their changes of raiment seems to be merely that already made in chapter xiv. This repetition occurs only in the French MSS., but as it is in all these we cannot reject it.

NOTE 2.—The words *Camut* and *Borgal* appear both to be used here for what we call *Russia-Leather*. The latter word in one form or another, *Bolghár*, *Borgháli*, or *Bulkál*, is the term applied to that material to this day nearly all over Asia. Ibn Batuta says that in travelling during winter from Constantinople to the Wolga he had to put on three pairs of boots, one of wool (which we should call stockings), a second of wadded linen, and a third of *Borgháli*, "i.e. of horse-leather lined with wolf-skin." Horse-leather seems to be still the favourite material for boots among all the Tartar nations. The name was undoubtedly taken from *Bolghar* on the Wolga, the people of which are traditionally said to have invented the art of preparing skins in that manner. This manufacture is still one of the staple trades of Kazan, the city which in position and importance is the nearest representative of Bolghar now.

Camut is explained by Klaproth to be "leather made from the back-skin of a camel." It appears in Johnson's Persian Dictionary as *Kámú*, but I do not know from what language it originally comes. The word is in the Latin column of the Petrarchian Vocabulary with the Persian rendering *Sagri*. This shows us what is meant, for *Sagri* is just our word *Shagreen*, and is applied to a fine leather granulated in that way, which is much used for boots and the like by the people of Central Asia. [In Turkish *şāghri* or *saghri* is the name both for the buttocks of a horse and the leather called *shagreen* prepared with them. (See *Devic, Dict. Étym.*)—H. C.] In the commercial lists of our Indian north-west frontier we find as synonymous *Saghri* or *Kimukht*, "Horse or Ass-hide." No doubt this latter word is a form of *Kámú* or *Camut*. It appears (as *Keimukht*, "a sort of leather") in a detail of imports to Aden given by *Ibn al Wardi*, a geographer of the 13th century.

Instead of *Camut*, Ramusio has *Camoscia*, i.e. Chamois, and the same seems to be in all the editions based on Fra Pipino's version. It may be a misrendering of

canutum or *canutium*; or is there any real connexion between the Oriental *Kámú Kímukht*, and the Italian *camoscia*? (*J. B.* II. 445; *Klapr. Mém.* vol. III.; *Davies's Trade Report*, App. p. ccxx.; *Vámbéry's Travels*, 423; *Not. et Ext.* II. 43.)

Fraehn (writing in 1832) observes that he knew no use of the word *Bolghár*, in the sense of Russian leather, older than the 17th century. But we see that both Marco and Ibn Batuta use it. (*F. on the Wolga Bulghars*, pp. 8-9.)

Pauthier in a note (p. 285) gives a list of the garments issued to certain officials on these ceremonial occasions under the Mongols, and sure enough this list includes "pairs of boots in red leather." Odoric particularly mentions the broad golden girdles worn at the Kaan's court.

[La Curne, *Dict.*, has *Bulga*, leather bag; old Gallic word from which are derived *bouge* et *bougete*, *hourse*; he adds in a note, "Festus writes: '*Bulgas* galli *sacculos scorteos* vocant.'"—H. C.]

Note 3.—"Then come mummers leading lions, which they cause to salute the Lord with reverence." (*Odoric*, p. 143.) A lion sent by Mirza Baisangar, one of the Princes of Timur's House, accompanied Shah Rukh's embassy as a present to the Emperor; and like presents were frequently repeated. (See *Amoyot*, XIV. 37, 38.)

CHAPTER XVII.

HOW THE GREAT KAAAN ENJOINETH HIS PEOPLE TO SUPPLY HIM WITH GAME.

THE three months of December, January, and February, during which the Emperor resides at his Capital City, are assigned for hunting and fowling, to the extent of some 40 days' journey round the city; and it is ordained that the larger game taken be sent to the Court. To be more particular: of all the larger beasts of the chase, such as boars, roebucks, bucks, stags, lions, bears, etc., the greater part of what is taken has to be sent, and feathered game likewise. The animals are gutted and despatched to the Court on carts. This is done by all the people within 20 or 30 days' journey, and the quantity so despatched is immense. Those at a greater distance cannot send the game, but they have to send the skins after tanning them, and these are employed in the making of equipments for the Emperor's army.¹

NOTE I.—So Magaillans : “Game is so abundant, especially at the capital, that every year during the three winter months you see at different places, intended for despatch thither, besides great piles of every sort of wildfowl, rows of four-footed game of a gunshot or two in length : the animals being all frozen and standing on their feet. Among other species you see three sundry kinds of bears . . . and great abundance of other animals, as stags and deer of different sorts, boars, elks, hares, rabbits, squirrels, wild-cats, rats, geese, ducks, very fine jungle-fowl, etc., and all so cheap that I never could have believed it” (pp. 177-178). As this writer mentions *wild-cats*, we may presume that the “lions” of Polo also were destined to be eaten.

[“Kublai Khan kept a whole army, 14,000 men, huntsmen, distributed in Peking and other cities in the present province of Chili (*Yuen-shi*). The Khan used to hunt in the Peking plain from the beginning of spring, until his departure to Shang-tu. There are in the Peking department many low and marshy places, stretching often to a considerable extent and abounding in game. In the biography of *Ai-sie* (*Yuen shi*, chap. cxxxiv.), who was a Christian, it is mentioned that Kubilai was hunting also in the department of Pao-ting fu.” (*Palladius*, p. 45.)—II. C.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE LIONS AND LEOPARDS AND WOLVES THAT THE KAA'N KEEPS FOR THE CHASE.

THE Emperor hath numbers of leopards¹ trained to the chase, and hath also a great many lynxes taught in like manner to catch game, and which afford excellent sport.² He hath also several great Lions, bigger than those of Babylonia, beasts whose skins are coloured in the most beautiful way, being striped all along the sides with black, red, and white. These are trained to catch boars and wild cattle, bears, wild asses, stags, and other great or fierce beasts. And 'tis a rare sight, I can tell you, to see those lions giving chase to such beasts as I have mentioned! When they are to be so employed the Lions are taken out in a covered cart, and every Lion has a little doggie with him. [They are obliged to approach the game against the wind, otherwise the animals would scent the approach of the Lion and be off.]³

There are also a great number of eagles, all broken to catch wolves, foxes, deer, and wild goats, and they do

catch them in great numbers. But those especially that are trained to wolf-catching are very large and powerful birds, and no wolf is able to get away from them.⁴

NOTE 1.—The Cheeta or Hunting-Leopard, still kept for the chase by native noblemen in India, is an animal very distinct from the true leopard. It is much more lanky and long-legged than the pure felines, is unable to climb trees, and has claws only partially retractile. Wood calls it a link between the feline and canine races. One thousand Cheetas were attached to Akbar's hunting establishment; and the chief one, called Semend-Manik, was carried to the field in a palankin with a kettledrum beaten before him. Boldensel in the first half of the 14th century speaks of the Cheeta as habitually used in Cyprus; but, indeed, a hundred years before, these animals had been constantly employed by the Emperor Frederic II. in Italy, and accompanied him on all his marches. They were introduced into France in the latter part of the 15th century, and frequently employed by Lewis XI., Charles VIII., and Lewis XII. The leopards were kept in a ditch of the Castle of Amboise, and the name still borne by a gate hard by, *Porte des Lions*, is supposed to be due to that circumstance. The *Moeurs et Usages du Moyen Age* (Lacroix), from which I take the last facts, gives copy of a print by John Stradanus representing a huntsman with the leopard on his horse's crupper, like Kúblái's (*supra*, Bk. I. ch. lxi.); Frederic II. used to say of his Cheetas, "they knew how to ride." This way of taking the Cheeta to the field had been first employed by the Khalif Yazid, son of Moáwiyah. The Cheeta often appears in the pattern of silk damasks of the 13th and 14th centuries, both Asiatic and Italian. (*Ayeen Akbery*, I. 304, etc.; *Boldensel*, in *Canisii Thesaurus*, by *Basnage*, vol. IV. p. 339; *Kington's Fred. II.* I. 472, II. 156; *Bochart, Hierozoica*, 797; *Rock's Catalogue*, *passim*.)

[The hunting equipment of the Sultan consisted of about thirty falconers on horseback who carried each a bird on his fist. These falconers were in front of seven horsemen, who had behind a kind of tamed tiger at times employed by His Highness for hare-hunting, notwithstanding what may be said to the contrary by those who are inclined not to believe the fact. It is a thing known by everybody here, and cannot be doubted except by those who admit that they believe nothing of foreign customs. These tigers were each covered with a brocade cloth—and their peaceful attitude, added to their ferocious and savage looks, caused at the same time astonishment and fear in the soul of those whom they looked upon. (*Journal d'Antoine Galland*, trad. par Ch. Schefer, I. p. 135.) The Cheeta (*Gueparda jubata*) was, according to Sir W. Jones, first employed in hunting antelopes by Hushing, King of Persia, 865 B.C.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The word rendered Lynxes is *Leu cervers* (G. Text), *Loux serviers* of Pauthier's MS. C, though he has adopted from another *Loups* simply, which is certainly wrong. The *Geog. Latin* has "*Linceos i.e. lupos cerveries*." There is no doubt that the *Loup-cervier* is the Lynx. Thus Brunetto Latini, describing the *Loup-cervier*, speaks of its remarkable powers of vision, and refers to its agency in the production of the precious stone called *Liguire* (*i.e. Ligurium*), which the ancients fancied to come from *Lync-urium*; the tale is in Theophrastus). Yet the quaint Bestiary of Philip de Thaur, published by Mr. Wright, identifies it with the Greek Hyena:—

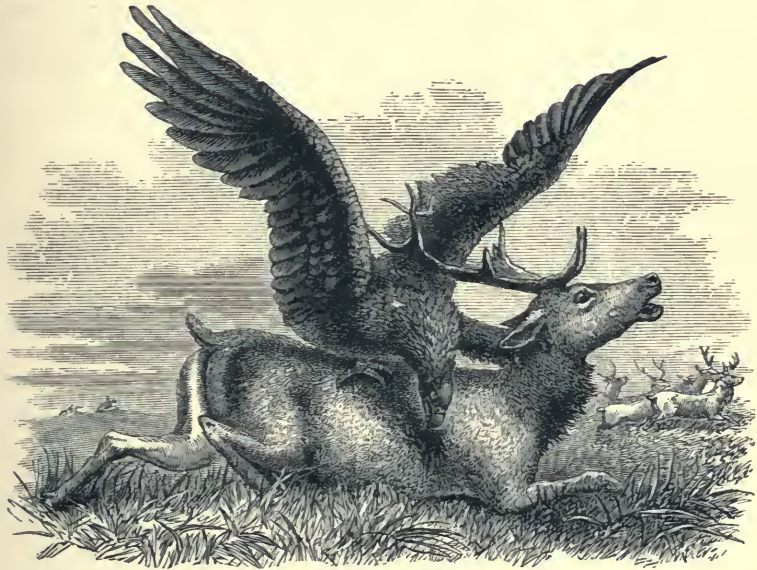
"*Hyena e Griu num, que nus beste apellum,
Ceo est Lucervere, oler fait et mult est fere.*"

[The Abbé Armand David writes (*Missions Cathol.* XXI. 1889, p. 227) that there is in China, from the mountains of Manchuria to the mountains of Tibet, a lynx

called by the Chinese *T'u-pao* (earth-coloured panther); a lynx somewhat similar to the *loup-cervier* is found on the western border of China, and has been named *Lyncus Desgodinsi*.—H. C.]

Hunting Lynxes were used at the Court of Akbar. They are also mentioned by A. Hamilton as so used in Sind at the end of the 17th century. This author calls the animal a *Shoe-goose!* i.e. *Siya-gosh* (Black-ear), the Persian name of the Lynx. It is still occasionally used in the chase by natives of rank in India. (*Brunetto Lat. Tresor*, p. 248; *Popular Treatises on Science written during Mid. Ages*, 94; *Ayeen Akbery*, u.s.; *Hamilt. E. Indies*, I. 125; *Vigne*, I. 42.)

NOTE 3.—The conception of a Tiger seems almost to have dropped out of the European mind during the Middle Ages. Thus in a mediæval Bestiary, a chapter on the Tiger begins: “*Une Beste est qui est apelée Tigre c'est une manière de Serpent.*” Hence Polo can only call the Tigers, whose portrait he draws here not incorrectly, *Lions*. So also nearly 200 years later Barbaro gives a like portrait, and calls the animal *Leonza*. Marsden supposes judiciously that the confusion may have been promoted by the ambiguity of the Persian *Sher*.



The Búrgút Eagle. (After Atkinson.)

“*Il a encore aigles qe sont afaités à prendre leus et boupes et dain et chabriou, et en prennent assez.*”

The Chinese pilgrim, Sung-Yun (A.D. 518), saw two young lions at the Court of Gandhára. He remarks that the pictures of these animals common in China, were not at all good likenesses. (*Beal*, p. 200.)

We do not hear in modern times of Tigers trained to the chase, but Chardin says of Persia: “In hunting the larger animals they make use of beasts of prey trained for the purpose, *lions*, leopards, *tigers*, panthers, ounces.”

NOTE 4.—This is perfectly correct. In Eastern Turkestan, and among the Kirghiz to this day, eagles termed *Búrgút* (now well known to be the Golden Eagle) are tamed and trained to fly at wolves, foxes, deer, wild goats, etc. A Kirghiz will

give a good horse for an eagle in which he recognises capacity for training. Mr. Atkinson gives vivid descriptions and illustrations of this eagle (which he calls "Bear coote"), attacking both deer and wolves. He represents the bird as striking one claw into the neck, and the other into the back of its large prey, and then tearing out the liver with its beak. In justice both to Marco Polo and to Mr. Atkinson, I have pleasure in adding a vivid account of the exploits of this bird, as witnessed by one of my kind correspondents, the Governor-General's late envoy to Kashgar. And I trust Sir Douglas Forsyth will pardon my quoting his own letter just as it stands* :— "Now for a story of the *Burgoot*—Atkinson's 'Bearcoote.' I think I told you it was the Golden Eagle and supposed to attack wolves and even bears. One day we came across a wild hog of enormous size, far bigger than any that gave sport to the Tent Club in Bengal. The *Burgoot* was immediately let loose, and went straight at the hog, which it kicked, and flapped with its wings, and utterly *flabbergasted*, whilst our Kashgaree companions attacked him with sticks and brought him to the ground. As Friar Odoric would say, I, T. D. F., have seen this with mine own eyes."—Shaw describes the rough treatment with which the *Búrgút* is tamed. Baber, when in the Bajaur Hills, notices in his memoirs : "This day *Búrgút* took a deer." (*Timkowski*, I. 414; *Levchine*, p. 77; *Pallas, Voyages*, I. 421; *J. R. A. S.* VII. 305; *Atkinson's Siberia*, 493; and *Amoor*, 146-147; *Shaw*, p. 157; *Baber*, p. 249.)

[The Golden Eagle (*Aquila chrysaetus*) is called at Peking *Hoy tiao* (black eagle). (*David et Oustalet, Oiseaux de la Chine*, p. 8.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XIX.

CONCERNING THE TWO BROTHERS WHO HAVE CHARGE OF THE KAAN'S HOUNDS.

THE Emperor hath two Barons who are own brothers, one called Baian and the other Mingan; and these two are styled *Chinuchi* (or *Cunichi*), which is as much as to say, "The Keepers of the Mastiff Dogs."¹ Each of these brothers hath 10,000 men under his orders; each body of 10,000 being dressed alike, the one in red and the other in blue, and whenever they accompany the Lord to the chase, they wear this livery, in order to be recognized. Out of each body of 10,000 there are 2000 men who are each in charge of one or more great mastiffs, so that the whole number of these is very large. And when the Prince goes a-hunting, one of those Barons, with his 10,000 men and something like 5000 dogs, goes

* Dated Yangi Hissar, 10th April, 1874.

towards the right, whilst the other goes towards the left with his party in like manner. They move along, all abreast of one another, so that the whole line extends over a full day's journey, and no animal can escape them. Truly it is a glorious sight to see the working of the dogs and the huntsmen on such an occasion! And as the Lord rides a-fowling across the plains, you will see these big hounds coming tearing up, one pack after a bear, another pack after a stag, or some other beast, as it may hap, and running the game down now on this side and now on that, so that it is really a most delightful sport and spectacle.

[The Two Brothers I have mentioned are bound by the tenure of their office to supply the Kaan's Court from October to the end of March with 1000 head of game daily, whether of beasts or birds, and not counting quails; and also with fish to the best of their ability, allowing fish enough for three persons to reckon as equal to one head of game.]

Now I have told you of the Masters of the Hounds and all about them, and next will I tell you how the Lord goes off on an expedition for the space of three months.

NOTE 1.—Though this particular Bayan and Mingan are not likely to be mentioned in history, the names are both good Mongol names; *Bayan* that of a great soldier under Kúblái, of whom we shall hear afterwards; and *Mingan* that of one of Chinghiz's generals.

The title of "Master of the Mastiffs" belonged to a high Court official at Constantinople in former days, *Sámsúnji Búshi*, and I have no doubt Marco has given the exact interpretation of the title of the two Barons: though it is difficult to trace its elements. It is read variously *Cunici* (i.e. *Kunichi*) and *Cinuci* (i.e. *Chinuchi*). It is evidently a word of analogous structure to *Kushchi*, the Master of the Falcons; *Parschi*, the Master of the Leopards. Professor Schiefner thinks it is probably corrupted from *Noghaichi*, which appears in Kovalevski's Mongol Dict. as "*chasseur qui a soins des chiens courants*." This word occurs, he points out, in Sanang Setzen, where Schmidt translates it *Aufseher über Hunde*. (See *S. S.* p. 39.)

The metathesis of *Noghai-chi* into *Kuni-chi* is the only drawback to this otherwise apt solution. We generally shall find Polo's Oriental words much more accurately expressed than this would imply—as in the next chapter. I have hazarded a suggestion of (Or. Turkish) *Chong-It-chi*, "Keeper of the Big Dogs," which Professor Vámbéry thinks possible. (See "*chong*, big, strong," in his *Tschagataische Sprachstudien*,

p. 282, and note in *Lord Strangford's Selected Writings*, II. 169.) In East Turkestan they call the Chinese *Chong Káfir*, "The Big Heathen." This would exactly correspond to the rendering of Pipino's Latin translation, "*hoc est canum magnorum Praefecti*." *Chinuchi* again would be (in Mongol) "Wolf-keepers." It is at least possible that the great dogs which Polo terms mastiffs may have been known by such a name. We apply the term Wolf-dog to several varieties, and in Macbeth's enumeration we have—

—— "Hounds, and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
Shoughs, water rugs, and *Demi-Wolves*."

Lastly the root-word may be the Chinese *Kiuen*, "dog," as Pauthier says. The mastiffs were probably Tibetan, but may have come through China, and brought a name with them, like *Boule-dogues* in France.

[Palladius (p. 46) says that *Chinuuchi* or *Cunici* "have no resemblance with any of the names found in the *Yuen shi*, ch. xcix., article *Ping chi* (military organisation), and relating to the hunting staff of the Khan, viz. : *Si pao ch'i* (falconers), *Ho r ch'i* (archers), and *Ke lien ch'i* (probably those who managed the hounds)."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XX.

HOW THE EMPEROR GOES ON A HUNTING EXPEDITION.

AFTER he has stopped at his capital city those three months that I mentioned, to wit, December, January, February, he starts off on the 1st day of March, and travels southward towards the Ocean Sea, a journey of two days.¹ He takes with him full 10,000 falconers, and some 500 gerfalcones besides peregrines, sakers, and other hawks in great numbers; and goshawks also to fly at the water-fowl.² But do not suppose that he keeps all these together by him; they are distributed about, hither and thither, one hundred together, or two hundred at the utmost, as he thinks proper. But they are always fowling as they advance, and the most part of the quarry taken is carried to the Emperor. And let me tell you when he goes thus a-fowling with his gerfalcones and other hawks, he is attended by full 10,000 men who are disposed in couples; and these are called

Toscaol, which is as much as to say, "Watchers." And the name describes their business.³ They are posted from spot to spot, always in couples, and thus they cover a great deal of ground! Every man of them is provided with a whistle and hood, so as to be able to call in a hawk and hold it in hand. And when the Emperor makes a cast, there is no need that he follow it up, for those men I speak of keep so good a look out that they never lose sight of the birds, and if these have need of help they are ready to render it.

All the Emperor's hawks, and those of the Barons as well, have a little label attached to the leg to mark them, on which is written the names of the owner and the keeper of the bird. And in this way the hawk, when caught, is at once identified and handed over to its owner. But if not, the bird is carried to a certain Baron, who is styled the *Bularguchi*, which is as much as to say "The Keeper of Lost Property." And I tell you that whatever may be found without a known owner, whether it be a horse, or a sword, or a hawk, or what not, it is carried to that Baron straightway, and he takes charge of it. And if the finder neglects to carry his trove to the Baron, the latter punishes him. Likewise the loser of any article goes to the Baron, and if the thing be in his hands it is immediately given up to the owner. Moreover, the said Baron always pitches on the highest spot of the camp, with his banner displayed, in order that those who have lost or found anything may have no difficulty in finding their way to him. Thus nothing can be lost but it shall be incontinently found and restored.⁴

And so the Emperor follows this road that I have mentioned, leading along in the vicinity of the Ocean Sea (which is within two days' journey of his capital city, Cambaluc), and as he goes there is many a fine sight to be seen, and plenty of the very best entertainment in

hawking ; in fact, there is no sport in the world to equal it!

The Emperor himself is carried upon four elephants in a fine chamber made of timber, lined inside with plates of beaten gold, and outside with lions' skins [for he always travels in this way on his fowling expeditions, because he is troubled with gout]. He always keeps beside him a dozen of his choicest gerfalcons, and is attended by several of his Barons, who ride on horseback alongside. And sometimes, as they may be going along, and the Emperor from his chamber is holding discourse with the Barons, one of the latter shall exclaim : " Sire ! Look out for Cranes ! " Then the Emperor instantly has the top of his chamber thrown open, and having marked the cranes he casts one of his gerfalcons, whichever he pleases ; and often the quarry is struck within his view, so that he has the most exquisite sport and diversion, there as he sits in his chamber or lies on his bed ; and all the Barons with him get the enjoyment of it likewise ! So it is not without reason I tell you that I do not believe there ever existed in the world or ever will exist, a man with such sport and enjoyment as he has, or with such rare opportunities.⁵

And when he has travelled till he reaches a place called CACHAR MODUN,⁶ there he finds his tents pitched, with the tents of his Sons, and his Barons, and those of his Ladies and theirs, so that there shall be full 10,000 tents in all, and all fine and rich ones. And I will tell you how his own quarters are disposed. The tent in which he holds his courts is large enough to give cover easily to a thousand souls. It is pitched with its door to the south, and the Barons and Knights remain in waiting in it, whilst the Lord abides in another close to it on the west side. When he wishes to speak with any one he causes the person to be summoned to that other tent. Immediately behind the great tent there is a fine

large chamber where the Lord sleeps ; and there are also many other tents and chambers, but they are not in contact with the Great Tent as these are. The two audience-tents and the sleeping-chamber are constructed in this way. Each of the audience-tents has three poles, which are of spice-wood, and are most artfully covered with lions' skins, striped with black and white and red, so that they do not suffer from any weather. All three apartments are also covered outside with similar skins of striped lions, a substance that lasts for ever.⁷ And inside they are all lined with ermine and sable, these two being the finest and most costly furs in existence. For a robe of sable, large enough to line a mantle, is worth 2000 bezants of gold, or 1000 at least, and this kind of skin is called by the Tartars "The King of Furs." The beast itself is about the size of a marten.⁸ These two furs of which I speak are applied and inlaid so exquisitely, that it is really something worth seeing. All the tent-ropes are of silk. And in short I may say that those tents, to wit the two audience-halls and the sleeping-chamber, are so costly that it is not every king could pay for them.

Round about these tents are others, also fine ones and beautifully pitched, in which are the Emperor's ladies, and the ladies of the other princes and officers. And then there are the tents for the hawks and their keepers, so that altogether the number of tents there on the plain is something wonderful. To see the many people that are thronging to and fro on every side and every day there, you would take the camp for a good big city. For you must reckon the Leeches, and the Astrologers, and the Falconers, and all the other attendants on so great a company ; and add that everybody there has his whole family with him, for such is their custom.

The Lord remains encamped there until the spring,

and all that time he does nothing but go hawking round about among the canebrakes along the lakes and rivers that abound in that region, and across fine plains on which are plenty of cranes and swans, and all sorts of other fowl. The other gentry of the camp also are never done with hunting and hawking, and every day they bring home great store of venison and feathered game of all sorts. Indeed, without having witnessed it, you would never believe what quantities of game are taken, and what marvellous sport and diversion they all have whilst they are in camp there.

There is another thing I should mention ; to wit, that for 20 days' journey round the spot nobody is allowed, be he who he may, to keep hawks or hounds, though anywhere else whosoever list may keep them. And furthermore throughout all the Emperor's territories, nobody however audacious dares to hunt any of these four animals, to wit, hare, stag, buck, and roe, from the month of March to the month of October. Anybody who should do so would rue it bitterly. But those people are so obedient to their Lord's command, that even if a man were to find one of those animals asleep by the roadside he would not touch it for the world ! And thus the game multiplies at such a rate that the whole country swarms with it, and the Emperor gets as much as he could desire. Beyond the term I have mentioned, however, to wit that from March to October, everybody may take these animals as he list.⁹

After the Emperor has tarried in that place, enjoying his sport as I have related, from March to the middle of May, he moves with all his people, and returns straight to his capital city of Cambaluc (which is also the capital of Cathay, as you have been told), but all the while continuing to take his diversion in hunting and hawking as he goes along.

NOTE 1.—“*Vait vers midi jusques à la Mer Occéane, ou il y a deux journées.*” It is not possible in any way to reconcile this description as it stands with truth, though I do not see much room for doubt as to the direction of the excursion. Peking is 100 miles as the crow flies from the nearest point of the coast, at least six or seven days' march for such a camp, and the direction is south-east, or nearly so. The last circumstance would not be very material as Polo's compass-bearings are not very accurate. We shall find that he makes the general line of bearing from Peking towards Kiangnan, *Sciloc* or S. East, hence his *Midi* ought in consistency to represent S. West, an impossible direction for the Ocean. It is remarkable that Ramusio has *Greco* or N. East, which would by the same relative correction represent East. And other circumstances point to the frontier of Liao-tong as the direction of this excursion. Leaving the *two days* out of question, therefore, I should suppose the “Ocean Sea” to be struck at Shan-hai-kwan near the terminus of the Great Wall, and that the site of the standing hunting-camp is in the country to the north of that point. The Jesuit Verbiest accompanied the Emperor Kanghi on a tour in this direction in 1682, and almost immediately after passing the Wall the Emperor and his party seem to have struck off to the left for sport. Kúblái started on the “1st of March,” probably however the 1st of the second Chinese month. Kanghi started from Peking on the 23rd of March, on the hunting-journey just referred to.

NOTE 2.—We are told that Bajazet had 7000 falconers and 6000 dog-keepers; whilst Sultan Mahomed Tughlak of India in the generation following Polo's, is said to have had 10,000 falconers, and 3000 other attendants as beaters. (*Not. et Ext. XIII. p. 185.*)

The Oriental practice seems to have assigned one man to the attendance on every hawk. This Kaempfer says was the case at the Court of Persia at the beginning of last century. There were about 800 hawks, and each had a special keeper. The same was the case with the Emperor Kanghi's hawking establishment, according to Gerbillon. (*Am. Exot. p. 83; Gerb. 1st Journey, in Duhalde.*)

NOTE 3.—The French MSS. read *Toscaor*; the reading in the text I take from Ramusio. It is Turki, *Tosqául*, **توسقاؤل**, defined as “Gardien, surveillant de la route; Wächter, Wache, Wegehüter.” (See *Zenker*, and *Pavet de Courteille*.) The word is perhaps also Mongol, for Rémusat has *Tosiyal* = “Veille.” (*Mé. As. I. 231.*) Such an example of Polo's correctness both in the form and meaning of a Turki word is worthy of especial note, and shows how little he merits the wild and random treatment which has been often applied to the solution of like phrases in his book.

[Palladius (p. 47) says that he has heard from men well acquainted with the customs of the Mongols, that at the present day in “battues,” the leaders of the two flanks which surround the game, are called *toscaul* in Mongol.—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—The remark in the previous note might be repeated here. The *Bularguji* was an officer of the Mongol camp, whose duties are thus described by Mahomed Hindú Shah in a work on the offices of the Perso-Mongol Court. “He is an officer appointed by the Council of State, who, at the time when the camp is struck, goes over the ground with his servants, and collects slaves of either sex, or cattle, such as horses, camels, oxen, and asses, that have been left behind, and retains them until the owners appear and prove their claim to the property, when he makes it over to them. The *Bularguji* sticks up a flag by his tent or hut to enable people to find him, and so recover their lost property.” (*Golden Horde*, p. 245.) And in the Appendix to that work (p. 476) there is a copy of a warrant to such a Bularguji or Provost Marshal. The derivation appears therein as from *Bularghu*, “Lost property.” Here again it was impossible to give both form and meaning of the word more exactly than Polo has done. Though Hammer writes these terminations in *ji* (*dschi*), I believe *chi* (*tschi*) is preferable. We have this same word *Bularghu* in a grant of privileges to the Venetians by the Ilkhan Abusaid, 22nd December, 1320, which has been

published by M. Mas Latrie: "*Item, se algun cavalo bolargo fosse trouado apreso de algun vostro veneciano,*" etc.—"If any stray horse shall be found in the possession of a Venetian," etc. (See *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1870—*tirage à part*, p. 26.)

["There are two Mongol terms, which resemble this word *Bularguchi*, viz. *Balugachi* and *Buluguchi*. But the first was the name used for the door-keeper of the tent of the Khan. By *Buluguchi* the Mongols understood a hunter and especially sable hunters. No one of these terms can be made consistent with the accounts given by M. Polo regarding the *Bularguchi*. In the *Kui sin tsa shi*, written by Chow Mi, in the former part of the 14th century, interesting particulars regarding Mongol hunting are found." (*Palladius*, 47.) In chapter 101. *Djan-ch'i*, of the *Yuen-shi*, Falconers are called *Ying fang pu lie*, and a certain class of the Falconers are termed *Bo-lan-ghi*. (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.* I. p. 188.)—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—A like description is given by Odoric of the mode in which a successor of Kúblái travelled between Cambaluc and Shangtu, with his falcons also in the chamber beside him. What Kúblái had adopted as an indulgence to his years and gout, his successors probably followed as a precedent without these excuses.

[With regard to the gout of Kúblái Khan, *Palladius* (p. 48) writes: "In the Corean history allusion is made twice to the Khan's suffering from this disease. Under the year 1267, it is there recorded that in the 9th month, envoys of the Khan with a letter to the King arrived in Corea. Kubilai asked for the skin of the *Akirho munho*, a fish resembling a cow. The envoy was informed that, as the Khan suffered from swollen feet it would be useful for him to wear boots made of the skin of this animal, and in the 10th month, the king of Corea forwarded to the Khan seventeen skins of it. It is further recorded in the Corean history, that in the 8th month of 1292, sorcerers and *Shaman* women from Corea were sent at the request of the Khan to cure him of a disease of the feet and hands. At that time the king of Corea was also in Peking, and the sorcerers and *Shaman* women were admitted during an audience the King had of the Khan. They took the Khan's hands and feet and began to recite exorcisms, whilst Kubilai was laughing."—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—Marsden and Pauthier identify *Cachar Modun* with *Tchakiri Mondou*, or *Moudon*, which appears in D'Anville's atlas as the title of a "Levé de terre naturelle," in the extreme east of Manchuria, and in lat. 44°, between the *Khingha Lake* and the sea. This position is out of the question. It is more than 900 miles, in a straight line from Peking, and the mere journey thither and back would have taken Kúblái's camp something like six months. The name *Kachar Modun* is probably Mongol, and as *Katzar* is "land, region," and *Modun*="wood" or "tree," a fair interpretation lies on the surface. Such a name indeed has little individuality. But the Jesuit maps have a *Modun Khotan* ("Wood-ville") just about the locality supposed, viz. in the region north of the eastern extremity of the Great Wall.

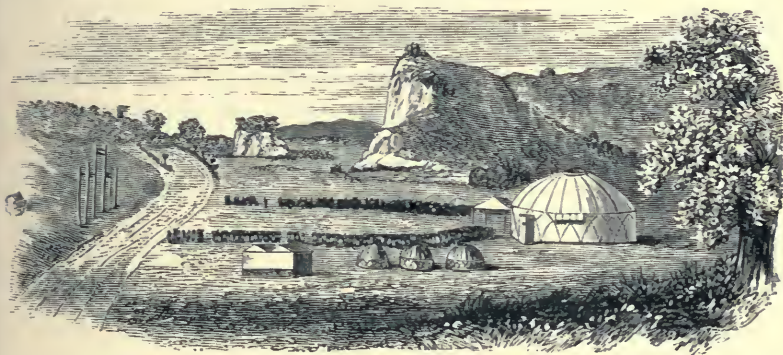
[Captain Gill writes (*River of Golden Sand*, I. p. 111): "This country around *Urhuang* is admirably described [in *Marco Polo*, pp. 403, 406], and I should almost imagine that the *Kaan* must have set off south-east from Peking, and enjoyed some of his hawking not far from here, before he travelled to *Cachar Modun*, wherever that may have been."

"With respect to *Cachar Modun*, *Marco Polo* intends perhaps by this name *Ho-si wu*, which place, together with *Yang-ts'un*, were comprised in the general name *Ma P'ou* (perhaps the *Modun* of M. Polo). *Ma-t'ou* is even now a general term for a jetty in Chinese. *Ho-si* in the Mongol spelling was *Ha-shin*. D'Ohsson, in his translation of *Rashid-eddin* renders *Ho-si* by *Co-shi* (*Hist. des Mongols*, I. p. 95), but *Rashid* in that case speaks not of *Ho-si wu*, but of the *Tangut Empire*, which in Chinese was called *Ho-si*, meaning west of the (Yellow) River. (See *supra*, p. 205). *Ho-si wu*, as well as *Yang-ts'un*, both exist even now as villages on the *Pei-ho River*, and near the first ancient walls can be seen. *Ho-si wu* means: 'Custom's barrier west of the (Pei-ho) river.' " (*Palladius*, p. 45.) This identification cannot be accepted on account of the position of *Ho-si wu*.—H. C.]

NOTE 7.—I suppose the best accessible illustration of the Kaan's great tent may be that in which the Emperor Kienlung received Lord Macartney in the same region in 1793, of which one view is given in Staunton's plates. Another exists in the Staunton Collection in the B. M., of which I give a reduced sketch.

Kúblái's great tent, after all, was but a fraction of the size of Akbar's audience-tents, the largest of which held 10,000 people, and took 1000 *farrashes* a week's work to pitch it, with machines. But perhaps the manner of holding people is differently estimated. (*Ain Akb.* 53.)

In the description of the tent-poles, Pauthier's text has "*trois coulombes de fust de pieces moult bien encuierées,*" etc. The G. T. has "*de leing d'especies moult bien curés,*" etc. The Crusca, "*di spezie molto belle,*" and Ramusio going off at a tangent, "*di legno intagliate con grandissimo artificio e indorate.*" I believe the translation in the text to indicate the true reading. It might mean camphor-wood, or the like. The tent-covering of tiger-skins is illustrated by a passage in Sanang Setzen, which speaks of a tent covered with panther-skins, sent to Chinghiz by the Khan of the Solongos (p. 77).



The Tents of the Emperor Kienlung.

[Grenard (pp. 160-162) gives us his experience of Tents in Central Asia (Khotan). "These Tents which we had purchased at Tashkent were the 'tentes-abris' which are used in campaign by Russian military workshops, only we made them larger by a third. They were made of grey Kirghiz felt, which cannot be procured at Khotan. The felt manufactured in this town not having enough consistency or solidity, we took Aksu felt, which is better than this of Khotan, though inferior to the felt of Russian Turkestan. These felt tents are extremely heavy, and, once damp, are dried with difficulty. These drawbacks are not compensated by any important advantage; it would be an illusion to believe that they preserve from the cold any better than other tents. In fact, I prefer the Manchu tent in use in the Chinese army, which is, perhaps, of all military tents the most practical and comfortable. It is made of a single piece of double cloth of cotton, very strong, waterproof for a long time, white inside, blue outside, and weighs with its three tipped sticks and its wooden poles, 25 kilog. Set up, it forms a ridge roof 7 feet high and shelters fully ten men. It suits servants perfectly well. For the master who wants to work, to write, to draw, occasionally to receive officials, the ideal tent would be one of the same material, but of larger proportions, and comprising two parallel vertical partitions and surmounted by a ridge roof. The round form of Kirghiz and Mongol tents is also very comfortable, but it requires a complicated and inconvenient wooden frame-work, owing to which it takes some considerable time to raise up the tent."—H. C.]

NOTE 8.—The expressions about the sable run in the G. T., "*et l'appellent les*

Tartarz les roi des pelaines," etc. This has been curiously misunderstood both in versions based on Pipino, and in the Geog. Latin and Crusca Italian. The Geog. Latin gives us "*vocant eas Tartari Lenoidae Pellonae*"; the Crusca, "*chiamante li Tartari Leroide Pelame*"; Ramusio in a very odd way combines both the genuine and the blundered interpretation: "*E li Tartari la chiamano Regina delle Pelli; e gli animali si chiamano Rondes.*" Fraehn ingeniously suggested that this *Rondes* (which proves to be merely a misunderstanding of the French words *Roi des*) was a mistake for *Kunduz*, usually meaning a "beaver," but also a "sable." (See *Ibn Foslan*, p. 57.) *Condux*, no doubt with this meaning, appears coupled with *vair*, in a Venetian Treaty with Egypt (1344), quoted by Heyd. (II. 208.)

Ibn Batuta puts the ermine above the sable. An ermine pelisse, he says, was worth in India 1000 dinárs of that country, whilst a sable one was worth only 400 dinárs. As Ibn Batuta's Indian dinárs are *Rupees*, the estimate of price is greatly lower than Polo's. Some years ago I find the price of a *Sack*, as it is technically called by the Russian traders, or robe of fine sables, stated to be in the Siberian market about 7000 banco rubels, *i.e.* I believe about 350*l.* The same authority mentions that in 1591 the Tzar Theodore Ivanovich made a present of a pelisse valued at the equivalent of 5000 *silver* rubels of modern Russian money, or upwards of 750*l.* Atkinson speaks of a *single* sable skin of the highest quality, for which the trapper demanded 18*l.* The great mart for fine sables is at Olekma on the Lena. (See *J. B.* II. 401-402; *Baer's Beiträge*, VII. 215 *seqq.*; *Upper and Lower Amoor*, 390.)

NOTE 9.—Hawking is still common in North China. Pétis de la Croix the elder, in his account of the *Yasa*, or institutes of Chinghiz, quotes one which lays down that between March and October "no one should take stags, deer, roebucks, hares, wild asses, nor some certain birds," in order that there might be ample sport in winter for the court. This would be just the reverse of Polo's statement, but I suspect it is merely a careless adoption of the latter. There are many such traps in Pétis de la Croix. (Engl. Vers. 1722, p. 82.)

CHAPTER XXI.

REHEARSAL OF THE WAY THE YEAR OF THE GREAT KAAH IS DISTRIBUTED.

ON arriving at his capital of Cambaluc,¹ he stays in his palace there three days and no more; during which time he has great court entertainments and rejoicings, and makes merry with his wives. He then quits his palace at Cambaluc, and proceeds to that city which he has built, as I told you before, and which is called Chandu, where he has that grand park and palace of cane, and where he keeps his gerfalcons in mew. There he spends the summer, to escape the heat, for the situation is a very cool one. After stopping there from the

beginning of May to the 28th of August, he takes his departure (that is the time when they sprinkle the white mares' milk as I told you), and returns to his capital Cambaluc. There he stops, as I have told you also, the month of September, to keep his Birthday Feast, and also throughout October, November, December, January, and February, in which last month he keeps the grand feast of the New Year, which they call the White Feast, as you have heard already with all particulars. He then sets out on his march towards the Ocean Sea, hunting and hawking, and continues out from the beginning of March to the middle of May; and then comes back for three days only to the capital, during which he makes merry with his wives, and holds a great court and grand entertainments. In truth, 'tis something astonishing, the magnificence displayed by the Emperor in those three days; and then he starts off again as you know.

Thus his whole year is distributed in the following manner: six months at his chief palace in the royal city of Cambaluc, to wit, *September, October, November, December, January, February;*

Then on the great hunting expedition towards the sea, *March, April, May;*

Then back to his palace at Cambaluc for *three days;*

Then off to the city of Chandu which he has built, and where the Cane Palace is, where he stays *June, July, August;*

Then back again to his capital city of Cambaluc.

So thus the whole year is spent; six months at the capital, three months in hunting, and three months at the Cane Palace to avoid the heat. And in this way he passes his time with the greatest enjoyment; not to mention occasional journeys in this or that direction at his own pleasure.

NOTE 1.—This chapter, with its wearisome and whimsical reiteration, reminding one of a game of forfeits, is peculiar to that class of MSS. which claims to represent the copy given to Thibault de Cepoy by Marco Polo.

Dr. Bushell has kindly sent me a notice of a Chinese document (his translation of which he had unfortunately mislaid), containing a minute contemporary account of the annual migration of the Mongol Court to Shangtu. Having traversed the Kiu Yung Kwan (or Nankau) Pass, where stands the great Mongol archway represented at the end of this volume, they left what is now the Kalgan post-road at Tumuyi, making straight for Chaghan-nor (*supra*, p. 304), and thence to Shangtu. The return journey in autumn followed the same route as far as Chaghan-nor, where some days were spent in fowling on the lakes, and thence by Siuen-hwa fu ("*Sindachu*," *supra*, p. 295) and the present post-road to Cambaluc

CHAPTER XXII.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAMBALUC, AND ITS GREAT TRAFFIC AND POPULATION.

You must know that the city of Cambaluc hath such a multitude of houses, and such a vast population inside the walls and outside, that it seems quite past all possibility. There is a suburb outside each of the gates, which are twelve in number;¹ and these suburbs are so great that they contain more people than the city itself [for the suburb of one gate spreads in width till it meets the suburb of the next, whilst they extend in length some three or four miles]. In those suburbs lodge the foreign merchants and travellers, of whom there are always great numbers who have come to bring presents to the Emperor, or to sell articles at Court, or because the city affords so good a mart to attract traders. [There are in each of the suburbs, to a distance of a mile from the city, numerous fine hostelries² for the lodgment of merchants from different parts of the world, and a special hostelry is assigned to each description of people, as if we should say there is one for the Lombards, another for the Germans, and a third for the Frenchmen.] And thus there are as many good houses outside



Plain of Cambaluc ; the City in the distance ; from the Hills on the north-west.

of the city as inside, without counting those that belong to the great lords and barons, which are very numerous.

You must know that it is forbidden to bury any dead body inside the city. If the body be that of an Idolater it is carried out beyond the city and suburbs to a remote place assigned for the purpose, to be burnt. And if it be of one belonging to a religion the custom of which is to bury, such as the Christian, the Saracen, or what not, it is also carried out beyond the suburbs to a distant place assigned for the purpose. And thus the city is preserved in a better and more healthy state.

Moreover, no public woman resides inside the city, but all such abide outside in the suburbs. And 'tis wonderful what a vast number of these there are for the foreigners; it is a certain fact that there are more than 20,000 of them living by prostitution. And that so many can live in this way will show you how vast is the population.

[Guards patrol the city every night in parties of 30 or 40, looking out for any persons who may be abroad at unseasonable hours, *i.e.* after the great bell hath stricken thrice. If they find any such person he is immediately taken to prison, and examined next morning by the proper officers. If these find him guilty of any misdemeanour they order him a proportionate beating with the stick. Under this punishment people sometimes die; but they adopt it in order to eschew bloodshed; for their *Bacsis* say that it is an evil thing to shed man's blood].

To this city also are brought articles of greater cost and rarity, and in greater abundance of all kinds, than to any other city in the world. For people of every description, and from every region, bring things (including all the costly wares of India, as well as the fine and precious goods of Cathay itself with its provinces), some

for the sovereign, some for the court, some for the city which is so great, some for the crowds of Barons and Knights, some for the great hosts of the Emperor which are quartered round about; and thus between court and city the quantity brought in is endless.

As a sample, I tell you, no day in the year passes that there do not enter the city 1000 cart-loads of silk alone, from which are made quantities of cloth of silk and gold, and of other goods. And this is not to be wondered at; for in all the countries round about there is no flax, so that everything has to be made of silk. It is true, indeed, that in some parts of the country there is cotton and hemp, but not sufficient for their wants. This, however, is not of much consequence, because silk is so abundant and cheap, and is a more valuable substance than either flax or cotton.

Round about this great city of Cambaluc there are some 200 other cities at various distances, from which traders come to sell their goods and buy others for their lords; and all find means to make their sales and purchases, so that the traffic of the city is passing great.

NOTE 1.—It would seem to have been usual to reckon *twelve* suburbs to Peking down to modern times. (See *Deguignes*, III. 38.)

NOTE 2.—The word here used is *Fondaco*, often employed in mediæval Italian in the sense nearly of what we call a *factory*. The word is from the Greek *πανδοκεῖον*, but through the Arabic *Fandûk*. The latter word is used by Ibn Batuta in speaking of the hostelries at which the Mussulman merchants put up in China.

CHAPTER XXIII.

[CONCERNING THE OPPRESSIONS OF ACHMATH THE BAILO, AND THE PLOT THAT WAS FORMED AGAINST HIM.¹

You will hear further on how that there are twelve persons appointed who have authority to dispose of lands, offices,

and everything else at their discretion. Now one of these was a certain Saracen named ACHMATH, a shrewd and able man, who had more power and influence with the Grand Kaan than any of the others; and the Kaan held him in such regard that he could do what he pleased. The fact was, as came out after his death, that Achmath had so wrought upon the Kaan with his sorcery, that the latter had the greatest faith and reliance on everything he said, and in this way did everything that Achmath wished him to do.

This person disposed of all governments and offices, and passed sentence on all malefactors; and whenever he desired to have any one whom he hated put to death, whether with justice or without it, he would go to the Emperor and say: "Such an one deserves death, for he hath done this or that against your imperial dignity." Then the Lord would say: "Do as you think right," and so he would have the man forthwith executed. Thus when people saw how unbounded were his powers, and how unbounded the reliance placed by the Emperor on everything that he said, they did not venture to oppose him in anything. No one was so high in rank or power as to be free from the dread of him. If any one was accused by him to the Emperor of a capital offence, and desired to defend himself, he was unable to bring proofs in his own exculpation, for no one would stand by him, as no one dared to oppose Achmath. And thus the latter caused many to perish unjustly.²

Moreover, there was no beautiful woman whom he might desire, but he got hold of her; if she were unmarried, forcing her to be his wife, if otherwise, compelling her to consent to his desires. Whenever he knew of any one who had a pretty daughter, certain ruffians of his would go to the father, and say: "What say you? Here is this pretty daughter of yours; give

her in marriage to the Bailo Achmath (for they called him 'the Bailo,' or, as we should say, 'the Vicegerent'),³ and we will arrange for his giving you such a government or such an office for three years." And so the man would surrender his daughter. And Achmath would go to the Emperor, and say: "Such a government is vacant, or will be vacant on such a day. So-and-So is a proper man for the post." And the Emperor would reply: "Do as you think best;" and the father of the girl was immediately appointed to the government. Thus either through the ambition of the parents, or through fear of the Minister, all the beautiful women were at his beck, either as wives or mistresses. Also he had some five-and-twenty sons who held offices of importance, and some of these, under the protection of their father's name, committed scandals like his own, and many other abominable iniquities. This Achmath also had amassed great treasure, for everybody who wanted office sent him a heavy bribe.

In such authority did this man continue for two-and-twenty years. At last the people of the country, to wit the Cathayans, utterly wearied with the endless outrages and abominable iniquities which he perpetrated against them, whether as regarded their wives or their own persons, conspired to slay him and revolt against the government. Amongst the rest there was a certain Cathayan named Chenchu, a commander of a thousand, whose mother, daughter, and wife had all been dishonoured by Achmath. Now this man, full of bitter resentment, entered into parley regarding the destruction of the Minister with another Cathayan whose name was Vanchu, who was a commander of 10,000. They came to the conclusion that the time to do the business would be during the Great Kaan's absence from Cambaluc. For after stopping there three months he used to go to

Chandu and stop there three months; and at the same time his son Chinkin used to go away to his usual haunts, and this Achmath remained in charge of the city; sending to obtain the Kaan's orders from Chandu when any emergency arose.

So Vanchu and Chenchu, having come to this conclusion, proceeded to communicate it to the chief people among the Cathayans, and then by common consent sent word to their friends in many other cities that they had determined on such a day, at the signal given by a beacon, to massacre all the men with beards, and that the other cities should stand ready to do the like on seeing the signal fires. The reason why they spoke of massacring the bearded men was that the Cathayans naturally have no beard, whilst beards are worn by the Tartars, Saracens, and Christians. And you should know that all the Cathayans detested the Grand Kaan's rule because he set over them governors who were Tartars, or still more frequently Saracens, and these they could not endure, for they were treated by them just like slaves. You see the Great Kaan had not succeeded to the dominion of Cathay by hereditary right, but held it by conquest; and thus having no confidence in the natives, he put all authority into the hands of Tartars, Saracens, or Christians who were attached to his household and devoted to his service, and were foreigners in Cathay.

Wherefore, on the day appointed, the aforesaid Vanchu and Chenchu having entered the palace at night, Vanchu sat down and caused a number of lights to be kindled before him. He then sent a messenger to Achmath the Bailo, who lived in the Old City, as if to summon him to the presence of Chinkin, the Great Kaan's son, who (it was pretended) had arrived unexpectedly. When Achmath heard this he was much

surprised, but made haste to go, for he feared the Prince greatly. When he arrived at the gate he met a Tartar called Cogatai, who was Captain of the 12,000 that formed the standing garrison of the City; and the latter asked him whither he was bound so late? "To Chinkin, who is just arrived." Quoth Cogatai, "How can that be? How could he come so privily that I know nought of it?" So he followed the Minister with a certain number of his soldiers. Now the notion of the Cathayans was that, if they could make an end of Achmath, they would have nought else to be afraid of. So as soon as Achmath got inside the palace, and saw all that illumination, he bowed down before Vanchu, supposing him to be Chinkin, and Chenchu who was standing ready with a sword straightway cut his head off. As soon as Cogatai, who had halted at the entrance, beheld this, he shouted "Treason!" and instantly discharged an arrow at Vanchu and shot him dead as he sat. At the same time he called his people to seize Chenchu, and sent a proclamation through the city that any one found in the streets would be instantly put to death. The Cathayans saw that the Tartars had discovered the plot, and that they had no longer any leader, since Vanchu was killed and Chenchu was taken. So they kept still in their houses, and were unable to pass the signal for the rising of the other cities as had been settled. Cogatai immediately dispatched messengers to the Great Kaan giving an orderly report of the whole affair, and the Kaan sent back orders for him to make a careful investigation, and to punish the guilty as their misdeeds deserved. In the morning Cogatai examined all the Cathayans, and put to death a number whom he found to be ringleaders in the plot. The same thing was done in the other cities, when it was found that the plot extended to them also.

After the Great Kaan had returned to Cambaluc he was very anxious to discover what had led to this affair, and he then learned all about the endless iniquities of that accursed Achmath and his sons. It was proved that he and seven of his sons (for they were not all bad) had forced no end of women to be their wives, besides those whom they had ravished. The Great Kaan then ordered all the treasure that Achmath had accumulated in the Old City to be transferred to his own treasury in the New City, and it was found to be of enormous amount. He also ordered the body of Achmath to be dug up and cast into the streets for the dogs to tear; and commanded those of his sons that had followed the father's evil example to be flayed alive.⁴

These circumstances called the Kaan's attention to the accursed doctrines of the Sect of the Saracens, which excuse every crime, yea even murder itself, when committed on such as are not of their religion. And seeing that this doctrine had led the accursed Achmath and his sons to act as they did without any sense of guilt, the Kaan was led to entertain the greatest disgust and abomination for it. So he summoned the Saracens and prohibited their doing many things which their religion enjoined. Thus, he ordered them to regulate their marriages by the Tartar Law, and prohibited their cutting the throats of animals killed for food, ordering them to rip the stomach in the Tartar way.

Now when all this happened Messer Marco was upon the spot.]⁵

NOTE 1.—This narrative is from Ramusio's version, and constitutes one of the most notable passages peculiar to that version.

The name of the oppressive Minister is printed in Ramusio's Collection *Achmath*. But the *c* and *t* are so constantly interchanged in MSS. that I think there can be no question this was a mere clerical error for *Achmath*, and so I write it. I have also for consistency changed the spelling of *Xandu*, *Chingis*, etc., to that hitherto adopted in our text of *Chandu*, *Chinkin*, etc.

NOTE 2.—The remarks of a Chinese historian on Kúblái's administration may be appropriately quoted here: "Hupilai Han must certainly be regarded as one of the greatest princes that ever existed, and as one of the most successful in all that he undertook. This he owed to his judgment in the selection of his officers, and to his talent for commanding them. He carried his arms into the most remote countries, and rendered his name so formidable that not a few nations spontaneously submitted to his supremacy. Nor was there ever an Empire of such vast extent. He cultivated literature, protected its professors, and even thankfully received their advice. Yet he never placed a Chinese in his cabinet, and he employed foreigners only as Ministers. These, however, he chose with discernment, *always excepting the Ministers of Finance*. He really loved his subjects; and if they were not always happy under his government, it is because they took care to conceal their sufferings. There were in those days no Public Censors whose duty it is to warn the Sovereign of what is going on: and no one dared to speak out for fear of the resentment of the Ministers, who were the depositaries of the Imperial authority, and the authors of the oppressions under which the people laboured. Several Chinese, men of letters and of great ability, who lived at Hupilai's court, might have rendered that prince the greatest service in the administration of his dominions, but they never were intrusted with any but subordinate offices, and they were not in a position to make known the malversations of those public blood-suckers." (*De Mailla*, IX. 459-460.)

AHMAD was a native of Fenáket (afterwards Sháh-Rúkhia), near the Jaxartes, and obtained employment under Kúblái through the Empress Jamui Khatun, who had known him before her marriage. To her Court he was originally attached, but we find him already employed in high financial office in 1264. Kúblái's demands for money must have been very large, and he eschewed looking too closely into the character of his financial agents or the means by which they raised money for him. Ahmad was very successful in this, and being a man of great talent and address, obtained immense influence over the Emperor, until at last nothing was done save by his direction, though he always *appeared* to be acting under the orders of Kúblái. The Chinese authorities in Gaubil and De Mailla speak strongly of his oppressions, but only in general terms, and without affording such particulars as we derive from the text.

The Hereditary Prince Chingkim was strongly adverse to Ahmad; and some of the high Chinese officials on various occasions made remonstrance against the Minister's proceedings; but Kúblái turned a deaf ear to them, and Ahmad succeeded in ruining most of his opponents. (*Gaubil*, 141, 143, 151; *De Mailla*, IX. 316-317; *D'Ohsson*, II. 468-469.)

[The Rev. W. S. Ament (*Marco Polo in Cambaluc*, 105) writes: "No name is more execrated than that of Ah-ha-ma (called Achmath by Polo), a Persian, who was chosen to manage the finances of the Empire. He was finally destroyed by a combination against him while the Khan was absent with Crown Prince Chen Chin, on a visit to Shang Tu." Achmath has his biography under the name of *A-ho-ma* (Ahmed) in the ch. 205 of the *Yuen-shi*, under the rubric "Villanous Ministers." (*Bretschneider*, *Med. Res.* I. p. 272.)—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—This term *Bailo* was the designation of the representative of Venetian dignity at Constantinople, called *Podestà* during the period of the Latin rule there, and it has endured throughout the Turkish Empire to our own day in the form *Baltos* as the designation of a Frank Consul. [There was also a Venetian *bailo* in Syria.—H. C.] But that term itself could scarcely have been in use at Cambaluc, even among the handful of Franks, to designate the powerful Minister, and it looks as if Marco had confounded the word in his own mind with some Oriental term of like sound, possibly the Arabic *Wáli*, "a Prince, Governor of a Province, . . . a chief Magistrate." (*F. Johnson*.) In the *Roteiro* of the Voyage of Vasco da Gama (2nd ed. Lisbon, 1861, pp. 53-54) it is said that on the arrival of the ships at Calicut the King sent "a man who was called the *Bale*, which is much the same as *Alquaide*." And the Editor gives the same explanation that I have suggested.

I observe that according to Pandit Manphúl the native governor of Kashgar, under the Chinese Amban, used to be called the *Baili Beg*. [In this case *Baili* stands for *beilêh*.—H. C.] (*Panjab Trade Report*, App. p. cccxxxvii.)

NOTE 4.—The story, as related in De Mailla and Gaubil, is as follows. It contains much less detail than the text, and it differs as to the manner of the chief conspirator's death, whilst agreeing as to his name and the main facts of the episode.

In the spring of 1282 (Gaubil, 1281) Kúblái and Prince Chingkim had gone off as usual to Shangtu, leaving Ahmad in charge at the Capital. The whole country was at heart in revolt against his oppressions. Kúblái alone knew, or would know, nothing of them.

WANGCHU, a chief officer of the city, resolved to take the opportunity of delivering the Empire from such a curse, and was joined in his enterprise by a certain sorcerer called Kao Hoshang. They sent two Lamas to the Council Board with a message that the Crown Prince was returning to the Capital to take part in certain Buddhist ceremonies, but no credit was given to this. Wangchu then, pretending to have received orders from the Prince, desired an officer called CHANG-Y (perhaps the Chenchu of Polo's narrative) to go in the evening with a guard of honour to receive him. Late at night a message was sent to summon the Ministers, as the Prince (it was pretended) had already arrived. They came in haste with Ahmad at their head, and as he entered the Palace Wangchu struck him heavily with a copper mace and stretched him dead. Wangchu was arrested, or according to one account surrendered, though he might easily have escaped, confident that the Crown Prince would save his life. Intelligence was sent off to Kúblái, who received it at Chaghan-Nor. (See Book I. ch. lx.) He immediately despatched officers to arrest the guilty and bring them to justice. Wangchu, Chang-y, and Kao Hoshang were publicly executed at the Old City; Wangchu dying like a hero, and maintaining that he had done the Empire an important service which would yet be acknowledged. (*De Mailla*, IX. 412-413; *Gaubil*, 193-194; *D'Ohsson*, II. 470.) [Cf. *G. Phillips*, in *T'oung-Pao*, I. p. 220.—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—And it is a pleasant fact that Messer Marco's presence, and his upright conduct upon this occasion, have not been forgotten in the Chinese Annals: "The Emperor having returned from Chaghan-Nor to Shangtu, desired POLO, Assessor of the Privy Council, to explain the reasons which had led Wangchu to commit this murder. Polo spoke with boldness of the crimes and oppressions of Ahama (Ahmad), which had rendered him an object of detestation throughout the Empire. The Emperor's eyes were opened, and he praised the courage of Wangchu. He complained that those who surrounded him, in abstaining from admonishing him of what was going on, had thought more of their fear of displeasing the Minister than of the interests of the State." By Kúblái's order, the body of Ahmad was taken up, his head was cut off and publicly exposed, and his body cast to the dogs. His son also was put to death with all his family, and his immense wealth confiscated. 714 persons were punished, one way or other, for their share in Ahmad's malversations. (*De Mailla*, IX. 413-414.)

What is said near the end of this chapter about the Kaan's resentment against the Saracens has some confirmation in circumstances related by Rashiduddin. The refusal of some Mussulman merchants, on a certain occasion at Court, to eat of the dishes sent them by the Emperor, gave great offence, and led to the revival of an order of Chinghiz, which prohibited, under pain of death, the slaughter of animals by cutting their throats. This endured for seven years, and was then removed on the strong representation made to Kúblái of the loss caused by the cessation of the visits of the Mahomedan merchants. On a previous occasion also the Mahomedans had incurred disfavour, owing to the ill-will of certain Christians, who quoted to Kúblái a text of the Koran enjoining the killing of polytheists. The Emperor sent for the Mullahs, and asked them why they did not act on the Divine injunction? All they could say was that the time was not yet come! Kúblái ordered them for execution,

and was only appeased by the intercession of Ahmad, and the introduction of a divine with more tact, who smoothed over obnoxious applications of the text. (*D'Olsson*, II. 492-493.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

HOW THE GREAT KAAAN CAUSETH THE BARK OF TREES, MADE INTO SOMETHING LIKE PAPER, TO PASS FOR MONEY OVER ALL HIS COUNTRY.

Now that I have told you in detail of the splendour of this City of the Emperor's, I shall proceed to tell you of the Mint which he hath in the same city, in the which he hath his money coined and struck, as I shall relate to you. And in doing so I shall make manifest to you how it is that the Great Lord may well be able to accomplish even much more than I have told you, or am going to tell you, in this Book. For, tell it how I might, you never would be satisfied that I was keeping within truth and reason!

The Emperor's Mint then is in this same City of Cambaluc, and the way it is wrought is such that you might say he hath the Secret of Alchemy in perfection, and you would be right! For he makes his money after this fashion.

He makes them take of the bark of a certain tree, in fact of the Mulberry Tree, the leaves of which are the food of the silkworms,—these trees being so numerous that whole districts are full of them. What they take is a certain fine white bast or skin which lies between the wood of the tree and the thick outer bark, and this they make into something resembling sheets of paper, but black. When these sheets have been prepared they are cut up into pieces of different sizes. The smallest of these sizes is worth a half tornesel; the next, a little

larger, one tornesel; one, a little larger still, is worth half a silver groat of Venice; another a whole groat; others yet two groats, five groats, and ten groats. There is also a kind worth one Bezant of gold, and others of three Bezants, and so up to ten. All these pieces of paper are [issued with as much solemnity and authority as if they were of pure gold or silver; and on every piece a variety of officials, whose duty it is, have to write their names, and to put their seals. And when all is prepared duly, the chief officer deputed by the Kaan smears the Seal entrusted to him with vermilion, and impresses it on the paper, so that the form of the Seal remains printed upon it in red; the Money is then authentic. Any one forging it would be punished with death.] And the Kaan causes every year to be made such a vast quantity of this money, which costs him nothing, that it must equal in amount all the treasure in the world.

With these pieces of paper, made as I have described, he causes all payments on his own account to be made; and he makes them to pass current universally over all his kingdoms and provinces and territories, and whithersoever his power and sovereignty extends. And nobody, however important he may think himself, dares to refuse them on pain of death. And indeed everybody takes them readily, for wheresoever a person may go throughout the Great Kaan's dominions he shall find these pieces of paper current, and shall be able to transact all sales and purchases of goods by means of them just as well as if they were coins of pure gold. And all the while they are so light that ten bezants' worth does not weigh one golden bezant.

Furthermore all merchants arriving from India or other countries, and bringing with them gold or silver or gems and pearls, are prohibited from selling to any one

but the Emperor. He has twelve experts chosen for this business, men of shrewdness and experience in such affairs; these appraise the articles, and the Emperor then pays a liberal price for them in those pieces of paper. The merchants accept his price readily, for in the first place they would not get so good an one from anybody else, and secondly they are paid without any delay. And with this paper-money they can buy what they like anywhere over the Empire, whilst it is also vastly lighter to carry about on their journeys. And it is a truth that the merchants will several times in the year bring wares to the amount of 400,000 bezants, and the Grand Sire pays for all in that paper. So he buys such a quantity of those precious things every year that his treasure is endless, whilst all the time the money he pays away costs him nothing at all. Moreover, several times in the year proclamation is made through the city that any one who may have gold or silver or gems or pearls, by taking them to the Mint shall get a handsome price for them. And the owners are glad to do this, because they would find no other purchaser give so large a price. Thus the quantity they bring in is marvellous, though these who do not choose to do so may let it alone. Still, in this way, nearly all the valuables in the country come into the Kaan's possession.

When any of those pieces of paper are spoilt—not that they are so very flimsy neither—the owner carries them to the Mint, and by paying three per cent. on the value he gets new pieces in exchange. And if any Baron, or any one else soever, hath need of gold or silver or gems or pearls, in order to make plate, or girdles, or the like, he goes to the Mint and buys as much as he list, paying in this paper-money.¹

Now you have heard the ways and means whereby the Great Kaan may have, and in fact *has*, more treasure

than all the Kings in the World ; and you know all about it and the reason why. And now I will tell you of the great Dignitaries which act in this city on behalf of the Emperor.

NOTE I.—It is surprising to find that, nearly two centuries ago, Magaillans, a missionary who had lived many years in China, and was presumably a Chinese scholar, should have utterly denied the truth of Polo's statements about the paper-currency of China. Yet the fact even then did not rest on Polo's statement only. The same thing had been alleged in the printed works of Rubruquis, Roger Bacon, Hayton, Friar Odoric, the Archbishop of Soltania, and Josaphat Barbaro, to say nothing of other European authorities that remained in manuscript, or of the numerous Oriental records of the same circumstance.

The issue of paper-money in China is at least as old as the beginning of the 9th century. In 1160 the system had gone to such excess that government paper equivalent in nominal value to 43,600,000 ounces of silver had been issued in six years, and there were local notes besides ; so that the Empire was flooded with rapidly depreciating paper.

The *Kin* or "Golden" Dynasty of Northern Invaders who immediately preceded the Mongols took to paper, in spite of their title, as kindly as the native sovereigns. Their notes had a course of seven years, after which new notes were issued to the holders, with a deduction of 15 per cent.

The Mongols commenced their issues of paper-money in 1236, long before they had transferred the seat of their government to China. Kúblái made such an issue in the first year of his reign (1260), and continued to issue notes copiously till the end. In 1287 he put out a complete new currency, one note of which was to exchange against *five* of the previous series of equal nominal value ! In both issues the paper-money was, in official valuation, only equivalent to half its nominal value in silver ; a circumstance not very easy to understand. The paper-money was called *Chao*.

The notes of Kúblái's first issue (1260-1287) with which Polo may be supposed most familiar, were divided into three classes ; (1) *Notes of Tens*, viz. of 10, 20, 30, and 50 *tsien* or cash ; (2) *Notes of Hundreds*, viz. of 100, 200, and 500 *tsien* ; and (3) *Notes of Strings* or *Thousands* of cash, or in other words of *Liangs* or ounces of silver (otherwise *Tael*), viz. of 1000 and 2000 *tsien*. There were also notes printed on silk for 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10 ounces each, valued at par in silver, but these would not circulate. In 1275, it should be mentioned, there had been a supplementary issue of small notes for 2, 3, and 5 cash each.

Marsden states an equation between Marco's values of the Notes and the actual Chinese currency, to which Biot seems to assent. I doubt its correctness, for his assumed values of the groat or *grosso* and *tornesel* are surely wrong. The *grosso* ran at that time 18 to the gold ducat or sequin, and allowing for the then higher relative value of silver, should have contained about 5*d.* of silver. The ducat was also equivalent to 2 *lire*, and the *tornese* (*Romanin*, III. 343) was 4 deniers. Now the denier is always, I believe $\frac{1}{240}$ of the *lira*. Hence the *tornese* would be $\frac{1}{60}$ of the *grosso*.

But we are not to look for *exact* correspondences, when we see Polo applying round figures in European coinage to Chinese currency.

His bezant notes, I agree with Marsden, here represent the Chinese notes for one and more ounces of silver. And here the correspondence of value is much nearer than it seems at first sight. The Chinese *liang* or ounce of silver is valued commonly at 6*s.* 7*d.*, say roundly 80*d.** But the relation of gold and silver in civilized Asia was

* Even now there are at least eight different *taels* (or *liangs*) in extensive use over the Empire, and varying as much as from 96 to 106 ; and besides these are many local *taels*, with about the same limits of variation.—(*Williamson's Journeys*, I. 60.)

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Bank-Note of the Ming Dynasty.

[To face p. 426.

then (see ch. I. note 4, and also *Cathay*, pp. ccl. and 442) as 10 to 1, not, as with us now, more than 15 to 1. Wherefore the *liang* in relation to gold would be worth 120*d.* or 10*s.*, a little over the Venetian ducat and somewhat less than the bezant or *dínár*. We shall then find the table of Chinese issues, as compared with Marco's equivalents, to stand thus:—

CHINESE ISSUES, AS RECORDED.	MARCO POLO'S STATEMENT.
For 10 ounces of silver (<i>viz.</i> the Chinese <i>Ting</i>) *	10 bezants.
For 1 ounce of silver, <i>i.e.</i> 1 <i>liang</i> , or 1000 <i>tsien</i> (cash)	1 „
For 500 <i>tsien</i>	10 groats.
200 „	5 „ (should have been 4).
100 „	2 „
50 „	1 „
30 „	$\frac{1}{2}$ „ (but the proportionate equivalent of half a groat would be 25 <i>tsien</i>).
20 „	
10 „	1 tornese! (but the proportionate equivalent would be $7\frac{1}{2}$ <i>tsien</i>).
5 „	$\frac{1}{2}$ „ (but prop. equivalent $3\frac{3}{4}$ <i>tsien</i>).

Pauthier has given from the Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty a complete Table of the Issues of Paper-Money during every year of Kúblái's reign (1260-1294), estimated at their nominal value in *Ting* or tens of silver ounces. The lowest issue was in 1269, of 228,960 ounces, which at the rate of 120*d.* to the ounce (see above) = 114,480*l.*, and the highest was in 1290, *viz.* 50,002,500 ounces, equivalent at the same estimate to 25,001,250*l.* ! whilst the total amount in the 34 years was 249,654,290 ounces or 124,827,144*l.* in nominal value. Well might Marco speak of the vast quantity of such notes that the Great Kaan issued annually!

To complete the history of the Chinese paper-currency so far as we can :

In 1309, a new issue took place with the same provision as in Kúblái's issue of 1287, *i.e.* each note of the new issue was to exchange against 5 of the old of the same nominal value. And it was at the same time prescribed that the notes should exchange at par with metals, which of course it was beyond the power of Government to enforce, and so the notes were abandoned. Issues continued from time to time to the end of the Mongol Dynasty. The paper-currency is spoken of by Odoric (1320-30), by Pegolotti (1330-40), and by Ibn Batuta (1348), as still the chief, if not sole, currency of the Empire. According to the Chinese authorities, the credit of these issues was constantly diminishing, as it is easy to suppose. But it is odd that all the Western Travellers speak as if the notes were as good as gold. Pegolotti, writing for mercantile men, and from the information (as we may suppose) of mercantile men, says explicitly that there was no depreciation.

The Ming Dynasty for a time carried on the system of paper-money; with the difference that while under the Mongols no other currency had been admitted, their successors made payments in notes, but accepted only hard cash from their people!† In 1448 the *chao* of 1000 cash was worth but 3. Barbaro still heard talk of the Chinese paper-currency from travellers whom he met at Azov about this time; but after 1455 there is said to be no more mention of it in Chinese history.

I have never heard of the preservation of any note of the Mongols; but some of the Ming survive, and are highly valued as curiosities in China. The late Sir G. T. Staunton appears to have possessed one; Dr. Lockhart formerly had two, of which he gave one to Sir Harry Parkes, and retains the other. The paper is so dark as to

* [The Archimandrite Palladius (*l.c.*, p. 50, note) says that "the *ting* of the Mongol time, as well as during the reign of the Kin, was a unit of weight equivalent to fifty *liang*, but not to ten *liang*. Cf. *Ch'u keng lu*, and *Yuen-shi*, ch. xcv. The *Yuen pao*, which as everybody in China knows, is equivalent to fifty *liang* (taels) of silver, is the same as the ancient *ting*, and the character *Yuen* indicates that it dates from the *Yuen* Dynasty."—H. C.]

† This is also, as regards Customs payments, the system of the Government of modern Italy.

explain Marco's description of it as black. By Dr. Lockhart's kindness I am enabled to give a reduced representation of this note, as near a facsimile as we have been able to render it, but with some *restoration*, e.g. of the *seals*, of which on the original there is the barest indication remaining.

[Mr. Vissering (*Chinese Currency*, Addenda, I.-III.) gives a facsimile and a description of a Chinese banknote of the Ming Dynasty belonging to the collection of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. "In the eighth year of the period *Hung-wu* (1375), the Emperor Tai-tsu issued an order to his minister of finances to make the *Pao-tsao* (precious bills) of the *Ta-Ming* Dynasty, and to employ as raw material for the composition of those bills the fibres of the mulberry tree."—H. C.]

Notwithstanding the disuse of Government issues of paper-money from that time till recent years, there had long been in some of the cities of China a large use of private and local promissory notes as currency. In Fuchau this was especially the case; bullion was almost entirely displaced, and the banking-houses in that city were counted by hundreds. These were under no government control; any individual or company having sufficient capital or credit could establish a bank and issue their bills, which varied in amount from 100 cash to 1000 dollars. Some fifteen years ago the Imperial Government seems to have been induced by the exhausted state of the Treasury, and these large examples of the local use of paper-currency, to consider projects for resuming that system after the disuse of four centuries. A curious report by a Committee of the Imperial Supreme Council, on a project for such a currency, appears among the papers published by the Russian Mission at Peking. It is unfavourable to the particular project, but we gather from other sources that the Government not long afterwards did open banks in the large cities of the Empire for the issue of a new paper-currency, but that it met with bad success. At Fuchau, in 1858, I learn from one notice, the dollar was worth from 18,000 to 20,000 cash in Government Bills. Dr. Rennie, in 1861, speaks of the dollar at Peking as valued at 15,000, and later at 25,000 paper cash. Sushun, the Regent, had issued a vast number of notes through banks of his own in various parts of Peking. These he failed to redeem, causing the failure of all the banks, and great consequent commotion in the city. The Regent had led the Emperor [Hien Fung] systematically into debauched habits which ended in paralysis. On the Emperor's death the Empress caused the arrest and execution of Sushun. His conduct in connection with the bank failures was so bitterly resented that when the poor wretch was led to execution (8th November, 1861), as I learn from an eye-witness, the defrauded creditors lined the streets and cheered.*

The Japanese also had a paper-currency in the 14th century. It is different in form from that of China. That figured by Siebold is a strip of strong paper doubled, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, bearing a representation of the tutelary god of riches, with long inscriptions in Chinese characters, seals in black and red, and an indication of value in ancient Japanese characters. I do not learn whether notes of considerable amount are still used in Japan; but Sir R. Alcock speaks of banknotes for small change from 30 to 500 cash and more, as in general use in the interior.

Two notable and disastrous attempts to imitate the Chinese system of currency took place in the Middle Ages; one of them in Persia, apparently in Polo's very presence, the other in India some 36 years later.

The first was initiated in 1294 by the worthless Kaikhatu Khan, when his own and his ministers' extravagance had emptied the Treasury, on the suggestion of a financial officer called 'Izzuddin Muzaffar. The notes were direct copies of Kúblái's, even the Chinese characters being imitated as part of the device upon them.† The

* The first edition of this work gave a facsimile of one of this unlucky minister's notes.

† On both sides, however, was the Mahomedan formula, and beneath that the words *Yiranjén Tárjít*, a title conferred on the kings of Persia by the Kaan. There was also an inscription to the following effect: that the Emperor in the year 693 (A.H.) had issued these auspicious *chao*, that all who forged or uttered false notes should be summarily punished, with their wives and children, and their property confiscated; and that when these auspicious notes were once in circulation, poverty would vanish, provisions become cheap, and rich and poor be equal (Cowell). The use of the term *chao* at Tabriz may be compared with that of *Banklót*, current in modern India.

Chinese name *Chao* was applied to them, and the Mongol Resident at Tabriz, Pulad Chingsang, was consulted in carrying out the measure. Expensive preparations were made for this object; offices called *Chdo-Khdnahs* were erected in the principal cities of the provinces, and a numerous staff appointed to carry out the details. Ghazan Khan in Khorasan, however, would have none of it, and refused to allow any of these preparations to be made within his government. After the constrained use of the *Chao* for two or three days Tabriz was in an uproar; the markets were closed; the people rose and murdered 'Izzuddin; and the whole project had to be abandoned. Marco was in Persia at this time, or just before, and Sir John Malcolm not unnaturally suggests that he might have had something to do with the scheme; a suggestion which excites a needless commotion in the breast of M. Pauthier. We may draw from the story the somewhat notable conclusion that *Block-printing* was practised, at least for this one purpose, at Tabriz in 1294.

The other like enterprise was that of Sultan Mahomed Tughlak of Delhi, in 1330-31. This also was undertaken for like reasons, and was in professed imitation of the *Chao* of Cathay. Mahomed, however, used copper tokens instead of paper; the copper being made apparently of equal weight to the gold or silver coin which it represented. The system seems to have had a little more vogue than at Tabriz, but was speedily brought to an end by the ease with which forgeries on an enormous scale were practised. The Sultan, in hopes of reviving the credit of his currency, ordered that every one bringing copper tokens to the Treasury should have them cashed in gold or silver. "The people who in despair had flung aside their copper coins like stones and bricks in their houses, all rushed to the Treasury and exchanged them for gold and silver. In this way the Treasury soon became empty, but the copper coins had as little circulation as ever, and a very grievous blow was given to the State."

An odd issue of currency, not of paper, but of leather, took place in Italy a few years before Polo's birth. The Emperor Frederic II., at the siege of Faenza in 1241, being in great straits for money, issued pieces of leather stamped with the mark of his mint at the value of his Golden Angustals. This leather coinage was very popular, especially at Florence, and it was afterwards honourably redeemed by Frederic's Treasury. Popular tradition in Sicily reproaches William the Bad among his other sins with having issued money of leather, but any stone is good enough to cast at a dog with such a surname.

[Ma Twan-lin mentions that in the fourth year of the period Yuen Show (B.C. 119), a currency of white metal and *deer-skin* was made. Mr. Vissering (*Chinese Currency*, 38) observes that the skin-tallies "were purely tokens, and have had nothing in common with the leather-money, which was, during a long time, current in Russia. This Russian skin-money had a truly representative character, as the parcels were used instead of the skins from which they were cut; the skins themselves being too bulky and heavy to be constantly carried backward and forward, only a little piece was cut off, to figure as a token of possession of the whole skin. The ownership of the skin was proved when the piece fitted in the hole."

Mr Rockhill (*Rubruck*, 201 note) says: "As early as B.C. 118, we find the Chinese using 'leather-money' (*p'i pi*). These were pieces of white deer-skin, a foot square, with a coloured border. Each had a value of 40,000 cash. (*Ma Twan-lin*, Bk. 8, 5.)"

Mr Charles F. Keary (*Coins and Medals*, by S. Lane Poole, 128) mentions that "in the reign of Elizabeth there was a very extensive issue of private tokens in lead, tin, latten, and leather."—H. C.]

(*Klapr. in Mém. Rel. à l'Asie*, I. 375 *seqq.*; *Biot*, in *J. As. sér. III. tom. iv.*; *Marsden and Pauthier*, in *loco*; *Parkes*, in *J. R. A. S. XIII. 179*; *Doolittle*, 452 *seqq.*; *Wylie, J. of Shanghai Lit. and Scient. Soc. No. I.*; *Arbeiten der kais. russ. Gesandsch. zu Peking*, I. p. 48; *Rennie, Peking*, etc., I. 296, 347; *Birch*, in *Num. Chron. XII. 169*; Information from *Dr. Lockhart*; *Alcock*, II. 86; *D'Ohsson*, IV. 53; *Cowell*, in *J. A. S. B. XXIX. 183 seqq.*; *Thomas, Coins of Patan Sovs. of*

Hind. (from *Numism. Chron.* 1852), p. 139 *seqq.*; *Kington's Fred.* II. II. 195; *Amari*, III. 816; *W. Vissering, On Chinese Currency*, Leiden, 1877.)

["Without doubt the Mongols borrowed the bank-note system from the Kin. Up to the present time there is in Si-ngan-fu a block kept, which was used for printing the bank-notes of the Kin Dynasty. I have had the opportunity of seeing a print of those bank-notes, they were of the same size and shape as the bank-notes of the Ming. A reproduction of the text of the Kin bank-notes is found in the *Kin shi ts'ui pien*. This copy has the characters *pao kuan* (precious charter) and the years of reign *Chêng Yew*, 1213-1216. The first essay of the Mongols to introduce bank-notes dates from the time of Ogodai Khan (1229-1242), but Chinese history only mentions the fact without giving details. At that time silk in skeins was the only article of a determinate value in the trade and on the project of *Ye lü ch'u ts'ai*, minister of Ogodai, the taxes were also collected in silk delivered by weight. It can therefore be assumed that the name *sze ch'ao* (*i.e.* bank-notes referring to the weight of silk) dates back to the same time. At any rate, at a later time, as, under the reign of Kubilai, the issuing of bank-notes was decreed, silk was taken as the standard to express the value of silver and 1000 *liang* silk was estimated = 50 *liang* (or 1 *ting*) silver. Thus, in consequence of those measures, it gradually became a rule to transfer the taxes and rents originally paid in silk, into silver. The wealth of the Mongol Khans in precious metals was renowned. The accounts regarding their revenues, however, which we meet with occasionally in Chinese history, do not surprise by their vastness. In the year 1298, for instance, the amount of the revenue is stated in the *Siu l'ung Kien* to have been:—

19,000 *liang* of gold = (190,000 *liang* of silver, according to the exchange of that time at the rate of 1 to 10).

60,000 *liang* of silver.

3,600,000 *ting* of silver in bank-notes (*i.e.* 180 millions *liang*); altogether

180,250,000 *liang* of silver.

The number seems indeed very high for that time. But if the exceedingly low exchange of the bank-notes be taken into consideration, the sum will be reduced to a modest amount." (*Palladius*, pp. 50-51.)—H. C.]

[Dr. Bretschneider (*Hist. Bot. Disc.*, I. p. 4) makes the following remark:—"Polo states (I. 409) that the Great Kaan causeth the bark of great Mulberry-trees, made into something like paper, to pass for money." He seems to be mistaken. Paper in China is not made from mulberry-trees but from the *Broussonetia papyrifera*, which latter tree belongs to the same order of Moraceae. The same fibres are used also in some parts of China for making cloth, and Marco Polo alludes probably to the same tree when stating (II. 108) "that in the province of Cuiju (Kwei chau) they manufacture stuff of the bark of certain trees, which form very fine summer clothing."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXV.

CONCERNING THE TWELVE BARONS WHO ARE SET OVER ALL THE AFFAIRS OF THE GREAT KAAH.

You must know that the Great Kaan hath chosen twelve great Barons to whom he hath committed all the necessary affairs of thirty-four great provinces; and

now I will tell you particulars about them and their establishments.

You must know that these twelve Barons reside all together in a very rich and handsome palace, which is inside the city of Cambaluc, and consists of a variety of edifices, with many suites of apartments. To every province is assigned a judge and several clerks, and all reside in this palace, where each has his separate quarters. These judges and clerks administer all the affairs of the provinces to which they are attached, under the direction of the twelve Barons. Howbeit, when an affair is of very great importance, the twelve Barons lay in before the Emperor, and he decides as he thinks best. But the power of those twelve Barons is so great that they choose the governors for all those thirty-four great provinces that I have mentioned, and only after they have chosen do they inform the Emperor of their choice. This he confirms, and grants to the person nominated a tablet of gold such as is appropriate to the rank of his government.

Those twelve Barons also have such authority that they can dispose of the movements of the forces, and send them whither, and in such strength, as they please. This is done indeed with the Emperor's cognizance, but still the orders are issued on their authority. They are styled *SHIENG*, which is as much as to say "The Supreme Court," and the palace where they abide is also called *Shieng*. This body forms the highest authority at the Court of the Great Kaan; and indeed they can favour and advance whom they will. I will not now name the thirty-four provinces to you, because they will be spoken of in detail in the course of this Book.¹

NOTE 1.—Pauthier's extracts from the Chinese Annals of the Dynasty, in illustration of this subject, are interesting. These, as he represents them, show the Council

of Ministers usually to have consisted of twelve high officials, viz. : two *Ch'ing-siang* [丞相] or (chief) ministers of state, one styled, "of the Right," and the other "of the Left"; four called *P'ing-chang ching-ssé*, which seems to mean something like ministers in charge of special departments; four assistant ministers; two Counsellors.

Rashiduddin, however, limits the Council to the first two classes: "Strictly speaking, the Council of State is composed of four *Ch'ing-sang* (*Ch'ing-siang*) or great officers (*Wazirs* he afterwards terms them), and four Fanchán (*P'ing-chang*) or associated members, taken from the nations of the Tajiks, Cathayans, Ighurs, and Arkaun" (i.e. Nestorian Christians). (Compare p. 418, *supra*.)

[A Samarkand man, Seyyd Tadj Eddin Hassan ben el Khalla, quoted in the *Masálak al Absár*, says: "Near the Khan are two amírs who are his ministers; they are called *Djing San* جينگسان (*Ch'ing-siang*). After them come the two *Bidjan*

بجان (*P'ing Chang*), then the two *Zoudjin* زوجين (Tso Chen), then the two *Yudjin* يوجين (Yu Chen), and at last the *Landjun* لنجون (Lang Chang), head of the scribes, and secretary of the sovereign. The Khan holds a sitting every day in the middle of a large building called *Chen* شن (Sheng), which is very like our Palace of Justice." (C. Schefer, *Cent. Ec. Langues Or.*, pp. 18-19.)—H. C.]

In a later age we find the twelve Barons reappearing in the pages of Mendoza: "The King hath in this city of Tabin (Peking), where he is resident, a royal council of twelve counsellors and a president, chosen men throughout all the kingdom, and such as have had experience in government many years." And also in the early centuries of the Christian era we hear that the Khan of the Turks had his twelve grandees, divided into those of the Right and those of the Left, probably a copy from a Chinese order then also existing.

But to return to Rashiduddin: "As the Kaan generally resides at the capital, he has erected a place for the sittings of the Great Council, called *Sing* . . . The dignitaries mentioned above are expected to attend daily at the *Sing*, and to make themselves acquainted with all that passes there."

The *Sing* of Rashid is evidently the Shiang or Sheng (*Scieng*) of Polo. M. Pauthier is on this point somewhat contemptuous towards Neumann, who, he says, confounds Marco Polo's twelve Barons or Ministers of State with the chiefs of the twelve great provincial governments called *Sing*, who had their residence at the chief cities of those governments; whilst in fact Polo's *Scieng* (he asserts) has nothing to do with the *Sing*, but represents the Chinese word *Siang* "a minister," and "the office of a minister." [There was no doubt a confusion between *Siang* 相 and *Sheng* 省.—H. C.]

It is very probable that two different words, *Siang* and *Sing*, got confounded by the non-Chinese attachés of the Imperial Court; but it seems to me quite certain that they applied the same word, *Sing* or *Sheng*, to both institutions, viz. to the High Council of State, and to the provincial governments. It also looks as if Marco Polo himself had made that very confusion with which Pauthier charges Neumann. For whilst here he represents the twelve Barons as forming a Council of State at the capital, we find further on, when speaking of the city of Yangchau, he says: "*Et si siet en ceste cité uns des xii Barons du Grant Kaan; car elle est esleue pour un des xii sieges,*" where the last word is probably a mistranscription of *Sciengs*, or *Sings*, and in any case the reference is to a distribution of the empire into twelve governments.

To be convinced that *Sing* was used by foreigners in the double sense that I have said, we have only to proceed with Rashiduddin's account of the administration. After what we have already quoted, he goes on: "The *Sing* of Khanbaligh is the most eminent, and the building is very large. . . . *Sings* do not exist in all the cities, but only in the capitals of great provinces. . . . In the whole empire of the Kaan there are twelve of these *Sings*; but that of Khanbaligh is the only one which has *Ching-sangs* amongst its members." Wassáf again, after describing the greatness of Khanzai (Kinsay of Polo) says: "These circumstances characterize the capital

itself, but four hundred cities of note, and embracing ample territories, are dependent on its jurisdiction, insomuch that the most inconsiderable of those cities surpasses Baghdad and Shiraz. In the number of these cities are Lankinfu and Zaitun, and Chinkalan; for they call Khanzai a *Shing*, i.e. a great city in which the high and mighty Council of Administration holds its meetings." Friar Odoric again says: "This empire hath been divided by the Lord thereof into twelve parts, each one thereof is termed a Singo."

Polo, it seems evident to me, knew nothing of Chinese. His *Shieng* is no direct attempt to represent any Chinese word, but simply the term that he had been used to employ in talking Persian or Turki, in the way that Rashiduddin and Wassáf employ it.

I find no light as to the thirty-four provinces into which Polo represents the empire as divided, unless it be an enumeration of the provinces and districts which he describes in the second and third parts of Bk. II., of which it is not difficult to reckon thirty-three or thirty-four, but not worth while to repeat the calculation.

[China was then divided into twelve *Sheng* or provinces: Cheng-Tung, Liao-Yang, Chung-Shu, Shen-Si, Ling-Pe (Karakorum), Kan-Suh, Sze-ch'wan, Ho-Nan Kiang-Pe, Kiang-Ché, Kiang-Si, Hu-Kwang and Yun-Nan. Rashiduddin (*J. As.*, XI. 1883, p. 447) says that of the twelve Sing, Khanbaligh was the only one with *Chin-siang*. We read in *Morrison's Dict.* (Pt. II. vol. i. p. 70): "Chin-seang, a Minister of State, was so called under the Ming Dynasty." According to Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, xxiv. p. 101), *Ching Siang* were abolished in 1395. I imagine that the thirty-four provinces refer to the *Fu* cities, which numbered however *thirty-nine*, according to *Oxenham's Historical Atlas*.—H. C.]

(*Cathay*, 263 seqq. and 137; *Mendoza*, I. 96; *Erdmann*, 142; *Hammer's Wassáf*, p. 42, but corrected.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

HOW THE KAAK'S POSTS AND RUNNERS ARE SPED THROUGH MANY LANDS AND PROVINCES.

Now you must know that from this city of Cambaluc proceed many roads and highways leading to a variety of provinces, one to one province, another to another; and each road receives the name of the province to which it leads; and it is a very sensible plan.¹ And the messengers of the Emperor in travelling from Cambaluc, be the road whichsoever they will, find at every twenty-five miles of the journey a station which they call *Yamb*,² or, as we should say, the "Horse-Post-House." And at each of those stations used by the messengers, there is a large and handsome building for them to put up at, in

which they find all the rooms furnished with fine beds and all other necessary articles in rich silk, and where they are provided with everything they can want. If even a king were to arrive at one of these, he would find himself well lodged.

At some of these stations, moreover, there shall be posted some four hundred horses standing ready for the use of the messengers; at others there shall be two hundred, according to the requirements, and to what the Emperor has established in each case. At every twenty-five miles, as I said, or anyhow at every thirty miles, you find one of these stations, on all the principal highways leading to the different provincial governments; and the same is the case throughout all the chief provinces subject to the Great Kaan.³ Even when the messengers have to pass through a roadless tract where neither house nor hostel exists, still there the station-houses have been established just the same, excepting that the intervals are somewhat greater, and the day's journey is fixed at thirty-five to forty-five miles, instead of twenty-five to thirty. But they are provided with horses and all the other necessaries just like those we have described, so that the Emperor's messengers, come they from what region they may, find everything ready for them. ✓

And in sooth this is a thing done on the greatest scale of magnificence that ever was seen. Never had emperor, king, or lord, such wealth as this manifests! For it is a fact that on all these posts taken together there are more than 300,000 horses kept up, specially for the use of the messengers. And the great buildings that I have mentioned are more than 10,000 in number, all richly furnished, as I told you. The thing is on a scale so wonderful and costly that it is hard to bring oneself to describe it.⁴

But now I will tell you another thing that I had forgotten, but which ought to be told whilst I am on this subject. You must know that by the Great Kaan's orders there has been established between those post-houses, at every interval of three miles, a little fort with some forty houses round about it, in which dwell the people who act as the Emperor's foot-runners. Every one of those runners wears a great wide belt, set all over with bells, so that as they run the three miles from post to post their bells are heard jingling a long way off. And thus on reaching the post the runner finds another man similarly equipt, and all ready to take his place, who instantly takes over whatsoever he has in charge, and with it receives a slip of paper from the clerk, who is always at hand for the purpose; and so the new man sets off and runs his three miles. At the next station he finds his relief ready in like manner; and so the post proceeds, with a change at every three miles. And in this way the Emperor, who has an immense number of these runners, receives despatches with news from places ten days' journey off in one day and night; or, if need be, news from a hundred days off in ten days and nights; and that is no small matter! (In fact in the fruit season many a time fruit shall be gathered one morning in Cambaluc, and the evening of the next day it shall reach the Great Kaan at Chandu, a distance of ten days' journey.⁵ The clerk at each of the posts notes the time of each courier's arrival and departure; and there are often other officers whose business it is to make monthly visitations of all the posts, and to punish those runners who have been slack in their work.⁶) The Emperor exempts these men from all tribute, and pays them besides.

Moreover, there are also at those stations other men equipt similarly with girdles hung with bells, who are

employed for expresses when there is a call for great haste in sending despatches to any governor of a province, or to give news when any Baron has revolted, or in other such emergencies; and these men travel a good two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles in the day, and as much in the night. I'll tell you how it stands. They take a horse from those at the station which are standing ready saddled, all fresh and in wind, and mount and go at full speed, as hard as they can ride in fact. And when those at the next post hear the bells they get ready another horse and a man equipt in the same way, and he takes over the letter or whatever it be, and is off full-speed to the third station, where again a fresh horse is found all ready, and so the despatch speeds along from post to post, always at full gallop, with regular change of horses. And the speed at which they go is marvellous. (By night, however, they cannot go so fast as by day, because they have to be accompanied by footmen with torches, who could not keep up with them at full speed.)

Those men are highly prized; and they could never do it, did they not bind hard the stomach, chest and head with strong bands. And each of them carries with him a gerfalcon tablet, in sign that he is bound on an urgent express; so that if perchance his horse break down, or he meet with other mishap, whomsoever he may fall in with on the road, he is empowered to make him dismount and give up his horse. Nobody dares refuse in such a case; so that the courier hath always a good fresh nag to carry him.⁷

Now all these numbers of post-horses cost the Emperor nothing at all; and I will tell you the how and the why. Every city, or village, or hamlet, that stands near one of those post-stations, has a fixed demand made on it for as many horses as it can supply, and these it

must furnish to the post. And in this way are provided all the posts of the cities, as well as the towns and villages round about them; only in uninhabited tracts the horses are furnished at the expense of the Emperor himself.

(Nor do the cities maintain the full number, say of 400 horses, always at their station, but month by month 200 shall be kept at the station, and the other 200 at grass, coming in their turn to relieve the first 200. And if there chance to be some river or lake to be passed by the runners and horse-posts, the neighbouring cities are bound to keep three or four boats in constant readiness for the purpose.)

And now I will tell you of the great bounty exercised by the Emperor towards his people twice a year.

NOTE 1.—The G. Text has “*et ce est moult sçue chouse*”; Pauthier’s Text, “*mais il est moult cell.*” The latter seems absurd. I have no doubt that *sçue* is correct, and is an Italianism, *saputo* having sometimes the sense of prudent or judicious. Thus P. della Valle (II. 26), speaking of Shah Abbas: “*Ma noti V.S. i tiri di questo re, saputo insieme e bizzarro,*” “acute with all his eccentricity.”

NOTE 2.—Both Neumann and Pauthier seek Chinese etymologies of this Mongol word, which the Tartars carried with them all over Asia. It survives in Persian and Turki in the senses both of a post-house and a post-horse, and in Russia, in the former sense, is a relic of the Mongol dominion. The ambassadors of Shah Rukh, on arriving at Sukchu, were lodged in the *Yâm-Khána*, or post-house, by the city gate; and they found ninety-nine such Yams between Sukchu and Khanbaligh, at each of which they were supplied with provisions, servants, beds, night-clothes, etc. Odoric likewise speaks of the hostels called *Yam*, and Rubruquis applies the same term to quarters in the imperial camp, which were assigned for the lodgment of ambassadors. (*Cathay*, ccii. 137; *Rubr.* 310.)

[Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, 101, note) says that these post-stations were established by Okkodai in 1234 throughout the Mongol empire. (*D’Ohsson*, ii. 63.) Dr. G. Schlegel (*T’oung Pao*, II. 1891, 265, note) observes that *iam* is not, as Pauthier supposed, a contraction of *yi-mà*, horse post-house (*yi-mà* means post-horse, and Pauthier makes a mistake), but represents the Chinese character 站, pronounced at present *chán*, which means in fact a road station, a post. In Annamite, this character 站 is pronounced *tram*, and it means, according to *Bonel’s Dict. Annamite-Français*: “*Relais de poste, station de repos.*” (See *Bretschneider, Med. Res.* I. p. 187 note.) —H. C.]

NOTE 3.—Martini and Magaillans, in the 17th century, give nearly the same account of the government hostels.

NOTE 4.—Here Ramusio has this digression: “Should any one find it difficult to understand how there should be such a population as all this implies, and how they

can subsist, the answer is that all the Idolaters, and Saracens as well, take six, eight, or ten wives apiece when they can afford it, and beget an infinity of children. In fact, you shall find many men who have each more than thirty sons who form an armed retinue to their father, and this through the fact of his having so many wives. With us, on the other hand, a man hath but one wife; and if she be barren, still he must abide by her for life, and have no progeny; thus we have not such a population as they have.

“And as regards food, they have abundance; for they generally consume rice, panic, and millet (especially the Tartars, Cathayans, and people of Manzi); and these three crops in those countries render an hundred-fold. Those nations use no bread, but only boil those kinds of grain with milk or meat for their victual. Their wheat, indeed, does not render so much, but this they use only to make vermicelli, and pastes of that description. No spot of arable land is left untilled; and their cattle are infinitely prolific, so that when they take the field every man is followed by six, eight, or more horses for his own use. Thus you may clearly perceive how the population of those parts is so great, and how they have such an abundance of food.”

NOTE 5.—The Burmese kings used to have the odoriferous *Durian* transmitted by horse-posts from Tenasserim to Ava. But the most notable example of the rapid transmission of such dainties, and the nearest approach I know of to their despatch by telegraph, was that practised for the benefit of the Fatimite Khalif Aziz (latter part of 10th century), who had a great desire for a dish of cherries of Balbek. The Wazir Yakub ben-Kilis caused six hundred pigeons to be despatched from Balbek to Cairo, each of which carried attached to either leg a small silk bag containing a cherry! (*Quat. Makrizi*, IV. 118.)

NOTE 6.—“Note is taken at every post,” says Amyot, in speaking of the Chinese practice of last century, “of the time of the courier’s arrival, in order that it may be known at what point delays have occurred.” (*Mém.* VIII. 185.)

NOTE 7.—The post-system is described almost exactly as in the text by Friar Odoric and the Archbishop of Soltania, in the generation after Polo, and very much in the same way by Magaillans in the 17th century. Posts had existed in China from an old date. They are spoken of by Mas’udi and the *Relations* of the 9th century. They were also employed under the ancient Persian kings; and they were in use in India, at least in the generation after Polo. The Mongols, too, carried the institution wherever they went.

Polo describes the couriers as changed at short intervals, but more usually in Asiatic posts the same man rides an enormous distance. The express courier in Tibet, as described by “the Pandit,” rides from Gartokh to Lhasa, a distance of 800 miles, travelling day and night. The courier’s coat is sealed upon him, so that he dares not take off his clothes till the seal is officially broken on his arrival at the terminus. These messengers had faces cracked, eyes bloodshot and sunken, and bodies raw with vermin. (*J. R. G. S.* XXXVIII. p. 149.) The modern Turkish post from Constantinople to Baghdad, a distance of 1100 miles, is done in twenty days by four Tartars riding night and day. The changes are at Sivas, Diarbekir, and Mosul. M. Tchihatcheff calculates that the night riding accomplishes only one quarter of the whole. (*Asie Mineure*, 2^{de} Ptie. 632-635.)—See I. p. 352, *paï tze*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HOW THE EMPEROR BESTOWS HELP ON HIS PEOPLE, WHEN THEY ARE AFFLICTED WITH DEARTH OR MURRAIN.

Now you must know that the Emperor sends his Messengers over all his Lands and Kingdoms and Provinces, to ascertain from his officers if the people are afflicted by any dearth through unfavourable seasons, or storms or locusts, or other like calamity; and from those who have suffered in this way no taxes are exacted for that year; nay more, he causes them to be supplied with corn of his own for food and seed. Now this is undoubtedly a great bounty on his part. And when winter comes, he causes inquiry to be made as to those who have lost their cattle, whether by murrain or other mishap, and such persons not only go scot free, but get presents of cattle. And thus, as I tell you, the Lord every year helps and fosters the people subject to him.

[There is another trait of the Great Kaan I should tell you; and that is, that if a chance shot from his bow strike any herd or flock, whether belonging to one person or to many, and however big the flock may be, he takes no tithe thereof for three years. In like manner, if the arrow strike a boat full of goods, that boat-load pays no duty; for it is thought unlucky that an arrow strike any one's property; and the Great Kaan says it would be an abomination before God, were such property, that has been struck by the divine wrath, to enter into his Treasury.¹]

NOTE 1.—The Chinese author already quoted as to Kúblái's character (Note 2, ch. xxiii. *supra*) says: "This Prince, at the sight of some evil prognostic, or when there was dearth, would remit taxation, and cause grain to be distributed to those who were in destitution. He would often complain that there never lacked informers if balances were due, or if *corvees* had been ordered, but when the necessities of the people required to be reported, not a word was said."

Wassáf tells a long story in illustration of Kúblái's justice and consideration for the peasantry. One of his sons, with a handful of followers, had got separated from the army, and halted at a village in the territory of Bishbaligh, where the people gave them sheep and wine. Next year two of the party came the same way and *demandé* a sheep and a stoup of wine. The people gave it, but went to the Kaan and told the story, saying they feared it might grow into a perpetual exaction. Kúblái sharply rebuked the Prince, and gave the people compensation and an order in their favour. (*De Mailla*, ix. 460; *Hammer's Wassaf*, 38-39.)

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HOW THE GREAT KAAAN CAUSES TREES TO BE PLANTED BY THE HIGHWAYS.

THE Emperor moreover hath taken order that all the highways travelled by his messengers and the people generally should be planted with rows of great trees a few paces apart; and thus these trees are visible a long way off, and no one can miss the way by day or night. Even the roads through uninhabited tracts are thus planted, and it is the greatest possible solace to travellers. And this is done on all the ways, where it can be of service. [The Great Kaan plants these trees all the more readily, because his astrologers and diviners tell him that he who plants trees lives long.¹

But where the ground is so sandy and desert that trees will not grow, he causes other landmarks, pillars or stones, to be set up to show the way.]

NOTE 1.—In this Kúblái imitated the great King Asoka, or Priyadarsi, who in his graven edicts (*circa* B.C. 250) on the Delhi Pillar, says: "Along the high roads I have caused fig-trees to be planted, that they may be for shade to animals and men. I have also planted mango-trees; and at every half-coss I have caused wells to be constructed, and resting-places for the night. And how many hostels have been erected by me at various places for the entertainment of man and beast." (*J. A. S. B.* IV. 604.) There are still remains of the fine avenues of Kúblái and his successors in various parts of Northern China. (See *Williamson*, i. 74.)

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONCERNING THE RICE-WINE DRUNK BY THE PEOPLE OF CATHAY.

Most of the people of Cathay drink wine of the kind that I shall now describe. It is a liquor which they brew of rice with a quantity of excellent spice, in such fashion that it makes better drink than any other kind of wine; it is not only good, but clear and pleasing to the eye.¹ And being very hot stuff, it makes one drunk sooner than any other wine.

NOTE 1.—The mode of making Chinese rice-wine is described in Amyot's *Mémoires*, V. 468 *seqq.* A kind of yeast is employed, with which is often mixed a flour prepared from fragrant herbs, almonds, pine-seeds, dried fruits, etc. Rubruquis says this liquor was not distinguishable, except by smell, from the best wine of Auxerre; a wine so famous in the Middle Ages, that the Historian Friar, Salimbene, went from Lyons to Auxerre on purpose to drink it.* Ysbrand Ides compares the rice-wine to Rhenish; John Bell to Canary; a modern traveller quoted by Davis, "in colour, and a little in taste, to Madeira." [Friar Odoric (*Cathay*, i. p. 117) calls this wine *bigni*; Dr. Schlegel (*T'oung Pao*, ii. p. 264) says Odoric's wine was probably made with the date *Mi-yin*, pronounced *Bi-in* in old days. But Marco's wine is made of rice, and is called *shao hsing chiu*. Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 166, note) writes: "There is another stronger liquor distilled from millet, and called *shao chiu*: in Anglo-Chinese, *samschu*; Mongols call it *araka*, *arrak*, and *arreki*. Ma Twan-lin (Bk. 327) says that the Moho (the early Nu-chên Tartars) drank rice wine (*mi chiu*), but I fancy that they, like the Mongols, got it from the Chinese."

Dr. Emil Bretschneider (*Botanicon Sinicum*, ii. pp. 154-158) gives a most interesting account of the use and fabrication of intoxicating beverages by the Chinese. "The invention of wine or spirits in China," he says, "is generally ascribed to a certain I TI, who lived in the time of the Emperor Yü. According to others, the inventor of wine was TU K'ANG." One may refer also to Dr. Macgowan's paper *On the "Mutton Wine" of the Mongols and Analogous Preparations of the Chinese.* (*Jour. N. China Br. R. As. Soc.*, 1871-1872, pp. 237-240.—H. C.]

* *Kington's Fred.* II. II. 457. So, in a French play of the 13th century, a publican in his *patois* invites custom, with hot bread, hot herrings, and wine of Auxerre in plenty:—

"Chaiens, fait bon disner chaiens ;

Chi a caut pain et caus herens,

Et vin d'Aucheurre à plain tonnel."—

(*Théat. Franç. au Moyen Age*, 168.)

CHAPTER XXX.

CONCERNING THE BLACK STONES THAT ARE DUG IN CATHAY, AND ARE BURNT FOR FUEL.

IT is a fact that all over the country of Cathay there is a kind of black stones existing in beds in the mountains, which they dig out and burn like firewood. If you supply the fire with them at night, and see that they are well kindled, you will find them still alight in the morning; and they make such capital fuel that no other is used throughout the country. It is true that they have plenty of wood also, but they do not burn it, because those stones burn better and cost less.¹

[Moreover with that vast number of people, and the number of hot baths that they maintain—for every one has such a bath at least three times a week, and in winter if possible every day, whilst every nobleman and man of wealth has a private bath for his own use—the wood would not suffice for the purpose.]

NOTE I.—There is a great consumption of coal in Northern China, especially in the brick stoves, which are universal, even in poor houses. Coal seems to exist in every one of the eighteen provinces of China, which in this respect is justly pronounced to be one of the most favoured countries in the world. Near the capital coal is mined at Yuen-ming-yuen, and in a variety of isolated deposits among the hills in the direction of the Kalgan road, and in the district round Siuen-hwa-fu. (*Sindachu* of Polo, ante ch. lix.) But the most important coal-fields in relation to the future are those of Shan-tung Hu-nan, Ho-nan, and Shan-si. The last is eminently *the* coal and iron province of China, and its coal-field, as described by Baron Richthofen, combines, in an extraordinary manner, all the advantages that can enhance the value of such a field except (at present) that of facile export; whilst the quantity available is so great that from Southern Shan-si alone he estimates the whole world could be supplied, at the present rate of consumption, for several thousand years. "Adits, miles in length, could be driven within the body of the coal. . . . These extraordinary conditions . . . will eventually give rise to some curious features in mining . . . if a railroad should ever be built from the plain to this region . . . branches of it will be constructed within the body of one or other of these beds of anthracite." Baron Richthofen, in the paper which we quote from, indicates the revolution in the deposit of the world's wealth and power, to which such facts, combined with other characteristics of China, point as probable; a revolution so vast that its contemplation seems like that of a planetary catastrophe.

In the coal-fields of Hu-nan "the mines are chiefly opened where the rivers intersect the inclined strata of the coal-measures and allow the coal-beds to be attacked by the miner immediately at their out-croppings."

At the highest point of the Great Kiang, reached by Sarel and Blakiston, they found mines on the cliffs over the river, from which the coal was sent down by long bamboo cables, the loaded baskets drawing up the empty ones.

[Many coal-fields have been explored since; one of the most important is the coal-field of the Yun-nan province; the finest deposits are perhaps those found in the bend of the Kiang; coal is found also at Mong-Tzū, Lin-ngan, etc.; this rich coal region has been explored in 1898 by the French engineer A. Leclère. (See *Congrès int. Géog.*, Paris, 1900, pp. 178-184.)—H. C.]

In various parts of China, as in Che-kiang, Sze-ch'wan, and at Peking, they form powdered coal, mixed with mud, into bricks, somewhat like our "patent fuel." This practice is noticed by Ibn Batuta, as well as the use of coal in making porcelain, though this he seems to have misunderstood. Rashiduddin also mentions the use of coal in China. It was in use, according to citations of Pauthier's, before the Christian era. It is a popular belief in China, that every provincial capital is bound to be established over a coal-field, so as to have a provision in case of siege. It is said that during the British siege of Canton mines were opened to the north of the city.

(*The Distribution of Coal in China*, by Baron Richthofen, in *Ocean Highways*, N.S., I. 311; *Macgowan in Ch. Repos.* xix. 385-387; *Blakiston*, 133, 265; *Mid. Kingdom*, I. 73, 78; *Amyot*, xi. 334; *Cathay*, 261, 478, 482; *Notes by Rev. A. Williamson in J. N. Ch. Br. R. A. S.*, December, 1867; *Hedde and Rondot*, p. 63.)

Aeneas Sylvius relates as a miracle that took place before his eyes in Scotland, that poor and almost naked beggars, when stones were given them as alms at the church doors, went away quite delighted; for stones of that kind were imbued either with brimstone or with some oily matter, so that they could be burnt instead of wood, of which the country was destitute. (Quoted by *Jos. Robertson, Statuta Eccles. Scoti.* I. xciii.)

CHAPTER XXXI.

HOW THE GREAT KAAN CAUSES STORES OF CORN TO BE MADE, TO HELP HIS PEOPLE WITHAL IN TIME OF DEARTH.

You must know that when the Emperor sees that corn is cheap and abundant, he buys up large quantities, and has it stored in all his provinces in great granaries, where it is so well looked after that it will keep for three or four years.¹

And this applies, let me tell you, to all kinds of corn, whether wheat, barley, millet, rice, panic, or what not, and when there is any scarcity of a particular kind of corn, he causes that to be issued. And if the price of

the corn is at one bezant the measure, he lets them have it at a bezant for four measures, or at whatever price will produce general cheapness; and every one can have food in this way. And by this providence of the Emperor's, his people can never suffer from dearth. He does the same over his whole Empire; causing these supplies to be stored everywhere, according to calculation of the wants and necessities of the people.

NOTE I.—“*Le fait si bien estuier que il dure bien trois ans ou quatre*” (Pauthier): “*si bien estudier*” (G. T.). The word may be *estiver* (It. *stivare*), to stow, but I half suspect it should be *estuver* in the sense of “kiln-dry,” though both the Geog. Latin and the Crusca render it *gubernare*.* Lecomte says: “Rice is always stored in the public granaries for three or four years in advance. It keeps long if care be taken to air it and stir it about; and although not so good to the taste or look as new rice, it is said to be more wholesome.”

The Archbishop of Soltania (A.D. 1330) speaks of these stores. “The said Emperor is very pitiful and compassionate. . . . and so when there is a dearth in the land he openeth his garners, and giveth forth of his wheat and his rice for half what others are selling it at.” Kúblái Kaan's measures of this kind are recorded in the annals of the Dynasty, as quoted by Pauthier. The same practice is ascribed to the sovereigns of the Tang Dynasty by the old Arab *Relations*. In later days a missionary gives in the *Lettres Edifiantes* an unfavourable account of the action of these public granaries, and of the rascality that occurred in connection with them. (*Lecomte*, II. 101; *Cathay*, 240; *Relat.* I. 39; *Let. Ed.* xxiv. 76.)

[The *Yuen-shi* in ch. 96 contains sections on dispensaries (*Hui min yao kü*), granary regulations (*Shi ti*), and regulations for a time of dearth (*Chen Sü*). (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.* I. p. 187.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THE CHARITY OF THE EMPEROR TO THE POOR.

I HAVE told you how the Great Kaan provides for the distribution of necessaries to his people in time of dearth, by making store in time of cheapness. Now I will tell you of his alms and great charity to the poor of his city of Cambaluc.

* Marsden observes incidentally (*Hist. of Sumatra*, 1st edition, p. 71) that he was told in Bengal they used to dry-kiln the rice for exportation, “owing to which, or to some other process, it will continue good for several years.”

You see he causes selection to be made of a number of families in the city which are in a state of indigence, and of such families some may consist of six in the house, some of eight, some of ten, more or fewer in each as it may hap, but the whole number being very great. And each family he causes annually to be supplied with wheat and other corn sufficient for the whole year. And this he never fails to do every year. Moreover, all those who choose to go to the daily dole at the Court receive a great loaf apiece, hot from the baking, and nobody is denied; for so the Lord hath ordered. And so some 30,000 people go for it every day from year's end to year's end. Now this is a great goodness in the Emperor to take pity of his poor people thus! And they benefit so much by it that they worship him as he were God.

[He also provides the poor with clothes. For he lays a tithe upon all wool, silk, hemp, and the like, from which clothing can be made; and he has these woven and laid up in a building set apart for the purpose; and as all artizans are bound to give a day's labour weekly, in this way the Kaan has these stuffs made into clothing for those poor families, suitable for summer or winter, according to the time of year. He also provides the clothing for his troops, and has woollens woven for them in every city, the material for which is furnished by the tithe aforesaid. You should know that the Tartars, before they were converted to the religion of the Idolaters, never practised almsgiving. Indeed, when any poor man begged of them they would tell him, "Go with God's curse, for if He loved you as He loves me, He would have provided for you." But the sages of the Idolaters, and especially the *Bacsis* mentioned before, told the Great Kaan that it was a good work to provide for the poor, and that his idols would be

greatly pleased if he did so. And since then he has taken to do for the poor so much as you have heard.^{1]}

NOTE 1.—This is a curious testimony to an ameliorating effect of Buddhism on rude nations. The general establishment of medical aid for men and animals is alluded to in the edicts of Asoka; * and hospitals for the diseased and destitute were found by Fahian at Palibothra, whilst Hiuen Tsang speaks of the distribution of food and medicine at the *Punyasāls* or “Houses of Beneficence,” in the Panjáb. Various examples of a charitable spirit in Chinese Institutions will be found in a letter by Père d’Entrecolles in the XVth Recueil of *Lettres Edifiantes*; and a similar detail in *Nevius’s China and the Chinese*, ch. xv. (See *Prinsep’s Essays*, II. 15; *Beal’s Fahian*, 107; *Pél. Boudd.* II. 190.) The Tartar sentiment towards the poor survives on the Arctic shores:—“The Yakuts regard the rich as favoured by the gods; the poor as rejected and cast out by them.” (*Billings*, Fr. Transl. I. 233.)

CHAPTER XXXIII.

[CONCERNING THE ASTROLOGERS IN THE CITY OF CAMBALUC.]

[THERE are in the city of Cambaluc, what with Christians, Saracens, and Cathayans, some five thousand astrologers and soothsayers, whom the Great Kaan provides with annual maintenance and clothing, just as he provides the poor of whom we have spoken, and they are in the constant exercise of their art in this city.

They have a kind of astrolabe on which are inscribed the planetary signs, the hours and critical points of the whole year. And every year these Christian, Saracen, and Cathayan astrologers, each sect apart, investigate by means of this astrolabe the course and character of the whole year, according to the indications of each of its Moons, in order to discover by the natural course and disposition of the planets, and the other circumstances of the heavens, what shall be the nature of the weather, and what peculiarities shall be produced by each Moon

* As rendered by J. Prinsep. But I see that Professor H. H. Wilson did not admit the passage to bear that meaning.

of the year ; as, for example, under which Moon there shall be thunderstorms and tempests, under which there shall be disease, murrain, wars, disorders, and treasons, and so on, according to the indications of each ; but always adding that it lies with God to do less or more according to His pleasure. And they write down the results of their examination in certain little pamphlets for the year, which are called *Tacuin*, and these are sold for a goat to all who desire to know what is coming. Those of the astrologers, of course whose predictions are found to be most exact, are held to be the greatest adepts in their art, and get the greater fame.¹

And if any one having some great matter in hand, or proposing to make a long journey for traffic or other business, desires to know what will be the upshot, he goes to one of these astrologers and says : " Turn up your books and see what is the present aspect of the heavens, for I am going away on such and such a business." Then the astrologer will reply that the applicant must also tell the year, month, and hour of his birth ; and when he has got that information he will see how the horoscope of his nativity combines with the indications of the time when the question is put, and then he predicts the result, good or bad, according to the aspect of the heavens.

You must know, too, that the Tartars reckon their years by twelves ; the sign of the first year being the Lion, of the second the Ox, of the third the Dragon, of the fourth the Dog, and so forth up to the twelfth ;² so that when one is asked the year of his birth he answers that it was in the year of the Lion (let us say), on such a day or night, at such an hour, and such a moment. And the father of a child always takes care to write these particulars down in a book. When the twelve yearly symbols have been gone through, then they come

back to the first, and go through with them again in the same succession.]

NOTE 1.—It is odd that Marsden should have sought a Chinese explanation of the Arabic word *Takwīm*, even with Tavernier before him: "They sell in Persia an annual almanac called *Tacuim*, which is properly an ephemeris containing the longitude and latitude of the planets, their conjunctions and oppositions, and other such matter. The *Tacuim* is full of predictions regarding war, pestilence, and famine; it indicates the favourable time for putting on new clothes, for getting bled or purged, for making a journey, and so forth. They put entire faith in it, and whoever can afford one governs himself in all things by its rules." (Bk. V. ch. xiv.)

The use of the term by Marco may possibly be an illustration of what I have elsewhere propounded, viz. that he was not acquainted with Chinese, but that his intercourse and conversation lay chiefly with the foreigners at the Kaan's Court, and probably was carried on in the Persian language. But not long after the date of our Book we find the word used in Italian by Jacopo Alighieri (Dante's son):—

"A voler giudicare
Si conviene adeguare
Inprimo il *Taccuino*,
Per vedere il cammino
Come i Pianeti vanno
Per tutto quanto l'anno."

—*Rime Antiche Toscane*, III. 10.

Marco does not allude to the fact that almanacs were published by the Government, as they were then and still are. Pauthier (515 *seqq.*) gives some very curious details on this subject from the Annals of the Yuen. In the accounts of the year 1328, it appears that no less than 3,123,185 copies were printed in three different sizes at different prices, besides a separate almanac for the *Hwei-Hwei* or Mahomedans. Had Polo not omitted to touch on the issue of almanacs by Government he could scarcely have failed to enter on the subject of printing, on which he has kept a silence so singular and unaccountable.

The Chinese Government still "considers the publication of a Calendar of the first importance and utility. It must do everything in its power, not only to point out to its numerous subjects the distribution of the seasons, . . . but on account of the general superstition it must mark in the almanac the lucky and unlucky days, the best days for being married, for undertaking a journey, for making their dresses, for buying or building, for presenting petitions to the Emperor, and for many other cases of ordinary life. By this means the Government keeps the people within the limits of humble obedience; it is for this reason that the Emperors of China established the Academy of Astronomy." (*T'ink*. I. 358.) The acceptance of the Imperial Almanac by a foreign Prince is considered an acknowledgment of vassalage to the Emperor.

It is a penal offence to issue a pirated or counterfeit edition of the Government Almanac. No one ventures to be without one, lest he become liable to the greatest misfortunes by undertaking the important measures on black-balled days.

The price varies now, according to Williams, from 1½*d.* to 5*d.* a copy. The price in 1328 was 1 *tsien* or cash for the cheapest edition, and 1 *liang* or tael of silver for the *édition de luxe*; but as these prices were in paper-money it is extremely difficult to say, in the varying depreciation of that currency, what the price really amounted to.

[“The Calendars for the use of the people, published by Imperial command, are of two kinds. The first, *Wan-nien-shu*, the *Calendar of Ten Thousand Years*, is an abridgment of the Calendar, comprising 397 years, viz. from 1624 to 2020. The



Mongol "Compendium Instrument" *Arcon-e* in the Observatory Garden.

[To face p. 448.]

second and more complete Calendar is the *Annual Calendar*, which, under the preceding dynasties, was named *Li-je, Order of Days*, and is now called *Shih-hsien-shu, Book of Constant Conformity (with the Heavens)*. This name was given by the Emperor *Shun-chih*, in the first year of his reign (1644), on being presented by Father John Schall (*Tang Jo-wang*) with a new Calendar, calculated on the principles of European science. This *Annual Calendar* gives the following indications: (1°) The cyclical signs of the current year, of the months, and of all the days; (2°) the *long* and *short* months, as well as the *intercalary* month, as the case may be; (3°) the designation of each day by the 5 *elements*, the 28 constellations, and the 12 *happy presages*; (4°) the day and hour of the new moon, of the full moon, and of the two dichotomies, *Shang-hsien* and *Hsia-hsien*; (5°) the day and hour for the *positions* of the sun in the 24 zodiacal signs, calculated for the various capitals of China as well as for Manchuria, Mongolia, and the tributary Kingdoms; (6°) the hour of sunrise and sunset and the length of day and night for the principal days of the month in the several capitals; (7°) various superstitious indications purporting to point out what days and hours are auspicious or not for such or such affairs in different places. Those superstitious indications are stated to have been introduced into the Calendar under the *Yüan* dynasty." (*P. Hoang, Chinese Calendar*, pp. 2-3.)—H. C.]

We may note that in Polo's time one of the principal officers of the Mathematical Board was *Gaisue*, a native of *Folin* or the Byzantine Empire, who was also in charge of the medical department of the Court. Regarding the Observatory, see note at p. 378, *supra*.

And I am indebted yet again to the generous zeal of Mr. Wylie of Shanghai, for the principal notes and extracts which will, I trust, satisfy others as well as myself that the instruments in the garden of the Observatory belong to the period of Marco Polo's residence in China.*

The objections to the alleged age of these instruments were entirely based on an inspection of photographs. The opinion was given very strongly that no instrument of the kind, so perfect in theory and in execution, could have been even imagined in those days, and that nothing of such scientific quality could have been made except by the Jesuits. In fact it was asserted or implied that these instruments must have been made about the year 1700, and were therefore not earlier in age than those which stand on the terraced roof of the Observatory, and are well known to most of us from the representation in *Duhalde* and in many popular works.

The only authority that I could lay hand on was *Lecomte*, and what he says was not conclusive. I extract the most pertinent passages:

"It was on the terrace of the tower that the Chinese astronomers had set their instruments, and though few in number they occupied the whole area. But Father *Verbiest*, the Director of the Observatory, considering them useless for astronomical observation, persuaded the Emperor to let them be removed, to make way for several instruments of his own construction. The instruments set aside by the European astronomers are still in a hall adjoining the tower, buried in dust and oblivion; and we saw them only through a grated window. They appeared to us to be very large and well cast, in form approaching our astronomical circles; that is all that we could make out. There was, however, thrown into a back yard by itself, a celestial globe of bronze, of about 3 feet in diameter. Of this we were able to take a nearer view. Its form was somewhat oval; the divisions by no means exact, and the whole work coarse enough.

"Besides this in a lower hall they had established a *gnomon*. . . . This observatory, not worthy of much consideration for its ancient instruments, much less for its situation, its form, or its construction, is now enriched by several bronze instruments which Father *Verbiest* has placed there. These are large, well cast,

* Besides the works quoted in the text I have only been able to consult *Gaubil's* notices, as abstracted in *Lalande*; and the Introductory Remarks to Mr. J. Williams's *Observations of Comets*. . . . extracted from the *Chinese Annals*, London, 1871.

adorned in every case with figures of dragons," etc. He then proceeds to describe them :

"(1). Armillary Zodiacal Sphere of 6 feet diameter. This sphere reposes on the heads of four dragons, the bodies of which after various convolutions come to rest upon the extremities of two brazen beams forming a cross, and thus bear the entire weight of the instrument. These dragons . . . are represented according to the notion the Chinese form of them, enveloped in clouds, covered above the horns with long hair, with a tufted beard on the lower jaw, flaming eyes, long sharp teeth, the gaping throat ever vomiting a torrent of fire. Four lion-cubs of the same material bear the ends of the cross beams, and the heads of these are raised or depressed by means of attached screws, according to what is required. The circles are divided on both exterior and interior surface into 360 degrees ; each degree into 60 minutes by transverse lines, and the minutes into sections of 10 seconds each by the sight-edge* applied to them."

Of Verbiest's other instruments we need give only the names : (2) Equinoxial Sphere, 6 feet diameter. (3) Azimuthal Horizon, same diam. (4) Great Quadrant, of 6 feet radius. (5) Sextant of about 8 feet radius. (6) Celestial Globe of 6 feet diameter.

As Lecomte gives no details of the old instruments which he saw through a grating, and as the description of this zodiacal sphere (No. 1) corresponds in some of its main features with that represented in the photograph, I could not but recognize the possibility that this instrument of Verbiest's had for some reason or other been removed from the Terrace, and that the photograph might therefore possibly *not* be a representation of one of the ancient instruments displaced by him.†

The question having been raised it was very desirable to settle it, and I applied to Mr. Wylie for information, as I had received the photographs from him, and knew that he had been Mr. Thomson's companion and helper in the matter.

"Let me assure you," he writes (21st August, 1874), "the Jesuits had nothing to do with the manufacture of the so-called Mongol instruments ; and whoever made them, they were certainly on the Peking Observatory before Loyola was born. They are not made for the astronomical system introduced by the Jesuits, but are altogether conformable to the system introduced by Kúblái's astronomer Ko Show-king. . . . I will mention one thing which is quite decisive as to the Jesuits. *The circle is divided into 365½ degrees*, each degree into 100 minutes, and each minute into 100 seconds. The Jesuits always used the sexagesimal division. Lecomte speaks of the imperfection of the division on the Jesuit-made instruments ; but *those on the Mongol instruments are immeasurably coarser*.

"I understand it is not the ornamentation your friend objects to?‡ If it is, I would observe that there is no evidence of progress in the decorative and ornamental arts during the Ming Dynasty ; and even in the Jesuit instruments that part of the work is purely Chinese, excepting in one instrument, which I am persuaded must have been made in Europe.

"I have a Chinese work called *Luh-King-t'oo-Kaou*, 'Illustrations and Investigations of the Six Classics.' This was written in A.D. 1131-1162, and revised and

* *Pinnula*. The French *pinnule* is properly a sight-vane at the end of a traversing bar. The *transverse lines* imply that minutes were read by the system of our *diagonal scales* ; and these I understand to have been subdivided still further by aid of a divided edge attached to the sight-vane ; qu. a Vernier ?

† Verbiest himself speaks of the displaced instruments thus "ut nova instrumenta astronomica faciendâ mihi imponeret, quæ scilicet more Europæo affabre facta, et in specula Astropica Pekinensi collocata, æternam Imperii Tartarici memoriam apud posteritatem servarent, prioribus instrumentis Sincis rudiioris Minervæ, quæ jam a trecentis proxime annis speculam occupabant, inde amotis. Imperator statim annuit illorum postulatis, et totius rei curam, publico diplomate mihi imposuit. Ego itaque intra quadriennis spatium sex diversi generis instrumenta confeci." This is from an account of the Observatory written by Verbiest himself, and printed at Peking in 1668 (*Liber Organicus Astronomiæ Europææ apud Sinas Restituta*, etc.). My friend Mr. D. Hanbury made the extract from a copy of this rare book in the London Institution Library. An enlarged edition was published in Europe. (Dillingen, 1687.)

‡ On the contrary, he considered the photographs interesting, as showing to how late a period the art of fine casting had endured.



Mongol Armillary Sphere in the Observatory Garden. [The face p. 450.]

printed in 1165-1174. It contains a representation of an armillary sphere, which appears to me to be much the same as the sphere in question. There is a solid horizon fixed to a graduated outer circle. Inside the latter is a meridian circle, at right angles to which is a graduated colure; then the equator, apparently a double ring, and the ecliptic; also two diametric bars. The cut is rudely executed, but it certainly shows that some one imagined something more perfect. The instrument stands on a cross frame, with 4 dragon supporters and a prop in the centre.*

"It should be remembered that under the Mongol Dynasty the Chinese had much intercourse with Central Asia; and among others Yelewchootsac, as confidential minister and astronomer, followed Chinghiz in his Western campaign, held intercourse with the astronomers of Samarkand, and on his return laid some astronomical inventions before the Emperor.

"I append a notice of the Observatory taken from a popular description of Peking, by which it will be seen that the construction of these instruments is attributed to Ko Show-king, one of the most renowned astronomers of China. He was the chief astronomer under Kúblái Kaan" [to whom he was presented in 1262; he was born in 1231.—H. C.]

"It must be remembered that there was a special vitality among the Chinese under the Yuen with regard to the arts and sciences, and the Emperor had the choice of artizans and men of science from all countries. From the age of the Yuen till the arrival of the Jesuits, we hear nothing of any new instruments having been made; and it is well known that astronomy was never in a lower condition than under the Ming."†

Mr. Wylie then draws attention to the account given by Trigault of the instruments that Matteo Ricci saw at Nanking, when he went (in the year 1599) to pay a visit to some of the *litterati* of that city. He transcribes the account from the French *Hist. de l'Expédition Chrestienne en la Chine*, 1618. But as I have the Latin, which is the original and is more lucid, by me, I will translate from that.‡

"Not only at Peking, but in this capital also (Nanking) there is a College of Chinese Mathematicians, and this one certainly is more distinguished by the vastness of its buildings than by the skill of its professors. They have little talent and less learning, and do nothing beyond the preparation of the almanacs on the rules of calculation made by the ancients; and when it chanced that events do not agree with their calculation they assert that what they had calculated was the regular course of things, but that the aberrant conduct of the stars was a prognostic from heaven of something going to happen on the earth. This something they make out according to their fancy, and so spread a veil over their own blunders. These gentlemen did not much trust Father Matteo, fearing, no doubt, lest he should put them to shame; but when at last they were freed from this apprehension they came and amicably visited the Father in hope of learning something from him. And when he went to return their visit he saw something that really was new and beyond his expectation.

"There is a high hill at one side of the city, but still within the walls. On the top of the hill there is an ample terrace, capitably adapted for astronomical observation, and surrounded by magnificent buildings which form the residence of the Professors. . . . On this terrace are to be seen astronomical instruments of cast-metal, well worthy of inspection whether for size or for beauty; and we certainly have never seen or read of anything in Europe like them. For nearly 250 years they have stood thus

* This ancient instrument is probably the same that is engraved in Pauthier's *Chine Ancienne* under the title of "The Sphere of the Emperor Shun" (B.C. 2255 l).

† After the death of Kúblái astronomy fell into neglect, and when Hongwu, the first Ming sovereign, took the throne (1368) the subject was almost forgotten. Nor was there any revival till the time of Ching. The latter was a prince who in 1573 associated himself with the astronomer Hing-yun-ju to reform the state of astronomy. (*Gaubil*.)

‡ What Ricci has recorded (in Trigautius) of the dense ignorance of the Chinese *litterati* in astronomical matters is entirely consistent with the preceding statements.

§ I had entirely forgotten to look at Trigault till Mr. Wylie sent me the extract. The copy I use (*De Christianâ Expeditione apud Sinas* . . . Auct. Nicolao Trigautio) is of Lugdun. 1616. The first edition was published at August. Vindelicorum (Augsburg) in 1615; the French, at Lyons, in 1616.

exposed to the rain, the snow, and all other atmospheric inclemencies, and yet they have lost absolutely nothing of their original lustre. And lest I should be accused of raising expectations which I do not justify, I will do my best in a digression, probably not unwelcome, to bring them before the eyes of my readers.

"The larger of these instruments were four in number. First we inspected a great globe [A], graduated with meridians and parallels; we estimated that three men would hardly be able to embrace its girth. . . . A second instrument was a great sphere [B], not less in diameter than that measure of the outstretched arms which is commonly called a geometric pace. It had a horizon and poles; instead of circles it was provided with certain double hoops (*armille*), the void space between the pair serving the purpose of the circles of our spheres. All these were divided into 365 degrees and some odd minutes. There was no globe to represent the earth in the centre, but there was a certain tube, bored like a gun-barrel, which could readily be turned about and fixed to any azimuth or any altitude so as to observe any particular star through the tube, just as we do with our vane-sights; *—not at all a despicable device! The third machine was a gnomon [C], the height of which was twice the diameter of the former instrument, erected on a very large and long slab of marble, on the northern side of the terrace. The stone slab had a channel cut round the margin, to be filled with water in order to determine whether the slab was level or not, and the style was set vertical as in hour-dials.† We may suppose this gnomon to have been erected that by its aid the shadow at the solstices and equinoxes might be precisely noted, for in that view both the slab and the style were graduated. The fourth and last instrument, and the largest of all, was one consisting as it were of three or four huge astrolabes in juxtaposition [D]; each of them having a diameter of such a geometrical pace as I have specified. The fiducial line, or *Alhidada*, as it is called, was not lacking, nor yet the *Dioptra*.‡ Of these astrolabes, one having a tilted position in the direction of the south, represented the equator; a second, which stood crosswise on the first, in a north and south plane, the Father took for a meridian; but it could be turned round on its axis; a third stood in the meridian plane with its axis perpendicular, and seemed to stand for a vertical circle; but this also could be turned round so as to show any vertical whatever. Moreover all these were graduated, and the degrees marked by prominent studs of iron, so that in the night the graduation could be read by the touch without a light. All this compound astrolabe instrument was erected on a level marble platform with channels round it for levelling. On each of these instruments explanations of everything were given in Chinese characters; and there were also engraved the 24 zodiacal constellations which answer to our 12 signs, 2 to each.§ There was, however, one error common to all the instruments, viz. that, in all, the elevation of the Pole was assumed to be 36°. Now there can be no question about the fact that the city of Nanking lies in lat. 32½°; whence it would seem probable that these instruments were made for another locality, and had been erected at Nanking, without reference to its position, by some one ill versed in mathematical science.||

* "Pinnulis."

† "*Et stilus eo modo quo in horologiis ad perpendicularum collocatus.*"

‡ The *Alidada* is the traversing index bar which carries the *dioptra*, *pinnules*, or sight-vanes. The word is found in some older English Dictionaries, and in France and Italy is still applied to the traversing index of a plane table or of a sextant. Littré derives it from (Ar.) *adda*, enumeration; but it is really from a quite different word, *al-idadat* **إِدَادَات** "a door-post," which is found in this sense in an Arabic treatise on the Astrolabe. (See *Dozy and Engelmann*, p. 140.)

§ This is an error of Ricci's, as Mr. Wylie observes, or of his reporter.

The Chinese divide their year into 24 portions of 15 days each. Of these 24 divisions twelve called *Kung* mark the twelve places in which the sun and moon come into conjunction, and are thus in some degree analogous to our 12 signs of the Zodiac. The names of these *Kung* are entirely different from those of our signs, though since the 17th century the Western Zodiac, with paraphrased names, has been introduced in some of their books. But besides that, they divide the heavens into 28 stellar spaces. The correspondence of this division to the Hindu system of the 28 Lunar Mansions, called *Nakshatras*, has given rise to much discussion. The Chinese *sieu* or stellar spaces are excessively unequal, varying from 24° in equatorial extent down to 24'. (*Williams, op. cit.*) [See *P. Hoang, supra* p. 449.]

|| Mr. Wylie is inclined to distrust the accuracy of this remark, as the only city nearly on the 36th parallel is P'ing-yang fu.

4551



Observatory Terrace.

[To face p. 452.]

"Some years afterwards Father Matteo saw similar instruments at Peking, or rather the same instruments, so exactly alike were they, insomuch that they had unquestionably been made by the same artist. And indeed it is known that they were cast at the period when the Tartars were dominant in China; and we may without rashness conjecture that they were the work of some foreigner acquainted with our studies. But it is time to have done with these instruments." (*Lib. IV. cap. 5.*)

In this interesting description it will be seen that the Armillary Sphere [B] agrees entirely with that represented in illustration facing p. 450. And the second of his photographs in my possession, but not, I believe, yet published, answers perfectly to the curious description of the 4th instrument [D]. Indeed, I should scarcely have been able to translate that description intelligibly but for the aid of the photograph before me. It shows the three *astrolabes* or graduated circles with travelling indexes arranged exactly as described, and pivoted on a complex frame of bronze; (1) circle in the plane of the equator for measuring right ascensions; (2) circle with its axis vertical to the plane of the last, for measuring declinations; (3) circle with vertical axis, for zenith distances? The Gnomon [A] was seen by Mr. Wylie in one of the lower rooms of the Observatory (see below). Of the Globe we do not now hear; and that mentioned by Lecomte among the ancient instruments was inferior to what Ricci describes at Peking.

I now transcribe Mr. Wylie's translation of an extract from a Popular Description of Peking:

"The observatory is on an elevated stage on the city wall, in the south-east corner of the (Tartar) city, and was built in the year (A.D. 1279). In the centre was the *Tze-wei** Palace, inside of which were a pair of scrolls, and a cross inscription, by the imperial hand. Formerly it contained the *Hwan-t'ien-e* [B] 'Armillary Sphere'; the *Keen-e* [D?] 'Transit Instrument' (?); the *Tung-kew* [A] 'Brass Globe'; and the *Leang-t'ien-ch'ih*, 'Sector,' which were constructed by Ko Show-king under the Yuen Dynasty.

"In (1673) the old instruments having stood the wear of long past years, had become almost useless, and six new instruments were made by imperial authority. These were the *T'ien-l'ee* 'Celestial Globe' (6); *Chih-taoue* 'Equinoctial Sphere' (2); *Hwang-taoue* 'Zodiacal Sphere' (1); *Te-p'ing kinge* 'Azimuthal Horizon' (3); *Te-p'ing weie* 'Altitude Instrument' (4); *Ke-yene* 'Sextant' (5). These were placed in the Observatory, and to the present day are respectfully used. The old instruments were at the same time removed, and deposited at the foot of the stage. In (1715) the *Te-ping King-wei-e* 'Azimuth and Altitude Instrument' was made; † and in 1744 the *Ke-hang-foo-chin-e* (literally 'Sphere and Tube instrument for sweeping the heavens'). All these were placed on the Observatory stage.

"There is a wind-index-pole called the 'Fair-wind-pennon,' on which is an iron disk marked out in 28 points, corresponding in number to the 28 constellations." ‡

‡- Mr. Wylie justly observes that the evidence is all in accord, and it leaves, I think, no reasonable room for doubt that the instruments now in the Observatory

But we have noted in regard to this (Polo's *Pianfu*, vol. ii. p. 17) that a college for the education of Mongol youth was instituted here, by the great minister Yeliu Chutsai, whose devotion to astronomy Mr. Wylie has noticed above. In fact, two colleges were established by him, one at Yenking, *i.e.* Peking, the other at P'ing-yang; and astronomy is specified as one of the studies to be pursued at these. (See *D'Ohsson*, II. 71-72, quoting *De Mailla*.) It seems highly probable that the two sets of instruments were originally intended for these two institutions, and that one set was carried to Nanking, when the Ming set their capital there in 1368.

* The 28 *sieu* or stellar spaces, above spoken of, do not extend to the Pole; they are indeed very unequal in extent on the meridian as well as on the equator. And the area in the northern sky not embraced in them is divided into three large spaces called *Yuen* or enclosures, of which the field of circumpolar stars (or circle of perpetual apparition) forms one which is called *Tze-Wei*. (*Williams*.)

The southern circumpolar stars form a fourth space, beyond the 28 *sieu*.—*Ibid.*

† This was obviously made in France. There is nothing Chinese about it, either in construction or ornament. It is very different from all the others." (*Note by Mr. Wylie*.)

‡ "There follows a minute description of the brass clepsidra, and the brass gnomon, which it is unnecessary to translate. I have seen both these instruments, in two of the lower rooms."—*Id.*

garden at Peking are those which were cast aside by Father Verbiest* in 1673 (or 1668); which Father Ricci saw at Peking at the beginning of the century, and of which he has described the duplicates at Nanking; and which had come down from the time of the Mongols, or, more precisely, of Kúblái Khan.

Ricci speaks of their age as nearly 250 years in 1599; Verbiest as nearly 300 years in 1668. But these estimates evidently point to the *termination* of the Mongol Dynasty (1368), to which the Chinese would naturally refer their oral chronology. We have seen that Kúblái's reign was the era of flourishing astronomy, and that the instruments are referred to his astronomer Ko Shéu-king; nor does there seem any ground for questioning this. In fact, it being once established that the instruments existed when the Jesuits entered China, all the objections fall to the ground.

We may observe that the *number* of the ancient instruments mentioned in the popular Chinese account agrees with the number of important instruments described by Ricci, and the titles of three at least out of the four seem to indicate the same instruments. The catalogue of the new instruments of 1673 (or 1668) given in the native work also agrees *exactly* with that given by Lecomte.† And in reference to my question as to the *possibility* that one of Verbiest's instruments might have been removed from the terrace to the garden, it is now hardly worth while to repeat Mr. Wylie's assurance that there is no ground whatever for such a supposition. The instruments represented by Lecomte are all still on the terrace, only their positions have been somewhat altered to make room for the two added in last century.

Probably, says Mr. Wylie, more might have been added from Chinese works, especially the biography of Ko Shéu-king. But my kind correspondent was unable to travel beyond the books on his own shelves. Nor was it needful.

It will have been seen that, beautiful as the art and casting of these instruments is, it would be a mistake to suppose that they are entitled to equally high rank in scientific accuracy. Mr. Wylie mentioned the question that had been started to Freiherr von Gumpach, who was for some years Professor of Astronomy in the Peking College. Whilst entirely rejecting the doubts that had been raised as to the age of the Mongol instruments, he said that he had seen those of Tycho Brahe, and the former are quite unworthy to be compared with Tycho's in scientific accuracy.

The doubts expressed have been useful in drawing attention to these remarkable reliques of the era of Kúblái's reign, and of Marco Polo's residence in Cathay, though I fear they are answerable for having added some pages to a work that required no enlargement!

[Mr. Wylie sent a most valuable paper on *The Mongol Astronomical Instruments at Peking* to the Congress of Orientalists held at St. Petersburg, which was reprinted at Shanghai in 1897 in *Chinese Researches*. Some of the astronomical instruments have been removed to Potsdam by the Germans since the siege of the foreign Legations at Peking in 1900.—H. C.]

On these auguries, and on diviners and fortune-tellers, see *Semedo*, p. 118 *seqq.*; *Kidd*, p. 313 (also for preceding references, *Mid. Kingdom*, II. 152; *Gaubil*, 136).

NOTE 2.—!—The real cycle of the Mongols, which was also that of the Chinese, runs: 1. Rat; 2. Ox; 3. Tiger; 4. Hare; 5. Dragon; 6. Serpent; 7. Horse; 8. Sheep; 9. Ape; 10. Cock; 11. Dog; 12. Swine. But as such a cycle [12 earthly branches, *Ti-chih*] is too short to avoid confusion, it is combined with a co-efficient cycle of *ten* epithets [celestial Stems, *T'ien-kan*] in such wise as to produce a 60-year cycle of compound names before the same shall recur. These co-efficient epithets are found in four different forms: (1) From the Elements: Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, Water, attaching to each a masculine and feminine attribute so as to make ten epithets. (2) From the Colours: Blue, Red, Yellow, White, Black, similarly treated. (3) By

* [Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J., was born at Pitthens, near Courtrai; he arrived in China in 1659 and died at Peking on the 29th January, 1688.—H. C.]

† We have attached letters A, B, C, to indicate the correspondences of the ancient instruments, and cyphers 1, 2, 3, to indicate the correspondences of the modern instruments.

054



Observatory Instruments of the Jesuits.

terms without meaning in Mongol, directly adopted or imitated from the Chinese, *Ga*, *Yi*, *Bing*, *Ting*, etc. (4) By the five Cardinal Points: East, South, Middle, West, North. Thus 1864 was the first year of a 60-year cycle:—

1864 = (Masc.) <i>Wood-Rat</i> Year	= (Masc.) <i>Blue-Rat</i> Year.
1865 = (Fem.) <i>Wood-Ox</i> Year	= (Fem.) <i>Blue-Ox</i> Year.
1866 = (Masc.) <i>Fire-Tiger</i> Year	= (Masc.) <i>Red-Tiger</i> Year.
1867 = (Fem.) <i>Fire-Hare</i> Year	= (Fem.) <i>Red-Hare</i> Year.
1923 = (Fem.) <i>Water-Swine</i> Year	= (Fem.) <i>Black-Swine</i> Year.

And then a new cycle commences just as before.

This Calendar was carried by the Mongols into all their dominions, and it would appear to have long survived them in Persia. Thus a document issued in favour of Sir John Chardin by the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of Ispahan, bears the strange date for a Mahomedan luminary of "The year of the Swine." The Hindus also had a 60-year cycle, but with them each year had an independent name.

The Mongols borrowed their system from the Chinese, who attribute its invention to the Emperor Hwang-ti, and its initiation to the 61st year of his reign, corresponding to B.C. 2637. ["It was Ta-nao, Minister to the Emperor Hwang-ti, who, by command of his Sovereign, devised the sexagenary cycle. Hwang-ti began to reign 2697 B.C., and the 61st year of his reign was taken for the first cyclical sign." *P. Hoang, Chinese Calendar*, p. 11.—H. C.] The characters representing what we have called the ten coefficient epithets are called by the Chinese the "Heavenly Stems"; those equivalent to the twelve animal symbols are the "Earthly Branches," and they are applied in their combinations not to years only, but to cycles of months, days, and hours, such hours being equal to two of ours. Thus every year, month, day, and hour will have two appropriate characters, and the four pairs belonging to the time of any man's birth constitute what the Chinese call the "Eight Characters" of his age, to which constant reference is made in some of their systems of fortune-telling, and in the selection of propitious days for the transaction of business. To this system the text alludes. A curious account of the principles of prognostication on such a basis will be found in *Doolittle's Social Life of the Chinese* (p. 579 *seqq.*; on the Calendar, see Schmidt's Preface to *S. Setzen*; *Pallas, Sammlungen*, II. 228 *seqq.*; *Prinsep's Essays, Useful Tables*, 146.)

["Kubilai Khan established in Peking two astronomical boards and two observatories. One of them was a Chinese Observatory (*sze l'ien l'ai*), the other a Mohammedan Observatory (*hui hui sze l'ien l'ai*), each with its particular astronomical and chronological systems, its particular astrology and instruments. The first astronomical and calendar system was compiled for the Mongols by Ye-liu Ch'u-t's'ai, who was in Chingis Khan's service, not only as a high counsellor, but also as an astronomer and astrologer. After having been convinced of the obsolescence and incorrectness of the astronomical calculations in the *Ta ming li* (the name of the calendar system of the Kin Dynasty), he thought out at the time he was at Samarand a new system, valid not only for China, but also for the countries conquered by the Mongols in Western Asia, and named it in memory of Chingis Khan's expedition *Si ching keng wu yüan li*, i.e. 'Astronomical Calendar beginning with the year *Keng wu*, compiled during the war in the west.' *Keng wu* was the year 1210 of our era. Ye-liu Ch'u-t's'ai chose this year, and the moment of the winter solstice, for the beginning of his period; because, according to his calculations, it coincided with the beginning of a new astronomical or planetary period. He took also into consideration, that since the year 1211 Chingis Khan's glory had spread over the whole world. Ye-liu Ch'u-t's'ai's calendar was not adopted in China, but the system of it is explained in the *Yuen-shi*, in the section on Astronomy and the Calendar.

"In the year 1267, the Mohammedans presented to Kubilai their astronomical calendar (*wan nien li*, i.e.), the calendar of ten thousand years. By taking this denomination in its literal sense, we may conclude that the Mahomedans brought

to China the ancient Persian system, founded on the period of 10,000 years. The compilers of the *Yuen-shi* seem not to have had access to documents relating to this system, for they give no details about it. Finally by order of Kubilai the astronomers *Hui-Heng* and *Ko Show-King* composed a new calculation under the name of *Shou-shi-li*, which came into use from the year 1280. It is thoroughly explained in the *Yuen-shi*. Notwithstanding the fame this system generally enjoyed, its blemishes came soon to light. In the sixth month of 1302 an eclipse of the sun happened, and the calculation of the astronomer proved to be erroneous (it seems the calculation had anticipated the real time). The astronomers of the Ming Dynasty explained the errors in the *Shou-shi-li* by the circumstance, that in that calculation the period for one degree of precession of the equinox was taken too long (eighty-one years). But they were themselves hardly able to overcome these difficulties." (*Palladius*, pp. 51-53.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

[CONCERNING THE RELIGION OF THE CATHAYANS ;¹ THEIR VIEWS
AS TO THE SOUL ; AND THEIR CUSTOMS.

As we have said before, these people are Idolaters, and as regards their gods, each has a tablet fixed high up on the wall of his chamber, on which is inscribed a name which represents the Most High and Heavenly God ; and before this they pay daily worship, offering incense from a thurible, raising their hands aloft, and gnashing their teeth² three times, praying Him to grant them health of mind and body ; but of Him they ask nought else. And below on the ground there is a figure which they call *Natigai*, which is the god of things terrestrial. To him they give a wife and children, and they worship him in the same manner, with incense, and gnashing of teeth,² and lifting up of hands ; and of him they ask seasonable weather, and the fruits of the earth, children, and so forth.³

Their view of the immortality of the soul is after this fashion. They believe that as soon as a man dies, his soul enters into another body, going from a good to a

better, or from a bad to a worse, according as he hath conducted himself well or ill. That is to say, a poor man, if he have passed through life good and sober, shall be born again of a gentlewoman, and shall be a gentleman; and on a second occasion shall be born of a princess and shall be a prince, and so on, always rising, till he be absorbed into the Deity. But if he have borne himself ill, he who was the son of a gentleman shall be reborn as the son of a boor, and from a boor shall become a dog, always going down lower and lower.

The people have an ornate style of speech; they salute each other with a cheerful countenance, and with great politeness; they behave like gentlemen, and eat with great propriety.⁴ They show great respect to their parents; and should there be any son who offends his parents, or fails to minister to their necessities, there is a public office which has no other charge but that of punishing unnatural children, who are proved to have acted with ingratitude towards their parents.⁵

Criminals of sundry kinds who have been imprisoned, are released at a time fixed by the Great Kaan (which occurs every three years), but on leaving prison they are branded on one cheek that they may be recognized.

The Great Kaan hath prohibited all gambling and sharpening, things more prevalent there than in any other part of the world. In doing this, he said: "I have conquered you by force of arms, and all that you have is mine; if, therefore, you gamble away your property, it is in fact my property that you are gambling away." Not that he took anything from them however.

I must not omit to tell you of the orderly way in which the Kaan's Barons and others conduct themselves in coming to his presence. In the first place, within a half mile of the place where he is, out of reverence for his exalted majesty, everybody preserves a mien of the

greatest meekness and quiet, so that no noise of shrill voices or loud talk shall be heard. And every one of the chiefs and nobles carries always with him a handsome little vessel to spit in whilst he remain in the Hall of Audience—for no one dares spit on the floor of the hall,—and when he hath spitten he covers it up and puts it aside.⁶ So also they all have certain handsome buskins of white leather, which they carry with them, and, when summoned by the sovereign, on arriving at the entrance to the hall, they put on these white buskins, and give their others in charge to the servants, in order that they may not foul the fine carpets of silk and gold and divers colours.]

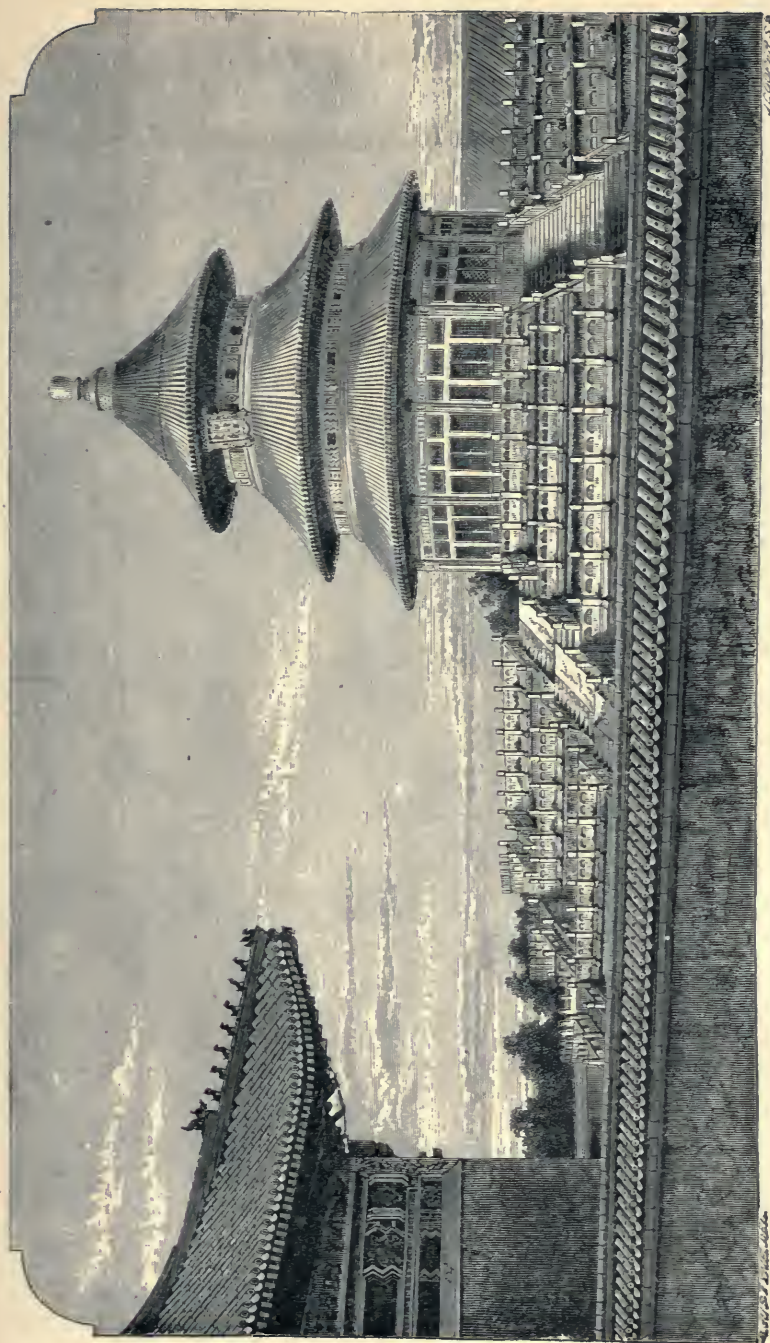
NOTE 1.—Ramusio's heading has *Tartars*, but it is manifestly of the Cathayans or Chinese that the author speaks throughout this chapter.

NOTE 2.—“*Sbattendo i denti.*” This is almost certainly, as Marsden has noticed, due to some error of transcription. Probably *Battono i fronti*, or something similar, was the true reading. [See following note, p. 461.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The latter part of this passage has, I doubt not, been more or less interpolated, seeing that it introduces again as a *Chinese* divinity the rude object of primitive Tartar worship, of which we have already heard in Bk. I. ch. liii. And regarding the former part of the passage, one cannot but have some doubt whether what was taken for the symbol of the Most High was not the ancestral tablet, which is usually placed in one of the inner rooms of the house, and before which worship is performed at fixed times, and according to certain established forms. Something, too, may have been known of the Emperor's worship of Heaven at the great circular temple at Peking, called *T'ien-t'an*, or Altar of Heaven (see p. 459), where incensed offerings are made before a tablet, on which is inscribed the name Yuh-Hwang Shang-ti, which some interpret as “The Supreme Ruler of the Imperial Heavens,” and regard as the nearest approach to pure Theism of which there is any indication in Chinese worship (See *Doolittle*, pp. 170, 625; and *Lockhart* in *J. R. G. S.*, xxxvi. 142). This worship is mentioned by the Mahomedan narrator of Shah Rukh's embassy (1421): “Every year there are some days on which the Emperor eats no animal food. . . . He spends his time in an apartment which contains no idol, and says that he is worshipping the God of Heaven.”* (*Ind. Antiquary*, II. 81.)

The charge of irreligion against the Chinese is an old one, and is made by Hayton in nearly the same terms as it often is by modern missionaries: “And though these people have the acutest intelligence in all matters wherein material things are con-

* “In the worship carried on here the Emperor acts as a high priest. HE only worships; and no subject, however high in rank, can join in the adoration.” (*Lockhart*.) The actual temple dates from 1420-1430; but the *Institution* is very ancient, and I think there is evidence that such a structure existed under the Mongols, probably only *restored* by the Ming. [It was built during the 18th year of the reign of the third Ming Emperor Yung Loh (1403-1425); it was entirely restored during the 18th year of K'ien Lung; it was struck by lightning and burnt down in 1839; it is being re-built.—H. C.]



Great Temple of Heaven, Peking.

cerned, yet you shall never find among them any knowledge or perception of spiritual things." Yet it is a mistake to suppose that this insensibility has been so universal as it is often represented. To say nothing of the considerable numbers who have adhered faithfully to the Roman Catholic Church, the large number of Mahomedans in China, of whom many must have been proselytes, indicates an interest in religion; and that Buddhism itself was in China once a spiritual power of no small energy will, I think, be plain to any one who reads the very interesting extracts in Schott's essay on Buddhism in Upper Asia and China. (*Berlin Acad. of Sciences*, 1846.) These seem to be so little known that I will translate two or three of them. "In the years *Yuan-yeu* of the Sung (A.D. 1086-1093), a pious matron with her two servants lived entirely to the Land of Enlightenment. One of the maids said one day to her companion: 'To-night I shall pass over to the Realm of Amita.' The same night a balsamic odour filled the house, and the maid died without any preceding illness. On the following day the surviving maid said to the lady: 'Yesterday my deceased companion appeared to me in a dream, and said to me: "Thanks to the persevering exhortations of our mistress, I am become a partaker of Paradise, and my blessedness is past all expression in words."' The matron replied: 'If she will appear to me also then I will believe what you say.' Next night the deceased really appeared to her, and saluted her with respect. The lady asked: 'May I, for once, visit the Land of Enlightenment?' 'Yea,' answered the Blessed Soul, 'thou hast but to follow thy handmaiden.' The lady followed her (in her dream), and soon perceived a lake of immeasurable expanse, overspread with innumerable red and white lotus flowers, of various sizes, some blooming, some fading. She asked what those flowers might signify? The maiden replied: 'These are all human beings on the earth whose thoughts are turned to the Land of Enlightenment. The very first longing after the Paradise of Amita produces a flower in the Celestial Lake, and this becomes daily larger and more glorious, as the self-improvement of the person whom it represents advances; in the contrary case, it loses in glory and fades away.* The matron desired to know the name of an enlightened one who reposed on one of the flowers, clad in a waving and wondrously glistening raiment. Her whilom maiden answered: 'That is Yangkie.' Then asked she the name of another, and was answered: 'That is Mahu.' The lady then said: 'At what place shall I hereafter come into existence?' Then the Blessed Soul led her a space further, and showed her a hill that gleamed with gold and azure. 'Here,' said she, 'is your future abode. You will belong to the first order of the blessed.' When the matron awoke she sent to enquire for Yangkie and Mahu. The first was already departed; the other still alive and well. And thus the lady learned that the soul of one who advances in holiness and never turns back, may be already a dweller in the Land of Enlightenment, even though the body still sojourn in this transitory world" (pp. 55-56).

What a singular counterpart the striking conclusion here forms to Dante's tremendous assault on a still living villain,—or enemy!

———"che per sua opra
In anima in Cocito già si bagna,
Ed in corpo par vivo ancor di sopra."

—*Infern.* xxxiii. 155.

Again: "I knew a man who during his life had killed many living beings, and was at last struck with an apoplexy. The sorrows in store for his sin-laden soul pained me to the heart; I visited him, and exhorted him to call on the Amita; but he obstinately refused, and spoke only of indifferent matters. His illness clouded his understanding; in consequence of his misdeeds he had become hardened. What was

* In 1871 I saw in Bond Street an exhibition of (so-called) "spirit" drawings, *i.e.* drawings alleged to be executed by a "medium" under extraneous and invisible guidance. A number of these extraordinary productions (for extraordinary they were undoubtedly) professed to represent the "Spiritual Flowers" of such and such persons; and the explanation of this as presented in the catalogue was in substance exactly that given in the text. It is highly improbable that the artist had any cognizance of Schott's Essay, and the coincidence was assuredly very striking.

before such a man when once his eyes were closed? Wherefore let men be converted while there is yet time! In this life the night followeth the day, and the winter followeth the summer; that, all men are aware of. But that life is followed by death, no man will consider. Oh, what blindness and obduracy is this!" (p. 93).

Again: "Hoang-ta-tie, of T'ancheu (Changshu-fu in Honan), who lived under the Sung, followed the craft of a blacksmith. Whenever he was at his work he used to call without intermission on the name of Amita Buddha. One day he handed to his neighbours the following verses of his own composing to be spread about:—

'Ding dong! The hammer-strokes fall long and fast,
Until the Iron turns to steel at last!
Now shall the long long Day of Rest begin,
The Land of Bliss Eternal calls me in.'

Thereupon he died. But his verses spread all over Honan, and many learned to call upon Buddha" (103).

Once more: "In my own town there lived a physician by name Chang-yan-ming. He was a man who never took payment for his treatment from any one in poor or indifferent circumstances; nay, he would often make presents to such persons of money or corn to lighten their lot. If a rich man would have his advice and paid him a fee, he never looked to see whether it were much or little. If a patient lay so dangerously ill that Yanming despaired of his recovery, he would still give him good medicine to comfort his heart, but never took payment for it. I knew this man for many a year, and I never heard the word *Money* pass his lips! One day a fire broke out in the town, and laid the whole of the houses in ashes; only that of the physician was spared. His sons and grandsons reached high dignities" (p. 110).

Of such as this physician the apostle said: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: But in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him."

[By the 'Most High and Heavenly God,' worshipped by the Chinese, as Marco Polo reports, evidently the Chinese *T'ien*, 'Heaven' is meant, *Lao t'ien ye* in the common language. Regarding 'the God of things terrestrial,' whose figure the Chinese, according to M. Polo, 'placed below on the ground,' there can also be no doubt that he understands the *T'u-ti*, the local 'Lar' of the Chinese, to which they present sacrifices on the floor, near the wall under the table.

"M. Polo reports, that the Chinese worship their God offering incense, raising their hands aloft, and gnashing their teeth. Of course he means that they placed the hands together, or held kindled joss-stick bundles in their hands, according to the Chinese custom. The statement of M. Polo *sbattendo i denti* is very remarkable. It seems to me, that very few of the Chinese are aware of the fact, that this custom still exists among the Taoists. In the rituals of the Taoists the *K'ow-ch'i* (*K'ow* = 'to knock against,' *ch'i* = 'teeth') is prescribed as a comminatory and propitiatory act. It is effected by the four upper and lower fore-teeth. The Taoists are obliged before the service begins to perform a certain number of *K'ow-chi*, turning their heads alternately to the left and to the right, in order to drive away mundane thoughts and aggressions of bad spirits. The *K'ow-ch'i* repeated three times is called *ming fa ku* in Chinese, *i.e.* 'to beat the spiritual drum.' The ritual says, that it is heard by the Most High Ruler, who is moved by it to grace.

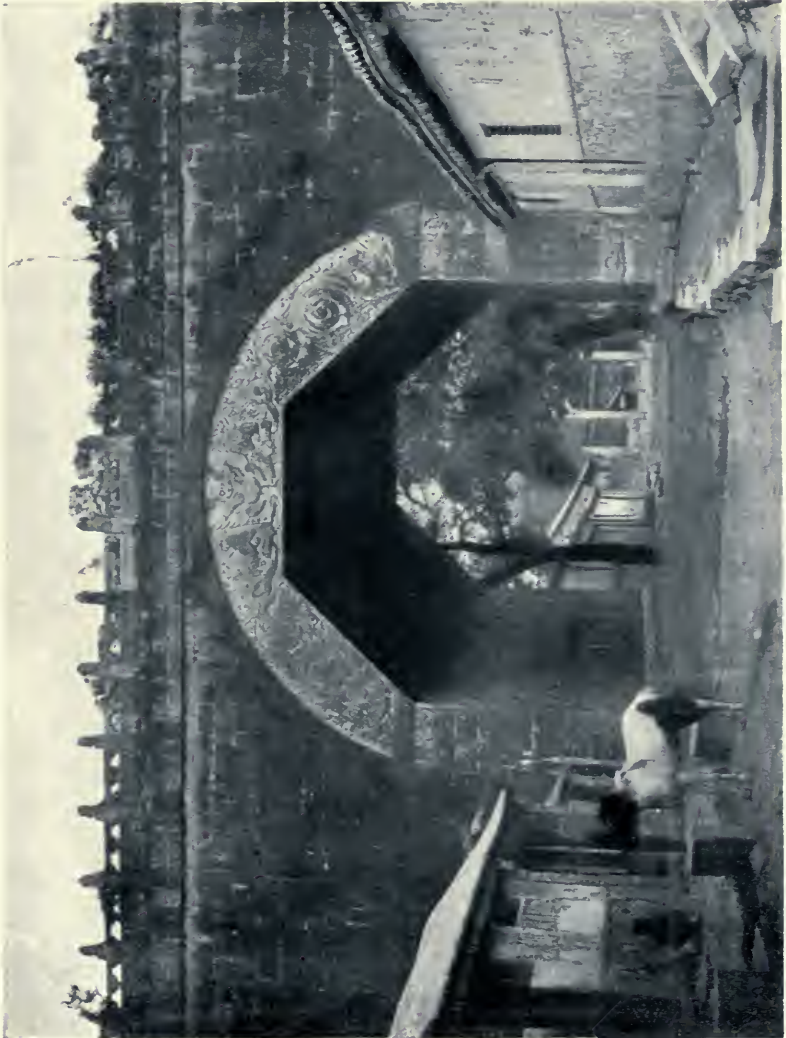
"M. Polo observed this custom among the lay heathen. Indeed, it appears from a small treatise, written in China more than a hundred years before M. Polo, that at the time the Chinese author wrote, all devout men, entering a temple, used to perform the *K'ow-ch'i*, and considered it an expression of veneration and devotion to the idols. Thus this custom had been preserved to the time of M. Polo, who did not fail to mention this strange peculiarity in the exterior observances of the Chinese. As regards the present time it seems to me, that this custom is not known among the people, and even with respect to the Taoists it is only performed on certain occasions, and not in all Taoist temples." (*Palladius*, pp. 53-54.)—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—“True politeness cannot of course be taught by rules merely, but a great degree of urbanity and kindness is everywhere shown, whether owing to the naturally placable disposition of the people, or to the effects of their early instruction in the forms of politeness.” (*Mid. Kingdom*, II. 68.) As regards the “ornate style of speech,” a well-bred Chihaman never says *I* or *You*, but for the former “the little person,” “the disciple,” “the inferior,” and so on; and for the latter, “the learned man,” “the master,” or even “the emperor.” These phrases, however, are not confined to China, most of them having exact parallels in Hindustani courtesy. On this subject and the courteous disposition of the Chinese, see *Fontaney*, in *Lett. Edif.* VII. 287 *seqq.*; also XI. 287 *seqq.*; *Semedo*, 36; *Lecomte*, II. 48 *seqq.* There are, however, strong differences of opinion expressed on this subject; there is, apparently, much more genuine courtesy in the north than in the south.

NOTE 5.—“Filial piety is the fundamental principle of the Chinese polity.” (*Amiot*, V. 129.) “In cases of extreme unfilial conduct, parents sometimes accuse their children before the magistrate, and demand his official aid in controlling or punishing them; but such instances are comparatively rare. . . . If the parent require his son to be publicly whipped by the command of the magistrate, the latter is obliged to order the infliction of the whipping. . . . If after punishment the son remain undutiful and disobedient, and his parents demand it at the hands of the magistrate, the latter must, with the consent of the maternal uncles of the son, cause him to be taken out to the high wall in front of the yamun, and have him there publicly whipped to death.” (*Doolittle*, 102-103.)

NOTE 6.—[Mr. Rockhill writes to me that pocket-spitoons are still used in China.—H. C.]

END OF VOL I.



Archway erected under the Mongol Dynasty, at Kiu-Yung Kwan, N. W. of Peking.*

* On the walls of this archway is engraved the inscription in six characters, of which a representation accompanies ch. xv. of Prologue, note 1.

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166

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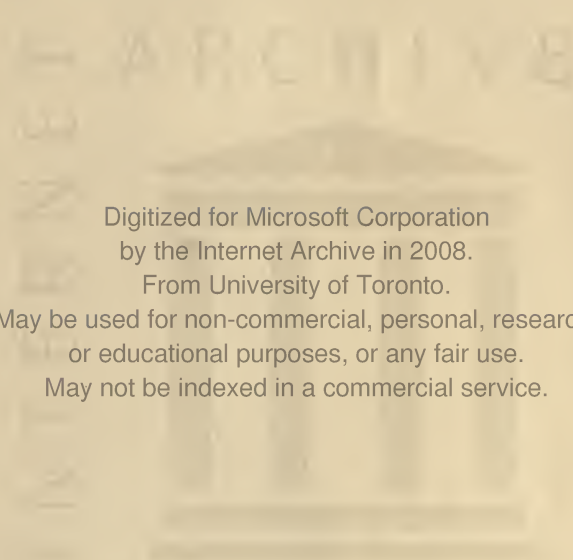
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THE BOOK OF
SER MARCO POLO
THE VENETIAN CONCERNING THE
KINGDOMS AND MARVELS OF
THE EAST

TRANSLATED AND EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY
COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I.,
CORR. INST. FRANCE

THIRD EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT IN THE LIGHT OF
RECENT DISCOVERIES BY HENRI CORDIER (OF PARIS)

PROFESSOR OF CHINESE HISTORY AT THE ÉCOLE DES LANGUES ORIENTALES VIVANTES; VICE-PRESIDENT
OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PARIS; MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE; HON.
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY AND OF THE REGIA DEPUTAZIONE VENETA DI STORIA PATRIA

WITH A MEMOIR OF HENRY YULE BY HIS DAUGHTER
AMY FRANCES YULE, L.A.SOC. ANT. SCOT., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. II.
WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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1903





MARCO POLO in the Prison of Genoa.

[To follow Title, vol. ii.]

三

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

	PAGE
SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS	iii
EXPLANATORY LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xvi
THE BOOK OF MARCO POLO.	
APPENDICES	503
INDEX	607

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

BOOK SECOND—(Continued).

—◆—

PART II.

Journey to the West and South-West of Cathay.

CHAP.	PAGE
XXXV.—HERE BEGINS THE DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERIOR OF CATHAY ; AND FIRST OF THE RIVER PULISANGHIN	3
NOTES.—1. <i>Marco's Route.</i> 2. <i>The Bridge Pul-i-sangin, or Lu-ku-é'iao.</i>	
XXXVI.—ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF JUJU	10
NOTES.—1. <i>The Silks called Sendals.</i> 2. <i>Chochau.</i> 3. <i>Bifurcation of Two Great Roads at this point.</i>	
XXXVII.—THE KINGDOM OF TAIANFU	12
NOTES.—1. <i>Acbaluc.</i> 2. <i>T'ai-yuan fu.</i> 3. <i>Grape-wine of that place.</i> 4. <i>P'ing-yang fu.</i>	
XXXVIII.—CONCERNING THE CASTLE OF CAICHU. THE GOLDEN KING AND PRESTER JOHN	17
NOTES.—1. <i>The Story and Portrait of the Roi d'Or.</i> 2. <i>Effeminacy reviving in every Chinese Dynasty.</i>	
XXXIX.—HOW PRESTER JOHN TREATED THE GOLDEN KING HIS PRISONER	21
XL.—CONCERNING THE GREAT RIVER CARAMORAN AND THE CITY OF CACHANFU	22
NOTES.—1. <i>The Kard Muren.</i> 2. <i>Former growth of silk in Shan-si and Shen-si.</i> 3. <i>The akché or asper.</i>	
XLI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF KENJANFU	24
NOTES.—1. <i>Morus alba.</i> 2. <i>Geography of the Route since Chapter XXXVIII.</i> 3. <i>Kenjanfu or Si-ngan fu; the Christian monument there.</i> 4. <i>Prince Mangala.</i>	
XLII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CUNCUN, WHICH IS RIGHT WEARISOME TO TRAVEL THROUGH	31
NOTE.— <i>The Mountain Road to Southern Shen-si.</i>	
VOL. II.	a 2

CHAP.	PAGE
XLIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ACBALEC MANZI	33
NOTES.—1. <i>Geography, and doubts about Acbalec.</i> 2. <i>Further Journey into Sze-ch'wan.</i>	
XLIV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF SINDAFU	36
NOTES.—1. <i>Ch'êng-tu fu.</i> 2. <i>The Great River or Kiang.</i> 3. <i>The word Comereque.</i> 4. <i>The Bridge-Tolls.</i> 5. <i>Correction of Text.</i>	
XLV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TEBET	42
NOTES.—1. <i>The Part of Tibet and events referred to.</i> 2. <i>Noise of burning bamboos.</i> 3. <i>Road retains its desolate character.</i> 4. <i>Persistence of eccentric manners illustrated.</i> 5. <i>Name of the Musk animal.</i>	
XLVI.—FURTHER DISCOURSE CONCERNING TEBET	49
NOTES.—1. <i>Explanatory.</i> 2. <i>“Or de Paliolle.”</i> 3. <i>Cinnamon.</i> 4. 5. <i>Great Dogs, and Beyamini oxen.</i>	
XLVII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CAINDU	53
NOTES.—1. <i>Explanation from Ramusio.</i> 2. <i>Pearls of Inland Waters.</i> 3. <i>Lax manners.</i> 4. <i>Exchange of Salt for Gold.</i> 5. <i>Salt currency.</i> 6. <i>Spiced Wine.</i> 7. <i>Plant like the Clove, spoken of by Polo.</i> 8. <i>Tribes of this Tract.</i>	
XLVIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN	64
NOTES.—1. <i>Geography of the Route between Sindafu or Ch'êng-tu fu, and Carajan or Yun-nan.</i> 2. <i>Christians and Mahomedans in Yun-nan.</i> 3. <i>Wheat.</i> 4. <i>Cowries.</i> 5. <i>Brine-spring.</i> 6. <i>Parallel.</i>	
XLIX.—CONCERNING A FURTHER PART OF THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN	76
NOTES.—1. <i>City of Talifu.</i> 2. <i>Gold.</i> 3. <i>Crocodiles.</i> 4. <i>Yun-nan horses and riders.</i> 5. <i>Arms of the Aboriginal Tribes.</i> 6. <i>Strange superstition and parallels.</i>	
L.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ZARDANDAN	84
NOTES.—1. <i>Carajan and Zardandan.</i> 2. <i>The Gold-Teeth.</i> 3. <i>Male Indolence.</i> 4. <i>The Cowade.</i> (See App. L. 8.) 5. <i>Abundance of Gold. Relation of Gold to Silver.</i> 6. <i>Worship of the Ancestor.</i> 7. <i>Unhealthiness of the climate.</i> 8. <i>Tallies.</i> 9-12. <i>Medicine-men or Devil-dancers; extraordinary identity of practice in various regions.</i>	
LI.—WHEREIN IS RELATED HOW THE KING OF MIEN AND BANGALA VOWED VENGEANCE AGAINST THE GREAT KAAAN	98
NOTES.—1. <i>Chronology.</i> 2. <i>Mien or Burma. Why the King may have been called King of Bengal also.</i> 3. <i>Numbers alleged to have been carried on elephants.</i>	
LII.—OF THE BATTLE THAT WAS FOUGHT BY THE GREAT KAAAN'S HOST AND HIS SENESCHAL AGAINST THE KING OF MIEN	101
NOTES.—1. <i>Nasruddin.</i> 2. <i>Cyrus's Camels.</i> 3. <i>Chinese Account of the Action. General Correspondence of the Chinese and Burmese Chronologies.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
LIII.—OF THE GREAT DESCENT THAT LEADS TOWARDS THE KINGDOM OF MIEN	106
NOTES.—1. <i>Market-days.</i> 2. <i>Geographical difficulties.</i>	
LIV.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF MIEN, AND THE TWO TOWERS THAT ARE THEREIN, ONE OF GOLD, AND THE OTHER OF SILVER	109
NOTES.—1. <i>Amien.</i> 2. <i>Chinese Account of the Invasion of Burma. Comparison with Burmese Annals. The City intended. The Pagodas.</i> 3. <i>Wild Oxen.</i>	
LV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF BANGALA	114
NOTES.—1. <i>Polo's view of Bengal; and details of his account illustrated.</i> 2. <i>Great Cattle.</i>	
LVI.—DISCOURSES OF THE PROVINCE OF CAUGIGU	116
NOTE.— <i>A Part of Laos. Papesifu. Chinese Geographical Etymologies.</i>	
LVII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ANIN	119
NOTES.—1. <i>The Name. Probable identification of territory.</i> 2. <i>Textual.</i>	
LVIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF COLOMAN	122
NOTES.—1. <i>The Name. The Kolo-man.</i> 2. <i>Natural defences of Kwei-chau.</i>	
LIX.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CUIJU	124
NOTES.—1. <i>Kwei-chau. Phungan-lu.</i> 2. <i>Grass-cloth.</i> 3. <i>Tigers.</i> 4. <i>Great Dogs.</i> 5. <i>Silk.</i> 6. <i>Geographical Review of the Route since Chapter LV.</i> 7. <i>Return to Juju.</i>	

BOOK SECOND.

(Continued.)



PART III.

Journey Southward through Eastern Provinces of Cathay and Manzi.

LX.—CONCERNING THE CITIES OF CACANFUAND CHANGLU	132
NOTES.—1. <i>Pauthier's Identifications.</i> 2. <i>Changlu. The Burning of the Dead ascribed to the Chinese.</i>	
LXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CHINANGLI, AND THAT OF TADINFU, AND THE REBELLION OF LITAN	135
NOTES.—1. <i>T'si-nan fu.</i> 2. <i>Silk of Shan-tung.</i> 3. <i>Title Sangon.</i> 4. <i>Agul and Mangkutai.</i> 5. <i>History of Litan's Revolt.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
LXII.—CONCERNING THE NOBLE CITY OF SINJUMATU	138
NOTE.— <i>The City intended. The Great Canal.</i>	
LXIII.—CONCERNING THE CITIES OF LINJU AND PIJU	140
NOTES.—1. <i>Linju.</i> 2. <i>Piju.</i>	
LXIV.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF SIJU, AND THE GREAT RIVER CARAMORAN	141
NOTES.—1. <i>Siju.</i> 2. <i>The Hwang-Ho and its changes.</i> 3. <i>Entrance to Manzi; that name for Southern China.</i>	
LXV.—HOW THE GREAT KAN CONQUERED THE PROVINCE OF MANZI	144
NOTES.—1. <i>Meaning and application of the title Faghfur.</i> 2. <i>Chinese self-devotion.</i> 3. <i>Bayan the Great Captain.</i> 4. <i>His lines of Operation.</i> 5. <i>The Juggling Prophecy.</i> 6. <i>The Fall of the Sung Dynasty.</i> 7. <i>Exposure of Infants, and Foundling Hospitals.</i>	
LXVI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF COIGANJU	151
NOTE.— <i>Hwai-ngan fu.</i>	
LXVII.—OF THE CITIES OF PAUKIN AND CAYU	152
NOTE.— <i>Pao-yng and Kao-yu.</i>	
LXVIII.—OF THE CITIES OF TIJU, TINJU, AND YANJU	153
NOTES.—1. <i>Cities between the Canal and the Sea.</i> 2. <i>Yang-chau.</i> 3. <i>Marco Polo's Employment at this City.</i>	
LXIX.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF NANGHIN	157
NOTE.— <i>Ngan-king.</i>	
LXX.—CONCERNING THE VERY NOBLE CITY OF SAIANFU, AND HOW ITS CAPTURE WAS EFFECTED	158
NOTES.—1. and 2. <i>Various Readings.</i> 3. <i>Digression on the Military Engines of the Middle Ages.</i> 4. <i>Mangonels of Cœur de Lion.</i> 5. <i>Difficulties connected with Polo's Account of this Siege.</i>	
LXXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF SINJU AND THE GREAT RIVER KIAN	170
NOTES.—1. <i>I-chin hien.</i> 2. <i>The Great Kiang.</i> 3. <i>Vast amount of tonnage on Chinese Waters.</i> 4. <i>Size of River Vessels.</i> 5. <i>Bamboo Tow-lines.</i> 6. <i>Picturesque Island Monasteries.</i>	
LXXII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAIJU	174
NOTES.—1. <i>Kwa-chau.</i> 2. <i>The Grand Canal and Rice-Transport.</i> 3. <i>The Golden Island.</i>	
LXXIII.—OF THE CITY OF CHINGHIANFU	176
NOTE.— <i>Chin-kiang fu. Mar Sarghis, the Christian Governor.</i>	
LXXIV.—OF THE CITY OF CHINGINJU AND THE SLAUGHTER OF CERTAIN ALANS THERE	178
NOTES.—1. <i>Chang-chau.</i> 2. <i>Employment of Alans in the Mongol Service.</i> 3. <i>The Chang-chau Massacre. Mongol Cruelties.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
LXXV.—OF THE NOBLE CITY OF SUJU	181
NOTES.—1. <i>Su-chau</i> . 2. <i>Bridges of that part of China</i> . 3. <i>Rhubarb; its mention here seems erroneous</i> . 4. <i>The Cities of Heaven and Earth. Ancient incised Plan of Su-chau</i> . 5. <i>Hu-chau, Wu-kiang, and Kya-hing</i> .	
LXXVI.—DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT CITY OF KINSAY, WHICH IS THE CAPITAL OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY OF MANZI	185
NOTES.—1. <i>King-sze now Hang-chau</i> . 2. <i>The circuit ascribed to the City; the Bridges</i> . 3. <i>Hereditary Trades</i> . 4. <i>The Si-hu or Western Lake</i> . 5. <i>Dressiness of the People</i> . 6. <i>Charitable Establishments</i> . 7. <i>Paved roads</i> . 8. <i>Hot and Cold Baths</i> . 9. <i>Kanpu, and the Hang-chau Estuary</i> . 10. <i>The Nine Provinces of Manzi</i> . 11. <i>The Kaan's Garrisons in Manzi</i> . 12. <i>Mourning costume</i> . 13. 14. <i>Tickets recording inmates of houses</i> .	
LXXVII.—[FURTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE GREAT CITY OF KINSAY.]	200
(From Ramusio only.)	
NOTES.—1. <i>Remarks on these supplementary details</i> . 2. <i>Tides in the Hang-chau Estuary</i> . 3. <i>Want of a good Survey of Hang-chau. The Squares</i> . 4. <i>Marco ignores pork</i> . 5. <i>Great Pears; Peaches</i> . 6. <i>Textual</i> . 7. <i>Chinese use of Pepper</i> . 8. <i>Chinese claims to a character for Good Faith</i> . 9. <i>Pleasure-parties on the Lake</i> . 10. <i>Chinese Carriages</i> . 11. <i>The Sung Emperor</i> . 12. <i>The Sung Palace. Extracts regarding this Great City from other mediæval writers, European and Asiatic. Martini's Description</i> .	
LXXVIII.—TREATING OF THE YEARLY REVENUE THAT THE GREAT KAAH HATH FROM KINSAY	215
NOTES.—1. <i>Textual</i> . 2. <i>Calculations as to the values spoken of</i> .	
LXXIX.—OF THE CITY OF TANPIJU AND OTHERS	218
NOTES.—1. <i>Route from Hang-chau southward</i> . 2. <i>Bamboos</i> . 3. <i>Identification of places. Chang-shan the key to the route</i> .	
LXXX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF FUJU	224
NOTES.—1. <i>"Fruit like Saffron"</i> . 2. 3. <i>Cannibalism ascribed to Mountain Tribes on this route</i> . 4. <i>Kien-ning fu</i> . 5. <i>Galingale</i> . 6. <i>Fleecy Fowls</i> . 7. <i>Details of the Journey in Fo-kien and various readings</i> . 8. <i>Unken. Introduction of Sugar-refining into China</i> .	
LXXXI.—CONCERNING THE GREATNESS OF THE CITY OF FUJU	231
NOTES.—1. <i>The name Chonka, applied to Fo-kien here. Cayton or Zayton</i> . 2. <i>Objections that have been made to identity of Fuju and Fu-chau</i> . 3. <i>The Min River</i> .	
LXXXII.—OF THE CITY AND GREAT HAVEN OF ZAYTON	234
NOTES.—1. <i>The Camphor Laurel</i> . 2. <i>The Port of Zayton or T'swan-chau; Recent objections to this identity. Probable</i>	

origin of the word Satin. 3. Chinese Consumption of Pepper. 4. Artists in Tatooing. 5. Position of the Porcelain manufacture spoken of. Notions regarding the Great River of China. 6. Fo-kien dialects and variety of spoken language in China. 7. From Ramusio.

BOOK THIRD.

Japan, the Archipelago, Southern India, and the Coasts and Islands of the Indian Sea.

CHAP.	PAGE
I.—OF THE MERCHANT SHIPS OF MANZI THAT SAIL UPON THE INDIAN SEAS	249
NOTES.—1. <i>Pine Timber.</i> 2. <i>Rudder and Masts.</i> 3. <i>Watertight Compartments.</i> 4. <i>Chinese substitute for Pitch.</i> 5. <i>Oars used by Junks.</i> 6. <i>Descriptions of Chinese Junks from other Mediæval Writers.</i>	
II.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF CHIPANGU, AND THE GREAT KAAH'S DESPATCH OF A HOST AGAINST IT.	253
NOTES.—1. <i>Chipangu or Japan.</i> 2. <i>Abundance of Gold.</i> 3. <i>The Golden Palace.</i> 4. <i>Japanese Pearls. Red Pearls.</i>	
II.—WHAT FURTHER CAME OF THE GREAT KAAH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST CHIPANGU	258
NOTES.—1. <i>Kúblái's attempts against Japan. Japanese Narrative of the Expedition here spoken of. (See App. L. 9.)</i> 2. <i>Species of Torture.</i> 3. <i>Devices to procure Invulnerability.</i>	
IV.—CONCERNING THE FASHION OF THE IDOLS	263
NOTES.—1. <i>Many-limbed Idols.</i> 2. <i>The Philippines and Moluccas.</i> 3. <i>The name Chin or China.</i> 4. <i>The Gulf of Cheinan.</i>	
V.—OF THE GREAT COUNTRY CALLED CHAMBA	266
NOTES.—1. <i>Champa, and Kúblái's dealings with it. (See App. L. 10.)</i> 2. <i>Chronology.</i> 3. <i>Eagle-wood and Ebony. Polo's use of Persian words.</i>	
VI.—CONCERNING THE GREAT ISLAND OF JAVA	272
NOTE.— <i>Java; its supposed vast extent. Kúblái's expedition against it and failure.</i>	
VII.—WHEREIN THE ISLES OF SONDUR AND CONDUR ARE SPOKEN OF; AND THE KINGDOM OF LOCAC	276
NOTES.—1. <i>Textual.</i> 2. <i>Pulo Condore.</i> 3. <i>The Kingdom of Locac, Southern Siam.</i>	
VIII.—OF THE ISLAND CALLED PENTAM, AND THE CITY MALAIUR	280
NOTES.—1. <i>Bintang.</i> 2. <i>The Straits of Singapore.</i> 3. <i>Remarks on the Malay Chronology. Malaiur probably Palembang.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
IX.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF JAVA THE LESS. THE KINGDOMS OF FERLEC AND BASMA	284
NOTES.—1. <i>The Island of Sumatra: application of the term Java.</i> 2. <i>Products of Sumatra. The six kingdoms.</i> 3. <i>Ferlec or Parldk. The Battas.</i> 4. <i>Basma, Pacem, or Pasei.</i> 5. <i>The Elephant and the Rhinoceros. The Legend of Monoceros and the Virgin.</i> 6. <i>Black Falcon.</i>	
X.—THE KINGDOMS OF SAMARA AND DAGROIAN	292
NOTES.—1. <i>Samara, Sumatra Proper.</i> 2. <i>The Tramontaine and the Mestre.</i> 3. <i>The Malay Toddy-Palm.</i> 4. <i>Dagroian.</i> 5. <i>Alleged custom of eating dead relatives.</i>	
XI.—OF THE KINGDOMS OF LAMBRI AND FANSUR	299
NOTES.—1. <i>Lambri.</i> 2. <i>Hairy and Tailed Men.</i> 3. <i>Fansur and Camphor Fansuri. Sumatran Camphor.</i> 4. <i>The Sago-Palm.</i> 5. <i>Remarks on Polo's Sumatran Kingdoms.</i>	
XII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF NECUVERAN	306
NOTE.— <i>Gauenispola, and the Nicobar Islands.</i>	
XIII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF ANGAMANAIN	309
NOTE.— <i>The Andaman Islands.</i>	
XIV.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF SEILAN	312
NOTES.—1. <i>Chinese Chart.</i> 2. <i>Exaggeration of Dimensions. The Name.</i> 3. <i>Sovereigns then ruling Ceylon.</i> 4. <i>Brazil Wood and Cinnamon.</i> 5. <i>The Great Ruby.</i>	
XV.—THE SAME CONTINUED. THE HISTORY OF SAGAMONI BORCAN AND THE BEGINNING OF IDOLATRY	316
NOTES.—1. <i>Adam's Peak, and the Foot thereon.</i> 2. <i>The Story of Sakya-Muni Buddha. The History of Saints Barlaam and Josaphat; a Christianised version thereof.</i> 3. <i>High Estimate of Buddha's Character.</i> 4. <i>Curious Parallel Passages.</i> 5. <i>Pilgrimages to the Peak.</i> 6. <i>The Pâtra of Buddha, and the Tooth-Relic.</i> 7. <i>Miraculous endowments of the Pâtra; it is the Holy Grail of Buddhism.</i>	
XVI.—CONCERNING THE GREAT PROVINCE OF MAABAR, WHICH IS CALLED INDIA THE GREATER, AND IS ON THE MAINLAND	331
NOTES.—1. <i>Ma'bar, its definition, and notes on its Mediæval History.</i> 2. <i>The Pearl Fishery.</i>	
XVII.—CONTINUES TO SPEAK OF THE PROVINCE OF MAABAR	338
NOTES.—1. <i>Costume.</i> 2. <i>Hindu Royal Necklace.</i> 3. <i>Hindu use of the Rosary.</i> 4. <i>The Saggio.</i> 5. <i>Companions in Death; the word Amok.</i> 6. <i>Accumulated Wealth of Southern India at this time.</i> 7. <i>Horse Importation from the Persian Gulf.</i> 8. <i>Religious Suicides.</i> 9. <i>Suttees.</i> 10. <i>Worship of the Ox. The Govis.</i> 11. <i>Verbal.</i> 12. <i>The Thomacides.</i> 13. <i>Ill-success of Horse-breeding in S. India.</i> 14. <i>Curious Mode of</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
<i>Arrest for Debt.</i> 15. <i>The Rainy Seasons.</i> 16. <i>Omens of the Hindus.</i> 17. <i>Strange treatment of Horses.</i> 18. <i>The Devadâsis.</i> 19. <i>Textual.</i>	
XVIII.—DISCOURSING OF THE PLACE WHERE LIETH THE BODY OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE; AND OF THE MIRACLES THEREOF	353
NOTES.—1. <i>Mailapûr.</i> 2. <i>The word Avarian.</i> 3. <i>Miraculous Earth.</i> 4. <i>The Traditions of St. Thomas in India. The ancient Church at his Tomb; the ancient Cross preserved on St. Thomas's Mount.</i> 5. <i>White Devils.</i> 6. <i>The Yak's Tail.</i>	
XIX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF MUTFILI	359
NOTES.—1. <i>Motapallé. The Widow Queen of Telingana.</i> 2. <i>The Diamond Mines, and the Legend of the Diamond Gathering.</i> 3. <i>Buckram.</i>	
XX.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF LAR WHENCE THE BRAHMANS COME	363
NOTES.—1. <i>Abrataman. The Country of Lar. Hindu Character.</i> 2. <i>The Kingdom of Soli or Chola.</i> 3. <i>Lucky and Unlucky Days and Hours. The Canonical Hours of the Church.</i> 4. <i>Omens.</i> 5. <i>Jogis. The Ox-emblem.</i> 6. <i>Verbal.</i> 7. <i>Recurrence of Human Eccentricities.</i>	
XXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAIL	370
NOTES.—1. <i>Kdyal; its true position. Kolkhoi identified.</i> 2. <i>The King Ashar or As-char.</i> 3. <i>Correa, Note.</i> 4. <i>Betel-chewing.</i> 5. <i>Duels.</i>	
XXII.—OF THE KINGDOM OF COILUM	375
NOTES.—1. <i>Coilum, Coilon, Kaulam, Columbum, Quilon. Ancient Christian Churches.</i> 2. <i>Brazil Wood: notes on the name.</i> 3. <i>Columbine Ginger and other kinds.</i> 4. <i>Indigo.</i> 5. <i>Black Lions.</i> 6. <i>Marriage Customs.</i>	
XXIII.—OF THE COUNTRY CALLED COMARI	382
NOTES.—1. <i>Cape Comorin.</i> 2. <i>The word Gat-paul.</i>	
XXIV.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM ELI	385
NOTES.—1. <i>Mount D'Ely, and the City of Hili-Marawi.</i> 2. <i>Textual.</i> 3. <i>Produce.</i> 4. <i>Piratical custom.</i> 5. <i>Wooden Anchors.</i>	
XXV.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF MELIBAR	389
NOTES.—1. <i>Dislocation of Polo's Indian Geography. The name of Malabar.</i> 2. <i>Verbal.</i> 3. <i>Pirates.</i> 4. <i>Cassia: Turbit: Cubebs.</i> 5. <i>Cessation of direct Chinese trade with Malabar.</i>	
XXVI.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF GOZURAT	392
NOTES.—1. <i>Topographical Confusion.</i> 2. <i>Tamarina.</i> 3. <i>Tall Cotton Trees.</i> 4. <i>Embroidered Leather-work.</i>	
XXVII.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF TANA	395
NOTES.—1. <i>Tana, and the Konkan.</i> 2. <i>Incense of Western India.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XXVIII.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF CAMBAET	397
NOTE.— <i>Cambay.</i>	
XXIX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF SEMENAT	398
NOTE.— <i>Somnath, and the so-called Gates of Somnath.</i>	
XXX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF KESMACORAN	401
NOTES.—1. <i>Kij-Mekran. Limit of India.</i> 2. <i>Recapitulation of Polo's Indian Kingdoms.</i>	
XXXI.—DISCOURSETH OF THE TWO ISLANDS CALLED MALE AND FEMALE, AND WHY THEY ARE SO CALLED	404
NOTE.— <i>The Legend and its diffusion.</i>	
XXXII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF SCOTRA	406
NOTES.—1. <i>Whales of the Indian Seas.</i> 2. <i>Socotra and its former Christianity.</i> 3. <i>Piracy at Socotra.</i> 4. <i>Sorcerers.</i>	
XXXIII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF MADEIGASCAR	411
NOTES.—1. <i>Madagascar; some confusion here with Magadoxo.</i> 2. <i>Sandalwood.</i> 3. <i>Whale-killing. The Capidoglio or Sperm-Whale.</i> 4. <i>The Currents towards the South.</i> 5. <i>The Rukh (and see Appendix L. 11).</i> 6. <i>More on the dimensions assigned thereto.</i> 7. <i>Hippopotamus Teeth.</i>	
XXXIV.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF ZANGHIBAR. A WORD ON INDIA IN GENERAL	422
NOTES.—1. <i>Zangibar; Negroes.</i> 2. <i>Ethiopian Sheep.</i> 3. <i>Giraffes.</i> 4. <i>Ivory trade.</i> 5. <i>Error about Elephant-taming.</i> 6. <i>Number of Islands assigned to the Indian Sea.</i> 7. <i>The Three Indies, and various distributions thereof. Polo's Indian Geography.</i>	
XXXV.—TREATING OF THE GREAT PROVINCE OF ABASH, WHICH IS MIDDLE INDIA, AND IS ON THE MAINLAND	427
NOTES.—1. <i>Habash or Abyssinia. Application of the name India to it.</i> 2. <i>Fire Baptism ascribed to the Abyssinian Christians.</i> 3. <i>Polo's idea of the position of Aden.</i> 4. <i>Taming of the African Elephant for War.</i> 5. <i>Marco's Story of the Abyssinian Invasion of the Mahomedan Low-Country, and Review of Abyssinian Chronology in connection therewith.</i> 6. <i>Textual.</i>	
XXXVI.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ADEN	438
NOTES.—1. <i>The Trade to Alexandria from India via Aden.</i> 2. <i>"Roncins à deux selles."</i> 3. <i>The Sultan of Aden. The City and its Great Tanks.</i> 4. <i>The Loss of Acre.</i>	
XXXVII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF ESHER	442
NOTES.—1. <i>Shihr.</i> 2. <i>Frankincense.</i> 3. <i>Four-horned Sheep.</i> 4. <i>Cattle fed on Fish.</i> 5. <i>Parallel passage.</i>	
XXXVIII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF DUFAR	444
NOTES.—1. <i>Dhofar.</i> 2. <i>Notes on Frankincense.</i>	

CHAP.	PAGE
XXXIX.—CONCERNING THE GULF OF CALATU, AND THE CITY SO CALLED	449
NOTES.—1. <i>Kalhd.</i> 2. “En fra terre.” 3. <i>Maskat.</i>	
XL.—RETURNS TO THE CITY OF HORMOS WHEREOF WE SPOKE FORMERLY	451
NOTES.—1. <i>Polo's distances and bearings in these latter chapters.</i> 2. <i>Persian Bád-gírs or wind-catching chimneys.</i> 3. <i>Island of Kish.</i>	

BOOK FOURTH.

Wars among the Tartar Princes, and some Account of the Northern Countries

I.—CONCERNING GREAT TURKEY	457
NOTES.—1. <i>Kaidu Khan.</i> 2. <i>His frontier towards the Great Kaan.</i>	
II.—OF CERTAIN BATTLES THAT WERE FOUGHT BY KING CAIDU AGAINST THE ARMIES OF HIS UNCLE THE GREAT KAAAN	459
NOTES.—1. <i>Textual.</i> 2. “Araines.” 3. <i>Chronology in connection with the events described.</i>	
III.—†WHAT THE GREAT KAAAN SAID TO THE MISCHIEF DONE BY CAIDU HIS NEPHEW	463
IV.—OF THE EXPLOITS OF KING CAIDU'S VALIANT DAUGHTER	463
NOTE.— <i>Her name explained. Remarks on the story.</i>	
V.—HOW ABAGA SENT HIS SON ARGON IN COMMAND AGAINST KING CAIDU	466
(Extract and Substance.)	
NOTES.—1. <i>Government of the Khorasan frontier.</i> 2. <i>The Historical Events.</i>	
VI.—HOW ARGON AFTER THE BATTLE HEARD THAT HIS FATHER WAS DEAD AND WENT TO ASSUME THE SOVEREIGNTY AS WAS HIS RIGHT	467
NOTES.—1. <i>Death of Abaka.</i> 2. <i>Textual.</i> 3. <i>Ahmad Tigudar.</i>	
VII.—†HOW ACOMAT SOLDAN SET OUT WITH HIS HOST AGAINST HIS NEPHEW WHO WAS COMING TO CLAIM THE THRONE THAT BELONGED TO HIM	468

† Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

CHAP.	PAGE
VIII.—†HOW ARGON TOOK COUNSEL WITH HIS FOLLOWERS ABOUT ATTACKING HIS UNCLE ACOMAT SOLDAN . . .	468
IX.—†HOW THE BARONS OF ARGON ANSWERED HIS ADDRESS	469
X.—†THE MESSAGE SENT BY ARGON TO ACOMAT . . .	469
XI.—HOW ACOMAT REPLIED TO ARGON'S MESSAGE . . .	469
XII.—OF THE BATTLE BETWEEN ARGON AND ACOMAT, AND THE CAPTIVITY OF ARGON . . .	470
NOTES.—1. <i>Verbal.</i> 2. <i>Historical.</i>	
XIII.—HOW ARGON WAS DELIVERED FROM PRISON . . .	471
XIV.—HOW ARGON GOT THE SOVEREIGNTY AT LAST . . .	472
XV.—†HOW ACOMAT WAS TAKEN PRISONER . . .	473
XVI.—HOW ACOMAT WAS SLAIN BY ORDER OF HIS NEPHEW . . .	473
XVII.—HOW ARGON WAS RECOGNISED AS SOVEREIGN . . .	473
NOTES.—1. <i>The historical circumstances and persons named in these chapters.</i> 2. <i>Arghûn's accession and death.</i>	
XVIII.—HOW KIIACATU SEIZED THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER ARGON'S DEATH . . .	475
NOTE.— <i>The reign and character of Kaikhâtû.</i>	
XIX.—HOW BAIDU SEIZED THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER THE DEATH OF KIIACATU . . .	476
NOTES.—1. <i>Baidu's alleged Christianity.</i> 2. <i>Ghâzân Khan.</i>	
XX.—CONCERNING KING CONCHI WHO RULES THE FAR NORTH . . .	479
NOTES.—1. <i>Kaunchi Khan.</i> 2. <i>Siberia.</i> 3. <i>Dog-sledges.</i> 4. <i>The animal here styled Erculin.</i> 5. <i>Yugria.</i>	
XXI.—CONCERNING THE LAND OF DARKNESS . . .	484
NOTES.—1. <i>The Land of Darkness.</i> 2. <i>The Legend of the Mares and their Foals.</i> 3. <i>Dumb Trade with the People of the Darkness.</i>	
XXII.—DESCRIPTION OF RÔSIA AND ITS PEOPLE. PROVINCE OF LAC . . .	486
NOTES.—1. <i>Old Accounts of Russia. Russian Silver and Rubles.</i> 2. <i>Lac, or Wallachia.</i> 3. <i>Oroech, Norway (?) or the Waraeg Country (?)</i>	
XXIII.—HE BEGINS TO SPEAK OF THE STRAITS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, BUT DECIDES TO LEAVE THAT MATTER . . .	490

†Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

CHAP.	PAGE
XXIV.—CONCERNING THE TARTARS OF THE PONENT AND THEIR LORDS	490
NOTES.—1. <i>The Comanians; the Alans; Major; Zic; the Goths of the Crimea; Gazaria.</i> 2. <i>The Khans of Kipchak or the Golden Horde; errors in Polo's list. Extent of their Empire.</i>	
XXV.—OF THE WAR THAT AROSE BETWEEN ALAU AND BARCA, AND THE BATTLES THAT THEY FOUGHT	494
(Extracts and Substance.)	
NOTES.—1. <i>Verbal.</i> 2. <i>The Sea of Sarai.</i> 3. <i>The War here spoken of. Wassdj's rignarole.</i>	
XXVI.—†HOW BARCA AND HIS ARMY ADVANCED TO MEET ALAU	495
XXVII.—†HOW ALAU ADDRESSED HIS FOLLOWERS	495
XXVIII.—†OF THE GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN ALAU AND BARCA	496
XXIX.—HOW TOTAMANGU WAS LORD OF THE TARTARS OF THE PONENT; AND AFTER HIM TOCTAI	496
NOTE.— <i>Confusions in the Text. Historical circumstances connected with the Persons spoken of. Toctai and Noghai Khan. Symbolic Messages.</i>	
XXX.—†OF THE SECOND MESSAGE THAT TOCTAI SENT TO NOGAI	498
XXXI.—†HOW TOCTAI MARCHED AGAINST NOGAI	499
XXXII.—†HOW TOCTAI AND NOGAI ADDRESS THEIR PEOPLE, AND THE NEXT DAY JOIN BATTLE	499
XXXIII.—†THE VALIANT FEATS AND VICTORY OF KING NOGAI	499
XXXIV. AND LAST. CONCLUSION	500

APPENDICES.

A. Genealogy of the House of Chinghiz to the End of the Thirteenth Century	505
B. The Polo Families :—	
(I.) Genealogy of the Family of Marco Polo the Traveller	506
(II.) The Polos of San Geremia	507
C. Calendar of Documents relating to Marco Polo and his Family	510

† Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

	PAGE
D. Comparative Specimens of the Different Recensions of Polo's Text	522
E. Preface to Pipino's Latin Version	525
F. Note of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, so far as known :	
General Distribution of MSS.	526
List of Miniatures in two of the finer MSS.	527
List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, so far as they are known	530
G. Diagram showing Filiation of Chief MSS. and Editions of Marco Polo	552
H. Bibliography :—	
(I.) Principal Editions of Marco Polo's Book.	553
(II.) Bibliography of Printed Editions	554
(III.) Titles of Sundry Books and Papers treating of Marco Polo and his Book.	574
I. Titles of Works quoted by Abbreviated References in this Book	582
K. Values of Certain Moneys, Weights, and Measures occurring in this Book	590
L. Supplementary Notes to the Book of Marco Polo	593
1. The Polos at Acre.	7. Fire-arms.
2. Sorcery in Kashmir.	8. La Couvade.
3. PAONANO PAO.	9. Alacan
4. Pamir.	10. Champa.
5. Number of Pamirs.	11. Ruck Quills.
6. Site of Pein.	12. A Spanish Marco Polo.
13. Sir John Mandeville.	
INDEX	607

EXPLANATORY LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOLUME II.



INSERTED PLATES AND MAPS.

- To face Title.* Portrait bearing the inscription “MARCUS POLVS VENETVS TOTIVS ORBIS ET INDIE PEREGRATOR PRIMVS.” In the Gallery of Monsignor *Badia* at Rome; copied by Sign. GIUSEPPE GNOLI, Rome.
- ILLUMINATED TITLE; with Medallion, representing *Marco Polo* in the PRISON of GENOA, dictating his story to Master RUSTICIAN of PISA, drawn by Signor QUINTO CENNI from a rough design by the Editor.
- To face page 28.* The celebrated CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION OF SI-NGAN FU. Photolithographed by Mr W. GRIGG, from a Rubbing of the original monument, given to the Editor by the *Baron F. von Richthofen*.
- This rubbing is more complete than that used in the first edition, for which the Editor was indebted to the kindness of *William Lockhart, Esq.*
- ” ” 78. The LAKE of TALI (CARAJAN of Polo) from the Northern End. Woodcut after Lieut. DELAPORTE, borrowed from Lieut. GARNIER’S Narrative in the *Tour du Monde*.
- ” ” 80. Suspension Bridge, neighbourhood of TALI. From a photograph by M. Tannant.
- ” ” 131. Itineraries of Marco Polo. No. V. The INDO-CHINESE COUNTRIES. With a small sketch extracted from a Chinese Map in the possession of *Baron von Richthofen*, showing the position of KIEN-CH’ANG, the *Caindu* of Marco Polo.
- ” ” 144. Sketch Map exhibiting the VARIATIONS of the TWO GREAT RIVERS of China, within the Period of History.
- ” ” 182. THE CITY of SU-CHAU. Reduced by the Editor from a Rubbing of a Plan incised on Marble, and preserved in the Great Confucian Temple in the City.
- The date of the original set of Maps, of which this was one, is uncertain, owing to the partial illegibility of the Inscription; but it is subsequent to A.D. 1000. They were engraved on the Marble A.D. 1247. Many of the names have been obliterated, and a few of those given in the copy are filled up from modern information, as the Editor learns from *Mr. Wylie*, to whom he owes this valuable illustration.
- ” ” 193. Map of HANG-CHAU FU and its LAKE, from Chinese Sources.
- The Map as published in the former edition was based on a Chinese Map in the possession of *Dr. W. Lockhart*, with

some particulars from Maps in a copy of the Local Topography, *Hang-Chau-fu-chi*, in the B. Museum Library. In the second edition the Map has been entirely redrawn by the Editor, with many corrections, and with the aid of new materials, supplied by the kindness of the *Rev. G. Moule* of the Church Mission at Hang-chau. These materials embrace a Paper read by Mr. Moule before the N. China Branch of the R. As. Soc. at Shang-hai; a modern engraved Map of the City on a large scale; and a large MS. Map of the City and Lake, compiled by *John Shing*, Tailor, a Chinese Christian and Catechist;

The small Side-plan is the City of SI-NGAN FU, from a plan published during the Mongol rule, in the 14th century, a tracing of which was sent by *Mr. Wylie*. The following references could not be introduced in lettering for want of space:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Yuen-Tu-Kwan (Tauist Monastery). | 16. Refectory. |
| 2. Chapel of Hien-ning Prince. | 17. Chapel of the Fäng-Yuen Prince. |
| 3. Leih-Ching Square (<i>Fang</i>). | 18. Embroidery manufactory. |
| 4. Tauist Monastery. | 19. Hwa-li Temple. |
| 5. Kie-lin General Court. | 20. Old Superintendency of Investigations. |
| 6. Ancestral Chapel of Yang-Wan-Kang, | 21. Superintendent of Works. |
| 7. Chapel of the Mid-year Genius. | 22. Ka-yuen Monastery. |
| 8. Temple of the Martial Peaceful King. | 23. Prefectural Confucian Temple. |
| 9. Stone where officers are selected. | 24. Benevolent Institution. |
| 10. Mews. | 25. Temple of Tu-Ke-King. |
| 11. Jasper-Waves Square (<i>Fang</i>). | 26. Balustrade enclosure. |
| 12. Court of Enquiry. | 27. Medicine-Bazar Street. |
| 13. Gate of the Fäng-Yuen Circuit. | 28. Tsin and Ching States Chapel. |
| 14. Bright Gate. | 29. Square of the Double Cassia Tree. |
| 15. Northern Tribunal. | |

N.B.—The shaded spaces are marked in the original *Min-Kew* "Dwellings of the People."

To face page 212. Plan of SOUTHERN PART of the CITY of KING-SZÉ (or Hang-chau), with the PALACE of the SUNG EMPERORS. From a Chinese Plan forming part of a Reprint of the official Topography of the City during the period *Hien-Shun* (1265-1274) of the Sung Dynasty, *i.e.* the period terminated by the Mongol conquest of the City and Empire. Mr. Moule, who possesses the Chinese plan (with others of the same set), has come to the conclusion that it is a copy at second-hand. Names that are underlined are such as are preserved in the modern Map of Hang-chau. I am indebted for the use of the original plan to *Mr. Moule*; for the photographic copy and rendering of the names to *Mr. Wylie*.

„ „ 240. Sketch Map of the GREAT PORTS of FO-KIEN, to illustrate the identity of Marco Polo's ZAYTON. Besides the Admiralty Charts and other well-known sources the Editor has used in forming this a "Missionary Map of Amoy and the Neighbouring Country," on a large scale, sent him by the *Rev. Carstairs Douglas*, LL.D., of Amoy. This contains some points not to be found in the others.

- To face page 246. Itineraries of MARCO POLO, No. VI. The Journey through KIANG-NAN, CHE-KIANG, and FO-KIEN.
- “ “ 312. { 1. Map to illustrate Marco Polo's Chapters on the MALAY COUNTRIES.
2. Map to illustrate his Chapters on SOUTHERN INDIA.
- “ “ 374. { 1. Sketch showing the Position of KÁYAL in Tinnevely.
2. Map showing the Position of the Kingdom of ELY in MALABAR.
- “ “ 440. ADEN, with the attempted Escalade under Alboquerque in 1513, being the Reduced Facsimile of a large contemporary Wood Engraving in the Map Department of the British Museum. (Size of the original 42½ inches by 19½ inches.) Photolithographic Reduction by Mr. G. B. PRAETORIUS, through the assistance of R. H. Major, Esq.
- “ “ 474. Facsimile of the Letters sent to PHILIP the FAIR, King of France, by ARGHÚN KHAN, in A.D. 1289, and by OLJAÏTU, in A.D. 1305, preserved in the Archives of France, and reproduced from the *Recueil des Documents de l'Époque Mongole* by kind permission of H. H. Prince ROLAND BONAPARTE.
- “ “ 595. Some of the objects found by Dr. M. A. Stein, in Central Asia. From a photograph kindly lent by the Traveller.

WOODCUTS PRINTED WITH THE TEXT.

BOOK SECOND.—PART SECOND.

- Page 4. The BRIDGE of PULISANGHIN, the *Lu-ku-k'iao* of the Chinese, reduced from a large Chinese Engraving in the Geographical work called *Ki-fu-thung-chi* in the Paris Library. I owe the indication of this, and of the Portrait of Kúblái Kaan in vol. i. to notes in M. Pauthier's edition.
- “ 5. The BRIDGE of PULISANGHIN. From the *Livre des Merveilles*.
- “ 7. BRIDGE of LU-KU-K'IAO. From a photograph by Count de SEMALLÉ.
- “ 9. BRIDGE of LU-KU-K'IAO. From a photograph by Count de SEMALLÉ.
- “ 19. The ROI D'OR. Professed Portrait of the Last of the *Altun Khans* or Kin Emperors of Cathay, from the (fragmentary) Arabic Manuscript of *Rashiduddin's History* in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. This Manuscript is supposed to have been transcribed under the eye of Rashiduddin, and the drawings were probably derived from Chinese originals.
- “ 26. Plan of Ki-chau, after Duhalde.
- “ 30. The CROSS incised at the head of the GREAT CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION of SI-NGAN FU (A.D. 781); actual size, from copy of a pencil rubbing made on the original by the *Rev. J. Lees*. Received from *Mr. A. Wylie*.
- “ 38. Diagram to elucidate the cities of Ch'êng-tu fu.
- “ 39. Plan of Ch'êng-tu. From MARCEL MONNIER's *Tour d'Asie*, by kind permission of M. PLON.
- “ 41. Bridge near Kwan-hsien (Ch'êng-tu). From MARCEL MONNIER's *Tour d'Asie*, by kind permission of M. PLON.
- “ 47. MOUNTAINEERS on the Borders of SZE-CH'WAN and TIBET, from one of the illustrations to Lieut. Garnier's Narrative (see p. 48). From *Tour du Monde*.
- “ 50. VILLAGE of EASTERN TIBET on Sze-ch'wan Frontier. From *Mr. Cooper's Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*.

- Page 51. Example of ROADS on the TIBETAN FRONTIER of China (being actually a view of the Gorge of the Lan t'sang Kiang). From *Mr. Cooper's Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*.
- „ 55. The VALLEY of the KIN-SHA KIANG, near the lower end of the CAINDU of Marco Polo. From Lieut. Garnier in the *Tour du Monde*.
- „ 58. SALT PANS in Yun-nan. *From the same*.
- „ 61. Black Lolo.
- „ 62. White Lolo. From DEVÉRIA'S *Frontière Sino-annamite*.
- „ 65. *Pa-y* Script. From the *T'oung-Pao*.
- „ 68. Garden-House on the LAKE of YUN-NAN-FU, YACHI of Polo. *From Lieut. Garnier in the Tour du Monde*.
- „ 71. Road descending from the Table-Land of YUN-NAN into the VALLEY of the KIN-SHA KIANG (the BRIUS of Polo). *From the same*.
- „ 73. "A SARACEN of CARAJAN," being the portrait of a Mahomedan Mullah in Western Yun-nan. *From the same*.
- „ 74. The Canal at YUN-NAN FU. From a photograph by M. TANNANT.
- „ 78. "Riding long like FRENCHMEN," exemplified from the Bayeux Tapestry. After Lacroix, *Vie Militaire du Moyen Age*.
- „ 83. The SANG-MIAU tribe of KWEI-CHAU, with the Cross-bow. From a coloured drawing in a Chinese work on the Aboriginal Tribes, belonging to *W. Lockhart, Esq.*
- „ 90. Portraits of a KAKHYEN man and woman. Drawn by Q. CENNI from a photograph (anonymous).
- „ 108. Temple called GAUDAPALÉN in the city of MIEN (*i.e.* Pagán in Burma), erected *circa* A.D. 1160. Engraving after a sketch by the first Editor, from *Fergusson's History of Architecture*.
- „ 112. The PALACE of the KING of MIEN in modern times (*viz.*, the Palace at Amarapura). *From the same*, being partly from a sketch by the first Editor.
- „ 118. Script *Pa-pe*. From the *T'oung-Pao*.
- „ 121. HO-NHI and other Tribes in the Department of Lin-ngan in S. Yun-nan, supposed to be the *Anin* country of Marco Polo. From *Garnier in the Tour du Monde*.
- „ 125. The KOLOMAN tribe, on borders of Kwei-chau and Yun-nan. From coloured drawing in *Mr. Lockhart's* book as above (under p. 83).
- „ 129. Script *thai* of Xieng-hung. From the *T'oung-Pao*.
- „ 130. IRON SUSPENSION BRIDGE at Lowatong. From *Garnier in Tour du Monde*.
- „ 131. FORTIFIED VILLAGES on Western Frontier of KWEI-CHAU. *From the same*.

BOOK SECOND.—PART THIRD.

- „ 155. YANG-CHAU : the three Cities under the Sung.
- „ 156. YANG-CHAU : the Great City under the Sung. From Chinese Plans kindly sent to the present Editor by the late Father H. Havret, S.J., Zi-ka-wei.
- „ 162. MEDIEVAL ARTILLERY ENGINES. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, are CHINESE. The first four are from the Encyclopædia *San-Tshai-Thou-hoei* (Paris Library), the last from *Amyot*, vol. viii.
- Figs. 6, 7, 8 are SARACEN, 6 and 7 are taken from the work of *Reinaud and Favé, Du Feu Grégeois*, and by them from the Arabic MS. of *Hassan al Raumah (Arab Anc. Fonds, No. 1127)*. Fig. 8 is from *Lord Munster's Arabic Catalogue of Military Works*, and by him from a MS. of *Rashiduddin's History*.

- The remainder are EUROPEAN. Fig. 9 is from *Pertz, Scriptores*, vol. xviii., and by him from a figure of the Siege of Arbicella, 1227, in a MS. of *Genoese Annals* (No. 773, *Supp. Lat. of Bib. Imp.*). Fig. 10 from *Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, vol. i., No. 21, after *B. Mus. MS. Reg.* 16, G. vi. Fig. 11 from *Pertz* as above, under A. D. 1182. Fig. 12, from *Valturius de Re Militari*, Verona, 1483. Figs. 13 and 14 from the *Polioreticon* of *Justus Lipsius*. Fig. 15 is after the Bodleian MS. of the Romance of Alexander (A. D. 1338), but is taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 3rd ser. vol. vii. p. 467. Fig. 16 from Lacroix's *Art au Moyen Age*, after a miniature of 13th cent. in the Paris Library. Figs. 17 and 18 from the Emperor Napoleon's *Etudes de l'Artillerie*, and by him taken from the MS. of *Paulus Santinus* (Lat. MS. 7329 in Paris Library). Fig. 19 from Professor Moseley's restoration of a Trebuchet, after the data in the Mediæval Note-book of *Villars de Honcourt*, in *Gentleman's Magazine* as above. Figs. 20 and 21 from the Emperor's Book. Fig. 22 from a German MS. in the Bern Library, the *Chronicle of Justinger and Schilling*.
- Page 169. COIN from a treasure hidden during the siege of SIANG-YANG in 1268-73, and lately discovered in that city.
- „ 172. Island MONASTERIES on the YANG-TZŪ KIANG; viz. :—
1. *Uppermost*. The "Little Orphan Rock," after a cut in *Oliphant's Narrative*.
 2. *Middle*. The "Golden Island" near Chin-kiang fu, after *Fisher's China*. (This has been accidentally reversed in the drawing.)
 3. *Lower*. The "Silver Island," below the last, after Mr. Lindley's book on the T'ai-P'ings.
- „ 177. The West Gate of CHIN-KIANG FU. From an engraving in *Fisher's China* after a sketch made by *Admiral Stoddart*, R. N., in 1842.
- „ 183. South-West Gate and Water Gate of SU-CHAU; facsimile on half scale from the incised Map of 1247. (See List of Inserted Plates preceding, under p. 182.)
- „ 193. The old LUH-HO-TA or Pagoda of Six Harmonies near HANG-CHAU, and anciently marking the extreme S.W. angle of the city. Drawn by Q. CENNI from an anonymous photograph received from the *Rev. G. Moule*.
- „ 195. Imperial City of HANG-CHAU in the 13th Century.
- „ 197. Metropolitan City of HANG-CHAU in the 13th Century. From the Notes of the Right *Rev. G. E. Moule*.
- „ 209. *Fang* of SI-NGAN FU. Communicated by *A. Wylie*.
- „ 212. Stone *Chwang* or UMBRELLA COLUMN, one of two which still mark the site of the ancient Buddhist Monastery called *Fan-T'ien-Sze* or "Brahma's Temple" at Hang-chau. Reduced from a pen-and-ink sketch by *Mr. Moule*.
- „ 223. Mr. PHILLIPS' Theory of Marco Polo's Route through Fo-Kien.
- „ 227. Scene in the BOHEA MOUNTAINS, on Polo's route between Kiang-Si and Fo-Kien. From *Fortune's Three Years' Wanderings*.
- „ 233. Scene on the MIN RIVER below Fu-chau. *From the same*.
- „ 245. The KAN'S FLEET leaving the Port of ZAYTON. The scenery is taken from an engraving in *Fisher's China*, purporting to represent the mouth of the Chinchew River (or River of Tsuan-chau), after a sketch by *Capt. (now Adm.) Stoddart*. But the *Rev. Dr. Douglas*, having pointed out that this cut really supported *his* view of the identity of Zayton, being a view of the *Chang-chau* River, reference was made to *Admiral Stoddart*, and *Dr. Douglas* proves to be quite right. The View was really one of the *Chang-chau* River; but the Editor has not been able to procure material for one of the *Tsuan-chau* River, and so he leaves it,

BOOK THIRD

- Page 248. The KAAH'S FLEET passing through the Indian ARCHIPELAGO. From a drawing by the Editor.
- „ 254. Ancient JAPANESE EMPEROR, after a Native Drawing. From the *Tour du Monde*.
- „ 257. Ancient JAPANESE ARCHER, after a native drawing. *From the same*.
- „ 261. The JAPANESE engaged in combat with the CHINESE, after an ancient native drawing. From *Charton, Voyageurs Anciens et Modernes*.
- „ 273. JAVA. A view in the interior. From a sketch of the slopes of the Gedéh Volcano, taken by the Editor in 1860.
- „ 274. Bas Relief of one of the VESSELS frequenting the Ports of JAVA in the Middle Ages. From one of the sculptures of the BORO BODOR, after a photograph.
- „ 289. The three Asiatic RHINOCEROSSES. Adapted from a proof of a woodcut given to the Editor for the purpose by the late eminent zoologist, *Edward Blyth*. It is not known to the Editor whether the cut appeared in any other publication.
- „ 291. MONOCEROS and the MAIDEN. From a mediæval drawing engraved in *Cahier et Martin, Mélanges d'Archéologie*, II. Pl. 30.
- „ 310. The BORÚS. From a manuscript belonging to the late CHARLES SCHEFER, now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.
- „ 311. The CYNOCEPHALI. From the *Livre des Merveilles*.
- „ 321. ADAM'S PEAK from the Sea.
- „ 327. SAKYA MUNI as a Saint of the Roman Martyrology. Facsimile from an old German version of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat (*circa* 1477), printed by Zainer at Augsburg, in the British Museum.
- „ 330. TOOTH Reliques of BUDDHA. 1. At Kandy, after Emerson Tennent. 2. At Fu-chau, after Fortune.
- „ 336. "CHINESE PAGODA" (so called) at Negapatam. From a sketch taken by *Sir Walter Elliot*, K.C.S.I., in 1846.
- „ 352. PAGODA at TANJORE. *From Fergusson's History of Architecture*.
- „ 353. Ancient CROSS with Pehlvi Inscription, preserved in the church on ST. THOMAS'S MOUNT near Madras. From a photograph, the gift of A. Burnell, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, assisted by a lithographic drawing in his unpublished pamphlet on Pehlvi Crosses in South India. *N.B.*—The lithograph has now appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, November, 1874.
- „ 356. The Little MOUNT of ST. THOMAS, near Madras. After *Daniel*.
- „ 358. Small Map of the ST. THOMAS localities at Madras.
- „ 378. Ancient Christian CHURCH at PARÚR or Palúr, on the Malabar Coast; from an engraving in *Pearson's Life of Claudius Buchanan*, after a sketch by the latter.
- „ 379. SYRIAN CHURCH at Karanyachirra, showing the quasi-Jesuit Façade generally adopted in modern times. From the *Life of Bishop Daniel Wilson*.
- „ 379. INTERIOR of Syrian CHURCH at Kötteiyam. *From the same*.
- „ 384. CAPE COMORIN. From an original sketch by Mr. FOOTE of the Geological Survey of India.
- „ 387. MOUNT D'ELY. From a *nautical sketch of last century*.
- „ 393. Mediæval ARCHITECTURE in GUZERAT, being a view of Gateway at Jinjawára, given in *Forbes's Ras Mala*. From *Fergusson's History of Architecture*.

- Page 399. The GATES of SOMNATH (so called), as preserved in the British Arsenal at Agra. From a photograph by Messrs. SHEPHERD and BOURNE, converted into an elevation.
- „ 415. The RUKH, after a Persian drawing. From *Lane's Arabian Nights*.
- „ 416. Frontispiece of A. Müller's *Marco Polo*, showing the Bird *Rukh*.
- „ 425. The ETHIOPIAN SHEEP. From a sketch by *Miss Catherine Frere*.
- „ 441. View of ADEN in 1840. From a sketch by Dr. R. KIRK in the Map-room of the Royal Geographical Society.
- „ 447. The Harvest of FRANKINCENSE in Arabia. Facsimile of an engraving in *Thevet's Cosmographie Universelle* (1575). Reproduced from *Cassell's Bible Educator*, by the courtesy of the publishers.
- „ 448. BOSWELLIA FREREANA, from a drawing by Mr. W. H. FITCH. The use of this engraving is granted by the India Museum through the kindness of *Sir George Birdwood*.
- „ 453. A Persian BÂD-GÎR, or Wind-Catcher. From a drawing in the Atlas to *Hommaire de Hell's Persia*. Engraved by ADENEY.

BOOK FOURTH.

- „ 478. Tomb of OLJAITU KHAN, the brother of Polo's CASAN, at Sultaniah. From *Fergusson's History of Architecture*.
- „ 482. The Siberian DOG-SLEDGE. From the *Tour du Monde*.
- „ 489. Mediæval RUSSIAN Church. From *Fergusson's History of Architecture*.
- „ 493. Figure of a TARTAR under the Feet of Henry Duke of Silesia, Cracow, and Poland, from the tomb at Breslau of that Prince, killed in battle with the Tartar host, 9th April, 1241. After a plate in *Schlesische Fürstenbilder des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1868.
- „ 501. Asiatic WARRIORS of Polo's Age. From the MS. of Rashiduddin's History, noticed under cut at p. 19. Engraved by ADENEY.

APPENDICES.

- „ 555. FIGURE of MARCO POLO, from the first printed edition of his Book, published in German at Nuremberg 1477. Traced from a copy in the Berlin Library. (This tracing was the gift of *Mr. Samuel D. Horton*, of Cincinnati, through Mr. Marsh.)
- „ 595. Marco Polo's rectified Itinerary from Khotan to Nia.

XXIII

THE BOOK OF MARCO POLO

BOOK SECOND.—*CONTINUED.*



PART II.—JOURNEY TO THE WEST AND SOUTH-
WEST OF CATHAY.

THE
BOOK OF MARCO POLO

BOOK II.—*CONTINUED.*

PART II.—JOURNEY TO THE WEST AND
SOUTH-WEST OF CATHAY

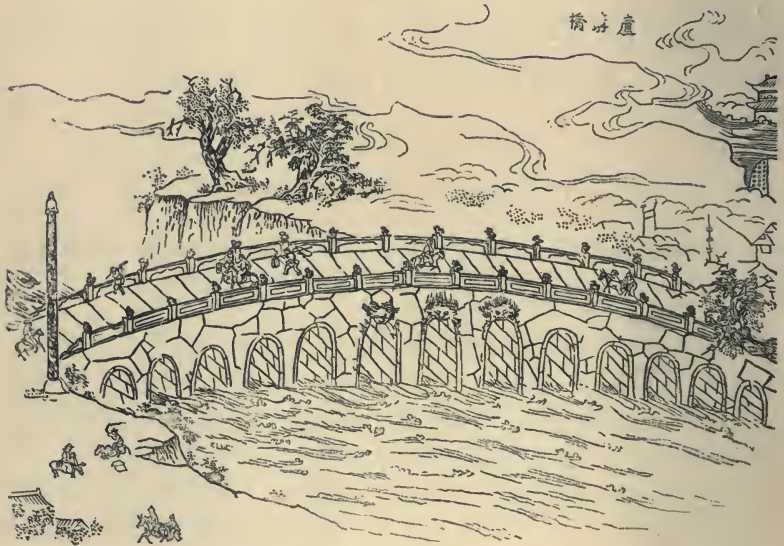
CHAPTER XXXV.

HERE BEGINS THE DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERIOR OF CATHAY;
AND FIRST OF THE RIVER PULISANGHIN.

Now you must know that the Emperor sent the afore-said Messer Marco Polo, who is the author of this whole story, on business of his into the Western Provinces. On that occasion he travelled from Cambaluc a good four months' journey towards the west.' And so now I will tell you all that he saw on his travels as he went and returned.

When you leave the City of Cambaluc and have ridden ten miles, you come to a very large river which is called PULISANGHIN, and flows into the ocean, so that merchants with their merchandise ascend it from the sea. Over this River there is a very fine stone bridge, so fine indeed, that it has very few equals. The fashion of it is this: it is 300 paces in length, and it must have a good eight paces of width, for ten mounted men can ride across it abreast. It has 24 arches and

as many water-mills, and 'tis all of very fine marble, well built and firmly founded. Along the top of the bridge there is on either side a parapet of marble slabs and columns, made in this way. At the beginning of the bridge there is a marble column, and under it a marble lion, so that the column stands upon the lion's loins, whilst on the top of the column there is a second marble lion, both being of great size and beautifully executed sculpture. At the distance of a pace from this column there is another precisely the same, also



The Bridge of Pulisanghin. (Reduced from a Chinese original.)

“—et desus cest flum a un mont biaux pont de pierres: car sachiez qe pont n'a en tout le monde de si biaux ne son pareil.”

with its two lions, and the space between them is closed with slabs of grey marble to prevent people from falling over into the water. And thus the columns run from space to space along either side of the bridge, so that altogether it is a beautiful object.²

NOTE I.—[When Marco leaves the capital, he takes the main road, the “Imperial Highway,” from Peking to Si-ngan fu, *via* Pao-ting, Cheng-ting, Hwai-luh, Tai-yuan, Ping-yang, and T'ung-kwan, on the Yellow River. Mr. G. F. Eaton, writing from

Han-chung (*Jour. China Br. R. As. Soc.* XXVIII. No. 1) says it is a cart-road, except for six days between Tai-yuan and Hwai-luh, and that it takes twenty-nine days to go from Peking to Si-ngan, a figure which agrees well with Polo's distances; it is also the time which Dr. Forke's journey lasted; he left Peking on the 1st May, 1892, reached Tai-yuan on the 12th, and arrived at Si-ngan on the 30th (*Von Peking nach Ch'ang-an*). Mr. Rockhill left Peking on the 17th December, 1888, reached Tai-yuan on the 26th, crossed the Yellow River on the 5th January, and arrived at Si-ngan fu on the 8th January, 1889, in twenty-two days, a distance of 916 miles. (*Land of the Lamas*, pp. 372-374.) M. Grenard left Si-ngan on the 10th November and reached Peking on the 16th December, 1894=thirty-six days; he reckons 1389 kilometres=863 miles. (See *Rev. C. Holcombe, Tour through Shan-hsi and Shen-hsi* in *Jour. North China Br. R. A. S. N. S. X.* pp. 54-70.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Pul-i-Sanghin*, the name which Marco gives the *River*, means in Persian simply (as Marsden noticed) "The Stone Bridge." In a very different region the same name often occurs in the history of Timur applied to a certain bridge, in the country north of Badakhshan, over the Wakhsh branch of the Oxus. And the



A. Housselin del.

The Bridge of Pulisanghin. (From the *Livre des Merveilles*.)

Turkish admiral Sidi 'Ali, travelling that way from India in the 16th century, applies the name, as it is applied here, to the river; for his journal tells us that beyond Kuliáb he crossed "the *River Pulisangin*."

We may easily suppose, therefore, that near Cambaluc also, the Bridge, first, and then the River, came to be known to the Persian-speaking foreigners of the court and city by this name. This supposition is however a little perplexed by the circumstance that Rashiduddin calls the *River* the *Sanghin*, and that *Sangkan-Ho* appears from the maps or citations of Martini, Klapproth, Neumann, and Pauthier to have been one of the Chinese names of the river, and indeed, Sankang is still the name of one of the confluents forming the Hwan Ho.

[By *Sanghin*, Polo renders the Chinese *Sang-kan*, by which name the River Hunho is already mentioned, in the 6th century of our era. *Hun-ho* is also an ancient name; and the same river in ancient books is often called *Lu-Kou* River also. All

these names are in use up to the present time; but on modern Chinese maps, only the upper part of the river is termed *Sang-Kan ho*, whilst south of the inner Great Wall, and in the plain, the name of *Hun-ho* is applied to it. *Hun ho* means "Muddy River," and the term is quite suitable. In the last century, the Emperor K'ien-lung ordered the Hun-ho to be named *Yung-ting ho*, a name found on modern maps, but the people always call it *Hun ho*." (*Bretschneider, Peking*, p. 54.)—H. C.]

The River is that which appears in the maps as the Hwan Ho, Hun-ho, or Yungting Ho, flowing about 7 miles west of Peking towards the south-east and joining the Pe-Ho at Tientsin; and the Bridge is that which has been known for ages as the *Lu-kou-K'iao* or Bridge of Lukou, adjoining the town which is called in the Russian map of Peking *Feuchen*, but in the official Chinese Atlas *Kung-Keih-cheng*. (See Map at ch. xi. of Bk. II. in the first Volume.) ["Before arriving at the bridge the small walled city of *Kung-ki cheng* is passed. This was founded in the first half of the 17th century. The people generally call it *Fei-ch'eng*." (*Bretschneider, Peking*, p. 50.)—H. C.] It is described both by Magaillans and Lecomte, with some curious discrepancies, whilst each affords particulars corroborative of Polo's account of the character of the bridge. The former calls it the finest bridge in China. Lecomte's account says the bridge was the finest he had yet seen. "It is above 170 geometrical paces (850 feet) in length. The arches are small, but the rails or side-walls are made of a hard whitish stone resembling marble. These stones are more than 5 feet long, 3 feet high, and 7 or 8 inches thick; supported at each end by pilasters adorned with mouldings and bearing the figures of lions. . . . The bridge is paved with great flat stones, so well joined that it is even as a floor."

Magaillans thinks Polo's memory partially misled him, and that his description applies more correctly to another bridge on the same road, but some distance further west, over the Lieu-li Ho. For the bridge over the Hwan Ho had really but *thirteen* arches, whereas that on the Lieu-li had, as Polo specifies, twenty-four. The engraving which we give of the Lu-kou K'iao from a Chinese work confirms this statement, for it shows but thirteen arches. And what Polo says of the navigation of the river is almost conclusive proof that Magaillans is right, and that our traveller's memory confounded the two bridges. For the navigation of the Hwan Ho, even when its channel is full, is said to be impracticable on account of rapids, whilst the Lieu-li Ho, or "Glass River," is, as its name implies, smooth, and navigable, and it is largely navigated by boats from the coal-mines of Fang-shan. The road crosses the latter about two leagues from Cho-chau. (See next chapter.)

[The Rev. W. S. Ament (*M. Polo in Cambaluc*, p. 116-117) remarks regarding Yule's quotation from Magaillans that "a glance at Chinese history would have explained to these gentlemen that there was no stone bridge over the Liu Li river till the days of Kia Tsing, the Ming Emperor, 1522 A.D., or more than one hundred and fifty years after Polo was dead. Hence he could not have confounded bridges, one of which he never saw. The Lu Kou Bridge was first constructed of stone by She Tsung, fourth Emperor of the Kin, in the period Ta Ting 1189 A.D., and was finished by Chang Tsung 1194 A.D. Before that time it had been constructed of wood, and had been sometimes a stationary and often a floating bridge. The oldest account [end of 16th century] states that the bridge was pu 200 in length, and specifically states that each pu was 5 feet, thus making the bridge 1000 feet long. It was called the Kuan Li Bridge. The Emperor, Kia Tsing of the Ming, was a great bridge builder. He reconstructed this bridge, adding strong embankments to prevent injury by floods. He also built the fine bridge over the Liu Li Ho, the Cho Chou Bridge over the Chü Ma Ho. What cannot be explained is Polo's statement that the bridge had twenty-four arches, when the oldest accounts give no more than thirteen, there being eleven at the present time. The columns which supported the balustrade in Polo's time rested upon the loins of sculptured lions. The account of the lions after the bridge was repaired by Kia Tsing says that there are so many that it is impossible to count them correctly, and gossip about the bridge says that several persons have lost their minds in making the attempt. The little walled city on the



Bridge of Lu-ku k'iao.

east end of the bridge, rightly called Kung Chi, popularly called Fei Ch'eng, is a monument to Ts'ung Chêng, the last of the Ming, who built it, hoping to check the advance of Li Tzu ch'eng, the great robber chief who finally proved too strong for him."—H. C.]

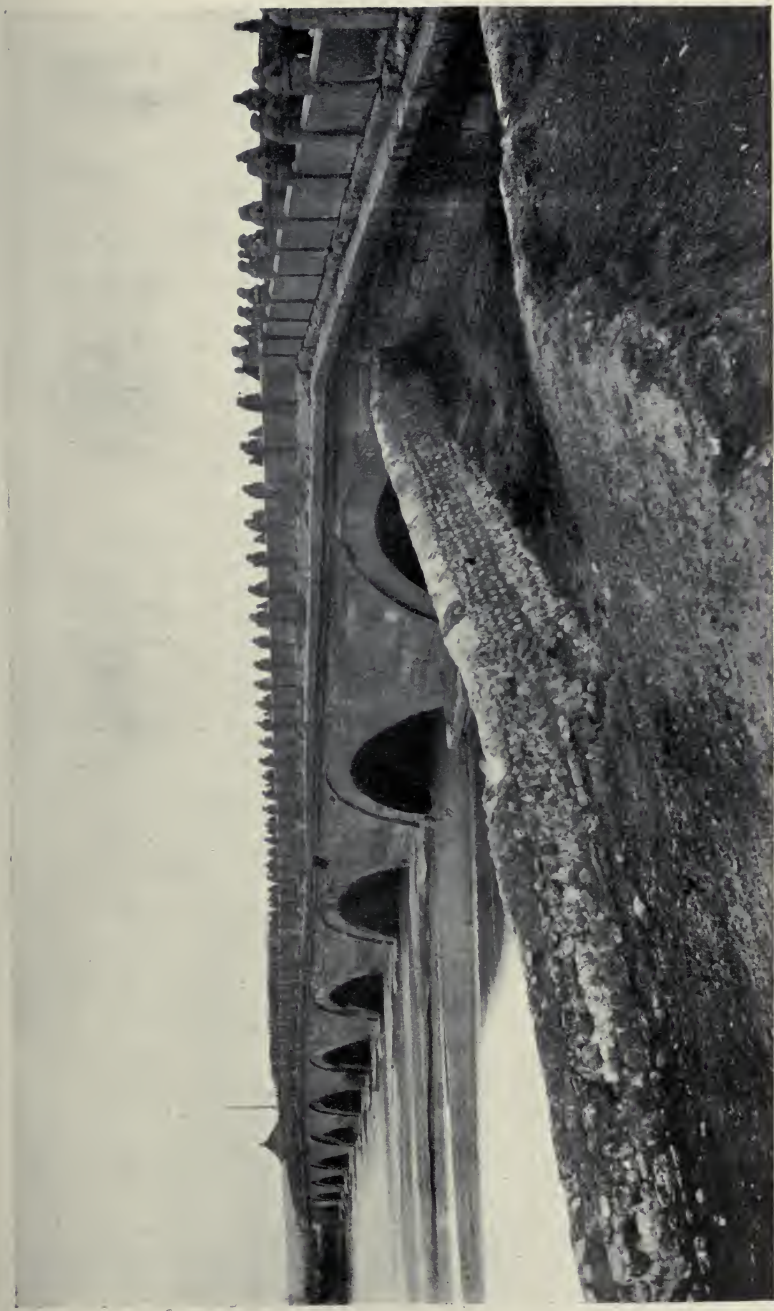
The Bridge of Lu-kou is mentioned more than once in the history of the conquest of North China by Chinghiz. It was the scene of a notable mutiny of the troops of the *K'in* Dynasty in 1215, which induced Chinghiz to break a treaty just concluded, and led to his capture of Peking.

This bridge was begun, according to Klaproth, in 1189, and was five years a-building. On the 17th August, 1688, as Magaillans tells us, a great flood carried away two arches of the bridge, and the remainder soon fell. [Father Intorcetta, quoted by Bretschneider (*Peking*, p. 53), gives the 25th of July, 1668, as the date of the destruction of the bridge, which agrees well with the Chinese accounts.—H. C.] The bridge was renewed, but with only nine arches instead of thirteen, as appears from the following note of personal observation with which Dr. Lockhart has favoured me :

"At 27 *li* from Peking, by the western road leaving the gate of the Chinese city called Kwang'an-mân, after passing the old walled town of F'euchien, you reach the bridge of *Lo-Ku-Kiao*. As it now stands it is a very long bridge of nine arches (real arches) spanning the valley of the Hwan Ho, and surrounded by beautiful scenery. The bridge is built of green sandstone, and has a good balustrade with short square pilasters crowned by small lions. It is in very good repair, and has a ceaseless traffic, being on the road to the coal-mines which supply the city. There is a pavilion at each end of the bridge with inscriptions, the one recording that K'anghi (1662-1723) built the bridge, and the other that Kienlung (1736-1796) repaired it." These circumstances are strictly consistent with Magaillans' account of the destruction of the mediæval bridge. Williamson describes the present bridge as about 700 feet long, and 12 feet wide in the middle part.

[Dr. Bretschneider saw the bridge, and gives the following description of it : "The bridge is 350 ordinary paces long and 18 broad. It is built of sandstone, and has on either side a stone balustrade of square columns, about 4 feet high, 140 on each side, each crowned by a sculptured lion over a foot high. Beside these there are a number of smaller lions placed irregularly on the necks, behind the legs, under the feet, or on the back of the larger ones. The space between the columns is closed by stone slabs. Four sculptured stone elephants lean with their foreheads against the edge of the balustrades. The bridge is supported by eleven arches. At each end of the bridge two pavilions with yellow roofs have been built, all with large marble tablets in them; two with inscriptions made by order of the Emperor K'anghi (1662-1723); and two with inscriptions of the time of K'ien-lung (1736-1796). On these tablets the history of the bridge is recorded." Dr. Bretschneider adds that Dr. Lockhart is also right in counting nine arches, for he counts only the waterways, not the arches resting upon the banks of the river. Dr. Forke (p. 5) counts 11 arches and 280 stone lions.—H. C.]

(*P. de la Croix*, II. 11, etc.; *Erskine's Baber*, p. xxxiii.; *Timour's Institutes*, 70; *J. As.* IX. 205; *Cathay*, 260; *Magaillans*, 14-18, 35; *Lecomte in Astley*, III. 529; *J. As.* sér. II. tom. i. 97-98; *D'Ohsson*, I. 144.)



Bridge of Lu-ku k'iao.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF JUJU.

WHEN you leave the Bridge, and ride towards the west, finding all the way excellent hostelries for travellers, with fine vineyards, fields, and gardens, and springs of water, you come after 30 miles to a fine large city called JUJU, where there are many abbeys of idolaters, and the people live by trade and manufactures. They weave cloths of silk and gold, and very fine taffetas.¹ Here too there are many hostelries for travellers.²

After riding a mile beyond this city you find two roads, one of which goes west and the other south-east. The westerly road is that through Cathay, and the south-easterly one goes towards the province of Manzi.³

Taking the westerly one through Cathay, and travelling by it for ten days, you find a constant succession of cities and boroughs, with numerous thriving villages, all abounding with trade and manufactures, besides the fine fields and vineyards and dwellings of civilized people; but nothing occurs worthy of special mention; and so I will only speak of a kingdom called TAIANFU.

NOTE 1.—The word is *sendaus* (Pauthier), pl. of *sendal*, and in G. T. *sandal*. It does not seem perfectly known what this silk texture was, but as banners were made of it, and linings for richer stuffs, it appears to have been a light material, and is generally rendered *taffetas*. In *Richard Cœur de Lion* we find

“Many a pencil of sykelatoun
And of sendel of grene and broun,”

and also *pavilions* of sendel; and in the Anglo-French ballad of the death of William Earl of Salisbury in St. Lewis's battle on the Nile—

“Le Meister du Temple brace les chivaux
Et le Count Long-Espée depli les *sandaux*.”

The oriflamme of France was made of *cedal*. Chaucer couples taffetas and sendal. His "Doctor of Physic"

"In sanguin and in persé clad was allé,
Lined with taffata and with sendall."

[La Curne, *Dict.*, s. v. *Sendaus* has: Silk stuff: "Somme de la delivrance des *sendaus*." (*Nouv. Compt. de l'Arg.* p. 19).—Godefroy, *Dict.*, gives: "*Sendain*, adj., made with the stuff called *cedal*: Drap d'or *sendains* (1392, *Test. de Blanche, duch. d'Orl.*, Ste-Croix, Arch. Loiret)." He says s.v. *CENDAL*, "*cedau, cendral, cendel, . . . sendail, . . . étoffe légère de soie unie qui parait avoir été analogue au taffetas*." "On faisait des *cedaux* forts ou faibles, et on leur donnait toute sorte de couleurs. On s'en servait surtout pour vêtements et corsets, pour doublures de draps, de fourrures et d'autres étoffes de soie plus précieuses, enfin pour tenture d'appartements." (*Bourquelot, Foir. de Champ.* I. 261)."

"J'ay de toilles de mainte guise,
De sidonnes et de *cedaulx*.
Soyes, satins blancs et vermaulx."

—*Greban, Mist. de la Pass.*, 26826, *G. Paris.* —H. C.]

The origin of the word seems also somewhat doubtful. The word *Σενδὲς* occurs in *Constant. Porphyrog. de Ceremoniis* (Bonn, ed. I. 468), and this looks like a transfer of the Arabic *Sindās* or *Sundās*, which is applied by Bakui to the silk fabrics of Yezd. (*Not. et Exl.* II. 469.) Reiske thinks this is the origin of the Frank word, and connects its etymology with Sind. Others think that *sendal* and the other forms are modifications of the ancient *Sindon*, and this is Mr. Marsh's view. (See also *Fr.-Michel, Recherches*, etc. I. 212; *Dict. des Tissus*, II. 171 seqq.)

NOTE 2.—JUJU is precisely the name given to this city by Rashiduddin, who notices the vineyards. Juju is CHO-CHAU, just at the distance specified from Peking, viz. 40 miles, and nearly 30 from Pulisanghin or Lu-kou K'iao. The name of the town is printed *Tsochow* by Mr. Williamson, and *Chechow* in a late Report of a journey by Consul Oxenham. He calls it "a large town of the second order, situated on the banks of a small river flowing towards the south-east, viz. the Kiu-ma-Ho, a navigable stream. It had the appearance of being a place of considerable trade, and the streets were crowded with people." (*Reports of Journeys in China and Japan*, etc. Presented to Parliament, 1869, p. 9.) The place is called *Jūjū* also in the Persian itinerary given by 'Izzat Ullah in *J. R. A. S.* VII. 308; and in one procured by Mr. Shaw. (*Proc. R. G. S.* XVI. p. 253.)

[The Rev. W. S. Ament (*Marco Polo*, 119-120) writes, "the historian of the city of Cho-chau sounds the praises of the people for their religious spirit. He says:—'It was the custom of the ancients to worship those who were before them. Thus students worshipped their instructors, farmers worshipped the first husbandman, workers in silk, the original silk-worker. Thus when calamities come upon the land, the virtuous among the people make offerings to the spirits of earth and heaven, the mountains, rivers, streams, etc. All these things are profitable. These customs should never be forgotten.' After such instruction, we are prepared to find fifty-eight temples of every variety in this little city of about 20,000 inhabitants. There is a temple to the spirits of Wind, Clouds, Thunder, and Rain, to the god of silk-workers, to the Horse-god, to the god of locusts, and the eight destructive insects, to the Five Dragons, to the King who quiets the waves. Besides these, there are all the orthodox temples to the ancient worthies, and some modern heroes. Liu Pei and Chang Fei, two of the three great heroes of the *San Kuo Chih*, being natives of Cho Chou, are each honoured with two temples, one in the native village, and one in the city. It is not often that one locality can give to a great empire two of its three most popular heroes: Liu Pei, Chang Fei, Kuan Yu."

"Judging from the condition of the country," writes the Rev. W. S. Ament

(p. 120), "one could hardly believe that this general region was the original home of the silk-worm, and doubtless the people who once lived here are the only people who ever saw the silk-worm in his wild state. The historian of Cho-Chou honestly remarks that he knows of no reason why the production of silk should have ceased there, except the fact that the worms refused to live there. . . . The palmy days of the silk industry were in the T'ang dynasty."—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—"About a *li* from the southern suburbs of this town, the great road to Shantung and the south-east diverged, causing an immediate diminution in the number of carts and travellers" (*Oxenham*). [From Peking "to Cheng-ting fu, says Colonel Bell (*Proc. R. G. S.*, XII. 1890, p. 58), the route followed is the Great Southern highway; here the Great Central Asian highway leaves it." The Rev. W. S. Ament says (*l.c.*, 121) about the bifurcation of the road, one branch going on south-west to Pao-Ting fu and Shan-si, and one branch to Shantung land Ho-nan: "The union of the two roads at this point, bringing the travel and traffic of ten provinces, makes Cho Chou one of the most important cities in the Empire. The magistrate of this district is the only one, so far as we know, in the Empire who is relieved of the duty of welcoming and escorting transient officers. It was the multiplicity of such duties, so harassing, that persuaded Fang Kuan-ch'eng to write the couplet on one of the city gate-ways: *Jih pien ch'ung yao, wu shuang ti: T'ien hsia fan nan, ti yi Chou*. 'In all the world, there is no place so public as this: for multiplied cares and trials, this is the first Chou.' The people of Cho-Chou, of old celebrated for their religious spirit, are now well known for their literary enterprise."—H. C.] This bifurcation of the roads is a notable point in Polo's book. For after following the western road through Cathay, *i.e.* the northern provinces of China, to the borders of Tibet and the Indo-Chinese regions, our traveller will return, whimsically enough, not to the capital to take a fresh departure, but to this bifurcation outside of Chochau, and thence carry us south with him to Manzi, or China south of the Yellow River.

Of a part of the road of which Polo speaks in the latter part of the chapter Williamson says: "The drive was a very beautiful one. Not only were the many villages almost hidden by foliage, but the road itself hereabouts is lined with trees. . . . The effect was to make the journey like a ramble through the avenues of some English park." Beyond Tingchau however the country becomes more barren. (I. 268.)

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE KINGDOM OF TAIANFU.

AFTER riding then those ten days from the city of Juju, you find yourself in a kingdom called TAIANFU, and the city at which you arrive, which is the capital, is also called Taianfu, a very great and fine city. [But at the end of five days' journey out of those ten, they say there is a city unusually large and handsome called

ACBALUC, whereat terminate in this direction the hunting preserves of the Emperor, within which no one dares to sport except the Emperor and his family, and those who are on the books of the Grand Falconer. Beyond this limit any one is at liberty to sport, if he be a gentleman. The Great Kaan, however, scarcely ever went hunting in this direction, and hence the game, particularly the hares, had increased and multiplied to such an extent that all the crops of the Province were destroyed. The Great Kaan being informed of this, proceeded thither with all his Court, and the game that was taken was past counting.]¹

Taianfu² is a place of great trade and great industry, for here they manufacture a large quantity of the most necessary equipments for the army of the Emperor. There grow here many excellent vines, supplying great plenty of wine; and in all Cathay this is the only place where wine is produced. It is carried hence all over the country.³ There is also a great deal of silk here, for the people have great quantities of mulberry-trees and silk-worms.

From this city of Taianfu you ride westward again for seven days, through fine districts with plenty of towns and boroughs, all enjoying much trade and practising various kinds of industry. Out of these districts go forth not a few great merchants, who travel to India and other foreign regions, buying and selling and getting gain. After those seven days' journey you arrive at a city called PIANFU, a large and important place, with a number of traders living by commerce and industry. It is a place too where silk is largely produced.⁴

So we will leave it and tell you of a great city called Cachanfu. But stay—first let us tell you about the noble castle called Caichu.

NOTE I.—Marsden translates the commencement of this passage, which is peculiar to Ramusio, and runs “*E in capo di cinque giornate delle predette dieci,*” by the words “At the end of five days’ journey *beyond* the ten,” but this is clearly wrong.* The place best suiting in position, as halfway between Cho-chau and T’ai-yuan fu, would be CHENG-TING FU, and I have little doubt that this is the place intended. The title of *Ak-Báligh* in Turki,† or *Chaghán Balghásun* in Mongol, meaning “White City,” was applied by the Tartars to Royal Residences; and possibly Cheng-ting fu may have had such a claim, for I observe in the *Annales de la Prop. de la Foi* (xxxiii. 387) that in 1862 the Chinese Government granted to the R. C. Vicar-Apostolic of Chihli the ruined *Imperial Palace* at Cheng-ting fu for his cathedral and other mission establishments. Moreover, as a matter of fact, Rashiduddin’s account of Chinghiz’s campaign in northern China in 1214, speaks of the city of “Chaghan Balghasun which the Chinese call *Jintzinfu*.” This is almost exactly the way in which the name of Cheng-ting fu is represented in ‘Izzat Ullah’s Persian Itinerary (*Jigdzinfu*, evidently a clerical error for *Jingdzinfu*), so I think there can be little doubt that Cheng-ting fu is the place intended. The name of Hwai-luh’ien (see Note 2), which is the first stage beyond Cheng-ting fu, is said to mean the “Deer-lair,” pointing apparently to the old character of the tract as a game-preserve. The city of Cheng-ting is described by Consul Oxenham as being now in a decayed and dilapidated condition, consisting only of two long streets crossing at right angles. It is noted for the manufacture of images of Buddha from Shan-si iron. (*Consular Reports*, p. 10; *Erdmann*, 331.)

[The main road turns due west at Cheng-ting fu, and enters Shan-si through what is known among Chinese travellers as the Ku-kwan, Customs’ Barrier.—H. C.]

Between Cheng-ting fu and T’ai-yuan fu the traveller first crosses a high and rugged range of mountains, and then ascends by narrow defiles to the plateau of Shan-si. But of these features Polo’s excessive condensation takes no notice.

The traveller who quits the great plain of Chihli [which terminates at Fu ch’eng-i, a small market-town, two days from Pao-ting.—H. C.] for “the kingdom of Taianfu,” *i.e.* Northern Shan-si, enters a tract in which predominates that very remarkable formation called by the Chinese *Hwang-tu*, and to which the German name *Löss* has been attached. With this formation are bound up the distinguishing characters of Northern Interior China, not merely in scenery but in agricultural products, dwellings, and means of transport. This *Löss* is a brownish-yellow loam, highly porous, spreading over low and high ground alike, smoothing over irregularities of surface, and often more than 1000 feet in thickness. It has no stratification, but tends to cleave vertically, and is traversed in every direction by sudden crevices, almost glacier-like, narrow, with vertical walls of great depth, and infinite ramification. Smooth as the *löss* basin looks in a bird’s-eye view, it is thus one of the most impracticable countries conceivable for military movements, and secures extraordinary value to fortresses in well-chosen sites, such as that of Tung-kwan mentioned in Note 2 to chap. xli.

Agriculture may be said in N. China to be confined to the alluvial plains and the *löss*; as in S. China to the alluvial plains and the terraced hill-sides. The *löss* has some peculiar quality which renders its productive power self-renewing without manure (unless it be in the form of a surface coat of fresh *löss*), and unailing in returns if there be sufficient rain. This singular formation is supposed by Baron Richtofen, who has studied it more extensively than any one, to be no subaqueous deposit, but to be the accumulated residue of countless generations of herbaceous plants combined with a large amount of material spread over the face of the ground by the winds and surface waters.

[I do not agree with the theory of Baron von Richtofen, of the almost exclusive Eolian formation of *loess*; water has something to do with it as well as wind, and I think it is more exact to say that *loess* in China is due to a double action, Neptunian as well as Eolian. The climate was different in former ages from what it is now, and

* And I see Ritter understood the passage as I do (IV. 515).

† *Báligh* is indeed properly Mongol.

rain was plentiful and to its great quantity was due the fertility of this yellow soil. (Cf. *A. de Lapparent, Leçons de Géographie Physique*, 2e éd. 1898, p. 566.)—H. C.]

Though we do not expect to find Polo taking note of geological features, we are surprised to find no mention of a characteristic of Shan-si and the adjoining districts, which is due to the *löss*; viz. the practice of forming cave dwellings in it; these in fact form the habitations of a majority of the people in the *löss* country. Polo has noticed a similar usage in Badakhshan (I. p. 161), and it will be curious if a better acquaintance with that region should disclose a surface formation analogous to the *löss*. (*Richthofen's Letters*, VII. 13 *et passim*.)

NOTE 2.—Tai'anfu is, as Magaillans pointed out, T'AI-YUAN FU, the capital of the Province of Shan-si, and Shan-si is the "Kingdom." The city was, however, the capital of the great T'ang Dynasty for a time in the 8th century, and is probably the *Tájah* or *Taiyúnah* of old Arab writers. Mr. Williamson speaks of it as a very pleasant city at the north end of a most fertile and beautiful plain, between two noble ranges of mountains. It was a residence, he says, also of the Ming princes, and is laid out in Peking fashion, even to mimicking the Coal-Hill and Lake of the Imperial Gardens. It stands about 3000 feet above the sea [on the left bank of the Fen-ho.—H. C.] There is still an Imperial factory of artillery, matchlocks, etc., as well as a powder mill; and fine carpets like those of Turkey are also manufactured. The city is not, however, now, according to Baron Richthofen, very populous, and conveys no impression of wealth or commercial importance. [In an interesting article on this city, the Rev. G. B. Farthing writes (*North China Herald*, 7th September, 1894): "The configuration of the ground enclosed by T'ai-yuan fu city is that of a 'three times to stretch recumbent cow.' The site was chosen and described by Li Chun-feng, a celebrated professor of geomancy in the days of the T'angs, who lived during the reign of the Emperor T'ai Tsung of that ilk. The city having been then founded, its history reaches back to that date. Since that time the cow has stretched twice. . . . T'ai-yuan city is square, and surrounded by a wall of earth, of which the outer face is bricked. The height of the wall varies from thirty to fifty feet, and it is so broad that two carriages could easily pass one another upon it. The natives would tell you that each of the sides is three miles, thirteen paces in length, but this, possibly, includes what it will be when the cow shall have stretched for the third and last time. Two miles is the length of each side; eight miles to tramp if you wish to go round the four of them."—H. C.] The district used to be much noted for cutlery and hardware, iron as well as coal being abundantly produced in Shan-si. Apparently the present Birmingham of this region is a town called Hwai-lu, or Hwo-luh'ien, about 20 miles west of Cheng-ting fu, and just on the western verge of the great plain of Chihli. [Regarding Hwai-lu, the Rev. C. Holcombe calls it "a miserable town lying among the foot hills, and at the mouth of the valley, up which the road into Shan-si lies." He writes (p. 59) that Ping-ting chau, after the Customs' barrier (Ku Kwan) between Chih-li and Shan-si, would, under any proper system of management, at no distant day become the Pittsburg, or Birmingham, of China.—H. C.] (*Richthofen's Letters*, No. VII. 20; *Cathay*, xcvi. cxiii. cxiv.; *Rennie*, II. 265; *Williamson's Journeys in North China*; *Oxenham*, u. s. 11; *Klaproth in J. As. sér. II. tom. i. 100*; *Izzat Ullah's Pers. Itin. in J. R. A. S. VII. 307*; *Forke, Von Peking nach Ch'ang-an*, p. 23.)

["From Khavailu (Hwo-luh'ien), an important commercial centre supplying Shansi, for 130 miles to Sze-tien, the road traverses the loess hills, which extend from the Peking-Kalgan road in a south-west direction to the Yellow River, and which are passable throughout this length only by the Great Central Asian trade route to T'ai-yuan fu and by the Tung-Kwan, Ho-nan, *i.e.* the Yellow River route. (*Colonel Bell, Proc. R. G. S. XII. 1890, p. 59.*) Colonel Bell reckons seven days (218 miles) from Peking to Hwo-lu-h'ien and five days from this place to T'ai-yuan fu."—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—Martini observes that the grapes in Shan-si were very abundant and the

best in China. The Chinese used them only as raisins, but wine was made there for the use of the early Jesuit Missions, and their successors continue to make it. Klapproth, however, tells us that the wine of T'ai-yuan fu was celebrated in the days of the T'ang Dynasty, and used to be sent in tribute to the Emperors. Under the Mongols the use of this wine spread greatly. The founder of the Ming accepted the offering of wine of the vine from T'aiyuan in 1373, but prohibited its being presented again. The finest grapes are produced in the district of Yukau-hien, where hills shield the plain from north winds, and convert it into a garden many square miles in extent. In the vintage season the best grapes sell for less than a farthing a pound. [Mr. Theos. Sampson, in an article on "Grapes in China," writes (*Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, April, 1869, p. 50): "The earliest mention of the grape in Chinese literature appears to be contained in the chapter on the nations of Central Asia, entitled *Ta Yuan Chwan*, or description of Fergana, which forms part of the historical records (*Sze-K'i*) of Sze-ma T sien, dating from B.C. 100. Writing of the political relations instituted shortly before this date by the Emperor Wu Ti with the nations beyond the Western frontiers of China, the historian dwells at considerable length, but unluckily with much obscurity, on the various missions despatched westward under the leadership of Chang K'ien and others, and mentions the grape vine in the following passage:—"Throughout the country of Fergana, wine is made from grapes, and the wealthy lay up stores of wine, many tens of thousands of *shih* in amount, which may be kept for scores of years without spoiling. Wine is the common beverage, and for horses the *mu-su* is the ordinary pasture. The envoys from China brought back seeds with them, and hereupon the Emperor for the first time cultivated the grape and the *mu-su* in the most productive soils." In the Description of Western regions, forming part of the History of the Han Dynasty, it is stated that grapes are abundantly produced in the country of K'i-pin (identified with Cophene, part of modern Afghanistan) and other adjacent countries, and referring, if I mistake not, to the journeys of Chang K'ien, the same work says, that the Emperor Wu-Ti despatched upwards of ten envoys to the various countries westward of Fergana, to search for novelties, and that they returned with grape and *mu-su* seeds. These references appear beyond question to determine the fact that grapes were introduced from Western—or, as we term it, Central—Asia, by Chang K'ien."

Dr. Bretschneider (*Botanicon Sinicum*, I. p. 25), relating the mission of Chang K'ien (139 B.C. Emperor Wu-Ti), who died about B.C. 103, writes:—"He is said to have introduced many useful plants from Western Asia into China. Ancient Chinese authors ascribe to him the introduction of the Vine, the Pomegranate, Safflower, the Common Bean, the Cucumber, Lucerne, Coriander, the Walnut-tree, and other plants."—H. C.] The river that flows down from Shan-si by Cheng-ting-fu is called "Putu-ho, or the Grape River." (*J. As. u. s.*; *Richtshofen*, u. s.)

[Regarding the name of this river, the Rev. C. Holcombe (*l.c.* p. 56) writes: "Williamson states in his *Journeys in North China* that the name of this stream is, properly *Poo-too Ho*—"Grape River," but is sometimes written Hu-t'ou River incorrectly. The above named author, however, is himself in error, the name given above [*Hu-t'ou*] being invariably found in all Chinese authorities, as well as being the name by which the stream is known all along its course."

West of the Fan River, along the western border of the Central Plain of Shan-si, in the extreme northern point of which lies T'ai-yuan fu, the Rev. C. Holcombe says (p. 61), "is a large area, close under the hills, almost exclusively given up to the cultivation of the grape. The grapes are unusually large, and of delicious flavour."—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—!—In no part of China probably, says Richtshofen, do the towns and villages consist of houses so substantial and costly as in this. Pianfu is undoubtedly, as Magaillans again notices, P'ING-YANG FU.* It is the *Bikan* of Shah Rukh's

* It seems to be called *Piyungfu* (miswritten *Piyungku*) in Mr. Shaw's *Itinerary* from Yarkand (*Pr. R. G. S. XVI.* 253.) We often find the Western modifications of Chinese names very persistent,

ambassadors. [Old P'ing yang, 5 *lis* to the south] is said to have been the residence of the primitive and mythical Chinese Emperor Yao. A great college for the education of the Mongols was instituted at P'ing-yang, by Yeliu Chutsai, the enlightened minister of Okkodai Khan. [Its dialect differs from the T'ai-yuan dialect, and is more like Pekingese.] The city, lying in a broad valley covered with the yellow löss, was destroyed by the T'ai-P'ing rebels, but it is reviving. [It is known for its black pottery.] The vicinity is noted for large paper factories. ["From T'ai-yuan fu to P'ing-yang fu is a journey of 185 miles, down the valley of the Fuen-ho." (Colonel Bell, *Proc. R. G. S.* XII. 1890, p. 61.) By the way, Mr. Rockhill remarks (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 10): "Richthofen has transcribed the name of this river *Fuen*. This spelling has been adopted on most of the recent maps, both German and English, but *Fuen* is an impossible sound in Chinese." (Read *Fen ho.*)—H. C.] (*Cathay*, ccxi.; *Ritter*, IV. 516; *D'Ohsson*, II. 70; *Williamson*, I. 336.)

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CONCERNING THE CASTLE OF CAICHU.

ON leaving Pianfu you ride two days westward, and come to the noble castle of CAICHU, which was built in time past by a king of that country, whom they used to call the GOLDEN KING, and who had there a great and beautiful palace. There is a great hall of this palace, in which are pourtrayed all the ancient kings of the country, done in gold and other beautiful colours, and a very fine sight they make. Each king in succession as he reigned added to those pictures.¹

[This Golden King was a great and potent Prince, and during his stay at this place there used to be in his service none but beautiful girls, of whom he had a great number in his Court. When he went to take the air about the fortress, these girls used to draw him about in a little carriage which they could easily move, and they would also be in attendance on the King for everything pertaining to his convenience or pleasure.²]

Now I will tell you a pretty passage that befel between the Golden King and Prester John, as it was related by the people of the Castle.

It came to pass, as they told the tale, that this Golden King was at war with Prester John. And the King held a position so strong that Prester John was not able to get at him or to do him any scathe; wherefore he was in great wrath. So seventeen gallants belonging to Prester John's Court came to him in a body, and said that, an he would, they were ready to bring him the Golden King alive. His answer was, that he desired nothing better, and would be much bounden to them if they would do so.

So when they had taken leave of their Lord and Master Prester John, they set off together, this goodly company of gallants, and went to the Golden King, and presented themselves before him, saying that they had come from foreign parts to enter his service. And he answered by telling them that they were right welcome, and that he was glad to have their service, never imagining that they had any ill intent. And so these mischievous squires took service with the Golden King; and served him so well that he grew to love them dearly.

And when they had abode with that King nearly two years, conducting themselves like persons who thought of anything but treason, they one day accompanied the King on a pleasure party when he had very few else along with him: for in those gallants the King had perfect trust, and thus kept them immediately about his person. So after they had crossed a certain river that is about a mile from the castle, and saw that they were alone with the King, they said one to another that now was the time to achieve that they had come for. Then they all incontinently drew, and told the King that he must go with them and make no resistance, or they would slay him. The King at this was in alarm and great astonishment, and said: "How then, good

my sons, what thing is this ye say? and whither would ye have me go?" They answered, and said: "You shall come with us, will ye, nill ye, to Prester John our Lord."

NOTE I.—The name of the castle is very doubtful. But of that and the geography, which in this part is tangled, we shall speak further on.

Whilst the original French texts were unknown, the king here spoken of figured in the old Latin versions as King *Darius*, and in Ramusio as *Re Dor*. It was a most happy suggestion of Marsden's, in absence of all knowledge of the fact that the original narrative was *French*, that this Dor represented the Emperor of the *Kin* or



The "Roi d'Or." (From a MS. in the Royal Asiatic Society's Collection.)

"Et en ceste chastiaus ha un mout biaux palais en quel a une grandisme sale
là ou il sunt portrait à mout belles pointures tout les rois de celes
provinces que furent ansienement, et ce est mout belle viste à voir."

Golden Dynasty, called by the Mongols *Altun Khán*, of which *Roi D'Or* is a literal translation.

Of the legend itself I can find no trace. Rashiduddin relates a story of the grandfather of Aung Khan (Polo's Prester John), Merghuz Boirúk Khan, being treacherously made over to the King of the Churché (the Kin sovereign), and put to death by being nailed to a wooden ass. But the same author tells us that Aung Khan got his title of Aung (Ch. *Wang*) or king from the Kin Emperor of his day, so that no hereditary feud seems deducible.

Mr. Wylie, who is of opinion, like Baron Richthofen, that the *Caichu* which Polo makes the scene of that story, is Kiai-chau (or Hiai-chau as it seems to be pronounced), north of the Yellow River, has been good enough to search the histories of the Liao and Kin Dynasties,* but without finding any trace of such a story, or of the Kin Emperors having resided in that neighbourhood.

* [There is no trace of it in Harlez's French translation from the Manchu of the History of the Kin Empire, 1887.—H. C.]

On the other hand, he points out that the story has a strong resemblance to a real event which occurred in Central Asia in the beginning of Polo's century.

The Persian historians of the Mongols relate that when Chinghiz defeated and slew Taiyang Khan, the king of the Naimans, Kushluk, the son of Taiyang, fled to the Gur-Khan of Karakhitai and received both his protection and the hand of his daughter (see i. 237); but afterwards rose against his benefactor and usurped his throne. "In the Liao history I read," Mr. Wylie says, "that Chih-lu-ku, the last monarch of the Karakhitai line, ascended the throne in 1168, and in the 34th year of his reign, when out hunting one day in autumn, Kushluk, who had 8000 troops in ambush, made him prisoner, seized his throne and adopted the customs of the Liao, while he conferred on Chih-lu-ku the honourable title of *Tai-shang-hwang* 'the old emperor.'"^{*}

It is this Kushluk, to whom Rubruquis assigns the rôle of King (or Prester) John, the subject of so many wonderful stories. And Mr. Wylie points out that not only was his father Taiyang Khan, according to the Chinese histories, a much more important prince than Aung Khan or Wang Khan the Kerait, but his name *Tai-Yang-Khan* is precisely "Great King John" as near as John (or Yohana) can be expressed in Chinese. He thinks therefore that Taiyang and his son Kushluk, the Naimans, and not Aung Khan and his descendants, the Keraites, were the parties to whom the character of Prester John properly belonged, and that it was probably this story of Kushluk's capture of the Karakhitai monarch (*Roi de Fer*) which got converted into the form in which he relates it of the *Roi d'Or*.

The suggestion seems to me, as regards the story, interesting and probable; though I do not admit that the character of Prester John properly belonged to any real person.

I may best explain my view of the matter by a geographical analogy. Pre-Columbian maps of the Atlantic showed an Island of Brazil, an Island of Antillia, founded—who knows on what?—whether on the real adventure of a vessel driven in sight of the Azores or Bermudas, or on mere fancy and fogbank. But when discovery really came to be undertaken, men looked for such lands and found them accordingly. And there they are in our geographies, Brazil and the Antilles!

The cut which we give is curious in connection with our traveller's notice of the portrait-gallery of the Golden Kings. For it is taken from the fragmentary MS. of Rashiduddin's History in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, a MS. believed to be one of those executed under the great Vazir's own supervision, and is presented there as the portrait of the last sovereign of the Dynasty in question, being one of a whole series of similar figures. There can be little doubt, I think, that these were taken from Chinese originals, though, it may be, not very exactly.

NOTE 2.—The history of the Tartar conquerors of China, whether Khitan, Churché, Mongol, or Manchu, has always been the same. For one or two generations the warlike character and manly habits were maintained; and then the intruders, having adopted Chinese manners, ceremonies, literature, and civilization, sank into more than Chinese effeminacy and degradation. We see the custom of employing only female attendants ascribed in a later chapter (lxxvii.) to the Sung Emperors at Kinsay; and the same was the custom of the later Ming emperors, in whose time the imperial palace was said to contain 5000 women. Indeed, the precise custom which this passage describes was in our own day habitually reported of the T'ai-P'ing sovereign during his reign at Nanking: "None but women are allowed in the interior of the Palace, and he is drawn to the audience-chamber in a gilded sacred dragon-car by the ladies." (*Blakiston*, p. 42; see also *Wilson's Ever-Victorious Army*, p. 41.)

^{*} See also Oppert (p. 157), who cites this story from Visdelou, but does not notice its analogy to Polo's.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

HOW PRESTER JOHN TREATED THE GOLDEN KING HIS PRISONER.

AND on this the Golden King was so sorely grieved that he was like to die. And he said to them: "Good, my sons, for God's sake have pity and compassion upon me. Ye wot well what honourable and kindly entertainment ye have had in my house; and now ye would deliver me into the hands of mine enemy! In sooth, if ye do what ye say, ye will do a very naughty and disloyal deed, and a right villainous." But they answered only that so it must be, and away they had him to Prester John, their Lord.

And when Prester John beheld the King he was right glad, and greeted him with something like a malison.* The King answered not a word, as if he wist not what it behoved him to say. So Prester John ordered him to be taken forth straightway, and to be put to look after cattle, but to be well looked after himself also. So they took him and set him to keep cattle. This did Prester John of the grudge he bore the King, to heap contumely on him, and to show what a nothing he was, compared to himself.

And when the King had thus kept cattle for two years, Prester John sent for him, and treated him with honour, and clothed him in rich robes, and said to him: "Now Sir King, art thou satisfied that thou wast in no way a man to stand against me?" "Truly, my good Lord, I know well and always did know that I was in no way a man to stand against thee." And when he had said this Prester John replied: "I ask no more; but

* "Lui dist que il feust le mal venuz."

henceforth thou shalt be waited on and honourably treated." So he caused horses and harness of war to be given him, with a goodly train, and sent him back to his own country. And after that he remained ever friendly to Prester John, and held fast by him.

So now I will say no more of this adventure of the Golden King, but I will proceed with our subject.

CHAPTER XL.

CONCERNING THE GREAT RIVER CARAMORAN AND THE CITY OF CACHANFU.

WHEN you leave the castle, and travel about 20 miles westward, you come to a river called CARAMORAN, so big that no bridge can be thrown across it; for it is of immense width and depth, and reaches to the Great Ocean that encircles the Universe,—I mean the whole earth. On this river there are many cities and walled towns, and many merchants too therein, for much traffic takes place upon the river, there being a great deal of ginger and a great deal of silk produced in the country.²

Game birds here are in wonderful abundance, inso-much that you may buy at least three pheasants for a Venice groat of silver. I should say rather for an *asper*, which is worth a little more.³

[On the lands adjoining this river there grow vast quantities of great canes, some of which are a foot or a foot and a half (in girth), and these the natives employ for many useful purposes.]

After passing the river and travelling two days westward you come to the noble city of CACHANFU, which we

have already named. The inhabitants are all Idolaters. And I may as well remind you again that all the people of Cathay are Idolaters. It is a city of great trade and of work in gold-tissues of many sorts, as well as other kinds of industry.

There is nothing else worth mentioning, and so we will proceed and tell you of a noble city which is the capital of a kingdom, and is called Kenjanfu.

NOTE 1.—*Karâ-Muren*, or Black River, is one of the names applied by the Mongols to the Hwang Ho, or Yellow River, of the Chinese, and is used by all the mediæval western writers, e.g. Odoric, John Marignolli, Rashiduddin.

The River, where it skirts Shan-si, is for the most part difficult both of access and of passage, and ill adapted to navigation, owing to the violence of the stream. Whatever there is of navigation is confined to the transport of coal down-stream from Western Shan-si, in large flats. Mr. Elias, who has noted the River's level by aneroid at two points 920 miles apart, calculated the fall over that distance, which includes the contour of Shan-si, at 4 feet per mile. The best part for navigation is above this, from Ning-hia to Chaghan Kuren (in about 110° E. long.), in which Captain Prjevalski's observations give a fall of less than 6 inches per mile. (*Richthofen, Letter VII. 25; Williamson, I. 69; J. R. G. S. XLIII. p. 115; Petermann, 1873, pp. 89-91.*)

[On 5th January, 1889, Mr. Rockhill coming to the Yellow River from P'ing-yang, found (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 17) that "the river was between 500 and 600 yards wide, a sluggish, muddy stream, then covered with floating ice about a foot thick. . . . The Yellow River here is shallow, in the main channel only is it four or five feet deep." The Rev. C. Holcombe, who crossed in October, says (p. 65): that "it was nowhere more than 6 feet deep, and on returning, three of the boatmen sprang into the water in midstream and waded ashore, carrying a line from the ferry-boat to prevent us from rapidly drifting down with the current. The water was just up to their hips."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—It is remarkable that the abundance of silk in Shan-si and Shen-si is so distinctly mentioned in these chapters, whereas now there is next to no silk at all grown in these districts. Is this the result of a change of climate, or only a commercial change? Baron Richthofen, to whom I have referred the question, believes it to be due to the former cause: "No tract in China would appear to have suffered so much by a change of climate as Shen-si and Southern Shan-si." [See pp. 11-12.]

NOTE 3.—The *asper* or *akché* (both meaning "white") of the Mongols at Tana or Azov I have elsewhere calculated, from Pegolotti's data (*Cathay*, p. 298), to have contained about os. 2·8d. worth of silver, which is *less* than the grosso; but the name may have had a loose application to small silver coins in other countries of Asia. Possibly the money intended may have been the 50 *tsien* note. (See note 1, ch. xxiv. *supra*.)

CHAPTER XLI.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF KENJANFU.

AND when you leave the city of Cachanfu of which I have spoken, and travel eight days westward, you meet with cities and boroughs abounding in trade and industry, and quantities of beautiful trees, and gardens, and fine plains planted with mulberries, which are the trees on the leaves of which the silkworms do feed.¹ The people are all Idolaters. There is also plenty of game of all sorts, both of beasts and birds.

And when you have travelled those eight days' journey, you come to that great city which I mentioned, called KENJANFU.² A very great and fine city it is, and the capital of the kingdom of Kenjanfu, which in old times was a noble, rich, and powerful realm, and had many great and wealthy and puissant kings.³ But now the king thereof is a prince called MANGALAI, the son of the Great Kaan, who hath given him this realm, and crowned him king thereof.⁴ It is a city of great trade and industry. They have great abundance of silk, from which they weave cloths of silk and gold of divers kinds, and they also manufacture all sorts of equipments for an army. They have every necessary of man's life very cheap. The city lies towards the west; the people are Idolaters; and outside the city is the palace of the Prince Mangalai, crowned king, and son of the Great Kaan, as I told you before.

This is a fine palace and a great, as I will tell you. It stands in a great plain abounding in lakes and streams and springs of water. Round about it is a massive and lofty wall, five miles in compass, well built, and all

garnished with battlements. And within this wall is the king's palace, so great and fine that no one could imagine a finer. There are in it many great and splendid halls, and many chambers, all painted and embellished with work in beaten gold. This Mangalai rules his realm right well with justice and equity, and is much beloved by his people. The troops are quartered round about the palace, and enjoy the sport (that the royal demesne affords).

So now let us quit this kingdom, and I will tell you of a very mountainous province called Cuncun, which you reach by a road right wearisome to travel.

NOTE 1.—[“*Morus alba* is largely grown in North China for feeding silkworms.” (*Bretschneider, Hist. of Bot. Disc.* I. p. 4.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Having got to sure ground again at Kenjanfu, which is, as we shall explain presently, the city of SI-NGAN FU, capital of Shen-si, let us look back at the geography of the route from P'ing-yang fu. Its difficulties are great.

The traveller carries us two days' journey from P'ing-yang fu to his castle of the Golden King. This is called in the G.^o Text and most other MSS. *Caicui, Caytui*, or the like, but in Ramusio alone *Thaigin*. He then carries us 20 miles further to the Caramoran; he crosses this river, travels two days further, and reaches the great city CACHANFU; eight days more (or as in Ramusio *seven*) bring him to Si-ngan fu.

There seems scarcely room for doubt that CACHANFU is the HO-CHUNG FU [the ancient capital of Emperor Shun—H. C.] of those days, now called P'U-CHAU FU, close to the great elbow of the Hwang Ho (*Klaproth*). But this city, instead of being *two days west* of the great river, stands *near its eastern bank*.

[The Rev. C. Holcombe writes (pp. 64-65): “P'u-chau fu lies on a level with the Yellow River, and on the edge of a large extent of worthless marsh land, full of pools of brackish, and in some places, positively salt water. . . . The great road does not pass into the town, having succeeded in maintaining its position on the high ground from which the town has *backslided*. . . . The great road keeping to the bluff, runs on, turning first south, and then a trifle to the east of south, until the road, the bluff, and Shan-si, all end together, making a sudden plunge down a precipice and being lost in the dirty waters of the Yellow River.”—H. C.]

Not maintaining the infallibility of our traveller's memory, we may conceive confusion here, between the recollections of his journey westward and those of his return; but this does not remove all the difficulties.

The most notable fortress of the Kin sovereigns was that of T'ungkwan, on the right bank of the river, 25 miles below P'u-chau fu, and closing the passage between the river and the mountains, just where the boundaries of Ho-nan, Shan-si, and Shen-si meet. It was constantly the turning-point of the Mongol campaigns against that Dynasty, and held a prominent place in the dying instructions of Chinghiz for the prosecution of the conquest of Cathay. This fortress must have continued famous to Polo's time—indeed it continues so still, the strategic position being one which nothing short of a geological catastrophe could impair,—but I see no way of reconciling its position with his narrative.

The *name* in Ramusio's form might be merely that of the Dynasty, viz. *Tai-Kin*

=Great Golden. But we have seen that *Thaigin* is not the only reading. That of the MSS. seems to point rather to some name like *Kaichau*. A hypothesis



Plan of Ki-chau, after Duhalde.

which has seemed to me to call for least correction in the text is that the castle was at the *Ki-chau* of the maps, nearly due west of P'ing-yang fu, and just about 20 miles from the Hwang Ho; that the river was crossed in that vicinity, and that the traveller then descended the valley to opposite P'u-chau fu, or possibly embarked and descended the river itself to that point. This last hypothesis would mitigate the apparent disproportion in the times assigned to the different parts of the journey, and would, I think, clear the text of error. But it is only a hypothesis. There is near Kichau one of the easiest crossing places of the River, inasmuch that since the Shen-si troubles a large garrison has been kept up at Ki-chau to watch it.* And this is the only direction in which two days' march, at Polo's rate, would bring him within 20 miles of the Yellow River. Whether

there is any historic castle at Ki-chau I know not; the plan of that place in Duhalde, however, has the aspect of a strong position. Baron v. Richthofen is unable to accept this suggestion, and has favoured me with some valuable remarks on this difficult passage, which I slightly abridge:—

“The difficulties are, (1) that for either reading, *Thaigin* or *Caichu*, a corresponding place can be found; (2) in the position of *Cachanfu*, setting both at naught.

“*Thaigin*. There are two passages of the Yellow River near its great bend. One is at T'ungkwan, where I crossed it; the other, and more convenient, is at the fortress of Taiching-kwan, locally pronounced *Taigin-kwan*. This fortress, or rather fortified camp, is a very well-known place, and to be found on native maps; it is very close to the river, on the left bank, about 6 m. S.W. of P'u-chau fu. The road runs hence to Tung-chau fu and thence to Si-ngan fu. T'aiching-kwan could not possibly (at Polo's rate) be reached in 2 days from P'ing-yang fu.

“*Caichu*. If this reading be adopted Marsden may be right in supposing *Kiai-chau*, locally *Khaidju*, to be meant. This city dominates the important salt marsh, whence Shan-si and Shen-si are supplied with salt. It is 70 or 80 m. from P'ing-yang fu, but *could* be reached in 2 days. It commands a large and tolerably populous plain, and is quite fit to have been an imperial residence.

“May not the striking fact that there is a place corresponding to either name suggest that one of them was passed by Polo in going, the other in returning? and that, this being the only locality between Ch'êng-tu fu and Chu-chau where there was any deviation between the two journeys, his geographical ideas may have become somewhat confused, as might now happen to any one in like case and not provided with a map? Thus the traveller himself might have put into Ramusio's text the name of *Thaigin* instead of *Caichu*. From *Kiai-chau* he would probably cross the River at T'ungkwan, whilst in returning by way of Taiching-kwan he would pass through

* I am indebted for this information to Baron Richthofen,

P'uchau-fu (or *vice versa*). The question as to Caichu may still be settled, as it must be possible to ascertain where the Kin resided.*

[Mr. Rockhill writes (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 17): "One hundred and twenty li south-south-west of the city is Kiai Chou, with the largest salt works in China." Richthofen has estimated that about 150,000 tons of salt are produced annually from the marshes around it.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The eight days' journey through richly cultivated plains run up the basin of the Wei River, the most important agricultural region of North-West China, and the core of early Chinese History. The *löss* is here more than ever predominant, its yellow tinge affecting the whole landscape, and even the atmosphere. Here, according to Baron v. Richthofen, originated the use of the word *hwang* "yellow," as the symbol of the Earth, whence the primeval emperors were styled *Hwang-ti*, "Lord of the Earth," but properly "Lord of the *Löss*."

[The Rev. C. Holcombe (*l.c.* p. 66) writes: "From T'ung-kwan to Si-ngan fu, the road runs in a direction nearly due west, through a most lovely section of country, having a range of high hills upon the south, and the Wei River on the north. The road lies through one long orchard, and the walled towns and cities lie thickly along, for the most part at a little distance from the highway." Mr. Rockhill says (*Land of the Lamas*, pp. 19-20): "The road between T'ung-kwan and Si-ngan fu, a distance of 110 miles, is a fine highway—for China—with a ditch on either side, rows of willow-trees here and there, and substantial stone bridges and culverts over the little streams which cross it. The basin of the Wei ho, in which this part of the province lies, has been for thousands of years one of the granaries of China. It was the colour of its loess-covered soil, called 'yellow earth' by the Chinese, that suggested the use of yellow as the colour sacred to imperial majesty. Wheat and sorghum are the principal crops, but we saw also numerous paddy fields where flocks of flamingoes were wading, and fruit-trees grew everywhere."—H. C.]

Kenjanfu, or, as Ramusio gives it, Quenzanfu, is SI-NGAN FU, or as it was called in the days of its greatest fame, Chang-ngan, probably the most celebrated city in Chinese history, and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties. It was the metropolis of Shi Hwang-ti of the T'sin Dynasty, properly the first emperor and whose conquests almost intersected those of his contemporary Ptolemy Euergetes. It was, perhaps, the *Thinae* of Claudius Ptolemy, as it was certainly the Khumdán† of the early Mahomedans, and the site of flourishing Christian Churches in the 7th century, as well as of the remarkable monument, the discovery of which a thousand years later disclosed their forgotten existence.‡ *Kingchao-fu* was the name which

* See the small map attached to "Marco Polo's Itinerary Map, No. IV.," at end of Vol. I.

† [It is supposed to come from *kang* (king) *dang*.—H. C.]

‡ In the first edition I was able to present a reduced facsimile of a *rubbing* in my possession from this famous inscription, which I owed to the generosity of Dr. Lockhart. To the Baron von Richthofen I am no less indebted for the more complete rubbing which has afforded the plate now published. A tolerably full account of this inscription is given in *Cathay*, p. xcii. *seqq.*, and p. clxxxi. *seqq.*, but the subject is so interesting that it seems well to introduce here the most important particulars.

The stone slab, about 7½ feet high by 3 feet wide, and some 10 inches in thickness,¹ which bears this inscription, was accidentally found in 1625 by some workmen who were digging in the Chang-ngan suburb of the city of Singanfu. The cross, which is engraved at p. 30, is incised at the top of the slab, and beneath this are 9 large characters in 3 columns, constituting the heading, which runs: "Monument commemorating the introduction and propagation of the noble Law of 'Ta T'sin in the Middle Kingdom;" "Ta T'sin" being the term applied in Chinese literature to the Roman Empire, of which the ancient Chinese had much such a shadowy conception as the Romans had, conversely, of the Chinese as *Sinae* and *Seres*. Then follows the body of the inscription, of great length and beautiful execution, consisting of 1780 characters. Its chief contents are as follows:—1st. An abstract of Christian doctrine, of a vague and figurative kind; 2nd. An account of the arrival of the missionary OLDFAN (probably a Chinese form of *Rqbban*=Monk),² from Ta T'sin in the year equivalent to

¹ [M. Grenard, who reproduces (III. p. 152) a good facsimile of the inscription, gives to the slab the following dimensions: high 2m. 36, wide om. 86, thick om. 25.—H. C.]

² [Dr. F. Hirth (*China and the Roman Orient*, p. 323) writes: "O-LO-FÊN=Ruben, Rufen?" He adds (*Jour. China Br. R. As. Soc.* XXI. 1886, pp. 214-215): "Initial *r* is also quite commonly represented by initial *l*. I am in doubt whether the two characters *o-lo* in the Chinese name for Russia (*O-lo-ssü*) stand for foreign *ru* or *rp* alone. This word would bear comparison with a Chinese

the city bore when the Mongol invasions brought China into communication with the west, and Klaproth supposes that this was modified by the Mongols into KENJANFU. Under the latter name it is mentioned by Rashiduddin as the seat of one of the Twelve *Sings* or great provincial administrations, and we find it still known by this name in Sharffuddin's history of Timur. The same name is traceable in the *Kansan* of Odoric, which he calls the second best province in the world, and the best populated.

A. D. 635, bringing sacred books and images; of the translation of the said books; of the Imperial approval of the doctrine and permission to teach it publicly. There follows a decree of the Emperor (Tai-Tsung, a very famous prince), issued in 638, in favour of the new doctrine, and ordering a church to be built in the Square of Peace and Justice (*L-ning Fang*), at the capital. The Emperor's portrait was to be placed in the church. After this comes a description of Tai-Tsin (here apparently implying Syria); and then some account of the fortunes of the Church in China. Kao-Tsung (650-683, the devout patron also of the Buddhist traveller and Dr. Hsuen Tsang) continued to favour it. In the end of the century, Buddhism gets the upper hand, but under HUAN-TSUNG (713-755) the Church recovers its prestige, and KIRO, a new missionary, arrives. Under TE-TSUNG (780-783) the monument was erected, and this part ends with the eulogy of ISSE, a statesman and benefactor of the Church. 3rd. There follows a recapitulation of the purport in octosyllabic verse.

The Chinese inscription concludes with the date of erection, viz. the second year *Kienchung* of the Great T'ang Dynasty, the seventh day of the month *Tai'su*, the feast of the great *Yaosan*. This corresponds, according to Gaubil, to 4th February, 781; and *Yaosan* is supposed to stand for *Hosanna* (i.e. Palm-Sunday; but this apparently does not fit; see *infra*). There are added the name chief of the law, NINGCHU (presumed to be the Chinese name of the Metropolitan), the name of the writer, and the official sanction.

The Great *Hosanna* was, though ingenious, a misinterpretation of Gaubil's. Mr. Wylie has sent me a paper of his own (in *Chin. Recorder and Miss. Journal*, July, 1871, p. 45), which makes things perfectly clear. The expression transcribed by Pauthier, *Yao-sân-wen*, and rendered "Hosanna," appears in a Chinese work, without reference to this inscription, as *Yao-sân-wâh*, and is in reality only a Chinese transcript of the Persian word for Sunday, '*Yak-shambah*.' Mr. Wylie verified this from the mouth of a Peking Mahomedan. The 4th of February, 781, was Sunday; why *Great Sunday*? Mr. Wylie suggests, possibly because the first Sunday of the (Chinese) year.

The monument exhibits, in addition to the Chinese text, a series of short inscriptions in the Syriac language, and *Estranghelo* character, containing the date of erection, viz. 1022 of the Greeks (=A. D. 781), the name of the reigning Patriarch of the Nestorian church MAR HANAN ISHUA (dead in 778, but the fact apparently had not reached China), that of ADAM, Bishop and Pope of Tzinistân (i.e. China), and those of the clerical staff of the capital, which here bears the name, given it by the early Arab Travellers, of *Kimdan*. There follow sixty-seven names of persons in Syriac characters, most of whom are characterised as priests (*Kashikâ*), and sixty-one names of persons in Chinese, all priests save one.

[It appears that Adam (*King-tsing*), who erected the monument under Te-Tsung was, under the same Emperor, with a Buddhist the translator of a Buddhist sūtra, the *Saṅghāmitā*, that a Hu text. (See a curious paper by Mr. J. Takakusu, in the *T'oung Pao*, VII. pp. 589-591.)

Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 157, note) makes the following remarks: "It is strange, however, that the two famous Uigur Nestorians, Mar Jabalaha and Rabban Cauma, when on their journey from Koshang in Southern Shan-shi to Western Asia in about 1276, while they mention 'the city of Tangut,' or Ning-hsia on the Yellow River as an important Nestorian centre, do not once refer to Hsi-an-fu or Chang-an. Had Chang-an been at the time the Nestorian Episcopal see, one would think that these pilgrims would have visited it, or at least referred to it. (*Chabot, Mar Jabalaha*, 21.)"—H. C.]

Kircher gives a good many more Syriac names than appear on the rubbing; probably because some of these are on the edge of the slab now built in. We have no room to speak of the controversies raised by this stone. The most able defence of its genuine character, as well as a transcript with translation and commentary, a work of great interest, was published by the late M. Pauthier. The monument exists intact, and has been visited by the Rev. Mr. Williamson, Baron Richthofen, and other recent travellers. [The Rev. Moir Duncan wrote from Shen-si regarding the present state of the stone (*London and China Telegraph*, 5th June, 1893): "Of the covering rebuilt so recently, not a trace remains save the pedestals for the pillars and atoms of the tiling. In answer to a question as to when and how the covering was destroyed, the old priest replied, with a twinkle in his eye as if his conscience pinched, 'There came a rushing wind and blew it down.' He could not say when, for he paid no attention to such mundane affairs. More than one outsider, however, said it had been deliberately destroyed, because the priests are jealous of the interest manifested in it. . . . The stone has evidently been recently tampered with; several characters are effaced, and there are other signs of malicious hands."—H. C.] Pauthier's works on the subject are—*De l'authenticité de l'Inscription Nestorienne*, etc.; B. Duprat, 1857; and *l'Inscription Syro-Chinoise de Si-ngan-fou*, etc.; Firmin Didot, 1858. (See also *Kircher, China Illustrata*; and article by Mr. Wylie in *J. Am. Or. Soc.* V. 278.) [Father Havret, S. J., of Zi-ka-wei, near Shang-hai, has undertaken to write a large work on this inscription with the title of *La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*; the first part giving the inscription in full size, and the second containing the history of the monument, have been

transcription of the Sanskrit word for silver, *rūpya*, which in the *Pen-t's'ao-kang-mu* (ch. 8, p. 9) is given as *o-lu-pa*. If we can find further analogies, this may help us to read that mysterious word in the Nestorian stone inscription, being the name of the first Christian missionary who carried the cross to China, *O-lo-pên*, as "Ruben." This was indeed a common name among the Nestorians, for which reason I would give it the preference over Pauthier's Syriac "Alopeno." But Father Havret (*Stèle Chrétienne*, Leide, 1897, p. 26) objects to Dr. Hirth that the Chinese character *lo*, to which he gives the sound *ru*, is not to be found as a Sanskrit phonetic element in Chinese characters, but that this phonetic element *ru* is represented by the Chinese characters pronounced *lu*, and therefore, he, Father Havret, adopts Colonel Yule's opinion as the only one being fully satisfactory.—H. C.]

Whatever may have been the origin of the name *Kenjanfu*, Baron v. Richthofen was, on the spot, made-aware of its conservation in the exact form of the Ramusian Polo. The Roman Catholic missionaries there emphatically denied that Marco could ever have been at Si-ngan fu, or that the city had ever been known by such a name as Kenjan-fu. On this the Baron called in one of the Chinese pupils of the Mission, and asked him directly what had been the name of the city under the Yuen Dynasty. He replied at once with remarkable clearness: "QUEN-ZAN-FU." Everybody present was struck by the exact correspondence of the Chinaman's pronunciation of the name with that which the German traveller had adopted from Ritter.

[The vocabulary *Hwei Hwei* (Mahomedan) of the College of Interpreters at Peking transcribes *King chao* from the Persian *Kin-chang*, a name it gives to the Shen-si province. *King chao* was called *Ngan-si fu* in 1277. (*Devéria, Epigraphie*, p. 9.) *Ken-jan* comes from *Kin-chang*=*King-chao*=*Si-ngan fu*.—H. C.]

Martini speaks, apparently from personal knowledge, of the splendour of the city, as regards both its public edifices and its site, sloping gradually up from the banks of the River Wei, so as to exhibit its walls and palaces at one view like the interior of an amphitheatre. West of the city was a sort of Water Park, enclosed by a wall 30 *li* in circumference, full of lakes, tanks, and canals from the Wei, and within this park were seven fine palaces and a variety of theatres and other places of public diversion. To the south-east of the city was an artificial lake with palaces, gardens, park, etc., originally formed by the Emperor Hiaowu (B.C. 100), and to the south of the city was another considerable lake called *Fan*. This may be the Fanchan Lake, beside which Rashid says that Ananda, the son of Mangalai, built his palace.

The adjoining districts were the seat of a large Musulman population, which in 1861-1862 [and again in 1895 (See *Wellby, Tibet*, ch. xxv).—H. C.] rose in revolt against the Chinese authority, and for a time was successful in resisting it. The capital itself held out, though invested for two years; the rebels having no artillery. The movement originated at Hwachau, some 60 miles east of Si-ngan fu, now totally destroyed. But the chief seat of the Mahomedans is a place which they call *Salar*, identified with Hochau in Kansuh, about 70 miles south-west of Lanchau-fu, the capital of that province. [Mr. Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 40) writes: "Colonel Yule, quoting a Russian work, has it that the word *Salar* is used to designate Ho-chou, but this is not absolutely accurate. Prjevalsky (*Mongolia*, II. 149) makes the following complicated statement: 'The Karatangutans outnumber the Mongols in Koko-nor, but their chief habitations are near the sources of the Yellow River, where they are called Salirs; they profess the Mohammedan religion, and have rebelled against China.' I will only remark here that the *Salar* have absolutely no connection with the so-called *Kara-tangutans*, who are Tibetans. In a note by Archimandrite Palladius, in the same work (II. 70), he attempts to show a connection between the *Salar* and a colony of Mohammedans who settled in Western Kan-Suh in the last century, but the *Ming shih* (History of the Ming Dynasty) already makes mention of the *Salar*, remnants of various Turkish tribes (*Hsi-ch'iang*) who had settled in the districts of Ho-chou, Huang-chou, T'ao-chou, and Min-chou, and who were a source of endless trouble to the Empire. (See *Wei Yuen, Sheng-wu-ki*, vii. 35; also *Huang ch'ing shih tung p'u*, v. 7.) The Russian traveller, Potanin, found the *Salar* living in twenty-four villages, near Hsün-hua t'ing, on the south bank of the Yellow River. (See *Proc. R. G. S.* ix. 234.) The Annals of the Ming Dynasty (*Ming Shih*, ch. 330) say that An-ting wei, 1500 *li* south-west of Kan-chou, was in old times known as *Sa-li Wei-wu-ehr*. These

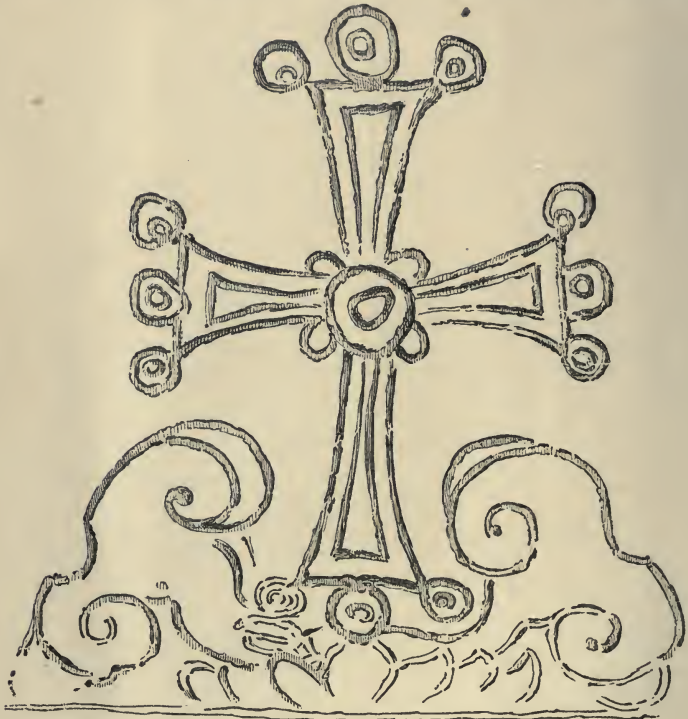
published at Shang-hai in 1895 and 1897; the author died last year (29th September, 1901), and the translation which was to form a third part has not yet appeared. The Rev. Dr. J. Legge has given a translation and the Chinese text of the monument, in 1888.—H. C.]

Stone monuments of character strictly analogous are frequent in the precincts of Buddhist sanctuaries, and probably the idea of this one was taken from the Buddhists. It is reasonably supposed by Pauthier that the monument may have been buried in 845, when the Emperor Wu-Tsung issued an edict, still extant, against the vast multiplication of Buddhist convents, and ordering their destruction. A clause in the edict also orders the *foreign bonzes of Ta-Tsin and Mubupa* (Christian and *Mobed* or *Magian*) to return to secular life.

Sari Uigurs are mentioned by Du Plan Carpin, as *Sari Huiur*. Can *Sala* be the same as *S'ari*?"

"Mohammedans," says Mr. Rockhill (*Ibid.* p. 39), "here are divided into two sects, known as 'white-capped Hui-hui,' and 'black-capped Hui-hui.' One of the questions which separate them is the hour at which fast can be broken during the Ramadan. Another point which divides them is that the white-capped burn incense, as do the ordinary Chinese; and the Salar condemn this as Paganish. The usual way by which one finds out to which sect a Mohammedan belongs is by asking him if he burns incense. The black-capped Hui-hui are more frequently called *Salar*, and are much the more devout and fanatical. They live in the vicinity of Ho-chou, in and around Hsün-hua t'ing, their chief town being known as Salar Pakun or Paken."

Ho-chou, in Western Kan-Suh, about 320 *li* (107 miles) from Lan-chau, has a



Cross on the Monument at Si-ngan fu (actual size). (From a rubbing.)

population of about 30,000 nearly entirely Mahomedans with 24 mosques; it is a "hot-bed of rebellion." *Salar-pa-kun* means "the eight thousand Salar families," or "the eight thousands of the Salar." The eight *kiun* (Chinese *tsun*? a village, a commune) constituting the Salar pa-kun are Kā-tzū, the oldest and largest, said to have over 1300 families living in it, Chang-chia, Némen, Ch'ing-shui, Munta, Tsu-chi, Antasu and Ch'a-chia. Besides these Salar kiun there are five outer (*wai*) kiun: Ts'a-pa, Ngan-ssü-to, Hei-ch'eng, Kan-tu and Kargan, inhabited by a few Salar and a mixed population of Chinese and T'u-ssü; each of these wai-wu kiun has, theoretically, fifteen villages in it. Tradition says that the first Salar who came to China (from Rúm or Turkey) arrived in this valley in the third year of Hung-wu of

the Ming (1370). (*Rockhill, Land of the Lamas, Journey; Grenard, II. p. 457*)—H. C.] *Martini; Cathay, 148, 269; Péris de la Croix, III. 218; Russian paper on the Dungen, see supra, vol. i. p. 291; Williamson's North China, u. s.; Richthofen's Letters, and MS. Notes.*)

NOTE 4.—*Mangalai*, Kúblái's third son, who governed the provinces of Shen-si and Sze-ch'wan, with the title of *Wang* or king (*supra* ch. ix. note 2), died in 1280, a circumstance which limits the date of Polo's journey to the west. It seems unlikely that Marco should have remained ten years ignorant of his death, yet he seems to speak of him as still governing.

[With reference to the translation of the oldest of the Chinese-Mongol inscriptions known hitherto (1283) in the name of Ananda, King of Ngan-si, Professor Devéria (*Notes d'Épigraphie Mongolo-Chinoise, p. 9*) writes: "In 1264, the Emperor Kúblái created in this region [Shen si] the department of Ngan-si chau, occupied by ten hordes of Si-fan (foreigners from the west). All this country became in 1272, the apanage of the Imperial Prince Mangala; this prince, third son of Kúblái, had been invested with the title of King of Ngan-si, a territory which included King-chao fu (modern Si-ngan fu). His government extended hence over Ho-si (west of the Yellow River), the T'u-po (Tibetans), and Sze-ch'wan. The following year (1273) Mangala received from Kúblái a second investiture, this of the Kingdom of Tsin, which added to his domain part of Kan-Suh; he established his royal residence at K'ia-ch'eng (modern Ku-yuan) in the Liu-p'an shan, while King-chao remained the centre of the command he exercised over the Mongol garrisons. In 1277 this prince took part in military operations in the north; he died in 1280 (17th year Che Yuan), leaving his principality of Ngan-si to his eldest son Ananda, and this of Tsin to his second son Ngan-tan Bu-hoa. Kúblái, immediately after the death of his son Mangala, suppressed administrative autonomy in Ngan-si." (*Yuan-shi lei pien*).—H. C.]

CHAPTER XLII.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CUNCUN, WHICH IS RIGHT WEARISOME TO TRAVEL THROUGH.

ON leaving the Palace of Mangalai, you travel westward for three days, finding a succession of cities and boroughs and beautiful plains, inhabited by people who live by trade and industry, and have great plenty of silk. At the end of those three days, you reach the great mountains and valleys which belong to the province of CUNCUN.¹ There are towns and villages in the land, and the people live by tilling the earth, and by hunting in the great woods; for the region abounds in forests, wherein are many wild beasts, such as lions, bears, lynxes, bucks and

rees, and sundry other kinds, so that many are taken by the people of the country, who make a great profit thereof. So this way we travel over mountains and valleys, finding a succession of towns and villages, and many great hostelries for the entertainment of travellers, interspersed among extensive forests.

NOTE I.—The region intended must necessarily be some part of the southern district of the province of Shen-si, called HAN-CHUNG, the axis of which is the River Han, closed in by exceedingly mountainous and woody country to north and south, dividing it on the former quarter from the rest of Shen-si, and on the latter from Sze-ch'wan. Polo's *C* frequently expresses an *H*, especially the Guttural *H* of Chinese names, yet *Cuncun* is not satisfactory as the expression of *Hanchung*.

The country was so rugged that in ancient times travellers from Si-ngan fu had to make a long circuit eastward by the frontier of Ho-nan to reach Han-chung; but, at an early date, a road was made across the mountains for military purposes; so long ago indeed that various eras and constructors are assigned to it. Padre Martini's authorities ascribed it to a general in the service of Liu Pang, the founder of the first Han Dynasty (B. C. 202), and this date is current in Shan-si, as Baron v. Richthofen tells me. But in Sze-ch'wan the work is asserted to have been executed during the 3rd century, when China was divided into several states, by Liu Pei, of the Han family, who, about A. D. 226, established himself as Emperor [Minor Han] of Western China at Ch'êng-tu fu.* This work, with its difficulties and boldness, extending often for great distances on timber corbels inserted in the rock, is vividly described by Martini. Villages and rest-houses were established at convenient distances. It received from the Chinese the name of *Chien-tao*, or the "Pillar Road." It commenced on the west bank of the Wei, opposite Pao-ki h'ien, 100 miles west of Si-ngan fu, and ended near the town of Paoching-h'ien, some 15 or 20 miles north-west from Han-chung.

We are told that Tului, the son of Chinghiz, when directing his march against Ho-nan in 1231 by this very line from Paoki, had to *make* a road with great difficulty; but, as we shall see presently, this can only mean that the ancient road had fallen into decay, and had to be repaired. The same route was followed by Okkodai's son Kutun, in marching to attack the Sung Empire in 1235, and again by Mangku Kaan on his last campaign in 1258. These circumstances show that the road from Paoki was in that age the usual route into Han-chung and Sze-ch'wan; indeed there is no other road in that direction that is more than a mere jungle-track, and we may be certain that this was Polo's route.

This remarkable road was traversed by Baron v. Richthofen in 1872. To my questions, he replies: "The entire route is a work of tremendous engineering, and all of this was done by Liu Pei, who first ordered the construction. The hardest work consisted in cutting out long portions of the road from solid rock, chiefly where ledges project on the verge of a river, as is frequently the case on the He-lung Kiang. . . . It had been done so thoroughly from the first, that scarcely any additions had to be made in after days. Another kind of work which generally strikes tourists like Father Martini, or Chinese travellers, is the poling up of the road on the sides of steep cliffs† Extensive cliffs are frequently rounded in this way, and imagination

* The last is also stated by Klaproth. Ritter has overlooked the discrepancy of the dates (B. C. and A. D.), and has supposed Liu Pei and Liu Pang to be the same. The resemblance of the names, and the fact that both princes were founders of Han Dynasties, give ample room for confusion.

† See cut from Mr. Cooper's book at p. 51 below. This so exactly illustrates Baron R.'s description that I may omit the latter.

is much struck with the perils of walking on the side of a precipice, with the foaming river below. When the timbers rot, such passages of course become obstructed, and thus the road is said to have been periodically in complete disuse. The repairs, which were chiefly made in the time of the Ming, concerned especially passages of this sort." Richthofen also notices the abundance of game; but inhabited places appear to be rarer than in Polo's time. (See *Martini in Blaeu*; *Chine Ancienne*, p. 234; *Ritter*, IV. 520; *D'Ohsson*, II. 22, 80, 328; *Lecomte*, II. 95; *Chin. Rep.* XIX. 225; *Richthofen*, *Letter VII.* p. 42, and MS. Notes.)

CHAPTER XLIII.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ACBALEC MANZI.

AFTER you have travelled those 20 days through the mountains of CUNCUN that I have mentioned, then you come to a province called ACBALEC MANZI, which is all level country, with plenty of towns and villages, and belongs to the Great Kaan. The people are Idolaters, and live by trade and industry. I may tell you that in this province, there grows such a great quantity of ginger, that it is carried all over the region of Cathay, and it affords a maintenance to all the people of the province, who get great gain thereby. They have also wheat and rice, and other kinds of corn, in great plenty and cheapness; in fact the country abounds in all useful products. The capital city is called ACBALEC MANZI [which signifies "the White City of the Manzi Frontier"].¹

This plain extends for two days' journey, throughout which it is as fine as I have told you, with towns and villages as numerous. After those two days, you again come to great mountains and valleys, and extensive forests, and you continue to travel westward through this kind of country for 20 days, finding however numerous towns and villages. The people are Idolaters, and live by agriculture, by cattle-keeping, and by the

chase, for there is much game. And among other kinds, there are the animals that produce the musk, in great numbers.²

NOTE 1.—Though the termini of the route, described in these two chapters, are undoubtedly Si-ngan fu and Ch'êng-tu fu, there are serious difficulties attending the determination of the line actually followed.

The time according to all the MSS., so far as I know, except those of one type, is as follows :

In the plain of Kenjanfu	3 days.
In the mountains of Cuncun	20 „
In the plain of Acbalect	2 „
In mountains again	20 „
	—
	45 days.
	—

[From Si-ngan fu to Ch'êng-tu (Sze-ch'wan), the Chinese reckon 2300 *li* (766 miles). (Cf. *Rockhill, Land of the Lamas*, p. 23.) Mr G. F. Eaton, writing from Han-chung (*Jour. China Br. R. A. S.* xxviii. p. 29) reckons : “From Si-ngan Fu S.W. to Ch'êng-tu, *via* K'i-shan, Fung-sien, Mien, Kwang-yuan and Chao-hwa, about 30 days, in chairs.” He says (p. 24) : “From Ch'êng-tu *via* Si-ngan to Peking the road does not touch Han-chung, but 20 *li* west of the city strikes north to Pao-ch'eng.—The road from Han-chung to Ch'êng-tu made by Ts'in Shi Hwang-ti to secure his conquest of Sze-ch'wan, crosses the Ta-pa-shan.”—H. C.]

It seems to me almost impossible to doubt that the Plain of Acbalect represents some part of the river-valley of the Han, interposed between the two ranges of mountains called by Richthofen *T'sing-Ling-Shan* and *Ta-pa-Shan*: But the time, as just stated, is extravagant for anything like a direct journey between the two termini.

The distance from Si-ngan fu to Pao-ki is 450 *li*, which *could* be done in 3 days, but at Polo's rate would probably require 5. The distance by the mountain road from Pao-ki to the Plain of Han-chung, could never have occupied 20 days. It is really a 6 or 7 days' march.

But Pauthier's MS. C (and its double, the Bern MS.) has viii. marches instead of xx., through the mountains of Cuncun. This reduces the time between Kenjanfu and the Plain to 11 days, which is just about a proper allowance for the whole journey, though not accurately distributed. Two days, though ample, would not be excessive for the journey across the Plain of Han-chung, especially if the traveller visited that city. And “20 days from Han-chung, to Ch'êng-tu fu would correspond with Marco Polo's rate of travel.” (*Richthofen*.)

So far then, provided we admit the reading of the MS. C, there is no ground for hesitating to adopt the usual route between the two cities, *via* Han-chung.

But the key to the exact route is evidently the position of Acbalect Manzi, and on this there is no satisfactory light.

For the name of the province, Pauthier's text has *Acbalect Manzi*, for the name of the city *Acmalect* simply. The G. T. has in the former case *Acbalect Mangi*, in the latter “*Acmelic Mangi* *qe vaut dire* le une *de* le confine *dou* Mangi.” This is followed literally by the Geographic Latin, which has “*Achalec Mangi* *et est dictum* in *lingua nostra* unus *ex* *confinibus* Mangi.” So also the Crusca; whilst Ramusio has “*Achbaluch Mangi, che vuol dire* Città Bianca *de'* confini di Mangi.” It is clear that Ramusio alone has here preserved the genuine reading.

Klaproth identified Acbalect conjecturally with the town of *Pe-ma-ching*, or “White-Horse-Town,” a place now extinct, but which stood like Mien and Han-chung on the extensive and populous Plain that here borders the Han.

It seems so likely that the latter part of the name *Pe-MACHING* ("White Maching") might have been confounded by foreigners with *Mächin* and *Manzi* (which in Persian parlance were identical), that I should be disposed to overlook the difficulty that we have no evidence produced to show that Pemaching was a place of any consequence.

It is possible, however, that the name *Acbalec* may have been given by the Tartars without any reference to Chinese etymologies. We have already twice met with the name or its equivalent (*Achaluc* in ch. xxxvii. of this Book, and *Chaghan Balghasun* in note 3 to Book I. ch. lx.), whilst Strahlenberg tells us that the Tartars call all great residences of princes by this name (Amst. ed. 1757, I. p. 7). It may be that Han-chung itself was so named by the Tartars; though its only claim that I can find is, that it was the first residence of the Han Dynasty. Han-chung fu stands in a beautiful plain, which forms a very striking object to the traveller who is leaving the T'sing-ling mountains. Just before entering the plains, the Helung Kiang passes through one of its wildest gorges, a mere crevice between vertical walls several hundred feet high. The road winds to the top of one of the cliffs in zigzags cut in the solid rock. From the temple of Kitau Kwan, which stands at the top of the cliff, there is a magnificent view of the Plain, and no traveller would omit this, the most notable feature between the valley of the Wei and Ch'êng-tu-fu. It is, moreover, the only piece of level ground, of any extent, that is passed through between those two regions, whichever road or track be taken. (*Richthofen*, MS. Notes.)

[In the *China Review* (xiv. p. 358) Mr. E. H. Parker, has an article on *Acbalec Manzi*, but does not throw any new light on the subject.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Polo's journey now continues through the lofty mountainous region in the north of Sze-ch'wan.

The dividing range Ta-pa-shan is less in height than the T'sing-ling range, but with gorges still more abrupt and deep; and it would be an entire barrier to communication but for the care with which the road, here also, has been formed. But this road, from Han-chung to Ch'êng-tu fu, is still older than that to the north, having been constructed, it is said, in the 3rd century B.C. [See *supra*.] Before that time Sze-ch'wan was a closed country, the only access from the north being the circuitous route down the Han and up the Yang-tz'ü. (*Ibid*.)

[Mr. G. G. Brown writes (*Jour. China Br. R. As. Soc.* xxviii. p. 53): "Crossing the Ta-pa-shan from the valley of the Upper Han in Shen-si we enter the province of Sze-ch'wan, and are now in a country as distinct as possible from that that has been left. The climate which in the north was at times almost Arctic, is now pluvial, and except on the summits of the mountains no snow is to be seen. The people are ethnologically different. . . . More even than the change of climate the geological aspect is markedly different. The loess, which in Shen-si has settled like a pall over the country, is here absent, and red sandstone rocks, filling the valleys between the high-bounding and intermediate ridges of palæozoic formation, take its place. Sze-ch'wan is evidently a region of rivers flowing in deeply eroded valleys, and as these find but one exit, the deep gorges of Kwei-fu, their disposition takes the form of the innervations of a leaf springing from a solitary stalk. The country between the branching valleys is eminently hilly; the rivers flow with rapid currents in well-defined valleys, and are for the most part navigable for boats, or in their upper reaches for lumber-rafts. . . . The horse-cart, which in the north and north-west of China is the principal means of conveyance, has never succeeded in gaining an entrance into Sze-ch'wan with its steep ascents and rapid unfordable streams; and is here represented for passenger traffic by the sedan-chair, and for the carriage of goods, with the exception of a limited number of wheel-barrows, by the backs of men or animals, unless where the friendly water-courses afford the cheapest and readiest means of intercourse."—H. C.]

Martini notes the musk-deer in northern Sze-ch'wan.

CHAPTER XLIV.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE AND CITY OF SINDAFU.

WHEN you have travelled those 20 days westward through the mountains, as I have told you, then you arrive at a plain belonging to a province called Sindafu, which still is on the confines of Manzi, and the capital city of which is, (also) called SINDAFU. This city was in former days a rich and noble one, and the Kings who reigned there were very great and wealthy. It is a good twenty miles in compass, but it is divided in the way that I shall tell you.

You see the King of this Province, in the days of old, when he found himself drawing near to death, leaving three sons behind him, commanded that the city should be divided into three parts, and that each of his three sons should have one. So each of these three parts is separately walled about, though all three are surrounded by the common wall of the city. Each of the three sons was King, having his own part of the city, and his own share of the kingdom, and each of them in fact was a great and wealthy King. But the Great Kaan conquered the kingdom of these three Kings, and stripped them of their inheritance.¹

Through the midst of this great city runs a large river, in which they catch a great quantity of fish. It is a good half mile wide, and very deep withal, and so long that it reaches all the way to the Ocean Sea,—a very long way, equal to 80 or 100 days' journey. And the name of the River is KIAN-SUY. The multitude of vessels that navigate this river is so vast, that no one who should read or hear the tale would believe it. The

quantities of merchandize also which merchants carry up and down this river are past all belief. In fact, it is so big, that it seems to be a Sea rather than a River!²

Let us now speak of a great Bridge which crosses this River within the city. This bridge is of stone; it is seven paces in width and half a mile in length (the river being that much in width as I told you); and all along its length on either side there are columns of marble to bear the roof, for the bridge is roofed over from end to end with timber, and that all richly painted. And on this bridge there are houses in which a great deal of trade and industry is carried on. But these houses are all of wood merely, and they are put up in the morning and taken down in the evening. Also there stands upon the bridge the Great Kaan's *Comercque*, that is to say, his custom-house, where his toll and tax are levied.³ And I can tell you that the dues taken on this bridge bring to the Lord a thousand pieces of fine gold every day and more. The people are all Idolaters.⁴

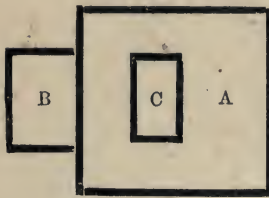
When you leave this city you travel for five days across a country of plains and valleys, finding plenty of villages and hamlets, and the people of which live by husbandry. There are numbers of wild beasts, lions, and bears, and such like.

I should have mentioned that the people of Sindu itself live by manufactures, for they make fine sendals and other stuffs.⁵

After travelling those five days' march, you reach a province called Tebet, which has been sadly laid waste; we will now say something of it.

NOTE 1.—We are on firm ground again, for SINDAFU is certainly CHI'ËNG-TU FU, the capital of Sze-ch'wan. Probably the name used by Polo was *Sindu-fu*, as we find *Sindu* in the G. T. near the end of the chapter. But the same city is, I observe, called *Thindafu* by one of the Nepalese embassies, whose itineraries Mr. Hodgson has given in the *J. A. S. B.* XXV. 488.

The modern French missions have a bishop in Ch'êng-tu fu, and the city has been visited of late years by Mr. T. T. Cooper, by Mr. A. Wylie, by Baron v. Richthofen,



A. The Great City.
B. The Little City.
C. The Imperial City.

[Captain Gill, Mr. Baber, Mr. Hosie, and several other travellers]. Mr. Wylie has kindly favoured me with the following note:—"My notice all goes to corroborate Marco Polo. The covered bridge with the stalls is still there, the only difference being the absence of the toll-house. I did not see any traces of a tripartite division of the city, nor did I make any enquiries on the subject during the 3 or 4 days I spent there, as it was not an object with me at the time to verify Polo's account. The city is indeed divided, but the division dates more than a thousand years back. It is something like this, I should say [see diagram]. *

"The Imperial City (*Hwang Ching*) was the residence of the monarch Lew Pé (*i.e.* Liu Pei of p. 32) during the short period of the 'Three Kingdoms' (3rd century), and some relics of the ancient edifice still remain. I was much interested in looking over it. It is now occupied by the Public Examination Hall and its dependencies."

I suspect Marco's story of the Three Kings arose from a misunderstanding about this historical period of the *San-Kwé*, or Three Kingdoms (A.D. 222-264). And this tripartite division of the city may have been merely that which we see to exist at present.

[Mr. Baber, leaving Ch'êng-tu, 26th July, 1877, writes (*Travels*, p. 28): "We took ship outside the East Gate on a rapid narrow stream, apparently the city moat, which soon joins the main river, a little below the An-shun Bridge, an antiquated wooden structure some 90 yards long. This is in all probability the bridge mentioned by Marco Polo. The too flattering description he gives of it leads one to suppose that the present handsome stone bridges of the province were unbuilt at the time of his journey." Baber is here mistaken.

Captain Gill writes (*l.c.* II. p. 9): "As Mr. Wylie in recent days had said that Polo's covered bridge was still in its place, we went one day on an expedition in search of it. Polo, however, speaks of a bridge full half a mile long, whilst the longest now is but 90 yards. On our way we passed over a fine nine-arched stone bridge, called the Chin-Yen-Ch'iao. Near the covered bridge there is a very pretty view down the river."—H. C.]

Baron Richthofen observes that Ch'êng-tu is among the largest of Chinese cities, and is of all the finest and most refined. The population is called 800,000. The walls form a square of about 3 miles to the side, and there are suburbs besides. The streets are broad and straight, laid out at right angles, with a pavement of square flags very perfectly laid, slightly convex and drained at each side. The numerous commemorative arches are sculptured with skill; there is much display of artistic taste; and the people are remarkably civil to foreigners. This characterizes the whole province; and an air of wealth and refinement prevails even in the rural districts. The plain round Ch'êng-tu fu is about 90 miles in length (S.E. to N.W.), by 40 miles in width, with a copious irrigation and great fertility, so that in wealth and population it stands almost unrivalled. (*Letter VII.* pp. 48-66.)

[Mr. Baber (*Travels*, p. 26) gives the following information regarding the population of Ch'êng-tu: "The census of 1877 returned the number of families at about 70,000, and the total population at 330,000—190,000 being males and 140,000

* My lamented friend Lieutenant F. Garnier had kindly undertaken to send me a plan of Ch'êng-tu fu from the place itself, but, as is well known, he fell on a daring enterprise elsewhere. [We hope that the plan from a Chinese map we give from *M. Marcel Monnier's Itinéraires* will replace the promised one.

It will be seen that Ch'êng-tu is divided into three cities: the Great City containing both the Imperial and Tartar cities.—H. C.]

females; but probably the extensive suburb was not included in the enumeration. Perhaps 350,000 would be a fair total estimate." It is the seat of the Viceroy of the Sze-ch'wan province. Mr. Hosie says (*Three Years in Western China*, p. 86): "It is without exception the finest city I have seen in China; Peking and Canton will not bear comparison with it." Captain Gill writes (*River of Golden Sand*, II. p. 4): "The city of Ch'êng-Tu is still a rich and noble one, somewhat irregular in shape, and surrounded by a strong wall, in a perfect state of repair. In this there are eight bastions, four being pierced by gates."

"It is one of the largest of Chinese cities, having a circuit of about 12 miles." (*Baber*, p. 26.) "It is now three and a half miles long by about two and a half miles broad, the longest side lying about east-south-east, and west-north-west, so that its compass in the present day is about 12 miles." (*Captain Gill*, II. p. 4.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Ramusio is more particular: "Through the city flow many great rivers, which come down from distant mountains, and run winding about through many parts of the city. These rivers vary in width from half a mile to 200 paces, and are very deep. Across them are built many bridges of stone," etc. "And after passing the city these rivers unite and form one immense river called Kian," etc. Here we have the Great River or KIANG, Kian (Quian) as in Ramusio, or KIANG-SHUI, "Waters of the Kiang," as in the text. So Pauthier explains. [Mr. Baber remarks at Ch'êng-tu (*Travels*, p. 28): "When all allowance is made for the diminution of the river, one cannot help surmising that Marco Polo must have felt reluctant to call it the *Chiang-Sui* or 'Yangtzu waterway.' He was, however, correct enough, as usual, for the Chinese consider it to be the main upper stream of the Yangtzu."—H. C.] Though our Geographies give the specific names of Wen and Min to the great branch which flows by Ch'êng-tu fu, and treat the Tibetan branch which flows through northern Yunnan under the name of Kin Sha or "Golden Sand," as the main river, the Chinese seem always to have regarded the former as the true Kiang; as may be seen in Ritter (IV. 650) and Martini. The latter describes the city as quite insulated by the ramifications of the river, from which channels and canals pass all about it, adorned with many quays and bridges of stone.

The numerous channels in reuniting form two rivers, one the Min, and the other the To-Kiang, which also joins the Yangtzu at Lu-chau.

[In his *Introductory Essay to Captain Gill's River of Golden Sand*, Colonel Yule (p. 37) writes: "Captain Gill has pointed out that, of the many branches of the river which ramify through the plain of Ch'êng-tu, no one now passes through the city at all corresponding in magnitude to that which Marco Polo describes, about 1283, as running through the midst of Sin-da-fu, 'a good half-mile wide, and very deep withal.' The largest branch adjoining the city now runs on the south side, but does not exceed a hundred yards in width; and though it is crossed by a covered bridge with huxters' booths, more or less in the style described by Polo, it necessarily falls far short of his great bridge of half a mile in length. Captain Gill suggests that a change may have taken place in the last five (this should be *six*) centuries, owing to the deepening of the river-bed at its exit from the plain, and consequent draining of the latter. But I should think it more probable that the ramification of channels round Ch'êng-tu, which is so conspicuous even on a small general map of China, like that which accompanies this work, is in great part due to art; that the mass of the river has been drawn off to irrigate the plain; and that thus the wide river, which in the 13th century may have passed through the city, no unworthy representative of the mighty Kiang, has long since ceased, on that scale, to flow. And I have pointed out briefly that the fact, which Baron Richthofen attests, of an actual bifurcation of waters on a large scale taking place in the plain of Ch'êng-tu—one arm 'branching east to form the To' (as in the terse indication of the Yü-Kung)—viz. the To Kiang or Chung-Kiang flowing south-east to join the great river at Lu-chau, whilst another flows south to Su-chau or Swi-fu, does render change in the distribution of

the waters about the city highly credible.”] [See *Irrigation of the Ch'eng-tu Plain*, by Joshua Vale, China Inland Mission in *Jour. China Br. R. A. S. Soc.* XXXIII. 1899-1900, pp. 22-36.—H. C.]

[Above Kwan Hsien, near Ch'eng-tu, there is a fine suspension bridge, mentioned by Marcel Monnier (*Itinéraires*, p. 43), from whom I borrow the cut reproduced on this page. This bridge is also spoken of by Captain Gill (*l.c.* I. p. 335): “Six ropes, one above the other, are stretched very tightly, and connected by vertical battens of wood laced in and out. Another similar set of ropes is at the other side of the roadway, which is laid across these, and follows the curve of the ropes. There are three or four spans with stone piers.”—H. C.]



Bridge near Kwan-hsien (Ch'eng-tu).

NOTE 3.—(G. T.) “*Hi est le couiereque dou Grant Sire, ce est cilz qe recevent la rente dou Seigneur.*” Pauthier has *couvert*. Both are, I doubt not, misreadings or misunderstandings of *comereque* or *comerc*. This word, founded on the Latin *commercium*, was widely spread over the East with the meaning of *customs-duty* or *custom-house*. In Low Greek it appeared as *κομμέρκιον* and *κουμέρκιον*, now *κομέρκι*; in Arabic and Turkish as **كمرق** and **كمرق** (*kumruk* and *gyumruk*), still in use; in Romance dialects as *comerchio*, *comerho*, *comergio*, etc.

NOTE 4.—The word in Pauthier’s text which I have rendered *pieces* of gold is *pois*, probably equivalent to *saggi* or *miskáls*.* The G. T. has “is well worth 1000 bezants of gold,” no doubt meaning *daily*, though not saying so. Ramusio has “100 bezants daily.” The term *Bezant* may be taken as synonymous with *Dínár*, and the statement in the text would make the daily receipt of custom upwards of 500*l.*, that in Ramusio upwards of 50*l.* only.

NOTE 5.—I have recast this passage, which has got muddled, probably in the original dictation, for it runs in the G. text: “Et de ceste cité se part l’en et

* I find the same expression applied to the *miskál* or *dínár* in a MS. letter written by Giovanni dell’ Affaitado, Venetian Agent at Lisbon in 1503, communicated to me by Signor Berchet. The King of Melinda was to pay to Portugal a tribute of 1500 *pesi d’oro*, “che un peso val un ducato e un quarto.”

chevauche cinq journée por plain et por valée, et treve-l'en castiaus et casaus assez. Les homes vivent dou profit qu'il traient de la terre. Il hi a bestes sauvajes assez, lions et orses et autres bestes. *Il vivent d'ars : car il hi se laborent des biaux sendal et autres dras. Il sunt de Sindu meisme.*" I take it that in speaking of Ch'êng-tu fu, Marco has forgotten to fill up his usual formula as to the occupation of the inhabitants; he is reminded of this when he speaks of the occupation of the peasantry on the way to Tibet, and reverts to the citizens in the words which I have quoted in Italics. We see here *Sindu* applied to the city, suggesting *Sindu-fu* for the reading at the beginning of the chapter.

Silk is a large item in the produce and trade of Sze-ch'wan; and through extensive quarters of Ch'êng-tu fu, in every house, the spinning, dyeing, weaving, and embroidering of silk give occupation to the people. And though a good deal is exported, much is consumed in the province, for the people are very much given to costly apparel. Thus silk goods are very conspicuous in the shops of the capital. (*Richthofen.*)

CHAPTER XLV.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TEBET.

AFTER those five days' march that I spoke of, you enter a province which has been sorely ravaged; and this was done in the wars of Mongu Kaan. There are indeed towns and villages and hamlets, but all harried and destroyed.¹

In this region you find quantities of canes, full three palms in girth and fifteen paces in length, with some three palms' interval between the joints. And let me tell you that merchants and other travellers through that country are wont at nightfall to gather these canes and make fires of them; for as they burn they make such loud reports that the lions and bears and other wild beasts are greatly frightened, and make off as fast as possible; in fact nothing will induce them to come nigh a fire of that sort. So you see the travellers make those fires to protect themselves and their cattle from the wild beasts which have so greatly multiplied since the devastation of the country. And 'tis this great multiplication of

the wild beasts that prevents the country from being reoccupied. In fact but for the help of these canes, which make such a noise in burning that the beasts are terrified and kept at a distance, no one would be able even to travel through the land.

I will tell you how it is that the canes make such a noise. The people cut the green canes, of which there are vast numbers, and set fire to a heap of them at once. After they have been awhile burning they burst asunder, and this makes such a loud report that you might hear it ten miles off. In fact, any one unused to this noise, who should hear it unexpectedly, might easily go into a swoon or die of fright. But those who are used to it care nothing about it. Hence those who are not used to it stuff their ears well with cotton, and wrap up their heads and faces with all the clothes they can muster; and so they get along until they have become used to the sound. 'Tis just the same with horses. Those which are unused to these noises are so alarmed by them that they break away from their halters and heel-ropes, and many a man has lost his beasts in this way. So those who would avoid losing their horses take care to tie all four legs and peg the ropes down strongly, and to wrap the heads and eyes and ears of the animals closely, and so they save them. But horses also, when they have heard the noise several times, cease to mind it. I tell you the truth, however, when I say that the first time you hear it nothing can be more alarming. And yet, in spite of all, the lions and bears and other wild beasts will sometimes come and do much mischief; for their numbers are great in those tracts.²

You ride for 20 days without finding any inhabited spot, so that travellers are obliged to carry all their provisions with them, and are constantly falling in with those wild beasts which are so numerous and so dangerous.

After that you come at length to a tract where there are towns and villages in considerable numbers.³ The people of those towns have a strange custom in regard to marriage which I will now relate.

No man of that country would on any consideration take to wife a girl who was a maid ; for they say a wife is nothing worth unless she has been used to consort with men. And their custom is this, that when travellers come that way, the old women of the place get ready, and take their unmarried daughters or other girls related to them, and go to the strangers who are passing, and make over the young women to whomsoever will accept them ; and the travellers take them accordingly and do their pleasure ; after which the girls are restored to the old women who brought them, for they are not allowed to follow the strangers away from their home. In this manner people travelling that way, when they reach a village or hamlet or other inhabited place, shall find perhaps 20 or 30 girls at their disposal. And if the travellers lodge with those people they shall have as many young women as they could wish coming to court them ! You must know too that the traveller is expected to give the girl who has been with him a ring or some other trifle, something in fact that she can show as a lover's token when she comes to be married. And it is for this in truth and for this alone that they follow that custom ; for every girl is expected to obtain at least 20 such tokens in the way I have described before she can be married. And those who have most tokens, and so can show they have been most run after, are in the highest esteem, and most sought in marriage, because they say the charms of such an one are greatest.⁴ But after marriage these people hold their wives very dear, and would consider it a great villainy for a man to meddle with another's wife ; and thus though the wives have before marriage

acted as you have heard, they are kept with great care from light conduct afterwards.

Now I have related to you this marriage custom as a good story to tell, and to show what a fine country that is for young fellows to go to!

The people are Idolaters and an evil generation, holding it no sin to rob and maltreat: in fact, they are the greatest brigands on earth. They live by the chase, as well as on their cattle and the fruits of the earth.

I should tell you also that in this country there are many of the animals that produce musk, which are called in the Tartar language *Gudderi*. Those rascals have great numbers of large and fine dogs, which are of great service in catching the musk-beasts, and so they procure great abundance of musk. They have none of the Great Kaan's paper money, but use salt instead of money. They are very poorly clad, for their clothes are only of the skins of beasts, and of canvas, and of buckram.⁵ They have a language of their own, and they are called Tebet. And this country of TEBET forms a very great province, of which I will give you a brief account.

NOTE 1.—The mountains that bound the splendid plain of Ch'êng-tu fu on the west rise rapidly to a height of 12,000 feet and upwards. Just at the skirt of this mountain region, where the great road to Lhása enters it, lies the large and bustling city of Yachaufu, forming the key of the hill country, and the great entrepôt of trade between Sze-ch'wan on the one side, and Tibet and Western Yunnan on the other. The present political boundary between China Proper and Tibet is to the west of Bathang and the Kin-sha Kiang, but till the beginning of last century it lay much further east, near *Ta-t'sien-lu*, or, as the Tibetans appear to call it, *Tartsédo* or *Tachindo*, which a Chinese Itinerary given by Ritter makes to be 920 *li*, or 11 marches from Ch'êng-tu fu. In Marco's time we must suppose that Tibet was considered to extend several marches further east still, or to the vicinity of Yachau.* Mr. Cooper's Journal describes the country entered on the 5th march from Ch'êng-tu as very mountainous, many of the neighbouring peaks being capped with snow. And he describes the people as speaking a language mixed with Tibetan for some distance before reaching *Ta-t'sien-lu*. Baron Richthofen also who, as we shall see, has thrown an entirely new light upon this part of Marco's itinerary, was exactly five days in travelling through a rich and

* Indeed Richthofen says that the boundary lay a few (German) miles west of Yachau. I see that Martini's map puts it (in the 17th century) 10 German geographical miles, or about 46 statute miles, west of that city.

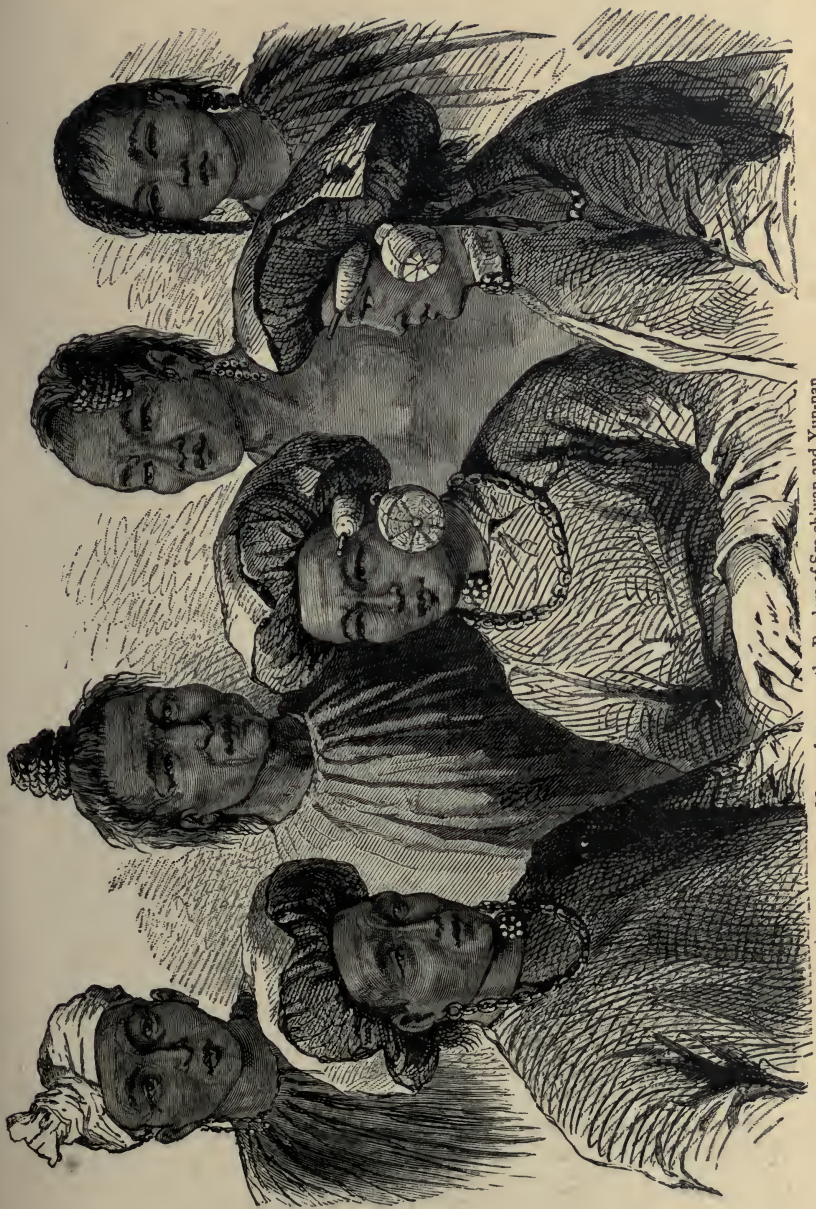
populous country, from Ch'êng-tu to Yachau. [Captain Gill left Ch'êng-tu on the 10th July, 1877, and reached Ya-chau on the 14th, a distance of 75 miles.—H. C.] (*Ritter*, IV. 190 *segg.*; *Cooper*, pp. 164-173; *Richthofen* in *Verhandl. Ges. f. Erdk. zu Berlin*, 1874, p. 35.)

Tibet was always reckoned as a part of the Empire of the Mongol Kaans in the period of their greatness, but it is not very clear how it came under subjection to them. No conquest of Tibet by their armies appears to be related by either the Mahomedan or the Chinese historians. Yet it is alluded to by Plano Carpini, who ascribes the achievement to an unnamed son of Chinghiz, and narrated by Sanang Setzen, who says that the King of Tibet submitted without fighting when Chinghiz invaded his country in the year of the Panther (1206). During the reign of Mangku Kaan, indeed, Uriangkadai, an eminent Mongol general [son of Subudai] who had accompanied Prince Kúblái in 1253 against Yunnan, did in the following year direct his arms against the Tibetans. But this campaign, that no doubt to which the text alludes as "the wars of Mangu Kaan," appears to have occupied only a part of one season, and was certainly confined to the parts of Tibet on the frontiers of Yunnan and Sze-ch'wan. ["In the *Yuen-shi*, Tibet is mentioned under different names. Sometimes the Chinese history of the Mongols uses the ancient name *T'u-fan*. In the *Annals*, *s.a.* 1251, we read: 'Mangu Khan entrusted *Ho-li-dan* with the command of the troops against *T'u-fan*.' *Sub anno* 1254 it is stated that Kúblái (who at that time was still the heir-apparent), after abducing the tribes of Yun-nan, entered *T'u-fan*, when *So-ho-to*, the ruler of the country, surrendered. Again, *s.a.* 1275: 'The prince *Al-lu-chi* (seventh son of Kúblái) led an expedition to *T'u-fan*.' In chap. ccii., biography of *Ba-sz'-ba*, the Lama priest who invented Kúblái's official alphabet, it is stated that this Lama was a native of *Sa-sz'-kia* in *T'u-fan*."] (*Bretschneider*, *Med. Res.* II. p. 23.)—H. C.] Koeppen seems to consider it certain that there was no actual conquest of Tibet, and that Kúblái extended his authority over it only by diplomacy and the politic handling of the spiritual potentates who had for several generations in Tibet been the real rulers of the country. It is certain that Chinese history attributes the organisation of civil administration in Tibet to Kúblái. Mati Dhwaia, a young and able member of the family which held the hereditary primacy of the Satya [Sakya] convent, and occupied the most influential position in Tibet, was formerly recognised by the Emperor as the head of the Lamaite Church and as the tributary Ruler of Tibet. He is the same person that we have already (vol. i. p. 28) mentioned as the Passepa or Bâshpah Lama, the inventor of Kúblái's official alphabet. (*Carpini*, 658, 709; *D'Avezac*, 564; *S. Setzen*, 89; *D'Ohsson*, II. 317; *Koeppen*, II. 96; *Anyot*, XIV. 128.)

With the caution that Marco's Travels in Tibet were limited to the same mountainous country on the frontier of Sze-ch'wan, we defer further geographical comment till he brings us to Yunnan.

NOTE 2.—Marco exaggerates a little about the bamboos; but before gunpowder became familiar, no sharp explosive sounds of this kind were known to ordinary experience, and exaggeration was natural. I have been close to a bamboo jungle on fire. There was a great deal of noise comparable to musketry; but the bamboos were not of the large kind here spoken of. The Hon. Robert Lindsay, describing his elephant-catching in Silhet, says: "At night each man lights a fire at his post, and furnishes himself with a dozen joints of the large bamboo, one of which he occasionally throws into the fire, and the air it contains being rarefied by the heat, it explodes with a report as loud as a musket." (*Lives of the Lindsays*, III. 191.)

[Dr. Bretschneider (*Hist. of Bot. Disc.* I. p. 3) says: "In corroboration of Polo's statement regarding the explosions produced when burning bamboos, I may adduce Sir Joseph Hooker's Himalayan Journals (edition of 1891, p. 100), where in speaking of the fires in the jungles, he says: 'Their triumph is in reaching a great bamboo clump, when the noise of the flames drowns that of the torrents, and as the great stem-joints burst, from the expansion of the confined air, the report is as that of a salvo from a park of artillery.'"—H. C.]



Mountaineers on the Borders of Sze ch'wan and Yun-nan.

Richtshofen remarks that nowhere in China does the bamboo attain such a size as in this region. Bamboos of three palms in girth (28 to 30 inches) exist, but are not ordinary, I should suppose, even in Sze-ch'wan. In 1855 I took some pains to procure in Pegu a specimen of the largest attainable bamboo. It was 10 inches in diameter.

NOTE 3.—M. Gabriel Durand, a missionary priest, thus describes his journey in 1861 to Kiangka, *via* Ta-t'sien-lu, a line of country partly coincident with that which Polo is traversing: "Every day we made a journey of nine or ten leagues, and halted for the night in a *Kung-kuan*. These are posts dotted at intervals of about ten leagues along the road to Hlassa, and usually guarded by three soldiers, though the more important posts have twenty. With the exception of some Tibetan houses, few and far between, these are the only habitations to be seen on this silent and deserted road. . . . Lytang was the first collection of houses that we had seen in ten days' march." (*Ann. de la Propag. de la Foi*, XXXV. 352 *seqq.*)

NOTE 4.—Such practices are ascribed to many nations. Martini quotes something similar from a Chinese author about tribes in Yunnan; and Garnier says such loose practices are still ascribed to the Sifan near the southern elbow of the Kin-sha Kiang. Even of the Mongols themselves and kindred races, Pallas asserts that the young women regard a number of intrigues rather as a credit and recommendation than otherwise. Japanese ideas seem to be not very different. In old times Ælian gives much the same account of the Lydian women. Herodotus's Gindanes of Lybia afford a perfect parallel, "whose women wear on their legs anklets of leather. Each lover that a woman has gives her one; and she who can show most is the best esteemed, as she appears to have been loved by the greatest number of men." (*Martini*, 142; *Garnier*, I. 520; *Pall. Samml.* II. 235; *Æl. Var. Hist.* III. 1; *Rawl. Herod.* Bk. IV. ch. clxxvi.)

["Among some uncivilised peoples, women having many gallants are esteemed better than virgins, and are more anxiously desired in marriage. This is, for instance, stated to be the case with the Indians of Quito, the Laplanders in Regnard's days, and the Hill Tribes of North Aracan. But in each of these cases we are expressly told that want of chastity is considered a merit in the bride, because it is held to be the best testimony to the value of her attractions." (*Westermarck, Human Marriage*, p. 81.)—H. C.]

Mr. Cooper's Journal, when on the banks of the Kin-sha Kiang, west of Bathang, affords a startling illustration of the persistence of manners in this region: "At 12h. 30m. we arrived at a road-side house, near which was a grove of walnut-trees; here we alighted, when to my surprise I was surrounded by a group of young girls and two elderly women, who invited me to partake of a repast spread under the trees. . . . I thought I had stumbled on a pic-nic party, of which the Tibetans are so fond. Having finished, I lighted my pipe and threw myself on the grass in a state of castle-building. I had not lain thus many seconds when the maidens brought a young girl about 15 years old, tall and very fair, placed her on the grass beside me, and forming a ring round us, commenced to sing and dance. The little maid beside me, however, was bathed in tears. All this, I must confess, a little puzzled me, when Philip (the Chinese servant) with a long face, came to my aid, saying, 'Well, Sir, this is a bad business . . . they are marrying you.' Good heavens! how startled I was." For the honourable conclusion of this Anglo-Tibetan idyll I must refer to Mr. Cooper's Journal. (See the now published *Travels*, ch. x.)

NOTE 5.—All this is clearly meant to apply only to the rude people towards the Chinese frontier; nor would the Chinese (says Richtshofen) at this day think the description at all exaggerated, as applied to the Lolo who occupy the mountains to the south of Yachaufu. The members of the group at p. 47, from Lieutenant Garnier's book, are there termed Man-tzü; but the context shows them to be of the race of these Lolos. (See below, pp. 60, 61.) The passage about the musk animal, both in

Pauthier and in the G. T., ascribes the word *Gudderi* to the language "of that people," *i.e.* of the Tibetans. The Geog. Latin, however, has "*linguâ Tartaricâ*," and this is the fact. Klaproth informs us that *Guderi* is the Mongol word. And it will be found (*Kuderi*) in Kovalevski's Dictionary, No. 2594. Musk is still the most valuable article that goes from Ta-t'sien-lu to China. Much is smuggled, and single travellers will come all the way from Canton or Si-ngan fu to take back a small load of it. (*Richtshofen.*)

CHAPTER XLVI.

FURTHER DISCOURSE CONCERNING TEBET.

THIS province, called Tebet, is of very great extent. The people, as I have told you, have a language of their own, and they are Idolaters, and they border on Manzi and sundry other regions. Moreover, they are very great thieves.

The country is, in fact, so great that it embraces eight kingdoms, and a vast number of cities and villages.¹ It contains in several quarters rivers and lakes, in which gold-dust is found in great abundance.² Cinnamon also grows there in great plenty. Coral is in great demand in this country and fetches a high price, for they delight to hang it round the necks of their women and of their idols.³ They have also in this country plenty of fine woollens and other stuffs, and many kinds of spices are produced there which are never seen in our country.

Among this people, too, you find the best enchanters and astrologers that exist in all that quarter of the world; they perform such extraordinary marvels and sorceries by diabolic art, that it astounds one to see or even hear of them. So I will relate none of them in this book of ours; people would be amazed if they heard them, but it would serve no good purpose.⁴

These people of Tebet are an ill-conditioned race. They have mastiff dogs as big as donkeys, which are

capital at seizing wild beasts [and in particular the wild oxen which are called *Beyamini*, very great and fierce animals]. They have also sundry other kinds of sporting dogs, and excellent lanner falcons [and sakers], swift in flight and well-trained, which are got in the mountains of the country.⁵

Now I have told you in brief all that is to be said about Tebet, and so we will leave it, and tell you about another province that is called Caidu.



Village of Eastern Tibet on Sze-ch'wan Frontier. (From Cooper.)

As regards Tebet, however, you should understand that it is subject to the Great Kaan. So, likewise, all the other kingdoms, regions, and provinces which are described in this book are subject to the Great Kaan; nay, even those other kingdoms, regions, and provinces of which I had occasion to speak at the beginning of the book as belonging to the son of Argon, the Lord of the Levant, are also subject to the Emperor; for the former holds his dominion of the Kaan, and is his liegeman and



Roads in Eastern Tibet. (Gorge of the Lan t'sang Kiang, from Cooper.)

kinsman of the blood Imperial. So you must know that from this province forward all the provinces mentioned in our book are subject to the Great Kaan; and even if this be not specially mentioned, you must understand that it is so.

Now let us have done with this matter, and I will tell you about the Province of Caindu.

NOTE 1.—Here Marco at least shows that he knew Tibet to be much more extensive than the small part of it that he had seen. But beyond this his information amounts to little.

NOTE 2.—“*Or de paliolle.*” “*Oro di pagliuola*” (*pagliuola*, “a spangle”) must have been the technical phrase for what we call gold-dust, and the French now call *or en paillettes*, a phrase used by a French missionary in speaking of this very region. (*Ann. de la Foi*, XXXVII. 427.) Yet the only example of this use of the word cited in the *Voc. Ital. Universale* is from this passage of the Crusca MS.; and Pipino seems not to have understood it, translating “*aurum quod dicitur Deplaglola*”; whilst Zurla says erroneously that *pajola* is an old Italian word for gold. Pegolotti uses *argento in pagliuola* (p. 219). A Barcelona tariff of 1271 sets so much on every mark of *Pallola*. And the old Portuguese navigators seem always to have used the same expression for the gold-dust of Africa, *ouro de pajola*. (See *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 111, 112, 116; *Capmany Memorias*, etc., II. App. p. 73; also “*Aurum de Pajola*,” in Usodimare of Genoa, see *Gräber, Annali*, II. 290, quoted by Peschel, p. 178.)

NOTE 3.—The cinnamon must have been the coarser cassia produced in the lower parts of this region (See note to next chapter.) We have already (Book I. ch. xxxi.) quoted Tavernier's testimony to the rage for coral among the Tibetans and kindred peoples. Mr. Cooper notices the eager demand for coral at Bathang: (See also *Desgodins, La Mission du Thibet*, 310.)

NOTE 4.—See *supra*, Bk. I. ch. lxi. note II.

NOTE 5.—The big Tibetan mastiffs are now well known. Mr. Cooper, at Ta-t'sien lu, notes that the people of Tibetan race “keep very large dogs, as large as Newfoundlands.” And he mentions a pack of dogs of another breed, tan and black, “fine animals of the size of setters.” The missionary M. Durand also, in a letter from the region in question, says, speaking of a large leopard: “Our brave watch-dogs had several times beaten him off gallantly, and one of them had even in single combat with him received a blow of the paw which had laid his skull open.” (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, XXXVII. 314.) On the title-page of vol. i. we have introduced one of these big Tibetan dogs as brought home by the Polos to Venice.

The “wild oxen called *Beyamini*” are probably some such species as the Gaur. *Beyamini* I suspect to be no Oriental word, but to stand for *Bueminini*, i.e. Bohemian, a name which may have been given by the Venetians to either the bison or urus. Polo's contemporary, Brunetto Latini, seems to speak of one of these as still existing in his day in Germany: “Autre buef naissent en Alemaigne qui ont grans cors, et sont bons por sommier et por vin porter.” (Paris ed., p. 228; see also *Lubbock, Pre-historic Times*, 296-7.)

[Mr. Baber (*Travels*, pp. 39, 40) writes: “A special interest attaches to the wild oxen, since they are unknown in any other part of China Proper. From a Lolo chief and his followers, most enthusiastic hunters, I afterwards learnt that the cattle are

met with in herds of from seven to twenty head in the recesses of the Wilderness, which may be defined as the region between the T'ung River and Yachou, but that in general they are rarely seen. . . . I was lucky enough to obtain a pair of horns and part of the hide of one of these redoubtable animals, which seem to show that they are a kind of bison.' Sir H. Yule remarks in a footnote (*Ibid.* p. 40): "It is not possible to say from what is stated here what the species is, but probably it is a *gavæus*, of which Jerdan describes three species. (See *Mammals of India*, pp. 301-307.) Mr. Hodgson describes the Gaur (*Gavæus gaurus* of Jerdan) of the forests below Nepaul as fierce and revengeful."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XLVII.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CAINDU.

CAINDU is a province lying towards the west,¹ and there is only one king in it. The people are Idolaters, subject to the Great Kaan, and they have plenty of towns and villages. [The chief city is also called Caindu, and stands at the upper end of the province.] There is a lake here,* in which are found pearls [which are white but not round]. But the Great Kaan will not allow them to be fished, for if people were to take as many as they could find there, the supply would be so vast that pearls would lose their value, and come to be worth nothing. Only when it is his pleasure they take from the lake so many as he may desire; but any one attempting to take them on his own account would be incontinently put to death.

There is also a mountain in this country wherein they find a kind of stone called turquoise, in great abundance; and it is a very beautiful stone. These also the Emperor does not allow to be extracted without his special order.²

I must tell you of a custom that they have in this country regarding their women. No man considers himself wronged if a foreigner, or any other man, dis-

* Ramusio alone has "a great salt lake."

honour his wife, or daughter, or sister, or any woman of his family, but on the contrary he deems such intercourse a piece of good fortune. And they say that it brings the favour of their gods and idols, and great increase of temporal prosperity. For this reason they bestow their wives on foreigners and other people as I will tell you.

When they fall in with any stranger in want of a lodging they are all eager to take him in. And as soon as he has taken up his quarters the master of the house goes forth, telling him to consider everything at his disposal, and after saying so he proceeds to his vineyards or his fields, and comes back no more till the stranger has departed. The latter abides in the caitiff's house, be it three days or be it four, enjoying himself with the fellow's wife or daughter or sister, or whatsoever woman of the family it best likes him; and as long as he abides there he leaves his hat or some other token hanging at the door, to let the master of the house know that he is still there. As long as the wretched fellow sees that token, he must not go in. And such is the custom over all that province.⁸

The money matters of the people are conducted in this way. They have gold in rods which they weigh, and they reckon its value by its weight in *saggi*, but they have no coined money. Their small change again is made in this way. They have salt which they boil and set in a mould [flat below and round above],⁴ and every piece from the mould weighs about half a pound. Now, 80 moulds of this salt are worth one *saggio* of fine gold, which is a weight so called. So this salt serves them for small change.⁵

The musk animals are very abundant in that country, and thus of musk also they have great store. They have likewise plenty of fish which they catch in the lake in which the pearls are produced. Wild animals, such



The Valley of the Kin-sha Kiang, near the lower end of Caidu, i.e. Kienchang. (From Garnier.)

“Et quant l'en est alés ceste dix jornte adonc treude-l'en un grant flun qe est apèle Grins, auquel se fenist la probence de Cheindou.”

as lions, bears, wolves, stags, bucks and roes, exist in great numbers; and there are also vast quantities of fowl of every kind. Wine of the vine they have none, but they make a wine of wheat and rice and sundry good spices, and very good drink it is.⁶ There grows also in this country a quantity of clove. The tree that bears it is a small one, with leaves like laurel but longer and narrower, and with a small white flower like the clove.⁷ They have also ginger and cinnamon in great plenty, besides other spices which never reach our countries, so we need say nothing about them.

Now we may leave this province, as we have told you all about it. But let me tell you first of this same country of Caidu that you ride through it ten days, constantly meeting with towns and villages, with people of the same description that I have mentioned. After riding those ten days you come to a river called BRIUS, which terminates the province of Caidu. In this river is found much gold-dust, and there is also much cinnamon on its banks. It flows to the Ocean Sea.

There is no more to be said about this river, so I will now tell you about another province called Carajan, as you shall hear in what follows.

NOTE 1.—Ramusio's version here enlarges: "Don't suppose from my saying *towards the west* that these countries really lie in what we call the *west*, but only that we have been travelling from regions in the east-north-east *towards* the west, and hence we speak of the countries we come to as lying *towards* the west."

NOTE 2.—Chinese authorities quoted by Ritter mention *mother-o'-pearl* as a product of Lithang, and speak of turquoises as found in Djaya to the west of Bathang. (Ritter, IV. 235-236.) Neither of these places is, however, within the tract which we believe to be Caidu. Amyot states that pearls are found in a certain river of Yun-nan. (See *Trans. R. A. Soc.* II. 91.)

NOTE 3.—This alleged practice, like that mentioned in the last chapter but one, is ascribed to a variety of people in different parts of the world. Both, indeed, have a curious double parallel in the story of two remote districts of the Himalaya which was told to Bernier by an old Kashmiri. (See Amst. ed. II. 304-305.) Polo has told nearly the same story already of the people of Kamul. (Bk. I. ch. xli.) It is related by Strabo of the Massagetæ; by Eusebius of the Geli and the Bactrians; by Elphinstone of the Hazaras; by Mendoza of the Ladrone Islanders; by other

authors of the Nairs of Malabar, and of some of the aborigines of the Canary Islands. (*Caulul*, I. 209; *Mendoza*, II. 254; *Müller's Strabo*, p. 439; *Euseb. Præp. Evan.* vi. 10; *Major's Pr. Henry*, p. 213.)

NOTE 4.—Ramusio has here: "as big as a twopenny loaf," and adds, "on the money so made the Prince's mark is printed; and no one is allowed to make it except the royal officers. . . . And merchants take this currency and go to those tribes that dwell among the mountains of those parts in the wildest and most un-frequented quarters; and there they get a *saggio* of gold for 60, or 50, or 40 pieces of this salt money, in proportion as the natives are more barbarous and more remote from towns and civilised folk. For in such positions they cannot dispose at pleasure of their gold and other things, such as musk and the like, for want of purchasers; and so they give them cheap. . . . And the merchants travel also about the mountains and districts of Tebet, disposing of this salt money in like manner to their own great gain. For those people, besides buying necessaries from the merchants, want this salt to use in their food; whilst in the towns only broken fragments are used in food, the whole cakes being kept to use as money." This exchange of salt cakes for gold forms a curious parallel to the like exchange in the heart of Africa, narrated by Cosmas in the 6th century, and by Aloisio Cadamosto in the 15th. (See *Cathay*, pp. clxx-clxxi.) Ritter also calls attention to an analogous account in Alvarez's description of Ethiopia. "The salt," Alvarez says, "is current as money, not only in the kingdom of Prester John, but also in those of the Moors and the pagans, and the people here say that it passes right on to Manicongo upon the Western Sea. This salt is dug from the mountain, it is said, in squared blocks. . . . At the place where they are dug, 100 or 120 such pieces pass for a drachm of gold . . . equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of a ducat of gold. When they arrive at a certain fair . . . one day from the salt mine, these go 5 or 6 pieces fewer to the drachm. And so, from fair to fair, fewer and fewer, so that when they arrive at the capital there will be only 6 or 7 pieces to the drachm." (*Ramusio*, I. 207.) Lieutenant Bower, in his account of Major Sladen's mission, says that at Momein the salt, which was a government monopoly, was "made up in rolls of one and two viss" (a Rangoon viss is 3 lbs. 5 oz. $\frac{1}{2}$ drs.), "and stamped" (p. 120).

[At Hsia-Kuan, near Ta-li, Captain Gill remarked to a friend (II. p. 312) "that the salt, instead of being in the usual great flat cakes about two or two and a half feet in diameter, was made in cylinders eight inches in diameter and nine inches high. 'Yes,' he said, 'they make them here in a sort of loaves,' unconsciously using almost the words of old Polo, who said the salt in Yun-Nan was in pieces 'as big as a twopenny loaf.'" (See also p. 334.)—H. C.]

M. Desgodins, a missionary in this part of Tibet, gives some curious details of the way in which the civilised traders still prey upon the simple hill-folks of that quarter; exactly as the Hindu Banyas prey upon the simple forest-tribes of India. He states one case in which the account for a pig had with interest run up to 2127 bushels of corn! (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, XXXVI. 320.)

Gold is said still to be very plentiful in the mountains called Gulan Sigong, to the N.W. of Yun-nan, adjoining the great eastern branch of the Irawadi, and the Chinese traders go there to barter for it. (See *J. A. S. B.* VI. 272.)

NOTE 5.—Salt is still an object highly coveted by the wild Lolos already alluded to, and to steal it is a chief aim of their constant raids on Chinese villages. (*Richtshofen in Verhandlungen*, etc., u. s. p. 36.) On the continued existence of the use of salt currency in regions of the same frontier, I have been favoured with the following note by M. FRANCIS GARNIER, the distinguished leader of the expedition of the great Kamboja River in its latter part: "Salt currency has a very wide diffusion from Muang Yong [in the Burman-Shan country, about lat. $21^{\circ} 43'$] to Sheu-pin [in Yun-nan, about lat. $23^{\circ} 43'$]. In the Shan markets, especially within the limits named, all purchases are made with salt. At Sse-mao and Pou-erl [*Esmok* and *Puer* of some of

our maps], silver, weighed and cut in small pieces, is in our day tending to drive out the custom; but in former days it must have been universal in the tract of which I am speaking. The salt itself, prime necessity as it is, has there to be extracted by condensation from saline springs of great depth, a very difficult affair. The operation consumes enormous quantities of fuel, and to this is partly due the denudation of the country." Marco's somewhat rude description of the process, "*Il prennent la sel e la font cuire, et puis la gilent en forme,*" points to the manufacture spoken of in this note. The cut which we give from M. Garnier's work illustrates the process, but the cakes are vastly greater than Marco's. Instead of a half-pound they weigh a *picul*, i.e. 133½ lbs. In Sze-ch'wan the brine wells are bored to a depth of 700 to 1000 feet; and the brine is drawn up in bamboo tubes by a gin. In Yun-nan the wells are much less deep, and a succession of hand pumps is used to raise the brine.

[Mr. Hosié has a chapter (*Three Years in W. China*, VII.) to which he has given the title of *Through Caidu to Carajan*; regarding salt he writes (p. 121): "Th:



Salt-pans in Yun-nan. (From Garnier.)

"*El prennent la sel e la font cuire, et puis la gilent en forme.*"

brine wells from which the salt is derived lie at Pai-yen-ching, 14 miles to the south-west of the city [of Yen-yuan] . . . [they] are only two in number, and comparatively shallow, being only 50 feet in depth. Bamboo tubes, ropes and buffaloes are here dispensed with, and small wooden tubs, with bamboos fixed to their sides as handles for raising, are considered sufficient. At one of the wells a staging was erected half-way down, and from it the tubs of brine were passed up to the workmen above. Passing from the wells to the evaporating sheds, we found a series of mud furnaces with round holes at the top, into which cone-shaped pans, manufactured from iron obtained in the neighbourhood, and varying in height from one to two and a half feet, were loosely fitted. When a pan has been sufficiently heated, a ladleful of the brine is poured into it, and, bubbling up to the surface, it

sinks, leaving a saline deposit on the inside of the pan. This process is repeated until a layer, some four inches thick, and corresponding to the shape of the pan, is formed, when the salt is removed as a hollow cone ready for market. Care must be taken to keep the bottom of the pan moist; otherwise, the salt cone would crack, and be rendered unfit for the rough carriage which it experiences on the backs of pack animals. A soft coal, which is found just under the surface of the yellow-soiled hills seven miles to the west of Pai-yen-ching, is the fuel used in the furnaces. The total daily output of salt at these wells does not exceed two tons a day, and the cost at the wells, including the Government tax, amounts to about three half-pence a pound. The area of supply, owing to the country being sparsely populated, is greater than the output would lead one to expect."—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—The spiced wine of Kien-ch'ang (see note to next chapter) has even now a high repute. (*Richthofen*.)

NOTE 7.—M. Pauthier will have it that Marco was here the discoverer of Assam tea. Assam is, indeed, far out of our range, but his notice of this plant, with the laurel-like leaf and white flower, was brought strongly to my recollection in reading Mr. Cooper's repeated notices, almost in this region, of the *large-leaved tea-tree, with its white flowers*; and, again, of "the hills covered with *tea-oil* trees, all white with flowers." Still, one does not clearly see why Polo should give tea-trees the name of cloves.

Failing explanation of this, I should suppose that the cloves of which the text speaks were *cassia-buds*, an article once prominent in commerce (as indeed were all similar aromatics) than now, but still tolerably well known. I was at once supplied with them at a *drogheria*, in the city where I write (Palermo), on asking for *Fiori di Canella*, the name under which they are mentioned repeatedly by Pegolotti and Uzzano, in the 14th and 15th centuries. Friar Jordanus, in speaking of the cinnamon (or cassia) of Malabar, says, "it is the bark of a large tree which has fruit and *flowers like cloves*" (p. 28). The cassia-buds have indeed a general resemblance to cloves, but they are shorter, lighter in colour, and not angular. The cinnamon, mentioned in the next lines as abundantly produced in the same region, was no doubt one of the inferior sorts, called cassia-bark.

Williams says: "Cassia grows in all the southern provinces of China, especially Kwang-si and Yun-nan, also in Annam, Japan, and the Isles of the Archipelago. The wood, bark, buds, seeds, twigs, pods, leaves, oil, are all objects of commerce. . . . The buds (*kwei-tz'*) are the fleshy ovaries of the seeds; they are pressed at one end, so that they bear some resemblance to cloves in shape." Upwards of 500 *piculs* (about 30 tons), valued at 30 dollars each, are annually exported to Europe and India. (*Chin. Commercial Guide*, 113-114.)

The only doubt as regards this explanation will probably be whether the cassia would be found at such a height as we may suppose to be that of the country in question above the sea-level. I know that cassia bark is gathered in the Kasia Hills of Eastern Bengal up to a height of about 4000 feet above the sea, and at least the valleys of "Caindu" are probably not too elevated for this product. Indeed, that of the Kin-sha or *Brius*, near where I suppose Polo to cross it, is only 2600 feet. Positive evidence I cannot adduce. No cassia or cinnamon was met with by M. Garnier's party where they intersected this region.

But in this 2nd edition I am able to state on the authority of Baron Richthofen that cassia is produced in the whole length of the valley of Kien-ch'ang (which is, as we shall see in the notes on next chapter, Caindu), though in no other part of Sze-ch'wan nor in Northern Yun-nan.

[Captain Gill (*River of Golden Sand*, II, p. 263) writes: "There were chestnut trees . . .; and the Kwei-Hua, a tree 'with leaves like the laurel, and with a small white flower, like the clove,' having a delicious, though rather a luscious smell.

This was the Cassia, and I can find no words more suitable to describe it than those of Polo which I have just used."—H. C.]

Ethnology.—The Chinese at Ch'êng-tu fu, according to Richthofen, classify the aborigines of the Sze-ch'wan frontier as *Man-tzû*, *Lolo*, *Si-fan*, and *Tibetan*. Of these the *Si-fan* are furthest north, and extend far into Tibet. The *Man-tzû* (properly so called) are regarded as the remnant of the ancient occupants of Sze-ch'wan, and now dwell in the mountains about the parallel 30°, and along the Lhâsa road, Ta-t'sien lu being about the centre of their tract. The *Lolo* are the wildest and most independent, occupying the mountains on the left of the Kin-sha Kiang where it runs northwards (see above p. 48, and below p. 69) and also to some extent on its right. The *Tibetan* tribes lie to the west of the *Man-tzû*, and to the west of Kien-ch'ang. (See next chapter.)

Towards the Lan-ts'ang Kiang is the quasi-Tibetan tribe called by the Chinese *Mossos*, by the Tibetans *Guions*, and between the Lan-ts'ang and the Lú-Kiang or Salwen are the *Lissús*, wild hill-robbers and great musk hunters, like those described by Polo at p. 45. Garnier, who gives these latter particulars, mentions that near the confluence of the Yalung and Kin-sha Kiang there are tribes called *Pa-i*, as there are in the south of Yun-nan, and, like the latter, of distinctly Shan or Laotian character. He also speaks of *Si-fan* tribes in the vicinity of Li-kiang fu, and coming south of the Kin-sha Kiang even to the east of Ta-li. Of these are told such loose tales as Polo tells of *Tebet* and *Caindu*.

[In the *Topography of the Yun-nan Province* (edition of 1836) there is a catalogue of 141 classes of aborigines, each with a separate name and illustration, without any attempt to arrive at a broader classification. Mr. Bourne has been led to the conviction that exclusive of the Tibetans (including *Si-fan* and *Ku-tsung*), there are but three great non-Chinese races in Southern China: the *Lolo*, the *Shan*, and the *Miao-tzû*. (*Report, China*, No. 1, 1888, p. 87.) This classification is adopted by Dr. Deblenne. (*Mission Lyonnaise*.)

Man-tzû, *Man*, is a general name for "barbarian" (see my note in *Odoric de Pordenone*, p. 248 *segg.*); it is applied as well to the *Lolo* as to the *Si-fan*.

Mr. Parker remarks (*China Review*, XX. p. 345) that the epithet of *Man-tzû*, or "barbarians," dates from the time when the Shans, Annamese, *Miao-tzû*, etc., occupied nearly all South China, for it is essentially to the Indo-Chinese that the term *Man-tzû* belongs.

Mr. Hosie writes (*Three years in W. China*, 122): "At the time when Marco Polo passed through *Caindu*, this country was in the possession of the *Si-fans*. . . . At the present day, they occupy the country to the west, and are known under the generic name of *Man-tzû*."

"It has already been remarked that *Si-fan*, convertible with *Man-tzû*, is a loose Chinese expression of no ethnological value, meaning nothing more than Western barbarians; but in a more restricted sense it is used to designate a people (or peoples) which inhabits the valley of the Yalung and the upper T'ung, with contiguous valleys and ranges, from about the twenty-seventh parallel to the borders of *Koko-nor*. This people is sub-divided into eighteen tribes." (*Baber*, p. 81.)

Si-fan or *Pa-tsiu* is the name by which the Chinese call the *Tibetan* tribes which occupy part of Western China. (*Devéria*, p. 167.)

Dr. Bretschneider writes (*Med. Res.* II. p. 24): "The north-eastern part of Tibet was sometimes designated by the Chinese name *Si-fan*, and *Hyacinth* [*Bitchurin*] is of opinion that in ancient times this name was even applied to the whole of Tibet. *Si-fan* means, 'Western Barbarians.' The biographer of *Hiuen-Tsang* reports that when this traveller, in 629, visited *Liang-chau* (in the province of *Kan-Suh*), this city was the entrepôt for merchants from *Si-fan* and the countries east of the *Ts'ung-ling* mountains. In the history of the *Hia* and *Tangut* Empire (in the *Sung-shi*) we read, *s. a.* 1003, that the founder of this Empire invaded *Si-fan* and then proceeded to *Si-liang* (*Liang-chau*). The *Yuen-shi* reports, *s. a.* 1268: 'The (Mongol) Emperor ordered *Meng-gu-dai* to invade *Si-fan* with 6000 men.' The

name Si-fan appears also in ch. ccii., biography of *Dan-ba*." It is stated in the *Ming-shi*, "that the name *Si-fan* is applied to the territory situated beyond the frontiers of the Chinese provinces of Shen-si (then including the eastern part of present Kan-Suh) and Sze-ch'wan, and inhabited by various tribes of Tangut race, anciently known in Chinese history under the name of *Si Kiang*. . . . The *Kuang yu ki* notices that *Si-fan* comprises the territory of the south-west of Shen-si, west of Sze-ch'wan and north-west of Yun-nan. . . . The tribute presented by the Si-fan tribes to the Emperor used to be carried to the court at Peking by way of Ya-chau in Sze-ch'wan." (*Bretschneider*, 203.) The Tangutans of Prjevalsky, north-east of Tibet, in the country of Kuku nor, correspond to the Si-fan.

"The Ta-tu River may be looked upon as the southern limit of the region inhabited by Sifan tribes, and the northern boundary of the Lolo country which stretches southwards to the Yang-tzū and east from the valley of Kien-ch'ang towards the right bank of the Min." (*Hosie*, p. 102.)

To Mr. E. C. Baber we owe the most valuable information regarding the Lolo people:

"'Lolo' is itself a word of insult, of unknown Chinese origin, which should not be used in their presence, although they excuse it and will even sometimes employ it in the case of ignorant strangers. In the report of Governor-General Lo Ping-chang, above quoted, they are called 'I,' the term applied by Chinese to Europeans. They themselves have no objection to being styled 'I-chia' (I families), but that word is not their native name. Near Ma-pien they call themselves 'Lo-su'; in the neighbourhood of Lui-po T'ing their name is 'No-su' or 'Ngo-su' (possibly a mere variant of 'Lo-su'); near Hui-li-chou the term is 'Lé-su'—the syllable Lé being pronounced as in French. The subject tribes on the T'ung River, near Mount Wa, also name themselves 'Ngo-su.' I have found the latter people speak very disrespectfully of



Black Lolo.

the Lé-su, which argues an internal distinction; but there can be no doubt that they are the same race, and speak the same language, though with minor differences of dialect." (*Baber, Travels, 66-67.*)

"With very rare exceptions the male Lolo, rich or poor, free or subject, may be instantly known by his *horn*. All his hair is gathered into a knot over his forehead and there twisted up in a cotton cloth so as to resemble the horn of a unicorn. The



White Lolo.

horn with its wrapper is sometimes a good nine inches long. They consider this *coiffure* sacred, so at least I was told, and even those who wear a short pig-tail for convenience in entering Chinese territory still conserve the indigenous horn, concealed for the occasion under the folds of the Sze-ch'wan turban." (*Baber, p. 61.*) See these horns on figures, Bk. II. ch. lviii.

"The principal clothing of a Lolo is his mantle, a capacious sleeveless garment of grey or black felt gathered round his neck by a string, and reaching nearly to his

heels. In the case of the better classes the mantle is of fine felt—in great request among the Chinese—and has a fringe of cotton-web round its lower border. For journeys on horseback they have a similar cloak differing only in being slit half-way up the back; a wide lapet covering the opening lies easily along the loins and croup of the horse. The colour of the felt is originally grey, but becomes brown-black or black, in process of time. It is said that the insects which haunt humanity never infest these gabardines. The Lolo generally gathers this garment closely round his shoulders and crosses his arms inside. His legs, clothed in trowsers of Chinese cotton, are swathed in felt bandages bound on with strings, and he has not yet been super-civilised into the use of foot-gear. In summer a cotton cloak is often substituted for the felt mantle. The hat, serving equally for an umbrella, is woven of bamboo, in a low conical shape, and is covered with felt. Crouching in his felt mantle under this roof of felt the hardy Lolo is impervious to wind or rain." (*Baber, Travels, 61-62.*)

"The word, 'Black-bone,' is generally used by the Chinese as a name for the independent Lolos, but in the mouth of a Lolo it seems to mean a 'freeman' or 'noble,' in which sense it is not a whit more absurd than the 'blue-blood,' of Europeans. The 'White-bones,' an inferior class, but still Lolo by birth, are, so far as I could understand, the vassals and retainers of the patricians—the people, in fact. A third class consists of Wa-tzü, or slaves, who are all captive Chinese. It does not appear whether the servile class is sub-divided, but, at any rate, the slaves born in Lolodom are treated with more consideration than those who have been captured in slave-hunts." (*Baber, Travels, 67.*)

According to the French missionary, Paul Vial (*Les Lolos, Shang-hai, 1898*) the Lolos say that they come from the country situated between Tibet and Burma. The proper manner to address a Lolo in Chinese is *Lao-pen-kia*. The book of Father Vial contains a very valuable chapter on the writing of the Lolos. Mr. F. S. A. Bourne writes (*Report, China, No. 1. 1888, p. 88*):—"The old Chinese name for this race was 'Ts'uan Man'—'Ts'uan barbarians,' a name taken from one of their chiefs. The *Yun-nan Topography* says:—"The name of "Ts'uan Man" is a very ancient one, and originally the tribes of Ts'uan were very numerous. There was that called "Lu-lu Man," for instance, now improperly called "Lo-Lo." These people call themselves 'Nersu,' and the vocabularies show that they stretch in scattered communities as far as Ssü-mao and along the whole southern border of Yun-nan. It appears from the *Topography* that they are found also on the Burmese border."

The *Moso* call themselves *Nashi* and are called *Djiung* by the Tibetans; their ancient capital is Li-kiang fu which was taken by their chief Mông-ts'u under the Sung Dynasty; the Mongols made of their country the kingdom of Chaghan-djang. Li-kiang is the territory of Yuê-si Chao, called also Mo-sie (*Moso*), one of the six Chao of Nan-Chao. The *Moso* of Li-kiang call themselves *Ho*. They have an epic styled *Djiung-Ling* (*Moso Division*) recounting the invasion of part of Tibet by the *Moso*. The *Moso* were submitted during the 8th century, by the King of Nan-Chao. They have a special hieroglyphic scrip, a specimen of which has been given by Devéria. (*Frontière, p. 166.*) A manuscript was secured by Captain Gill, on the frontier east of Li-t'ang, and presented by him to the British Museum (*Add. MSS. Or. 2162*); T. de Lacouperie gave a facsimile of it. (Plates I., II. of *Beginnings of Writing.*) Prince Henri d'Orléans and M. Bonin both brought home a *Moso* manuscript with a Chinese explanation.

Dr. Anderson (*Exped. to Yunnan, Calcutta, p. 136*) says the *Li-sus*, or *Lissaus* are "a small hill-people, with fair, round, flat faces, high cheek bones, and some little obliquity of the eye." These *Li-su* or *Li-siè*, are scattered throughout the Yunnan prefectures of Yao-ngan, Li-kiang, Ta-li and Yung-ch'ang; they were already in Yun-Nan in the 4th century when the Chinese general Ch'u Chouang-kiao entered the country. (*Devéria, Front., p. 164.*)

The *Pa-y* or *P'o-y* formed under the Han Dynasty the principality of P'o-tsiu and under the T'ang Dynasty the tribes of Pu-hiung and of Si-ngo, which were among the

thirty-seven tribes dependent on the ancient state of Nan-Chao and occupied the territory of the sub-prefectures of Kiang-Chuen (Ch'êng-kiang fu) and of Si-ngo (Lin-ngan fu). They submitted to China at the beginning of the Yuen Dynasty; their country bordered upon Burma (Mien-tien) and Ch'ê-li or Kiang-Hung (Xieng-Hung), in Yun-Nan, on the right bank of the Mekong River. According to Chinese tradition, the Pa-y descended from Muong Tsiu-ch'u, ninth son of Ti Muong-tsiu, son of Piao-tsiu-ti (Asôka). Devéria gives (p. 105) a specimen of the Pa-y writing (16th century). (*Devéria, Front.*, 99, 117; *Bourne, Report*, p. 88.) Chapter iv. of the Chinese work, *Sze-i-kwan-k'ao*, is devoted to the Pa-y, including the sub-divisions of Muong-Yang, Muong-Ting, Nan-tien, Tsien-ngai, Lung-chuen, Wei-yuan, Wan-tien, Chen-k'ang, Ta-how, Mang-shi, Kin-tung, Ho-tsin, Cho-lo tien. (*Devéria, Mém. de Harlez*, p. 97.) I give a specimen of Pa-yi writing from a Chinese work purchased by Father Amiot at Peking, now in the Paris National Library (Fonds chinois, No. 986). (See on this scrip, *F. W. K. Müller, T'oung-Pao*, III. p. 1, and V. p. 329; *E. H. Parker, The Muong Language, China Review*, I. 1891, p. 267; *P. Lefèvre-Pontalis, Etudes sur quelques alphabets et vocab. Thais, T'oung Pao*, III. pp. 39-64.—H. C.]

These ethnological matters have to be handled cautiously, for there is great ambiguity in the nomenclature. Thus *Man-tzû* is often used generically for aborigines, and the *Lolos* of Richthofen are called Man-tzû by Garnier and Blakiston; whilst *Lolo* again has in Yun-nan apparently a very comprehensive generic meaning, and is so used by Garnier. (*Rich. Letter VII. 67-68* and MS. notes; *Garnier, I. 519 seqq.* [*T. W. Kingsmill, Han Wu-ti, China Review*, XXV. 103-109.])

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN.

When you have passed that River you enter on the province of CARAJAN, which is so large that it includes seven kingdoms. It lies towards the west; the people are Idolaters, and they are subject to the Great Kaan. A son of his, however, is there as King of the country, by name ESSENTIMUR; a very great and rich and puissant Prince; and he well and justly rules his dominion, for he is a wise man, and a valiant.

After leaving the river that I spoke of, you go five days' journey towards the west, meeting with numerous towns and villages. The country is one in which excellent horses are bred, and the people live by cattle and agriculture. They have a language of their own which is passing hard to understand. At the end of those five days' journey you come to the capital, which is

called YACHI, a very great and noble city, in which are numerous merchants and craftsmen.¹

The people are of sundry kinds, for there are not only Saracens and Idolaters, but also a few Nestorian Christians.² They have wheat and rice in plenty. Howbeit they never eat wheaten bread, because in that country it is unwholesome.³ Rice they eat, and make of it sundry messes, besides a kind of drink which is very clear and good, and makes a man drunk just as wine does.

Their money is such as I will tell you. They use for the purpose certain white porcelain shells that are found in the sea, such as are sometimes put on dogs' collars; and 80 of these porcelain shells pass for a single weight of silver, equivalent to two Venice groats, *i.e.* 24 piccoli. Also eight such weights of silver count equal to one such weight of gold.⁴

They have brine-wells in this country from which they make salt, and all the people of those parts make a living by this salt. The King, too, I can assure you, gets a great revenue from this salt.⁵

There is a lake in this country of a good hundred miles in compass, in which are found great quantities of the best fish in the world; fish of great size, and of all sorts.

They reckon it no matter for a man to have intimacy with another's wife, provided the woman be willing.

Let me tell you also that the people of that country eat their meat raw, whether it be of mutton, beef, buffalo, poultry, or any other kind. Thus the poor people will go to the shambles, and take the raw liver as it comes from the carcass and cut it small, and put it in a sauce of garlic and spices, and so eat it; and other meat in like manner, raw, just as we eat meat that is dressed.⁶

Now I will tell you about a further part of the Province of Carajan, of which I have been speaking.

NOTE I.—We have now arrived at the great province of CARAJAN, the KARÁJÁNG of the Mongols, which we know to be YUN-NAN, and at its capital YACHI, which—I was about to add—we know to be YUN-NAN-FU. But I find all the commentators make it something else. Rashiduddin, however, in his detail of the twelve Sings or provincial governments of China under the Mongols, thus speaks: “10th, KARÁJÁNG. This used to be an independent kingdom, and the Sing is established at the great city of YÁCHI. All the inhabitants are Mahomedans. The chiefs are Noyan Takin, and Yakub Beg, son of 'Ali Beg, the Belúch.” And turning to Pauthier's corrected account of the same distribution of the empire from authentic Chinese sources (p. 334), we find: “8. The administrative province of Yun-nan. . . . Its capital, chief town also of the canton of the same name, was called *Chung-khing*, now YUN-NAN-FU.” Hence Yachi was Yun-nan-fu. This is still a large city, having a rectangular rampart with 6 gates, and a circuit of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The suburbs were destroyed by the Mahomedan rebels. The most important trade there now is in the metallic produce of the Province. [According to *Oxenham, Historical Atlas*, there were ten provinces or *sheng* (Liao-yang, Chung-shu, Shen-si, Ho-nan, Sze-ch'wan, Yun-nan, Hu-kwang, Kiang-che, Kiang-si and Kan-suh) and twelve military governorships.—H. C.]

Yachi was perhaps an ancient corruption of the name *Yichau*, which the territory bore (according to Martini and Biot) under the Han; but more probably *Yichau* was a Chinese transformation of the real name *Yachi*. The Shans still call the city Muang *Chi*, which is perhaps another modification of the same name.

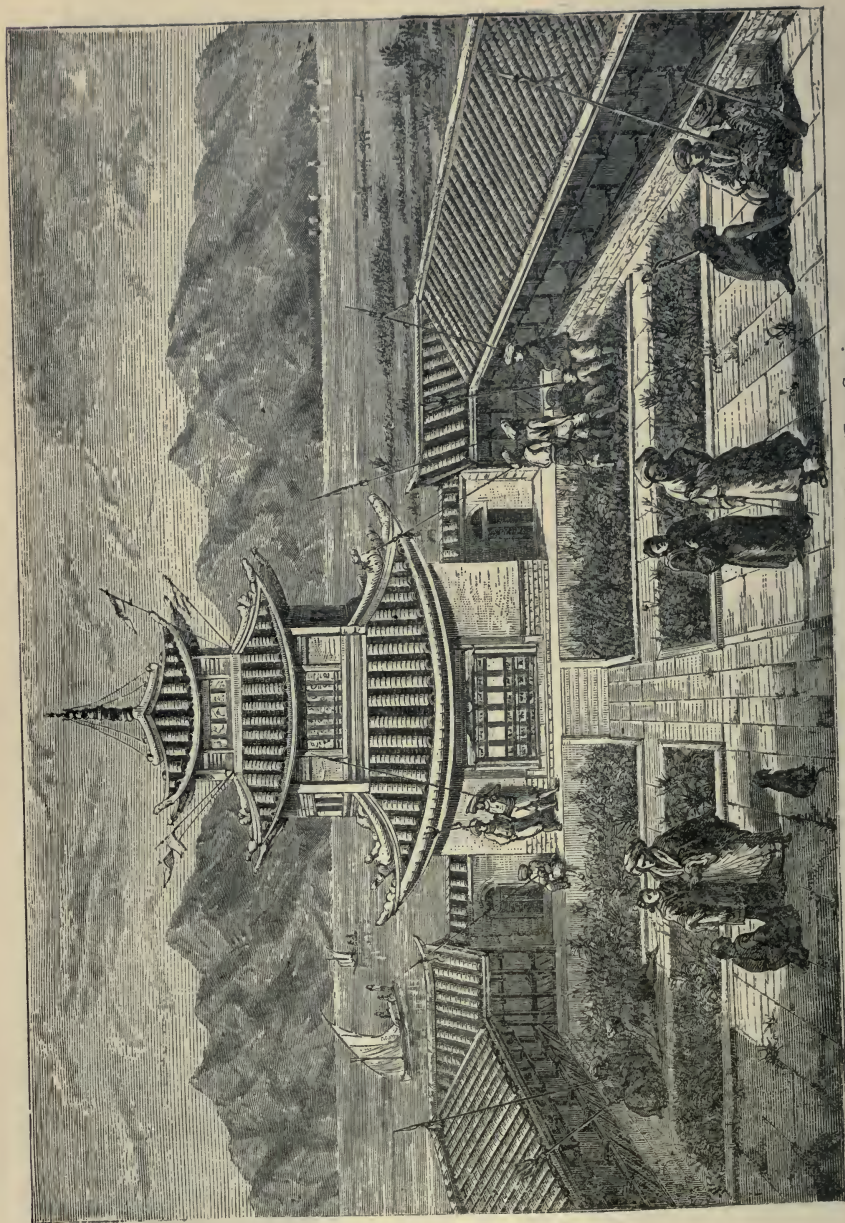
We have thus got Ch'êng-tu fu as one fixed point, and Yun-nan-fu as another, and we have to track the traveller's itinerary between the two, through what Ritter called with reason a *terra incognita*. What little was known till recently of this region came from the Catholic missionaries. Of late the veil has begun to be lifted; the daring excursion of Francis Garnier and his party in 1868 intersected the tract towards the south; Mr. T. T. Cooper crossed it further north, by Ta-t'sien lu, Lithang and Bathang; Baron v. Richthofen in 1872 had penetrated several marches towards the heart of the mystery, when an unfortunate mishap compelled his return, but he brought back with him much precious information.

Five days forward from Ch'êng-tu fu brought us on Tibetan ground. Five days backward from Yun-nan fu should bring us to the river Brius, with its gold-dust and the frontier of Caidu. Wanting a local scale for a distance of five days, I find that our next point in advance, Marco's city of Carajan undisputably *Tali-fu*, is said by him to be ten days from Yachi. The direct distance between the cities of Yun-nan and Ta-li I find by measurement on Keith Johnston's map to be 133 Italian miles. [The distance by road is 215 English miles. (See *Baber*, p. 191.)—H. C.] Taking half this as radius, the compasses swept from Yun-nan-fu as centre, intersect near its most southerly elbow the great upper branch of the Kiang, the *Kin-sha Kiang* of the Chinese, or “River of the Golden Sands,” the MURUS USSU and BRICHU of the Mongols and Tibetans, and manifestly the auriferous BRIUS of our traveller.* Hence also the country north of this elbow is CAINDU.

* [Baber writes (p. 107): “The river is never called locally by any other name than *Kin-ho*, or ‘Gold River.’¹ The term *Kin-sha-Kiang* should in strictness be confined to the Tibetan course of the stream; as applied to other parts it is a mere book name. There is no great objection to its adoption, except that it is unintelligible to the inhabitants of the banks, and is liable to mislead travellers in search of indigenous information, but at any rate it should not be supposed to asperse Marco Polo's accuracy. *Gold River* is the local name from the junction of the Yalung to about P'ing-shan; below P'ing-shan it is known by various designations, but the Su-ch'uanese naturally call it ‘the River,’ or, by contrast with its affluents, the ‘Big River’ (*Ta-ho*).” I imagine that Baber here makes a slight mistake, and that they use the name *kiang*, and not *ho*, for the river.—H. C.]

[Mr. Rockhill remarks (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 196 note) that “Marco Polo speaks of the Yang-tzu as the *Brius*, and Orazio della Penna calls it *Biciu*, both words representing the Tibetan *Dré ch'u*. This last name has been frequently translated ‘Cow yak River,’ but this is certainly not its meaning, as cow yak is *drí-mo*, never pronounced *dré*, and unintelligible without the suffix, *mo*. *Dré* may mean either mule, dirty, or rice, but as I have never seen the word written, I cannot decide on any of these terms, all of which have exactly the same pronunciation. The Mongols call it *Murus osu*, and in books this is sometimes changed to *Murui osu*, ‘Tortuous river.’ The Chinese call it *T'ung t'ien*

¹ Marco Polo nowhere calls the river “Gold River,” the name he gives it is *Brius*.—H. Y.



Garden-House on the Lake at Yun-nan-fu, Yachi of Polo. (From Garnier.
"Je vois di q'il ont un lac qe gire endiron bien cent miles.")

I leave the preceding paragraph as it stood in the first edition, because it shows how *near* the true position of Caidu these unaided deductions from our author's data had carried me. That paragraph was followed by an erroneous hypothesis as to the intermediate part of that journey, but, thanks to the new light shed by Baron Richthofen, we are enabled now to lay down the whole itinerary from Ch'èng-tu fu to Yun-nan fu with confidence in its accuracy.

The Kin-sha Kiang or Upper course of the Great Yang-tzû, descending from Tibet to Yun-nan, forms the great bight or elbow to which allusion has just been made, and which has been a feature known to geographers ever since the publication of D'Anville's atlas. The tract enclosed in this elbow is cut in two by another great Tibetan River, the Yarlung, or Yalung-Kiang, which joins the Kin-sha not far from the middle of the great bight; and this Yalung, just before the confluence, receives on the left a stream of inferior calibre, the Ngan-ning Ho, which also flows in a valley parallel to the meridian, like all that singular *fascis* of great rivers between Assam and Sze-ch'wan.

This River Ngan-ning waters a valley called Kien-ch'ang, containing near its northern end a city known by the same name, but in our modern maps marked as Ning-yuan fu; this last being the name of a department of which it is the capital, and which embraces much more than the valley of Kien-ch'ang. The town appears, however, as Kien-ch'ang in the *Atlas Sinensis* of Martini, and as *Kienchang-ouei* in D'Anville. This remarkable valley, imbedded as it were in a wilderness of rugged highlands and wild races, accessible only by two or three long and difficult routes, rejoices in a warm climate, a most productive soil, scenery that seems to excite enthusiasm even in Chinamen, and a population noted for amiable temper. Towns and villages are numerous. The people are said to be descended from Chinese immigrants, but their features have little of the Chinese type, and they have probably a large infusion of aboriginal blood. [Kien-ch'ang, "otherwise the Prefecture of Ning-yuan, is perhaps the least known of the Eighteen Provinces," writes Mr. Baber. (*Travels*, p. 58.) "Two or three sentences in the book of Ser Marco, to the effect that after crossing high mountains, he reached a fertile country containing many towns and villages, and inhabited by a very immoral population, constitute to this day the only description we possess of *Cain-du*, as he calls the district." Baber adds (p. 82): "Although the main valley of Kien-ch'ang is now principally inhabited by Chinese, yet the Sifan or Menia people are frequently met with, and most of the villages possess two names, one Chinese, and the other indigenous. Probably in Marco Polo's time a Menia population predominated, and the valley was regarded as part of Menia. If Marco had heard that name, he would certainly have recorded it; but it is not one which is likely to reach the ears of a stranger. The Chinese people and officials never employ it, but use in its stead an alternative name, *Chan-tu* or *Chan-tui*, of precisely the same application, which I make bold to offer as the original of Marco's Caidu, or preferably Ciandu."—H. C.]

This valley is bounded on the east by the mountain country of the Lolos, which extends north nearly to Yachau (*supra*, pp. 45, 48, 60), and which, owing to the fierce intractable character of the race, forms throughout its whole length an impenetrable barrier between East and West. [The Rev. Gray Owen, of Ch'èng-tu, wrote (*Jour. China*, B. R. A. S. xxviii. 1893-1894, p. 59): "The only great trade route infested by brigands is that from Ya-chau to Ning-yuan fu, where Lo-lo brigands are numerous, especially in the autumn. Last year I heard of a convoy of 18 mules with Shen-si goods on the above-mentioned road captured by these brigands, muleteers and all taken inside the Lo-lo country. It is very seldom that captives get out of Lo-lo-dom, because the ransom asked is too high, and the Chinese officials are not gallant enough to buy out their unfortunate countrymen. The Lo-los hold thousands of Chinese in slavery; and more are added yearly to

ho, 'River of all Heaven.' The name *Kin-sha kiang*, 'River of Golden Sand,' is used for it from Bat'ang to Sui-fu, or thereabouts." The general name for the river is *Ta-Kiang* (Great River), or simply *Kiang*, in contradistinction to *Ho*, for *Hwang-Ho* (Yellow River) in Northern China.—H. C.]

the number."—H. C.] Two routes run from Ch'êng-tu fu to Yun-nan; these fork at Ya-chau and thenceforward are entirely separated by this barrier. To the east of it is the route which descends the Min River to Siu-chau, and then passes by Chao-tong and Tong-chuan to Yun-nan fu: to the west of the barrier is a route leading through Kien-ch'ang to Ta-li fu, but throwing off a branch from Ning-yuan southward in the direction of Yun-nan fu.

This road from Ch'êng-tu fu to Ta-li by Ya-chau and Ning-yuan appears to be that by which the greater part of the goods for Bhamó and Ava used to travel before the recent Mahomedan rebellion; it is almost certainly the road by which Kúblái, in 1253, during the reign of his brother Mangku Kaan, advanced to the conquest of Ta-li, then the head of an independent kingdom in Western Yun-nan. As far as Ts'ing-k'i hien, 3 marches beyond Ya-chau, this route coincides with the great Tibet road by Ta-t'sien lu and Bathang to L'hása, and then it diverges to the left.

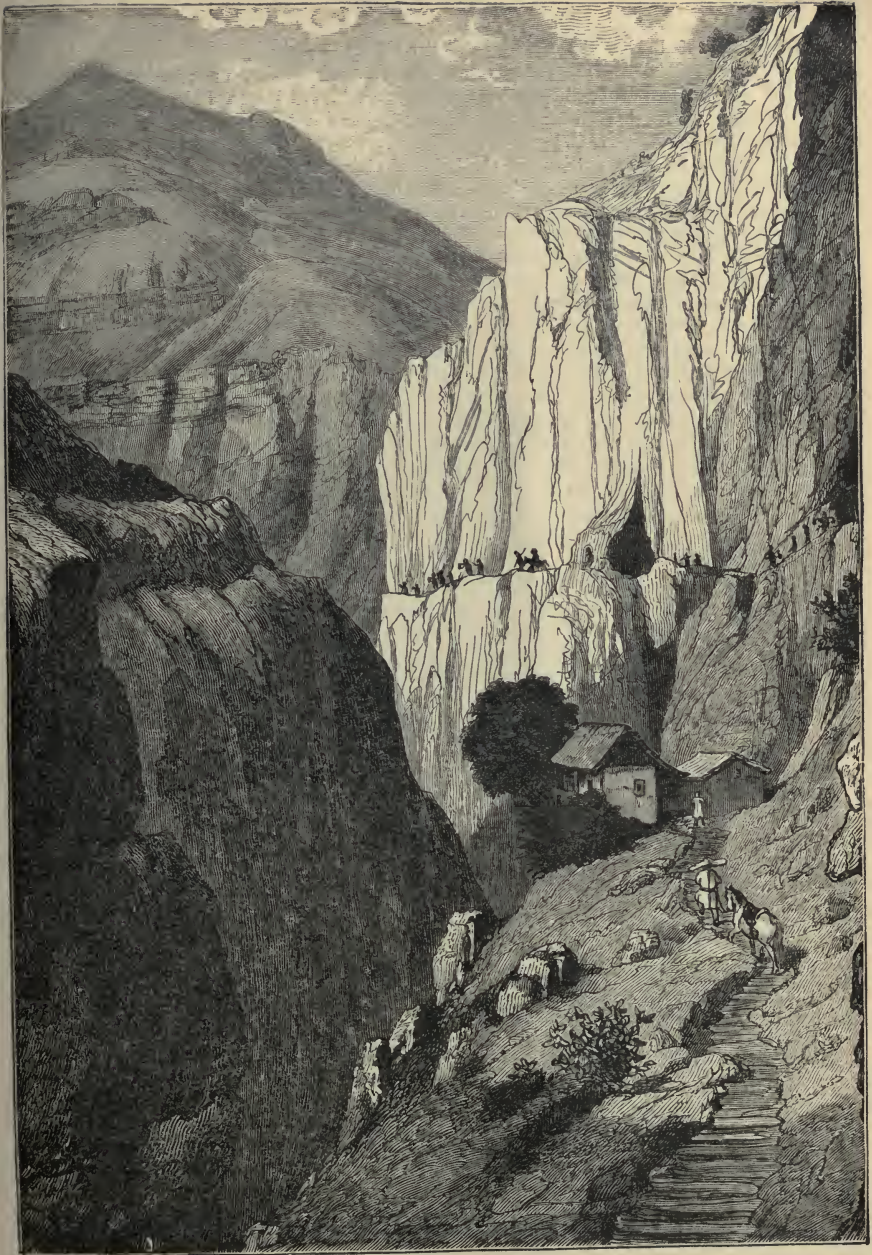
We may now say without hesitation that by this road Marco travelled. His *Tibet* commences with the mountain region near Ya-chau; his 20 days' journey through a devastated and dispeopled tract is the journey to Ning-yuan fu. Even now, from Ts'ing-k'i onwards for several days, not a single inhabited place is seen. The official route from Ya-chau to Ning-yuan lays down 13 stages, but it generally takes from 15 to 18 days. Polo, whose journeys seem often to have been shorter than the modern average,* took 20. On descending from the highlands he comes once more into a populated region, and enters the charming Valley of Kien-ch'ang. This valley, with its capital near the upper extremity, its numerous towns and villages, its cassia, its spiced wine, and its termination southward on the River of the Golden Sands, is CAINDU. The traveller's road from Ningyuan to Yunnanfu probably lay through Hwei-li, and the Kin-sha Kiang would be crossed as already indicated, near its most southerly bend, and almost due north of Yun-nan fu. (See *Richthofen* as quoted at pp. 45-46.)

As regards the *name* of CAINDU or GHEINDU (as in G. T.), I think we may safely recognise in the last syllable the *do* which is so frequent a termination of Tibetan names (Amdo, Tsiando, etc.); whilst the *Cain*, as Baron Richthofen has pointed out, probably survives in the first part of the name *Kienchang*.

[Baber writes (pp. 80-81): "Colonel Yule sees in the word *Caindu* a variation of 'Chien-ch'ang,' and supposes the syllable 'du' to be the same as the termination 'du,' 'do,' or 'tu,' so frequent in Tibetan names. In such names, however, 'do' never means a district, but always a confluence, or a town near a confluence, as might almost be guessed from a map of Tibet. . . . Unsatisfied with Colonel Yule's identification, I cast about for another, and thought for a while that a clue had been found in the term 'Chien-t'ou' (sharp-head), applied to certain Lolo tribes. But the idea had to be abandoned, since Marco Polo's anecdote about the 'caitiff,' and the loose manners of his family, could never have referred to the Lolos, who are admitted even by their Chinese enemies to possess a very strict code indeed of domestic regulations. The Lolos being eliminated, the Si-fans remained; and before we had been many days in their neighbourhood, stories were told us of their conduct which a polite pen refuses to record. It is enough to say that Marco's account falls rather short of the truth, and most obviously applies to the Si-fan."]

Devéria (*Front.* p. 146 note) says that Kien-ch'ang is the ancient territory of Kung-tu which, under the Han Dynasty, fell into the hands of the Tibetans, and was made by the Mongols the march of Kien-ch'ang (*Che-Kong-t'u*); it is the *Caindu* of Marco Polo; under the Han Dynasty it was the Kiun or division of Yueh-sui or Yueh-hsi. Devéria quotes from the *Yuen-shi-lei pien* the following passage relating to the year 1284: "The twelve tribes of the Barbarians to the south-west of *Kien-tou* and *Kin-Chi* submitted; Kien-tou was administered by Mien (Burma); Kien-tou submits because the Kingdom of Mien has been vanquished." Kien-tou is the

* Baron Richthofen, who has travelled hundreds of miles in his footsteps, considers his allowance of time to be generally from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ greater than that now usual.



Road descending from the Table-Land of Yun-nan into the Valley of the Kin-sha Kiang (the *Brius* of Polo).
(After Garnier.)

Chien-lou of Baber, the *Caindu* of Marco Polo. (*Mélanges de Harlez*, p. 97.) According to Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, xix. p. 69), *Yueh-hsi* or *Yueh-sui* "is the modern *Kien-ch'ang* Valley, the *Caindu* of Marco Polo, between the *Yalung* and *Yang-tzu* Rivers; the only non-Chinese races found there now are the *Si-fan* and *Lolos*."—H. C.]

Turning to minor particulars, the *Lake of Caindu* in which the pearls were found is doubtless one lying near *Ning-yuan*, whose beauty *Richthofen* heard greatly extolled, though nothing of the pearls. [Mr. *Hosie* writes (*Three Years*, 112-113): "If the former tradition be true (the old city of *Ning-yuan* having given place to a large lake in the early years of the *Ming* Dynasty), the lake had no existence when *Marco Polo* passed through *Caindu*, and yet we find him mentioning a lake in the country in which pearls were found. Curiously enough, although I had not then read the *Venetian's* narrative, one of the many things told me regarding the lake was that pearls are found in it, and specimens were brought to me for inspection." The lake lies to the south-east of the present city.—H. C.] A small lake is marked by *D'Anville*, close to *Kien-ch'ang*, under the name of *Gechoui-tang*. The large quantities of gold derived from the *Kin-sha Kiang*, and the abundance of musk in that vicinity, are testified to by *Martini*. The *Lake* mentioned by *Polo* as existing in the territory of *Yachi* is no doubt the *Tien-chi*, the *Great Lake* on the shore of which the city of *Yun-nan* stands, and from which boats make their way by canals along the walls and streets. Its circumference, according to *Martini*, is 500 *li*. The cut (p. 68), from *Garnier*, shows this lake as seen from a villa on its banks. [*Devéria* (p. 129) quotes this passage from the *Yuen-shi-lei pien*: "Yachi, of which the *U-man* or *Black Barbarians* made their capital, is surrounded by *Lake Tien-chi* on three sides." *Tien-chi* is one of the names of *Lake Kwen-ming*, on the shore of which is built *Yun-nan fu*.—H. C.]

Returning now to the *Karajang* of the *Mongols*, or *Carajan*, as *Polo* writes it, we shall find that the latter distinguishes this great province, which formerly, he says, included seven kingdoms, into two *Mongol* Governments, the seat of one being at *Yachi*, which we have seen to be *Yun-nan fu*, and that of the other at a city to which he gives the name of the *Province*, and which we shall find to be the existing *Ta-li fu*. Great confusion has been created in most of the editions by a distinction in the form of the name as applied to these two governments. Thus *Ramusio* prints the province under *Yachi* as *Carajan*, and that under *Ta-li* as *Carasan*, whilst *Marsden*, following out his system for the conversion of *Ramusio's* orthography, makes the former *Karaian* and the latter *Karasan*. *Pauthier* prints *Caraian* all through, a fact so far valuable as showing that his texts make no distinction between the names of the two governments, but the form impedes the recognition of the old *Mongol* nomenclature. I have no doubt that the name all through should be read *Carajan*, and on this I have acted. In the *Geog. Text* we find the name given at the end of ch. *xlvi*. *Caragian*, in ch. *xlvi*. as *Carajan*, in ch. *xlix*. as *Caraian*, thus just reversing the distinction made by *Marsden*. The *Crusca* has *Charagia(n)* all through.

The name then was *Karajang*, in which the first element was the *Mongol* or *Turki K'ard*, "Black." For we find in another passage of *Rashid* the following information:—"To the south-west of *Cathay* is the country called by the Chinese *Dailiu* or 'Great Realm,' and by the *Mongols Karajang*, in the language of *India* and *Kashmir Kandar*, and by us *Kandahar*. This country, which is of vast extent, is bounded on one side by *Tibet* and *Tangut*, and on others by *Mongolia*, *Cathay*, and the country of the *Gold-Teeth*. The King of *Karajang* uses the title of *Mahard*, i.e. *Great King*. The capital is called *Yachi*, and there the *Council of Administration* is established. Among the inhabitants of this country some are black, and others are white; these latter are called by the *Mongols Chaghán-Jang* ('White Jang')." *Jang* has not been explained; but probably it may have been a *Tibetan* term adopted

* See *Quatremère's Rashiduddin*, pp. *lxxvi*.-*xcvi*. My quotation is made up from two citations by *Quatremère*, one from his text of *Rashiduddin*, and the other from the *History of Benaketi*, which *Quatremère* shows to have been drawn from *Rashiduddin*, whilst it contains some particulars not existing in his own text of that author.

by the Mongols, and the colours may have applied to their clothing. The dominant race at the Mongol invasion seems to have been Shans;* and black jackets are the characteristic dress of the Shans whom one sees in Burma in modern times. The Kara-jang and Chaghan-jang appear to correspond also to the *U-man* and *Pe-man*, or Black Barbarians and White Barbarians, who are mentioned by Chinese authorities as conquered by the Mongols. It would seem from one of Pauthier's Chinese quotations (p. 388), that the Chaghan-jang were found in the vicinity of Li-kiang fu. (*D'Ohsson*, II. 317; *J. R. Geog. Soc.* III. 294.) [Dr. Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* I. p. 184) says that in the description of Yun-nan, in the *Yuen-shi*, "*Cara-jang* and *Chagan-jang* are rendered by *Wu-man* and *Po-man* (Black and White Barbarians). But in the



A Saracen of Carajan, being a portrait of a Mahomedan Mullah in Western Yun-nan.
(From Garnier's Work.)

“*Es sunt des plosors maineres, car il hi a jens qe aorent Maomet.*”

biographies of *Djao-a-k'o-p'an*, *A-r-szelan* (*Yuen-shi*, ch. cxxiii.), and others, these tribes are mentioned under the names of *Ha-la-djang* and *Ch'a-han-djang*, as the Mongols used to call them; and in the biography of *Wu-liang-ho t'ai*. [Uriang kada], the conqueror of Yun-nan, it is stated that the capital of the Black Barbarians was called *Yach'i*. It is described there as a city surrounded by lakes from three sides.”—H. C.]

Regarding Rashiduddin's application of the name *Kandahár* or Gandhára to Yun-nan, and curious points connected therewith, I must refer to a paper of mine in the *J. R. A. Society* (N.S. IV. 356). But I may mention that in the ecclesiastical translation of the classical localities of Indian Buddhism to Indo-China, which is

* The title *Chao* in *Nan-Chao* (*infra*, p. 79) is said by a Chinese author (Pauthier, p. 391) to signify *King* in the language of those barbarians. This is evidently the *Chao* which forms an essential part of the title of all Siamese and Shan princes.

[Regarding the word *Nan-Chao*, Mr. Parker (*China Review*, XX. p. 339) writes “In the barbarian tongue ‘prince’ is *Chao*,” says the Chinese author; and there were six *Chao*, of which the *Nan* or Southern was the leading power. Hence the name *Nan-Chao* . . . it is hardly necessary for me to say that *chao* or *kyiao* is still the Shan-Siamese word for ‘prince.’” Pallegoix (*Dict.* p. 85) has *Chào*, Princes, rex.—H. C.]

current in Burma, Yun-nan represents Gandhára,* and is still so styled in state documents (*Ganddharít*).

What has been said of the supposed name *Caraian* disposes, I trust, of the fancies which have connected the origin of the *Karens* of Burma with it. More groundless still is M. Pauthier's deduction of the *Talains* of Pegu (as the Burmese call them) from the people of Ta-li, who fled from Kúblái's invasion.

NOTE 2.—The existence of Nestorians in this remote province is very notable [see *Bonin, J. As.* XV. 1900, pp. 589-590.—H. C.]; and also the early prevalence of Mahomedanism, which Rashiduddin intimates in stronger terms. "All the inhabitants of Yachi," he says, "are Mahomedans." This was no doubt an exaggeration, but the Mahomedans seem always to have continued to be an important body in Yun-nan up to our own day. In 1855 began their revolt against the imperial authority, which for a time resulted in the establishment of their independence in Western Yun-nan under a chief whom they called Sultan Suleiman. A proclamation in remarkably good Arabic, announcing the inauguration of his reign, appears to have been circulated to Mahomedans in foreign states, and a copy of it some years ago found its way through the Nepalese agent at L'hasa, into the hands of Colonel Ramsay, the British Resident at Katmandu.†

NOTE 3.—Wheat grows as low as Ava, but there also it is not used by natives for bread, only for confectionery and the like. The same is the case in Eastern China. (See ch. xxvi. note 4, and *Middle Kingdom*, II. 43.)

NOTE 4.—The word *piccoli* is supplied, doubtfully, in lieu of an unknown symbol. If correct, then we should read "24 piccoli each," for this was about the equivalent of a grosso. This is the first time Polo mentions cowries, which he calls *porcellani*. This might have been rendered by the corresponding vernacular name "*Pig-shells*," applied to certain shells of that genus (*Cypraea*) in some parts of England. It is worthy of note that as the name *porcellana* has been transferred from these shells to China-ware, so the word *pig* has been in Scotland applied to crockery; whether the process has been analogous, I cannot say.

Klaproth states that Yun-nan is the only country of China in which cowries had continued in use, though in ancient times they were more generally diffused. According to him 80 cowries were equivalent to 6 *cash*, or a half-penny. About 1780 in Eastern Bengal 80 cowries were worth $\frac{3}{8}$ th of a penny, and some 40 years ago, when Prinsep compiled his tables in Calcutta (where cowries were still in use a few years ago, if they are not now), 80 cowries were worth $\frac{1}{10}$ of a penny.

At the time of the Mahomedan conquest of Bengal, early in the 13th century, they found the currency exclusively composed of cowries, aided perhaps by bullion in large transactions, but with no coined money. In remote districts this continued to modern times. When the Hon. Robert Lindsay went as Resident and Collector to Silhet about 1778, cowries constituted nearly the whole currency of the Province. The yearly revenue amounted to 250,000 rupees, and this was entirely paid in cowries at the rate of 5120 to the rupee. It required large warehouses to contain them, and when the year's collection was complete a large fleet of boats to transport them to Dacca. Before Lindsay's time it had been the custom to *count* the whole before embarking them! Down to 1801 the Silhet revenue was entirely collected in cowries, but by 1813, the whole was realised in specie. (*Thomas, in J. R. A. S. N.S.* II. 147; *Lives of the Lindsays*, III. 169, 170.)

Klaproth's statement has ceased to be correct. Lieutenant Garnier found cowries nowhere in use north of Luang Prabang; and among the Kakhyens in Western Yun-nan these shells are used only for ornament. [However, Mr. E. H. Parker says (*China Review*, XXVI. p. 106) that the porcelain money still circulates in the Shan States, and that he saw it there himself.—H. C.]

* *Gandhára*, Arabicé *Kandahár*, is properly the country about Peshawar, *Gandaritis* of Strabo.
† This is printed almost in full in the French *Voyage d'Exploration*, I. 564.



The Canal at Yun-nan fu.

NOTE 5.—See ch. xlvii. note 4. Martini speaks of a great brine-well to the N.E. of Yaogan (W.N.W. of the city of Yun-nan), which supplied the whole country round.

NOTE 6.—Two particulars appearing in these latter paragraphs are alluded to by Rashiduddin in giving a brief account of the overland route from India to China, which is unfortunately very obscure: "Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they *eat raw meat* and worship images, and *have no shame respecting their wives.*" (*Elliot*, I. p. 73.)

CHAPTER XLIX.

CONCERNING A FURTHER PART OF THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN.

AFTER leaving that city of Yachi of which I have been speaking, and travelling ten days towards the west, you come to another capital city which is still in the province of Carajan, and is itself called Carajan. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Great Kaan; and the King is COGACHIN, who is a son of the Great Kaan.¹

In this country gold-dust is found in great quantities; that is to say in the rivers and lakes, whilst in the mountains gold is also found in pieces of larger size. Gold is indeed so abundant that they give one *saggio* of gold for only six of the same weight in silver. And for small change they use porcelain shells as I mentioned before. These are not found in the country, however, but are brought from India.²

In this province are found snakes and great serpents of such vast size as to strike fear into those who see them, and so hideous that the very account of them must excite the wonder of those to hear it. I will tell you how long and big they are.

You may be assured that some of them are ten paces in length; some are more and some less. And in bulk they are equal to a great cask, for the bigger ones are

about ten palms in girth. They have two forelegs near the head, but for foot nothing but a claw like the claw of a hawk or that of a lion. The head is very big, and the eyes are bigger than a great loaf of bread. The mouth is large enough to swallow a man whole, and is garnished with great [pointed] teeth. And in short they are so fierce-looking and so hideously ugly, that every man and beast must stand in fear and trembling of them. There are also smaller ones, such as of eight paces long, and of five, and of one pace only.

The way in which they are caught is this. You must know that by day they live underground because of the great heat, and in the night they go out to feed, and devour every animal they can catch. They go also to drink at the rivers and lakes and springs. And their weight is so great that when they travel in search of food or drink, as they do by night, the tail makes a great furrow in the soil as if a full ton of liquor had been dragged along. Now the huntsmen who go after them take them by certain gyn which they set in the track over which the serpent has past, knowing that the beast will come back the same way. They plant a stake deep in the ground and fix on the head of this a sharp blade of steel made like a razor or a lance-point, and then they cover the whole with sand so that the serpent cannot see it. Indeed the huntsman plants several such stakes and blades on the track. On coming to the spot the beast strikes against the iron blade with such force that it enters his breast and rives him up to the navel, so that he dies on the spot [and the crows on seeing the brute dead begin to caw, and then the huntsmen know that the serpent is dead and come in search of him].

This then is the way these beasts are taken. Those who take them proceed to extract the gall from the inside, and this sells at a great price ; for you must know

it furnishes the material for a most precious medicine. Thus if a person is bitten by a mad dog, and they give him but a small pennyweight of this medicine to drink, he is cured in a moment. Again if a woman is hard in labour they give her just such another dose and she is delivered at once. Yet again if one has any disease like the itch, or it may be worse, and applies a small quantity of this gall he shall speedily be cured. So you see why it sells at such a high price.

They also sell the flesh of this serpent, for it is excellent eating, and the people are very fond of it. And when these serpents are very hungry, sometimes they will seek out the lairs of lions or bears or other large wild beasts, and devour their cubs, without the sire and dam being able to prevent it. Indeed if they catch the big ones themselves they devour them too; they can make no resistance.³

In this province also are bred large and excellent horses which are taken to India for sale. And you must know that the people dock two or three joints of the tail from their horses, to prevent them from flipping their riders, a thing which they consider very unseemly.



"Riding long like Frenchmen."

"Et encore sachiez qe ceste gens chevanchent long come franchois."

They ride long like Frenchmen, and wear armour of boiled leather, and carry spears and shields and arb-lasts, and all their quarrels are poisoned.⁴ [And I was told as a fact that many persons, especially those meditating mischief, constantly carry this poison about with them, so that if by any

chance they should be taken, and be threatened with

torture, to avoid this they swallow the poison and so die speedily. But princes who are aware of this keep ready dog's dung, which they cause the criminal instantly to swallow, to make him vomit the poison. And thus they manage to cure those scoundrels.]

I will tell you of a wicked thing they used to do before the Great Kaan conquered them. If it chanced that a man of fine person or noble birth, or some other quality that recommended him, came to lodge with those people, then they would murder him by poison, or otherwise. And this they did, not for the sake of plunder, but because they believed that in this way the goodly favour and wisdom and repute of the murdered man would cleave to the house where he was slain. And in this manner many were murdered before the country was conquered by the Great Kaan. But since his conquest, some 35 years ago, these crimes and this evil practice have prevailed no more; and this through dread of the Great Kaan who will not permit such things.⁵

NOTE 1.—There can be no doubt that this second chief city of Carajan is TALI-FU, which was the capital of the Shan Kingdom called by the Chinese Nan-Chao. This kingdom had subsisted in Yun-nan since 738, and probably had embraced the upper part of the Irawadi Valley. For the Chinese tell us it was also called *Maung*, and it probably was identical with the Shan Kingdom of Muang Maorong or of *Pong*, of which Captain Pemberton procured a Chronicle. [In A. D. 650, the Ai-Lao, the most ancient name by which the Shans were known to the Chinese, became the Nan-Chao. The Mêng family ruled the country from the 7th century; towards the middle of the 8th century, P'i-lo-ko, who is the real founder of the Thai kingdom of Nan-Chao, received from the Chinese the title of King of Yun-Nan and made T'ai-ho, 15 *lis* south of Ta-li, his residence; he died in 748. In A. D. 938, Twan Sze-ying, of an old Chinese family, took Ta-li and established there an independent kingdom. In 1115 embassies with China were exchanged, and the Emperor conferred (1119) upon Twan Chêng-yn the title of King of Ta-li (*Ta-li Kwo Wang*). Twan Siang-hing was the last king of Ta-li (1239-1251). In 1252 the Kingdom of Nan-Chao was destroyed by the Mongols; the Emperor She Tsu (Kúblái) gave the title of Mahárajá (*Mo-ho Lo-tso*) to Twan Hing-che (son of Twan Siang-hing), who had fled to Yun-Nan fu and was captured there. Afterwards (1261) the Twan are known as the eleven *Tsung-Kwan* (governors); the last of them, Twan Ming, was made a prisoner by an army sent by the Ming Emperors, and sent to Nan-King (1381). (*E. H. Parker, Early Laos and China, China Review*, XIX. and the *Old Thai or Shan Empire of Western Yun-Nan, Ibid.*, XX.; *E. Roher, Hist. des Princes du Yunnan, T'oung Pao*, 1899; *E. Chavannes, Une Inscription du roy. de Nan Tchao, J. A.*, November-December, 1900; *M. Tchang, Tableau des Souverains de Nan-Tchao, Bul. Ecole Franç. d'Ext.*

Orient, I. No. 4.)—II. C.] The city of Ta-li was taken by Kúblái in 1253-1254. The circumstance that it was known to the invaders (as appears from Polo's statement) by the name of the province is an indication of the fact that it was the capital of Carajan before the conquest. ["That *Yachi* and *Carajan* represent Yünnan-fu and Tali, is proved by topographical and other evidence of an overwhelming nature. I venture to add one more proof, which seems to have been overlooked.

"If there is a natural feature which must strike any visitor to those two cities, it is that they both lie on the shore of notable lakes, of so large an extent as to be locally called seas; and for the comparison, it should be remembered that the inhabitants of the Yünnan province have easy access to the ocean by the Red River, or Sung Ka. Now, although Marco does not circumstantially specify the fact of these cities lying on large bodies of water, yet in both cases, two or three sentences further on, will be found mention of lakes; in the case of Yachi, 'a lake of a good hundred miles in compass'—by no means an unreasonable estimate.

"Tali-fu is renowned as the strongest hold of Western Yünnan, and it certainly must have been impregnable to bow and spear. From the western margin of its majestic lake, which lies approximately north and south, rises a sloping plain of about three miles average breadth, closed in by the huge wall of the Tien-tsang Mountains. In the midst of this plain stands the city, the lake at its feet, the snowy summits at its back. On either flank, at about twelve and six miles distance respectively, are situated Shang-Kuan and Hsia-Kuan (upper and lower passes), two strongly fortified towns guarding the confined strip between mountain and lake; for the plain narrows at the two extremities, and is intersected by a river at both points." (*Baber, Travels*, 155.)—H. C.]

The distance from Yachi to this city of Karajang is ten days, and this corresponds well with the distance from Yun-nan fu to Tali-fu. For we find that, of the three Burnese Embassies whose itineraries are given by Burney, one makes 7 marches between those cities, specifying 2 of them as double marches, therefore equal to 9, whilst the other two make 11 marches; Richthofen's information gives 12. Ta-li-fu is a small old city overlooking its large lake (about 24 miles long by 6 wide), and an extensive plain devoid of trees. Lofly mountains rise on the south side of the city. The Lake appears to communicate with the Mekong, and the story goes, no doubt fabulous, that boats have come up to Ta-li from the Ocean. [Captain Gill (II. pp. 299-300) writes: "Ta-li fu is an ancient city . . . it is the Carajan of Marco Polo. . . . Marco's description of the lake of Yun-Nan may be perfectly well applied to the Lake of Ta-li. . . . The fish were particularly commended to our notice, though we were told that there were no oysters in this lake, as there are said to be in that of Yun-Nan; if the latter statement be true, it would illustrate Polo's account of another lake somewhere in these regions in which are found pearls (which are white but not round)."—H. C.]

Ta-li fu was recently the capital of Sultan Suleiman [Tu Wen-siu]. It was reached by Lieutenant Garnier in a daring détour by the north of Yun-nan, but his party were obliged to leave in haste on the second day after their arrival. The city was captured by the Imperial officers in 1873, when a horrid massacre of the Mussulmans took place [19th January]. The Sultan took poison, but his head was cut off and sent to Peking. Momein fell soon after [10th June], and the *Panthé* kingdom is ended.

We see that Polo says the King ruling for Kúblái at this city was a son of the Kaan, called COGACHIN, whilst he told us in the last chapter that the King reigning at Yachi was also a son of the Kaan, called ESSENTIMUR. It is probably a mere lapsus or error of dictation calling the latter a son of the Kaan, for in ch. li. *infra*, this prince is correctly described as the Kaan's grandson. Rashiduddin tells us that Kúblái had given his son HUKÁJI (or perhaps *Hogáchi*, *i.e.* Cogachin) the government of Karajang,* and that after the death of this Prince the government was con-

* [Mr. E. H. Parker writes (*China Review*, XXIV. p. 106): "Polo's Kogatin is *Hukock'ih*, who was made King of Yun-nan in 1267, with military command over Ta-li, Shen-shen, Chagan Chang, Golden-Teeth, etc."—H. C.]



(To face p. 80, vol. ii.

Suspension Bridge, neighbourhood of Tali.

tinued to his son ISENTIMUR. Klaproth gives the date of the latter's nomination from the Chinese Annals as 1280. It is not easy to reconcile Marco's statements perfectly with a knowledge of these facts; but we may suppose that, in speaking of Cogachin as ruling at Karajang (or Tali-fu) and Esentimur at Yachi, he describes things as they stood when his visit occurred, whilst in the second reference to "Sentemur's" being King in the province and his father dead, he speaks from later knowledge. This interpretation would confirm what has been already deduced from other circumstances, that his visit to Yun-nan was prior to 1280. (*Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier*, 108 *seqq.*; *Quat. Rashid.* pp. lxxxix-xc.; *Journ. Asiat.* sér. II. vol. i.)

NOTE 2.—[Captain Gill writes (II. p. 302): "There are said to be very rich gold and silver mines within a few days' journey of the city" (of Ta-li). Dr. Anderson says (*Mandalay to Momein*, p. 203): "Gold is brought to Momein from Yonephin and Sherg-wan villages, fifteen days' march to the north-east; but no information could be obtained as to the quantity found. It is also brought in leaf, which is sent to Burma, where it is in extensive demand."—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—It cannot be doubted that Marco's serpents here are crocodiles, in spite of his strange mistakes about their having only two feet and one claw on each, and his imperfect knowledge of their aquatic habits. He may have seen only a mutilated specimen. But there is no mistaking the hideous ferocity of the countenance, and the "eyes bigger than a fourpenny loaf," as Ramusio has it. Though the actual eye of the crocodile does not bear this comparison, the prominent *orbits* do, especially in the case of the *Ghariyál* of the Ganges, and form one of the most repulsive features of the reptile's physiognomy. In fact, its presence on the surface of an Indian river is often recognisable only by three dark knobs rising above the surface, viz. the snout and the two orbits. And there is some foundation for what our author says of the animal's habits, for the crocodile does sometimes frequent holes at a distance from water, of which a striking instance is within my own recollection (in which the deep furrowed track also was a notable circumstance).

The Cochín Chinese are very fond of crocodile's flesh, and there is or was a regular export of this dainty for their use from Kamboja. I have known it eaten by certain classes in India. (*J. R. G. S.* XXX. 193.)

The term *serpent* is applied by many old writers to crocodiles and the like, e.g. by Odoric, and perhaps allusively by Shakspeare ("Where's my *Serpent of Old Nile?*"). Mr. Fergusson tells me he was once much struck with the *snake-like* motion of a group of crocodiles hastily descending to the water from a high sand-bank, without apparent use of the limbs, when surprised by the approach of a boat.*

Matthioli says the gall of the crocodile surpasses all medicines for the removal of pustules and the like from the eyes. Vincent of Beauvais mentions the same, besides many other medical uses of the reptile's carcass, including a very unsavoury cosmetic. (*Matt.* p. 245; *Spec. Natur.* Lib. XVII. c. 106, 108.)

[“According to Chinese notions, Han Yü, the St. Patrick of China, having persuaded the alligators in China that he was all-powerful, induced the stupid saurians to migrate to Ngo Hu or ‘Alligators’ Lake’ in the Kwang-tung province.” (*North-China Herald*, 5th July, 1895, p. 5.)

Alligators have been found in 1878 at Wu-hu and at Chen-kiang (Ngan-hwei and Kiang-Su). (See *A. A. Fauvel, Alligators in China*, in *Jour. N. China B. R. A. S.* XIII. 1879, 1-36.)—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—I think the *great* horses must be an error, though running through all

* Though the bellowing of certain American crocodiles is often spoken of, I have nowhere seen allusion to the roaring of the *ghariyál*, nor does it seem to be commonly known. I have once only heard it, whilst on the bank of the Ganges near Rampúr Boliáh, waiting for a ferry-boat. It was like a loud prolonged snore; and though it seemed to come distinctly from a crocodile on the surface of the river, I made sure by asking a boatman who stood by: "It is the *ghariyál* speaking," he answered.

the texts, and that *grant quantité de chevaux* was probably intended. Valuable *ponies* are produced in those regions, but I have never heard of large horses, and Martini's testimony is to like effect (p. 141). Nor can I hear of any race in those regions in modern times that uses what we should call long stirrups. It is true that the Tartars rode *very short*—"brevissimas habent strepas," as Carpini says (643); and the Kirghiz Kazaks now do the same. Both Burmese and Shans ride what we should call short; and Major Sladen observes of the people on the western border of Yun-nan: "Kachyens and Shans ride on ordinary Chinese saddles. The stirrups are of the usual average length, but the saddles are so constructed as to rise at least a foot above the pony's back." He adds with reference to another point in the text: "I noticed a few Shan ponies *with docked tails*. But the more general practice is to loop up the tail in a knot, the object being to protect the rider, or rather his clothes, from the dirt with which they would otherwise be spattered from the flipping of the animal's tail." (*MS. Notes.*)

[After Yung-ch'ang, Captain Gill writes (II. p. 356): "The manes were hogged and the tails cropped of a great many of the ponies these men were riding; but there were none of the docked tails mentioned by Marco Polo."—H. C.]

Armour of boiled leather—"armes cuiractés de cuir bouilli"; so Pauthier's text; the material so often mentioned in mediæval costume; e.g. in the leggings of Sir Thopas:—

" His jambeux were of cuirbouly,
His swordës sheth of ivory,
His helme of latoun bright."

But the reading of the G. Text which is "*cuir de bufal*," is probably the right one. Some of the Miao-tzŭ of Kweichau are described as wearing armour of buffalo-leather overlaid with iron plates. (*Ritter*, IV. 768-776.) Arblasts or crossbows are still characteristic weapons of many of the wilder tribes of this region; e.g. of some of the Singphos, of the Mishmis of Upper Assam, of the Lu-tzŭ of the valley of the Lukiang, of tribes of the hills of Laos, of the Stiens of Cambodia, and of several of the Miao-tzŭ tribes of the interior of China. We give a cut copied from a Chinese work on the Miao-tzŭ of Kweichau in Dr. Lockhart's possession, which shows *three* little men of the Sang-Miao tribe of Kweichau combining to mend a crossbow, and a chief with *armes cuiractés* and *jambeux* also. [The cut (p. 83) is well explained by this passage of *Baber's Travels* among the Lolos (p. 71): "They make their own swords, three and a half to five spans long, with square heads, and have bows which it takes three men to draw, but no muskets."—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—I have nowhere met with a *precise* parallel to this remarkable superstition, but the following piece of Folk-Lore has a considerable analogy to it. This extraordinary custom is ascribed by Ibn Fozlan to the Bulgarians of the Volga: "If they find a man endowed with special intelligence then they say: 'This man should serve our Lord God;' and so they take him, run a noose round his neck and hang him on a tree, where they leave him till the corpse falls to pieces." This is precisely what Sir Charles Wood did with the Indian Corps of Engineers;—doubtless on the same principle.

Archbishop Trench, in a fine figure, alludes to a belief prevalent among the Polynesian Islanders, "that the strength and valour of the warriors whom they have slain in battle passes into themselves, as their rightful inheritance." (*Fraehn, Wolga-Bulgaren*, p. 50; *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 22; see also *Lubbock*, 457.)

There is some analogy also to the story Polo tells, in the curious Sindhi tradition, related by Burton, of Bahá-ul-hak̄k̄, the famous saint of Multán. When he visited his disciples at Tatta they plotted his death, in order to secure the blessings of his perpetual presence. The people of Multán are said to have murdered two celebrated saints with the same view, and the Hazáras to "make a point of killing and burying in their own country any stranger indiscreet enough to commit a miracle or show any



The Sangmiao Tribe of Kweichau, with the Crossbow. (From a Chinese Drawing.)

“Ont armes corasks de cuir de bufal, et ont lances et seuz et ont balestres.”

particular sign of sanctity." The like practice is ascribed to the rude Moslem of Gilghit; and such allegations must have been current in Europe, for they are the motive of *Southey's St. Romuald*:

“ ‘But,’ quoth the Traveller, ‘wherefore did he leave
A flock that knew his saintly worth so well?’

“ ‘Why, Sir,’ the Host replied,
‘We thought perhaps that he might one day leave us;
And then, should strangers have
The good man’s grave,
A loss like that would naturally grieve us;
For he’ll be made a saint of, to be sure.
Therefore we thought it prudent to secure
His relics while we might;
And so we meant to strangle him one night.’”

(See *Sindh*, pp. 86, 388; *Ind. Antiq.* I. 13; *Southey's Ballads*, etc., ed. Routledge, p. 330.)

[Captain Gill (I. p. 323) says that he had made up his mind to visit a place called Li-fan Fu, near Ch'êng-tu. “I was told,” he writes, “that this place was inhabited by the Man-Tzŭ, or Barbarians, as the Chinese call them; and Monseigneur Pinchon told me that, amongst other pleasing theories, they were possessed of the belief that if they poisoned a rich man, his wealth would accrue to the poisoner; that, therefore, the hospitable custom prevailed amongst them of administering poison to rich or noble guests; that this poison took no effect for some time, but that in the course of two or three months it produced a disease akin to dysentery, ending in certain death.”—H. C.]

CHAPTER L.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ZARDANDAN.

WHEN you have left Carajan and have travelled five days westward, you find a province called ZARDANDAN. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Great Kaan. The capital city is called VOCHAN.¹

The people of this country all have their teeth gilt; or rather every man covers his teeth with a sort of golden case made to fit them, both the upper teeth and the under. The men do this, but not the women.² [The men also are wont to gird their arms and legs with bands or fillets pricked in black, and it is done thus; they take five needles joined together, and with these

they prick the flesh till the blood comes, and then they rub in a certain black colouring stuff, and this is perfectly indelible. It is considered a piece of elegance and the sign of gentility to have this black band.] The men are all gentlemen in their fashion, and do nothing but go to the wars, or go hunting and hawking. The ladies do all the business, aided by the slaves who have been taken in war.³

And when one of their wives has been delivered of a child, the infant is washed and swathed, and then the woman gets up and goes about her household affairs, whilst the husband takes to bed with the child by his side, and so keeps his bed for 40 days; and all the kith and kin come to visit him and keep up a great festivity. They do this because, say they, the woman has had a hard bout of it, and 'tis but fair the man should have his share of suffering.⁴

They eat all kinds of meat, both raw and cooked, and they eat rice with their cooked meat as their fashion is. Their drink is wine made of rice and spices, and excellent it is. Their money is gold, and for small change they use pig-shells. And I can tell you they give one weight of gold for only five of silver; for there is no silver-mine within five months' journey. And this induces merchants to go thither carrying a large supply of silver to change among that people. And as they have only five weights of silver to give for one of fine gold, they make immense profits by their exchange business in that country.⁵

These people have neither idols nor churches, but worship the progenitor of their family, "for 'tis he," say they, "from whom we have all sprung."⁶ They have no letters or writing; and 'tis no wonder, for the country is wild and hard of access, full of great woods and mountains which 'tis impossible to pass, the air in

summer is so impure and bad ; and any foreigners attempting it would die for certain.⁷ When these people have any business transactions with one another, they take a piece of stick, round or square, and split it, each taking half. And on either half they cut two or three notches. And when the account is settled the debtor receives back the other half of the stick from the creditor.⁸

And let me tell you that in all those three provinces that I have been speaking of, to wit Carajan, Vochan, and Yachi, there is never a leech. But when any one is ill they send for their magicians, that is to say the Devil-conjurors and those who are the keepers of the idols. When these are come the sick man tells what ails him, and then the conjurors incontinently begin playing on their instruments and singing and dancing ; and the conjurors dance to such a pitch that at last one of them shall fall to the ground lifeless, like a dead man. And then the devil entereth into his body. And when his comrades see him in this plight they begin to put questions to him about the sick man's ailment. And he will reply : " Such or such a spirit hath been meddling with the man,⁹ for that he hath angered the spirit and done it some despite." Then they say : " We pray thee to pardon him, and to take of his blood or of his goods what thou wilt in consideration of thus restoring him to health." And when they have so prayed, the malignant spirit that is in the body of the prostrate man will (mayhap) answer : " The sick man hath also done great despite unto such another spirit, and that one is so ill-disposed that it will not pardon him on any account ;"—this at least is the answer they get, and the patient be like to die. But if he is to get better the answer will be that they are to bring two sheep, or may be three ; and to brew ten or twelve jars of drink, very costly and

abundantly spiced.¹⁰ Moreover it shall be announced that the sheep must be all black-faced, or of some other particular colour as it may hap; and then all those things are to be offered in sacrifice to such and such a spirit whose name is given.¹¹ And they are to bring so many conjurors, and so many ladies, and the business is to be done with a great singing of lauds, and with many lights, and store of good perfumes. That is the sort of answer they get if the patient is to get well. And then the kinsfolk of the sick man go and procure all that has been commanded, and do as has been bidden, and the conjuror who had uttered all that gets on his legs again.

So they fetch the sheep of the colour prescribed, and slaughter them, and sprinkle the blood over such places as have been enjoined, in honour and propitiation of the spirit. And the conjurors come, and the ladies, in the number that was ordered, and when all are assembled and everything is ready, they begin to dance and play and sing in honour of the spirit. And they take flesh-broth and drink and lign-aloes, and a great number of lights, and go about hither and thither, scattering the broth and the drink and the meat also. And when they have done this for a while, again shall one of the conjurors fall flat and wallow there foaming at the mouth, and then the others will ask if he have yet pardoned the sick man? And sometimes he shall answer yea! and sometimes he shall answer no! And if the answer be *no*, they shall be told that something or other has to be done all over again, and then he will be pardoned; so this they do. And when all that the spirit has commanded has been done with great ceremony, then it shall be announced that the man is pardoned and shall be speedily cured. So when they at length receive such a reply, they announce that it is all made up with the

spirit, and that he is propitiated, and they fall to eating and drinking with great joy and mirth, and he who had been lying lifeless on the ground gets up and takes his share. So when they have all eaten and drunken, every man departs home. And presently the sick man gets sound and well.¹²

Now that I have told you of the customs and naughty ways of that people, we will have done talking of them and their province, and I will tell you about others, all in regular order and succession.

NOTE 1.—[Baber writes (*Travels*, p. 171) when arriving to the Lan-tsang kiang (Mekong River): "We were now on the border-line between Carajan and Zardandan: 'When you have travelled five days you find a province called Zardandan,' says Messer Marco, precisely the actual number of stages from Tali-fu to the present boundary of Yung-ch'ang. That this river must have been the demarcation between the two provinces is obvious; one glance into that deep rift, the only exit from which is by painful worked artificial zigzags which, under the most favourable conditions, cannot be called safe, will satisfy the most sceptical geographer. The exact statement of distance is a proof that Marco entered the territory of Yung-ch'ang." Captain Gill says (II. p. 343-344) that the five marches of Marco Polo "would be very long ones. Our journey was eight days, but it might easily have been done in seven, as the first march to Hsia-Kuan was not worthy of the name. The Grosvenor expedition made eleven marches with one day's halt—twelve days altogether, and Mr. Margary was nine or ten days on the journey. It is true that, by camping out every night, the marches might be longer; and, as Polo refers to the crackling of the bamboos in the fires, it is highly probable that he found no '*fine hostelrys*' on this route. This is the way the traders still travel in Tibet; they march until they are tired, or until they find a nice grassy spot; they then off saddles, turn their animals loose, light a fire under some adjacent tree, and halt for the night; thus the longest possible distance can be performed every day, and the five days from Ta-li to Yung-Ch'ang would not be by any means an impossibility."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Ramusio says that both men and women use this gold case. There can be no better instance of the accuracy with which Polo is generally found to have represented Oriental names, when we recover his *real* representation of them, than this name *Zardandan*. In the old Latin editions the name appeared as *Ardandan*, *Arcladam*, etc.; in Ramusio as *Cardandan*, correctly enough, only the first letter should have been printed Ç. Marsden, carrying out his systematic conversion of the Ramusian spelling, made this into *Kardandan*, and thus the name became irrecoznizable. Klaproth, I believe, first showed that the word was simply the Persian ZĀR-DANDĀN, "Gold-Teeth," and produced quotations from Rashiduddin mentioning the people in question by that identical name. Indeed that historian mentions them several times. Thus: "North-west of China is the frontier of Tibet, and of the ZARDANDAN, who lie between Tibet and Karájáng. These people cover their teeth with a gold case, which they take off when they eat." They are also frequently mentioned in the Chinese annals about this period under the same name, viz. *Kin-Chi*, "Gold-Teeth," and some years after Polo's departure from the East they originated a revolt against the Mongol yoke, in which a great number of the imperial troops were massacred. (*De Mailla*, IX. 478-479.)

[Baber writes (p. 159): "In Western Yünnan the betel-nut is chewed with prepared lime, colouring the teeth red, and causing a profuse expectoration. We first met with the practice near Tali-fu.

"Is it not possible that the red colour imparted to the teeth by the practice of chewing betel with lime may go some way to account for the ancient name of this region, 'Zar-dandan,' 'Chin-Ch'ih,' or 'Golden-Teeth'? Betel-chewing is, of course, common all over China; but the use of lime is almost unknown and the teeth are not necessarily discoloured.

"In the neighbourhood of Tali, one comes suddenly upon a lime-chewing people, and is at once struck with the strange red hue of their teeth and gums. That some of the natives used formerly to cover their teeth with plates of gold (from which practice, mentioned by Marco Polo, and confirmed elsewhere, the name is generally derived) can scarcely be considered a myth; but the peculiarity remarked by ourselves would have been equally noticeable by the early Chinese invaders, and seems not altogether unworthy of consideration. It is interesting to find the name 'Chin-Ch'ih' still in use.

"When Tu Wên-hsiu sent his 'Panthay' mission to England with tributary boxes of rock from the Tali Mountains, he described himself in his letter 'as a humble native of the golden-teeth country.'"—II. C.]

Vochan seems undoubtedly to be, as Martini pointed out, the city called by the Chinese YUNG-CH'ANG-FU. Some of the old printed editions read *Unciam*, i.e. Uncham or Unchan, and it is probable that either this or *Vöcian*, i.e. VONCHAN, was the true reading, coming very close to the proper name, which is WUNCHEN. (See *J. A. S. B.* VI. 547.) [In an itinerary from Ava to Peking, we read on the 10th September, 1833: "Slept at the city Wun-tsheng (Chinese Yongtchang fú and Burmese *Wun-seu*)." (*Chin. Rep.* IX. p. 474):—Mr. F. W. K. Müller in a study on the Pa-yi language from a Chinese manuscript entitled *Hwa-i-yi-yü* found by Dr. F. Hirth in China, and belonging now to the Berlin Royal Library, says the proper orthography of the word is *Wan-chang* in Pa-yi. (*T'oung Pao*, III. p. 20.) This helps to find the origin of the name *Vochan*.—II. C.] This city has been a Chinese one for several centuries, and previous to the late Mahomedan revolt its population was almost exclusively Chinese, with only a small mixture of Shans. It is now noted for the remarkable beauty and fairness of the women. But it is mentioned by Chinese authors as having been in the Middle Ages the capital of the Gold-Teeth. These people, according to Martini, dwelt chiefly to the north of the city. They used to go to worship a huge stone, 100 feet high, at Nan-ngan, and cover it annually with gold-leaf. Some additional particulars about the Kin-Chi, in the time of the Mongols, will be found in Pauthier's notes (p. 398).

[In 1274, the Burmese attacked Yung ch'ang, whose inhabitants were known under the name of *Kin-Chi* (Golden-Teeth). (*E. Roher, Princes du Yun-nan*, p. 71.) From the Annals of Momein, translated by Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, XX. p. 345), we learn that: "In the year 1271, the General of Ta-li was sent on a mission to procure the submission of the Burmese, and managed to bring a Burmese envoy named Kiai-poh back with him. Four years later Fu A-pih, Chief of the Golden-Teeth, was utilised as a guide, which so angered the Burmese that they detained Fu A-pih and attacked Golden-Teeth: but he managed to bribe himself free. A-ho, Governor of the Golden-Teeth, was now sent as a spy, which caused the Burmese to advance to the attack once more, but they were driven back by Twan Sin-cha-jih. These events led to the Burmese war," which lasted till 1301.

According to the *Hwang-ting Chi-kung t'u* (quoted by Devéria, *Front.* p. 130), the *Pei-jen* were *Kin-chi*, of Pa-y race, and were surnamed Min-kia-tzü; the Min-kia, according to F. Garnier, say that they come from Nan-king, but this is certainly an error for the Pei-jen. From another Chinese work, Devéria (p. 169) gives this information: The Piao are the Kin-Chi; they submitted to the Mongols in the 13th century; they are descended from the people of Chu-po or Piao Kwo (Kingdom of Piao), ancient Pegu; P'u-p'iao, in a little valley between the Mekong and the

Salwen Rivers, was the place through which the P'u and the Piao entered China.

The Chinese geographical work *Fang-yu-ki-yao* mentions the name of Kin-Chi Ch'eng, or city of Kin-Chi, as the ancient denomination of Yung-ch'ang. A Chinese Pa-y vocabulary, belonging to Professor Devéria, translates Kin-Chi by Wan-Chang (Yung-ch'ang). (*Devéria, Front.* p. 128.)—H. C. J]

It has not been determined who are the representatives of these Gold-Teeth, who were evidently distinct from the Shans, not Buddhist, and without literature. I should think it probable that they were *Kakhyens* or *Singphos*, who, excluding Shans, appear to form the greatest body in that quarter, and are closely akin to each other, indeed essentially identical in race.* The Singphos have now extended widely to the west of the Upper Irawadi and northward into Assam, but their traditions bring them from the borders of Yunnan. The original and still most populous seat of the Kakhyen or Singpho race is pointed out by Colonel Hannay in the Gulansigung Mountains and the valley of the eastern source of the Irawadi. This agrees with Martini's indication of the seat of the Kin-Chi as north of Yung-

ch'ang. One of Hannay's notices of Singpho customs should also be compared with the interpolation from Ramusio about tattooing: "The men tattoo their limbs slightly, and all married females are tattooed on both legs from the ankle to the knee, in broad horizontal circular bands. Both sexes also wear rings below the knee of fine shreds of rattan varnished black" (p. 18). These rings appear on the Kakhyen woman in our cut.

The only other wild tribe spoken of by Major Sladen as attending the markets on the frontier is that of the *Lissus*, already mentioned by Lieutenant Garnier (*supra*, ch. xvii. note 6), and who are said to be the most savage and indomitable of the tribes in that quarter. Garnier also mentions the Mossos, who are alleged once to have formed an independent kingdom about Li-kiang fu. Possibly, however, the Gold-Teeth may have become entirely absorbed in the Chinese and Shan population.

The characteristic of casing the teeth in gold should identify the tribe did it still exist. But I can learn nothing of the continued existence of such a custom among any tribe of the Indo-Chinese continent. The insertion of gold studs or spots, which Bürck confounds with it, is common enough among Indo-Chinese races, but that is quite a different thing. The actual practice of the Zardandan is, however, followed by some of the people of Sumatra, as both Marsden and Raffles



Kakhyens. (From a Photograph.)

testify: "The great men sometimes set their teeth in gold, by casing with a plate of

* "*Singpho*," says Colonel Hannay, "signifies in the Kakhyen language 'a man,' and all of this race who have settled in Hookong or Assam are thus designated; the reason of their change of name I could not ascertain, but so much importance seems to be attached to it, that the Singphos, in talking of their eastern and southern neighbours, call them Kakhyens or Kokoos, and consider it an insult to be called so themselves." (*Sketch of the Singphos, or the Kakhyens of Burma*, Calcutta, 1847, pp. 3-4.) If, however, the Kakhyens, or *Kachyens*, or *Kachyens* (as Major Sladen calls them), are represented by the *Go-tchang* of Pauthier's Chinese extracts, these seem to be distinguished from the Kin-Chi, though associated with them. (See pp. 397, 411.)

that metal the under row . . . it is sometimes indented to the shape of the teeth, but more usually quite plain. They do not remove it either to eat or sleep." The like custom is mentioned by old travellers at Macassar, and with the substitution of *silver* for gold by a modern traveller as existing in Timor; but in both, probably, it was a practice of Malay tribes, as in Sumatra. (*Marsden's Sumatra*, 3rd ed., p. 52; *Raffles's Java*, I. 105; *Bickmore's Ind. Archipelago*.)

[In his second volume of *The River of Golden Sand*, Captain Gill has two chapters (viii. and ix.) with the title: *In the footsteps of Marco Polo and of Augustus Margary* devoted to *The Land of the Gold-Teeth* and *The Marches of the Kingdom of Mien*.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—This is precisely the account which Lieutenant Garnier gives of the people of Laos: "The Laos people are very indolent, and when they are not rich enough to possess slaves they make over to their women the greatest part of the business of the day; and 'tis these latter who not only do all the work of the house, but who husk the rice, work in the fields, and paddle the canoes. Hunting and fishing are almost the only occupations which pertain exclusively to the stronger sex." (*Notice sur le Voyage d'Exploration*, etc., p. 34.)

NOTE 4.—This highly eccentric practice has been ably illustrated and explained by Mr. Tylor, under the name of the *Couvade*, or "Hatching," by which it is known in some of the Béarn districts of the Pyrenees, where it formerly existed, as it does still or did recently, in some Basqué districts of Spain. [In a paper on *La Couvade chez les Basques*, published in the *République Française*, of 19th January, 1877, and reprinted in *Etudes de Linguistique et d'Ethnographie par A. Hovelacque et Julien Vinson*, Paris, 1878, Prof. Vinson quotes the following curious passage from the poem in ten cantos, *Luciniade*, by Sacombe, of Carcassonne (Paris and Nîmes, 1790):

" En Amérique, en Corse, et chez l'Ibérien,
 En France même encor chez le Vénarnien,
 Au pays Navarrois, lorsqu'une femme accouche,
 L'épouse sort du lit et le mari se couche;
 Et, quoiqu'il soit très sain et d'esprit et de corps,
 Contre un mal qu'il n'a point l'art unit ses efforts.
 On le met au régime, et notre faux malade,
 Soigné par l'accouchée, en son lit fait *couvade*:
 On ferme avec grand soin portes, volets, rideaux;
 Immobile, on l'oblige à rester sur le dos,
 Pour étouffer son lait, qui gêné dans sa course,
 Pourrait en l'étouffant remonter vers sa source.
 Un mari, dans sa couche, au médecin soumis,
 Reçoit, en cet état, parents, voisins, amis,
 Qui viennent l'exhorter à prendre patience
 Et font des vœux au ciel pour sa convalescence."

Professor Vinson, who is an authority on the subject, comes to the conclusion that it is not possible to ascribe to the Basques the custom of the *couvade*.

Mr. Tylor writes to me that he "did not quite begin the use of this good French word in the sense of the 'man-child-bed' as they call it in Germany. It occurs in Rochefort, *Iles Antilles*, and though Dr. Murray, of the English Dictionary, maintains that it is spurious, if so, it is better than any genuine word I know of."—H. C.] "In certain valleys of Biscay," says Francisque-Michel, "in which the popular usages carry us to the infancy of society, the woman immediately after her delivery gets up and attends to the cares of the household, whilst the husband takes to bed with the tender fledgeling in his arms, and so receives the compliments of his neighbours."

The nearest people to the Zardandan of whom I find this custom elsewhere

recorded, is one called *Langszsi*,* a small tribe of aborigines in the department of Wei-ning, in Kweichau, but close to the border of Yun-nan: "Their manners and customs are very extraordinary. For example, when the wife has given birth to a child, the husband remains in the house and holds it in his arms for a whole month, not once going out of doors. The wife in the mean time does all the work in doors and out, and provides and serves up both food and drink for the husband, she only giving suck to the child." I am informed also that, among the Miris on the Upper Assam border, the husband on such occasions confines himself strictly to the house for forty days after the event.

The custom of the Couvade has especially and widely prevailed in South America, not only among the Carib races of Guiana, of the Spanish Main, and (where still surviving) of the West Indies, but among many tribes of Brazil and its borders from the Amazons to the Plate, and among the Abipones of Paraguay; it also exists or has existed among the aborigines of California, in West Africa, in Bourou, one of the Moluccas, and among a wandering tribe of the Telugu-speaking districts of Southern India. According to Diodorus it prevailed in ancient Corsica, according to Strabo among the Iberians of Northern Spain (where we have seen it has lingered to recent times), according to Apollonius Rhodius among the Tibareni of Pontus. Modified traces of a like practice, not carried to the same extent of oddity, are also found in a variety of countries besides those that have been named, as in Borneo, in Kamtchatka, and in Greenland. In nearly all cases some particular diet, or abstinence from certain kinds of food and drink, and from exertion, is prescribed to the father; in some, more positive and trying penances are inflicted.

Butler had no doubt our Traveller's story in his head when he made the widow in *Hudibras* allude in a ribald speech to the supposed fact that

———"Chineses go to bed
And lie in, in their ladies' stead."

The custom is humorously introduced, as Pauthier has noticed, in the Mediæval Fabliau of *Aucasin and Nicolette*. Aucasin arriving at the castle of Torelore asks for the king and is told he is in child-bed. Where then is his wife? She is gone to the wars and has taken all the people with her. Aucasin, greatly astonished, enters the palace, and wanders through it till he comes to the chamber where the king lay:—

"En le canbre entre Aucasins
Li cortois et li gentis ;
Il est venus dusqu'au lit
Alec ú li Rois se gist.
Pardevant lui s'arestit
Si parla, Oès que dist ;
Diva fau, que fais-tu ci ?
Dist le Rois, Je gis d'un fil,
Quant mes mois sera complis,
Et ge serai bien garis,
Dont irai le messe oïr
Si comme mes ancessor fist," etc.

Aucasin pulls all the clothes off him, and cudgels him soundly, making him promise that never a man shall lie in again in his country.

This strange custom, if it were unique, would look like a coarse practical joke, but appearing as it does among so many different races and in every quarter of the world, it must have its root somewhere deep in the psychology of the uncivilised man. I must refer to Mr. Tylor's interesting remarks on the rationale of the custom, for

* (Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, XIV. p. 359) says that Colonel Yule's *Langszsi* are evidently the *Szilang*, one of the six *Chao*, but turned upside down.—H. C.]

they do not bear abridgment. Professor Max Müller humorously suggests that "the treatment which a husband receives among ourselves at the time of his wife's confinement, not only from mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, and other female relations, but from nurses, and from every consequential maid-servant in the house," is but a "survival," as Mr. Tylor would call it, of the *couvade*; or at least represents the same feeling which among those many uncivilized nations thus drove the husband to his bed, and sometimes (as among the Caribs) put him when there to systematic torture.

(*Tylor, Researches*, 288-296; *Michel, Le Pays Basque*, p. 201; *Sketches of the Meau-tsze*, transl. by Bridgman in *J. of North China Br. of R. As. Soc.*, p. 277; *Hudibras*, Pt. III., canto I. 707; *Fabliaus et Contes par Barbazan*, ed. Méon, I. 408-409; *Indian Antiq.* III. 151; *Müller's Chips*, II. 227 *seqq.*; many other references in TYLOR, and in a capital monograph by Dr. H. H. Ploss of Leipzig, received during revision of this sheet: '*Das Männerkindbett.*' What a notable example of the German power of compounding is that title!)

[This custom seems to be considered generally as a survival of the matriarchate in a society with a patriarchal régime. We may add to the list of authorities on this subject: *E. Westermarck, Hist. of Human Marriage*, 106, *seqq.*; *G. A. Wilken, De Couvade bij de Volken v.d. Indischen Archipel*, *Bijdr. Ind. Inst.*, 5th ser., iv. p. 250. Dr. Ernest Martin, late physician of the French Legation at Peking, in an article on *La Couvade en Chine* (*Revue Scientifique*, 24th March, 1894), gave a drawing representing the couvade from a sketch by a native artist.

In the *China Review* (XI. pp. 401-402), "Lao Kwang-tung" notes these interesting facts: "The Chinese believe that certain actions performed by the husband during the pregnancy of his wife will affect the child. If a dish of food on the table is raised by putting another dish, or anything else below it, it is not considered proper for a husband, who is expecting the birth of a child, to partake of it, for fear the two dishes should cause the child to have two tongues. It is extraordinary that the caution thus exercised by the Chinese has not prevented many of them from being double-tongued. This result, it is supposed, however, will only happen if the food so raised is eaten in the house in which the future mother happens to be. It is thought that the pasting up of the red papers containing antithetical and felicitous sentences on them, as at New Year's time, by a man under similar circumstances, and this whether the future mother sees the action performed or not, will cause the child to have red marks on the face or any part of the body. The causes producing *naevi materni* have probably been the origin of such marks, rather than the idea entertained by the Chinese that the father, having performed an action by some occult mode, influences the child yet unborn. A case is said to have occurred in which ill effects were obviated, or rather obliterated, by the red papers being torn down, after the birth of the infant, and soaked in water, when as the red disappeared from the paper, so the child's face assumed a natural hue. Lord Avebury also speaks of *la couvade* as existing among the Chinese of West Yun-Nan. (*Origin of Civilisation and Primitive Condition of Man*, p. 18)."

Dr. J. A. H. Murray, editor of the *New English Dictionary*, wrote, in *The Academy*, of 29th October, 1892, a letter with the heading of *Couvade, The Genesis of an Anthropological Term*, which elicited an answer from Dr. E. B. Tylor (*Academy*, 5th November): "Wanting a general term for such customs," writes Dr. Tylor, "and finding statements in books that this male lying-in lasted on till modern times, in the south of France, and was there called *couvade*, that is brooding or hatching (*couver*), I adopted this word for the set of customs, and it has since become established in English." The discussion was carried on in *The Academy*, 12th and 19th November, 10th and 17th December; Mr. A. L. Mayhew wrote (12th November): "There is no doubt whatever that Dr. Tylor and Professor Max Müller (in a review of Dr. Tylor's book) share the glory of having given a new technical sense to an old provincial French word, and of seeing it accepted in France, and safely enshrined in the great Dictionary of Littré."

Now as to the origin of the word; we have seen above that Rochefort was the first to use the expression *faire la couvade*. This author, or at least the author (see *Barbier, Ouvrages anonymes*) of the *Histoire naturelle . . . des Iles Antilles*, which was published for the first time at Rotterdam, in 1658, 4to., writes: "C'est qu'au même tems que la femme est delivrée le mary se met au lit, pour s'y plaindre et y faire l'accouchée: coutume, qui bien que Sauvage et ridicule, se trouve neantmoins à ce que l'on dit, parmi les paysans d'une certaine Province de France. Et ils appellent cela *faire la couvade*. Mais ce qui est de fâcheux pour le pauvre Caraïbe, qui s'est mis au lit au lieu de l'accouchée, c'est qu'on luy fait faire diète dix ou douze jours de suite, ne luy donnant rien par jour qu'un petit morceau de Cassave, et un peu d'eau dans la quelle on a aussi fait botillir un peu de ce pain de racine. . . . Mais ils ne font ce grand jeusne qu'à la naissance de leur premier enfant . . ." (II. pp. 607-608).

Lafitau (*Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, I. pp. 49-50) says on the authority of Rochefort: "Je la trouve chez les Ibériens ou les premiers Peuples d'Espagne . . . elle est aujourd'hui dans quelques unes de nos Provinces d'Espagne."

The word *couvade*, forgotten in the sense of lying-in bed, recalled by Sacombe, has been renovated in a happy manner by Dr. Tylor.

As to the custom itself, there can be no doubt of its existence, in spite of some denials. Dr. Tylor, in the third edition of his valuable *Early History of Mankind*, published in 1878 (Murray), since the last edition of *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, has added (pp. 291 *seqq.*) many more proofs to support what he had already said on the subject.

There may be some strong doubts as to the *couvade* in the south of France, and the authors who speak of it in Béarn and the Basque Countries seem to have copied one another, but there is not the slightest doubt of its having been and of its being actually practised in South America. There is a very curious account of it in the *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil* made by Father Yves d'Evreux in 1613 and 1614 (see pp. 88-89 of the reprint, Paris, 1864, and the note of the learned Ferdinand Denis, pp. 411-412). Compare with *Durch Central-Brasilien . . . im Jahre 1884 von K.v. den Steinen*. But the following extract from *Among the Indians of Guiana*. . . . *By Everard im Thurn* (1883), will settle, I think, the question:

"Turning from the story of the day to the story of the life, we may begin at the beginning, that is, at the birth of the children. And here, at once, we meet with, perhaps, the most curious point in the habits of the Indians; the *couvade* or male child-bed. This custom, which is common to the uncivilized people of many parts of the world, is probably among the strangest ever invented by the human brain. Even before the child is born, the father abstains for a time from certain kinds of animal food. The woman works as usual up to a few hours before the birth of the child. At last she retires alone, or accompanied only by some other women, to the forest, where she ties up her hammock; and then the child is born. Then in a few hours—often less than a day—the woman, who, like all women living in a very unartificial condition, suffers but little, gets up and resumes her ordinary work. According to Schomburgk, the mother, at any rate among the Macusis, remains in her hammock for some time, and the father hangs his hammock, and lies in it, by her side; but in all cases where the matter came under my notice, the mother left her hammock almost at once. In any case, no sooner is the child born than the father takes to his hammock and, abstaining from every sort of work, from meat and all other food, except weak gruel of cassava meal, from smoking, from washing himself, and, above all, from touching weapons of any sort, is nursed and cared for by all the women of the place. One other regulation, mentioned by Schomburgk, is certainly quaint; the interesting father may not scratch himself with his finger-nails, but he may use for this purpose a splinter, specially provided, from the mid-rib of a cokerite palm. This continues for many days, and sometimes even weeks. *Couvade* is such a wide-spread institution, that I had often read and wondered at it; but it was not until I saw it practised around me, and found that I was often suddenly

deprived of the services of my best hunters or boat-hands, by the necessity which they felt, and which nothing could persuade them to disregard, of observing *couvade*, that I realized its full strangeness. No satisfactory explanation of its origin seems attainable. It appears based on a belief in the existence of a mysterious connection between the child and its father—far closer than that which exists between the child and its mother,—and of such a nature that if the father infringes any of the rules of the *couvade*, for a time after the birth of the child, the latter suffers. For instance, if he eats the flesh of a water-haas (*Capybara*), a large rodent with very protruding teeth, the teeth of the child will grow as those of the animal; or if he eats the flesh of the spotted-skinned labba, the child's skin will become spotted. Apparently there is also some idea that for the father to eat strong food, to wash, to smoke, or to handle weapons, would have the same result as if the new-born babe ate such food, washed, smoked, or played with edged tools" (pp. 217-219.)

I have to thank Dr. Edward B. Tylor for the valuable notes he kindly sent me.—
H. C.]

NOTE 5.—“The abundance of gold in Yun-nan is proverbial in China, so that if a man lives very extravagantly they ask if his father is governor of Yun-nan.” (*Martini*, p. 140.)

Polo has told us that in Eastern Yun-nan the exchange was 8 of silver for one of gold (ch. xviii.); in the Western division of the province 6 of silver for one of gold (ch. xlix.); and now, still nearer the borders of Ava, only 5 of silver for one of gold. Such discrepancies within 15 days' journey would be inconceivable, but that in both the latter instances at least he appears to speak of the rates at which the gold was purchased from secluded, ignorant, and uncivilised tribes. It is difficult to reconcile with other facts the reason which he assigns for the high value put on silver at Vochan, viz., that there was no silver-mine within five months' journey. In later days, at least, *Martini* speaks of many silver-mines in Yun-nan, and the “Great Silver Mine” (*Bau-dwen gyi* of the Burmese) or group of mines, which affords a chief supply to Burma in modern times, is not far from the territory of our Traveller's Zardandan. *Garnier's* map shows several argentiferous sites in the Valley of the Lan-t'sang.

In another work* I have remarked at some length on the relative values of gold and silver about this time. In Western Europe these seem to have been as 12 to 1, and I have shown grounds for believing that in India, and generally over civilised Asia, the ratio was 10 to 1. In *Pauthier's* extracts from the *Yuen-shi* or Annals of the Mongol Dynasty, there is an incidental but precise confirmation of this, of which I was not then aware. This states (p. 321) that on the issue of the paper currency of 1287 the official instructions to the local treasuries were to issue notes of the nominal value of two strings, i.e. 2000 *wen* or cash, for every ounce of flowered silver, and 20,000 cash for every ounce of gold. Ten to 1 must have continued to be the relation in China down to about the end of the 17th century if we may believe *Lecomte*; but when *Milburne* states the same value in the beginning of the 19th he must have fallen into some great error. In 1781 *Sonnerat* tells us that formerly gold had been exported from China with a profit of 25 per cent., but at that time a profit of 18 to 20 per cent. was made by importing it. At present† the relative values are about the same as in Europe, viz. 1 to 15½ or 1 to 16; but in Canton, in 1844, they were 1 to 17; and *Timkowski* states that at Peking in 1821 the finest gold was valued at 18 to 1. And as regards the precise territory of which this chapter speaks I find in Lieutenant *Bower's* Commercial Report on *Sladen's* Mission that the price of pure gold at Momein in 1868 was 13 times its weight in silver (p. 122); whilst *M. Garnier* mentions that the exchange at Ta-li in 1869 was 12 to 1 (I. 522).

Does not *Shakspeare* indicate at least a memory of 10 to 1 as the traditional

* *Cathay*, etc., pp. ccl. seqq. and p. 441.

† Written in 1870.

relation of gold to silver when he makes the Prince of Morocco, balancing over Portia's caskets, argue:—

"Or shall I think in silver she's immured,
Being ten times undervalued to tried gold?
O sinful thought!"

In Japan, at the time trade was opened, we know from Sir R. Alcock's work the extraordinary fact that the proportionate value set upon gold and silver currency by authority was as 3 to 1.

(*Cathay*, etc., p. ccl. and p. 442; *Lecomte*, II. 91; *Milburne's Oriental Commerce*, II. 510; *Sonnerat*, II. 17; *Hedde, Etude, Pratique*, etc., p. 14; *Williams, Chinese Commercial Guide*, p. 129; *Timkowski*, II. 202; *Alcock*, I. 281; II. 411, etc.)

NOTE 6.—Mr. Lay cites from a Chinese authority a notice of a tribe of "Western Miautsze," who "in the middle of autumn sacrifice to the Great Ancestor or Founder of their Race." (*The Chinese as they are*, p. 321.)

NOTE 7.—Dr. Anderson confirms the depressing and unhealthy character of the summer climate at Momein, though standing between 5000 and 6000 feet above the sea (p. 41).

NOTE 8.—"Whereas before," says Jack Cade to Lord Say, "our forefathers had no books but score and tally, thou hast caused printing to be used." The use of such tallies for the record of contracts among the aboriginal tribes of Kweichau is mentioned by Chinese authorities, and the French missionaries of Bonga speak of the same as in use among the simple tribes in that vicinity. But, as Marsden notes, the use of such rude records was to be found in his day in higher places and much nearer home. They continued to be employed as records of receipts in the British Exchequer till 1834, "and it is worthy of recollection that the fire by which the Houses of Parliament were destroyed was supposed to have originated in the over-heating of the flues in which the discarded tallies were being burnt." I remember often, when a child, to have seen the tallies of the colliers in Scotland, and possibly among that class they may survive. They appear to be still used by bakers in various parts of England and France, in the Canterbury hop-gardens, and locally in some other trades. (*Martini*, 135; *Bridgman*, 259, 262; *Eng. Cyclop.* sub v. *Tally*; *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. X. 485.)

[According to Father Crabouillet (*Missions Cath.* 1873, p. 105), the Lolos use tallies for their contracts; Dr. Harmand mentions (*Tour du Monde*, 1877, No. VII.) the same fact among the Khas of Central Laos; and M. Pierre Lefevre-Pontalis (*Populations du nord de l'Indo-Chine*, 1892, p. 22, from the *J. As.*) says he saw these tallies among the Khas of Luang-Prabang.—H. C.]

"In Illustration of this custom I have to relate what follows. In the year 1863 the Tsubwa (or Prince) of a Shan Province adjoining Yun-nan was in rebellion against the Burmese Government. He wished to enter into communication with the British Government. He sent a messenger to a British Officer with a letter tendering his allegiance, and accompanying this letter was a piece of bamboo about five inches long. This had been split down the middle, so that the two pieces fitted closely together, forming a tube in the original shape of the bamboo. A notch at one end included the edges of both pieces, showing that they were a pair. The messenger said that if the reply were favourable one of the pieces was to be returned and the other kept. I need hardly say the messenger received no written reply, and both pieces of bamboo were retained." (*MS. Note by Sir Arthur Phayre.*)

NOTE 9.—Compare Mr. Hodgson's account of the sub-Himalayan Bodos and Dhimals: "All diseases are ascribed to supernatural agency. The sick man is supposed to be possessed by one of the deities, who racks him with pain as a

punishment for impiety or neglect of the god in question. Hence not the mediciner, but the exorcist, is summoned to the sick man's aid." (*J. A. S. B.* XVIII. 728.)

NOTE 10.—Mr. Hodgson again: "Libations of fermented liquor always accompany sacrifice—because, to confess the whole truth, sacrifice and feast are commutable words, and feasts need to be crowned with copious potatoes." (*Ibid.*)

NOTE 11.—And again: "The god in question is asked what sacrifice he requires? a buffalo, a hog, a fowl, or a duck, to spare the sufferer; . . . anxious as I am fully to illustrate the topic, I will not try the patience of my readers by describing all that vast variety of black victims and white, of red victims and blue, which each particular deity is alleged to prefer." (*Ibid.* and p. 732.)

NOTE 12.—The same system of devil-dancing is prevalent among the tribes on the Lu-kiang, as described by the R. C. Missionaries. The conjurors are there called *Mumos*. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, XXXVI. 323, and XXXVII. 312-313.)

"Marco's account of the exorcism of evil spirits in cases of obstinate illness exactly resembles what is done in similar cases by the Burmese, except that I never saw animals sacrificed on such occasions." (*Sir A. Phayre.*)

Mouhot says of the wild people of Cambodia called *Stiens*: "When any one is ill they say that the Evil Spirit torments him; and to deliver him they set up about the patient a dreadful din which does not cease night or day, until some one among the bystanders falls down as if in a syncope, crying out, 'I have him,—he is in me,—he is strangling me!' Then they question the person who has thus become possessed. They ask him what remedies will save the patient; what remedies does the Evil Spirit require that he may give up his prey? Sometimes it is an ox or a pig; but too often it is a human victim." (*J. R. G. S.* XXXII. 147.)

See also the account of the Samoyede *Tadibei* or Devil-dancer in Klaproth's *Magasin Asiatique* (II. 83).

In fact these strange rites of Shamanism, devil-dancing, or what not, are found with wonderful identity of character among the non-Caucasian races over parts of the earth most remote from one another, not only among the vast variety of Indo-Chinese Tribes, but among the Tamulian tribes of India, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the races of Siberia, and the red nations of North and South America. Hinduism has assimilated these "prior superstitions of the sons of Tur" as Mr. Hodgson calls them, in the form of Tantrika mysteries, whilst, in the wild performance of the Dancing Dervishes at Constantinople, we see perhaps again the infection of Turanian blood breaking out from the very heart of Mussulman orthodoxy.

Dr. Caldwell has given a striking account of the practice of devil-dancing among the Shanars of Tinnevely, which forms a perfect parallel in modern language to our Traveller's description of a scene of which he also had manifestly been an eye-witness: "When the preparations are completed and the devil-dance is about to commence, the music is at first comparatively slow; the dancer seems impassive and sullen, and he either stands still or moves about in gloomy silence. Gradually, as the music becomes quicker and louder, his excitement begins to rise. Sometimes, to help him to work himself up into a frenzy, he uses medicated draughts, cuts and lacerates himself till the blood flows, lashes himself with a huge whip, presses a burning torch to his breast, drinks the blood which flows from his own wounds, or drains the blood of the sacrifice, putting the throat of the decapitated goat to his mouth. Then, as if he had acquired new life, he begins to brandish his staff of bells, and to dance with a quick but wild unsteady step. Suddenly the afflatus descends; there is no mistaking that glare, or those frantic leaps. He snorts, he stares, he gyrates. The demon has now taken bodily possession of him, and though he retains the power of utterance and motion, both are under the demon's control, and his separate consciousness is in abeyance. The bystanders signalise the event by raising a long shout, attended with a peculiar vibratory noise, caused by the motion of the hand and

tongue, or the tongue alone. The devil-dancer is now worshipped as a present deity, and every bystander consults him respecting his diseases, his wants, the welfare of his absent relatives, the offerings to be made for the accomplishment of his wishes, and in short everything for which superhuman knowledge is supposed to be available." (*Hodgson, J. R. As. Soc. XVIII. 397; The Tinnevelly Shanars, by the Rev. R. Caldwell, B.A., Madras, 1849, pp. 19-20.*)

CHAPTER LI.

WHEREIN IS RELATED HOW THE KING OF MIEN AND BANGALA
VOWED VENGEANCE AGAINST THE GREAT KAAAN.

BUT I was forgetting to tell you of a famous battle that was fought in the kingdom of Vochan in the Province of Zardandan, and that ought not to be omitted from our Book. So we will relate all the particulars.

You see, in the year of Christ, 1272,¹ the Great Kaan sent a large force into the kingdoms of Carajan and Vochan, to protect them from the ravages of ill-disposed people; and this was before he had sent any of his sons to rule the country, as he did afterwards when he made Sentemur king there, the son of a son of his who was deceased.

Now there was a certain king, called the king of MIEN and of BANGALA, who was a very puissant prince, with much territory and treasure and people; and he was not as yet subject to the Great Kaan, though it was not long after that the latter conquered him and took from him both the kingdoms that I have named.² And it came to pass that when this king of Mien and Bangala heard that the host of the Great Kaan was at Vochan, he said to himself that it behoved him to go against them with so great a force as should insure his cutting off the whole of them, insomuch that the Great Kaan would be very sorry ever to send an army again thither [to his frontier].

So this king prepared a great force and munitions of war; and he had, let me tell you, 2000 great elephants, on each of which was set a tower of timber, well framed and strong, and carrying from twelve to sixteen well-armed fighting men.³ And besides these, he had of horsemen and of footmen good 60,000 men. In short, he equipped a fine force, as well befitted such a puissant prince. It was indeed a host capable of doing great things.

And what shall I tell you? When the king had completed these great preparations to fight the Tartars, he tarried not, but straightway marched against them. And after advancing without meeting with anything worth mentioning, they arrived within three days of the Great Kaan's host, which was then at Vochan in the territory of Zardandan, of which I have already spoken. So there the king pitched his camp, and halted to refresh his army.

NOTE 1.—This date is no doubt corrupt. (See note 3, ch. lii.)

NOTE 2.—MIEN is the name by which the kingdom of Burma or Ava was and is known to the Chinese. M. Garnier informs me that *Mien-Kwé* or *Mien-tisong* is the name always given in Yun-nan to that kingdom, whilst the Shans at Kiang Hung call the Burmese *Man* (pronounced like the English word).

The title given to the sovereign in question of King of BENGAL, as well as of Mien, is very remarkable. We shall see reason hereafter to conceive that Polo did more or less confound Bengal with *Pegu*, which was subject to the Burmese monarchy up to the time of the Mongol invasion. But apart from any such misapprehension, there is not only evidence of rather close relations between Burma and Gangetic India in the ages immediately preceding that of our author, but also some ground for believing that he may be right in his representation, and that the King of Burma may have at this time arrogated the title of "King of Bengal," which is attributed to him in the text.

Anaurahta, one of the most powerful kings in Burmese history (1017-1059), extended his conquests to the frontiers of India, and is stated to have set up images within that country. He also married an Indian princess, the daughter of the King of *Wethali* (i.e. *Vaiçali* in Tihút).

There is also in the *Burmese Chronicle* a somewhat confused story regarding a succeeding king, Kyan-tsittha (A.D. 1064), who desired to marry his daughter to the son of the King of *Patteik-Kará*, a part of Bengal.* The marriage was objected to

* Sir A. Phayre thinks this may have been *Vikrampúr*, for some time the capital of Eastern Bengal before the Mahomedan conquest. *Vikrampúr* was some miles east of Dacca, and the dynasty in question was that called *Vaidya*. (See *Lassen*, III. 749.) *Patteik-Kará* is apparently an attempt to represent some Hindi name such as *Patthargarh*, "The Stone-Fort."

by the Burmese nobles, but the princess was already with child by the Bengal prince; and their son eventually succeeded to the Burmese throne under the name of Alaungtsi-thu. When king, he travelled all over his dominions, and visited the images which Anaurahta had set up in India. He also maintained intercourse with the King of Patteik-Kara and married his daughter. Alaungtsi-thu is stated to have lived to the age of 101 years, and to have reigned 75. Even then his death was hastened by his son Narathu, who smothered him in the temple called Shwé-Ku ("Golden Cave"), at Pagán, and also put to death his Bengali step-mother. The father of the latter sent eight brave men, disguised as Brahmans, to avenge his daughter's death. Having got access to the royal presence through their sacred character, they slew King Narathu and then themselves. Hence King Narathu is known in the Burmese history as the *Kalá-Kya Meng*, or "King slain by the Hindus." He was building the great Temple at Pagán called *Dhammayangyi*, at the time of his death, which occurred about the year 1171. The great-grandson of this king was Narathihapade (presumably *Narasinha-pati*), the king reigning at the time of the Mongol invasion.

All these circumstances show tolerably close relations between Burma and Bengal, and also that the dynasty then reigning in Burma was descended from a Bengal stock. Sir Arthur Phayre, after noting these points, remarks: "From all these circumstances, and from the conquests attributed to Anaurahta, it is very probable that, after the conquest of Bengal by the Mahomedans in the 13th century, the kings of Burma would assume the title of *Kings of Bengal*. This is nowhere expressly stated in the Burmese history, but the course of events renders it very probable. We know that the claim to Bengal was asserted by the kings of Burma in long after years. In the Journal of the Marquis of Hastings, under the date of 6th September, 1818, is the following passage: 'The king of Burma favoured us early this year with the obliging requisition that we should cede to him Moorsheadabad and the provinces to the east of it, which he deigned to say were all natural dependencies of his throne.' And at the time of the disputes on the frontier of Arakan, in 1823-1824, which led to the war of the two following years, the Governor of Arakan made a similar demand. We may therefore reasonably conclude that at the close of the 13th century of the Christian era the kings of Pagán called themselves kings of Burma and of Bengala." (*MS. Note by Sir Arthur Phayre*; see also his paper in *J. A. S. B.* vol. XXXVII. part I.)

NOTE 3.—It is very difficult to know what to make of the repeated assertions of old writers as to the numbers of men carried by war-elephants, or, if we could admit those numbers, to conceive how the animal could have carried the enormous structure necessary to give them space to use their weapons. The Third Book of Maccabees is the most astounding in this way, alleging that a single elephant carried 32 stout men, besides the Indian *Mahaut*. Bochart indeed supposes the number here to be a clerical error for 12, but this would even be extravagant. Friar Jordanus is, no doubt, building on the Maccabees rather than on his own Oriental experience when he says that the elephant "carrieth easily more than 30 men." Philostratus, in his *Life of Apollonius*, speaks of 10 to 15; Ibn Batuta of about 20; and a great elephant sent by Timur to the Sultan of Egypt is said to have carried 20 drummers. Christopher Borri says that in Cochin China the elephant did ordinarily carry 13 or 14 persons, 6 on each side in two tiers of 3 each, and 2 behind. On the other hand, among the ancients, Strabo and Aelian speak of three soldiers only in addition to the driver, and Livy, describing the Battle of Magnesia, of four. These last are reasonable statements.

(Bochart, *Hierozyicon*, ed. 3rd, p. 266; *Jord.*, p. 26; *Philostr.* trad. par A. Chassaing, liv. II. c. ii.; *Ibn Bat.* II. 223; *N. and E.* XIV. 510; *Cochin China*, etc., London, 1633, ed. 3; *Armandi, Hist. Militaire des Elephants*, 259 seqq. 442.)

CHAPTER LII.

OF THE BATTLE THAT WAS FOUGHT BY THE GREAT KAAAN'S
HOST AND HIS SENESCHAL, AGAINST THE KING OF MIEN.

AND when the Captain of the Tartar host had certain news that the king aforesaid was coming against him with so great a force, he waxed uneasy, seeing that he had with him but 12,000 horsemen. Natheless he was a most valiant and able soldier, of great experience in arms and an excellent Captain; and his name was NESCRADIN.¹ His troops too were very good, and he gave them very particular orders and cautions how to act, and took every measure for his own defence and that of his army. And why should I make a long story of it? The whole force of the Tartars, consisting of 12,000 well-mounted horsemen, advanced to receive the enemy in the Plain of Vochan, and there they waited to give them battle. And this they did through the good judgment of the excellent Captain who led them; for hard by that plain was a great wood, thick with trees. And so there in the plain the Tartars awaited their foe. Let us then leave discoursing of them a while; we shall come back to them presently; but meantime let us speak of the enemy.

After the King of Mien had halted long enough to refresh his troops, he resumed his march, and came to the Plain of Vochan, where the Tartars were already in order of battle. And when the king's army had arrived in the plain, and was within a mile of the enemy, he caused all the castles that were on the elephants to be ordered for battle, and the fighting-men to take up their posts on them, and he arrayed his horse and his foot with all skill, like a wise king as he

was. And when he had completed all his arrangements he began to advance to engage the enemy. The Tartars, seeing the foe advance, showed no dismay, but came on likewise with good order and discipline to meet them. And when they were near and nought remained but to begin the fight, the horses of the Tartars took such fright at the sight of the elephants that they could not be got to face the foe, but always swerved and turned back; whilst all the time the king and his forces, and all his elephants, continued to advance upon them.²

And when the Tartars perceived how the case stood, they were in great wrath, and wist not what to say or do; for well enough they saw that unless they could get their horses to advance, all would be lost. But their Captain acted like a wise leader who had considered everything beforehand. He immediately gave orders that every man should dismount and tie his horse to the trees of the forest that stood hard by, and that then they should take to their bows, a weapon that they know how to handle better than any troops in the world. They did as he bade them, and plied their bows stoutly, shooting so many shafts at the advancing elephants that in a short space they had wounded or slain the greater part of them as well as of the men they carried. The enemy also shot at the Tartars, but the Tartars had the better weapons, and were the better archers to boot.

And what shall I tell you? Understand that when the elephants felt the smart of those arrows that pelted them like rain, they turned tail and fled, and nothing on earth would have induced them to turn and face the Tartars. So off they sped with such a noise and uproar that you would have trowed the world was coming to an end! And then too they plunged into the wood and rushed this way and that, dashing their castles

against the trees, bursting their harness and smashing and destroying everything that was on them.

So when the Tartars saw that the elephants had turned tail and could not be brought to face the fight again, they got to horse at once and charged the enemy. And then the battle began to rage furiously with sword and mace. Right fiercely did the two hosts rush together, and deadly were the blows exchanged. The king's troops were far more in number than the Tartars, but they were not of such metal, nor so inured to war; otherwise the Tartars who were so few in number could never have stood against them. Then might you see swashing blows dealt and taken from sword and mace; then might you see knights and horses and men-at-arms go down; then might you see arms and hands and legs and heads hewn off; and besides the dead that fell, many a wounded man, that never rose again, for the sore press there was. The din and uproar were so great from this side and from that, that God might have thundered and no man would have heard it! Great was the medley, and dire and parlous was the fight that was fought on both sides; but the Tartars had the best of it.³

In an ill hour indeed, for the king and his people, was that battle begun, so many of them were slain therein. And when they had continued fighting till midday the king's troops could stand against the Tartars no longer; but felt that they were defeated, and turned and fled. And when the Tartars saw them routed they gave chase, and hacked and slew so mercilessly that it was a piteous sight to see. But after pursuing a while they gave up, and returned to the wood to catch the elephants that had run away, and to manage this they had to cut down great trees to bar their passage. Even then they would not have been able to take them without the help of the king's own men who had been taken, and who

knew better how to deal with the beasts than the Tartars did. The elephant is an animal that hath more wit than any other ; but in this way at last they were caught, more than 200 of them. And it was from this time forth that the Great Kaan began to keep numbers of elephants.

So thus it was that the king aforesaid was defeated by the sagacity and superior skill of the Tartars as you have heard.

NOTE 1.—*Nesradin* for Nesradin, as we had *Basra* for Basra.

This NÁSRUDDIN was apparently an officer of whom Rashiduddin speaks, and whom he calls governor (or perhaps commander) in Karájáng. He describes him as having succeeded in that command to his father the Sayad Ajil of Bokhara, one of the best of Kúblái's chief Ministers. Nasr-uddin retained his position in Yun-nan till his death, which Rashid, writing about 1300, says occurred five or six years before. His son Bayan, who also bore the grandfather's title of Sayad Ajil, was Minister of Finance under Kúblái's successor ; and another son, Hálá, is also mentioned as one of the governors of the province of Fu-chau. (See *Cathay*, pp. 265, 268, and *D'Ohsson*, II. 507-508.)

Nasr-uddin (*Nasulating*) is also frequently mentioned as employed on this frontier by the Chinese authorities whom Pauthier cites.

[Na-su-la-ding [Nasr-uddin] was the eldest of the five sons of the Mohammedan Sai-dien-ch'i shan-sze-ding, Sayad Ajil, a native of Bokhara, who died in Yun-nan, where he had been governor when Kúblái, in the reign of Mangu, entered the country. Nasr-uddin "has a separate biography in ch. cxxv of the *Yuen-shi*. He was governor of the province of Yun-nan, and distinguished himself in the war against the southern tribes of *K'iao-chi* (Cochin-China) and *Mien* (Burma). He died in 1292, the father of twelve sons, the names of five of which are given in the biography, viz. *Bo-yen-ch'a-ah* [Bayan], who held a high office, Omar, Djafar, Hussein, and Saadi." (*Bretschneider*, *Med. Res.* I. 270-271). Mr. E. H. Parker writes in the *China Review*, February-March, 1901, pp. 196-197, that the Mongol history states that amongst the reforms of Nasr-uddin's father in Yun-nan, was the introduction of coffins for the dead, instead of burning them.—H. C.]

[NOTE 2.—In his battle near Sardis, Cyrus "collected together all the camels that had come in the train of his army to carry the provisions and the baggage, and taking off their loads, he mounted riders upon them accoutred as horsemen. These he commanded to advance in front of his other troops against the Lydian horse. . . . The reason why Cyrus opposed his camels to the enemy's horse was, because the horse has a natural dread of the camel, and cannot abide either the sight or the smell of that animal. . . . The two armies then joined battle, and immediately the Lydian war-horses, seeing and smelling the camels, turned round and galloped off." . . . (*Herodotus*, Bk. I. i. p. 220, *Rawlinson's* ed.)—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—We are indebted to Pauthier for very interesting illustrations of this narrative from the Chinese Annalists (p. 410 *seqq.*). These latter fix the date to the year 1277, and it is probable that the 1272 or MCCLXXII of the Texts was a clerical error for MCCLXXVII. The Annalists describe the people of Mien as irritated at calls upon them to submit to the Mongols (whose power they probably did not appreciate, as their descendants did not appreciate the British power in 1824), and as crossing the frontier of Yung-ch'ang to establish fortified posts. The force of Mien, they say, amounted to 50,000 men, with 800 elephants and 10,000 horses, whilst the Mongol

Chief had but *seven hundred* men. "When the elephants felt the arrows (of the Mongols) they turned tail and fled with the platforms on their backs into a place that was set thickly with sharp bamboo-stakes, and these their riders laid hold of to prick them with." This threw the Burmese army into confusion; they fled, and were pursued with great slaughter.

The Chinese author does not mention Nasr-uddin in connection with this battle. He names as the chief of the Mongol force *Huthukh* (Kutuka?), commandant of Ta-li fu. Nasr-uddin is mentioned as advancing, a few months later (about December, 1277), with nearly 4000 men to Kiangtheu (which appears to have been on the Irawadi, somewhere near Bhamó, and is perhaps the Kaungtaung of the Burmese), but effecting little (p. 415).

[I have published in the *Rev. Ext. Orient*, II. 72-88, from the British Museum *Add. MS.* 16913, the translation by Mgr. Visdelou, of Chinese documents relating to the Kingdom of Mien and the wars of Kúblái; the battle won by *Hu-tu*, commandant of Ta-li, was fought during the 3rd month of the 14th year (1277). (Cf. Pauthier, *supra.*)—II. C.]

These affairs of the battle in the Yung-ch'ang territory, and the advance of Nasr-uddin to the Irawadi are, as Polo clearly implies in the beginning of ch. li., quite distinct from the invasion and conquest of Mien some years later, of which he speaks in ch. liv. They are not mentioned in the Burmese Annals at all.

Sir Arthur Phayre is inclined to reject altogether the story of the battle near Yung-ch'ang in consequence of this absence from the *Burmese Chronicle*, and of its inconsistency with the purely defensive character which that record assigns to the action of the Burmese Government in regard to China at this time. With the strongest respect for my friend's opinion I feel it impossible to assent to this. We have not only the concurrent testimony of Marco and of the Chinese Official Annals of the Mongol Dynasty to the facts of the Burmese provocation and of the engagement within the Yung-ch'ang or Vochan territory, but we have in the Chinese narrative a consistent chronology and tolerably full detail of the relations between the two countries.

[Baber writes (p. 173): "Biot has it that Yung-ch'ang was first established by the Mings, long subsequent to the time of Marco's visit, but the name was well known much earlier. The mention by Marco of the Plain of Vochan (Unciam would be a perfect reading), as if it were a plain *par excellence*, is strikingly consistent with the position of the city on the verge of the largest plain west of Yünnan-fu. Hereabouts was fought the great battle between the 'valiant soldier and the excellent captain Nescradin,' with his 12,000 well-mounted Tartars, against the King of Burmah and a large army, whose strength lay in 2000 elephants, on each of which was set a tower of timber full of well-armed fighting men.

"There is no reason to suppose this 'dire and parlous fight' to be mythical, apart from the consistency of annals adduced by Colonel Yule; the local details of the narrative, particularly the prominent importance of the wood as an element of the Tartar success, are convincing. It seems to have been the first occasion on which the Mongols engaged a large body of elephants, and this, no doubt, made the victory memorable.

"Marco informs us that 'from this time forth the Great Khan began to keep numbers of elephants.' It is obvious that cavalry could not manœuvre in a morass such as fronts the city. Let us refer to the account of the battle.

"'The Great Khan's host was at Yung-ch'ang, from which they advanced into the plain, and there waited to give battle. This they did through the good judgment of the captain, for hard by that plain was a great wood thick with trees.' The general's purpose was more probably to occupy the dry undulating slopes near the south end of the valley. An advance of about five miles would have brought him to that position. The statement that 'the King's army arrived in the plain, and was within a mile of the enemy,' would then accord perfectly with the conditions of the ground. The Burmese would have found themselves at about that distance from their foes as soon as they were fairly in the plain.

“The trees ‘hard by the plain,’ to which the Tartars tied their horses, and in which the elephants were entangled, were in all probability in the corner below the ‘rolling hills’ marked in the chart. Very few trees remain, but in any case the grove would long ago have been cut down by the Chinese, as everywhere on inhabited plains. A short distance up the hill, however, groves of exceptionally fine trees are passed. The army, as it seems to us, must have entered the plain from its southernmost point. The route by which we departed on our way to Burmah would be very embarrassing, though perhaps not utterly impossible, for so great a number of elephants.”—H. C.]

Between 1277 and the end of the century the Chinese Annals record three campaigns or expeditions against MIEN; viz. (1) that which Marco has related in this chapter; (2) that which he relates in ch. liv.; and (3) one undertaken in 1300 at the request of the son of the legitimate Burmese King, who had been put to death by an usurper. The Burmese Annals mention only the two latest, but, concerning both the date and the main circumstances of these two, Chinese and Burmese Annals are in almost entire agreement. Surely then it can scarcely be doubted that the Chinese authority is amply trustworthy for the *first* campaign also, respecting which the Burmese book is silent; even were the former not corroborated by the independent authority of Marco.

Indeed the mutual correspondence of these Annals, especially as to chronology, is very remarkable, and is an argument for greater respect to the chronological value of the Burmese Chronicle and other Indo-Chinese records of like character than we should otherwise be apt to entertain. Compare the story of the expedition of 1300 as told after the Chinese Annals by De Mailla, and after the Burmese Chronicle by Burney and Phayre. (See *De Mailla*, IX. 476 *seqq.*; and *J. A. S. B.* vol. vi. pp. 121-122, and vol. xxxvii. Pt. I. pp. 102 and 110.)

CHAPTER LIII.

OF THE GREAT DESCENT THAT LEADS TOWARDS THE KINGDOM OF MIEN.

AFTER leaving the Province of which I have been speaking you come to a great Descent. In fact you ride for two days and a half continually down hill. On all this descent there is nothing worthy of mention except only that there is a large place there where occasionally a great market is held; for all the people of the country round come thither on fixed days, three times a week, and hold a market there. They exchange gold for silver; for they have gold in abundance; and they give one weight of fine gold for five weights of fine silver; so this induces merchants to come from various quarters

bringing silver which they exchange for gold with these people ; and in this way the merchants make great gain. As regards those people of the country who dispose of gold so cheaply, you must understand that nobody is acquainted with their places of abode, for they dwell in inaccessible positions, in sites so wild and strong that no one can get at them to meddle with them. Nor will they allow anybody to accompany them so as to gain a knowledge of their abodes.¹

After you have ridden those two days and a half down hill, you find yourself in a province towards the south which is pretty near to India, and this province is called AMIEN. You travel therein for fifteen days through a very unfrequented country, and through great woods abounding in elephants and unicorns and numbers of other wild beasts. There are no dwellings and no people, so we need say no more of this wild country, for in sooth there is nothing to tell. But I have a story to relate which you shall now hear.²

NOTE 1.—In all the Shan towns visited by Major Sladen on this frontier he found markets held *every fifth day*. This custom, he says, is borrowed from China, and is general throughout Western Yun-nan. There seem to be traces of this five-day week over Indo-China, and it is found in Java ; as it is in Mexico. The Kakhyens attend in great crowds. They do *not* now bring gold for sale to Momein, though it is found to some extent in their hills, more especially in the direction of Mogaung, whence it is exported towards Assam.

Major Sladen saw a small quantity of nuggets in the possession of a Kakhyen who had brought them from a hill two days north of Bhamó. (*MS. Notes by Major Sladen.*)

NOTE 2.—I confess that the indications in this and the beginning of the following chapter are, to me, full of difficulty. According to the general style of Polo's itinerary, the 2½ days should be reckoned from Yung-ch'ang ; the distance therefore to the capital city of Mien would be 17½ days. The real capital of Mien or Burma at this time was, however, Pagán, in lat. 21° 13', and that city could hardly have been reached by a land traveller in any such time. We shall see that something may be said in behalf of the supposition that the point reached was *Tagaung* or *Old Pagán*, on the upper Irawadi, in lat. 23° 28' ; and there was perhaps some confusion in the traveller's mind between this and the great city. The descent might then be from Yung-ch'ang to the valley of the Shwéli, and that valley then followed to the Irawadi. Taking as a scale Polo's 5 marches from Tali to Yung-ch'ang, I find we should by this route make just about 17 marches from Yung-ch'ang to Tagaung. We have no detailed knowledge of the route, but there *is* a road that way, and by

no other does the plain country approach so near to Yung-ch'ang. (See *Anderson's Report on Expedition to Western Yunnan*, p. 160.)

Dr. Anderson's remarks on the present question do not in my opinion remove the difficulties. He supposes the long descent to be the descent into the plains of the Irawadi near Bhamo; and from that point the land journey to Great Pagán could, he conceives, "easily be accomplished in 15 days." I greatly doubt the latter assumption. By the scale I have just referred to it would take at least 20 days. And to calculate the $2\frac{1}{2}$ days with which the journey commences from an indefinite point seems scarcely admissible. Polo is giving us a continuous *itinerary*; it would be ruptured if he left an indefinite distance between his last station and his "long descent." And if the same principle were applied to the 5 days between Carajan (or Tali) and Vochan (Yung-ch'ang), the result would be nonsense.



Temple of Gaudapalén (in the city of Mien), erected *circa* A.D. 1160.

[*Mien-tien*, to which is devoted ch. vii. of the Chinese work *Sze-i-kwan-k'ao*, appears to have included much more than Burma proper. (See the passage *supra*, pp. 70-71, quoted by Devéria from the *Yuen-shi lei pien* regarding *Kien-tou* and *Kin-Chi*.)—H. C.]

The hypothesis that I have suggested would suit better with the traveller's representation of the country traversed as wild and uninhabited. In a journey to Great Pagán the most populous and fertile part of Burma would be passed through.

[Baber writes (p. 180): "The generally received theory that 'the great descent which leads towards the Kingdom of Mien,' on which 'you ride for two days and a half continually downhill,' was the route from Yung-ch'ang to T'eng-Yueh, must be at once abandoned. Marco was, no doubt, speaking from hearsay, or rather, from a recollection of hoarsay, as it does not appear that he possessed any notes; but there is good reason for supposing that he had personally visited Yung-ch'ang. Weary of the interminable mountain-paths, and encumbered with much baggage—for a magnate of Marco's court influence could never, in the East, have travelled without a considerable state—impeded, in addition, by a certain quantity of merchandise, for he was 'discreet and prudent in every way,' he would have listened longingly to the report of an easy ride of two and a half days downhill, and would never have forgotten it. That such a route exists I am well satisfied. Where is it? The stream

which drains the Yung-ch'ang plain communicates with the Salwen by a river called the 'Nan-tien,' not to be confounded with the 'Nan-ting,' about 45 miles south of that city, a fair journey of two and a half days. Knowing, as we now do, that it must descend some 3500 feet in that distance, does it not seem reasonable to suppose that the valley of this rivulet is the route alluded to? The great battle on the Yung-ch'ang plain, moreover, was fought only a few years before Marco's visit, and seeing that the king and his host of elephants in all probability entered the valley from the south, travellers to Burma would naturally have quitted it by the same route.

"But again, our mediæval Herodotus reports that 'the country is wild and hard of access, full of great woods and mountains which 'tis impossible to pass, the air is so impure and unwholesome; and any foreigners attempting it would die for certain.'

"This is exactly and literally the description given us of the district in which we crossed the Salwen.

"To insist on the theory of the descent by this route is to make the traveller ride downhill, 'over mountains it is impossible to pass.'

"The fifteen days' subsequent journey described by Marco need not present much difficulty. The distance from the junction of the Nan-tien with the Salwen to the capital of Burma (Pagán) would be something over 300 miles; fifteen days seems a fair estimate for the distance, seeing that a great part of the journey would doubtless be by boat."

Regarding this last paragraph, Captain Gill says (II. 345): "An objection may be raised that no such route as this is known to exist; but it must be remembered that the Burmese capital changes its position every now and then, and it is obvious that the trade routes would be directed to the capital, and would change with it. Altogether, with the knowledge at present available, this certainly seems the most satisfactory interpretation of the old traveller's story."—H. C.]

CHAPTER LIV.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF MIEN, AND THE TWO TOWERS THAT ARE THEREIN, ONE OF GOLD AND THE OTHER OF SILVER.

AND when you have travelled those 15 days through such a difficult country as I have described, in which travellers have to carry provisions for the road because there are no inhabitants, then you arrive at the capital city of this Province of Mien, and it also is called AMIEN, and is a very great and noble city.¹ The people are Idolaters and have a peculiar language, and are subject to the Great Kaan.

And in this city there is a thing so rich and rare that I must tell you about it. You see there was in former days a rich and puissant king in this city, and when he

was about to die he commanded that by his tomb they should erect two towers [one at either end], one of gold and the other of silver, in such fashion as I shall tell you. The towers are built of fine stone ; and then one of them has been covered with gold a good finger in thickness, so that the tower looks as if it were all of solid gold ; and the other is covered with silver in like manner so that it seems to be all of solid silver. Each tower is a good ten paces in height and of breadth in proportion. The upper part of these towers is round, and girt all about with bells, the top of the gold tower with gilded bells and the silver tower with silvered bells, insomuch that whenever the wind blows among these bells they tinkle. [The tomb likewise was plated partly with gold, and partly with silver.] The King caused these towers to be erected to commemorate his magnificence and for the good of his soul ; and really they do form one of the finest sights in the world ; so exquisitely finished are they, so splendid and costly. And when they are lighted up by the sun they shine most brilliantly and are visible from a vast distance.

Now you must know that the Great Kaan conquered the country in this fashion.

You see at the Court of the Great Kaan there was a great number of gleemen and jugglers ; and he said to them one day that he wanted them to go and conquer the aforesaid province of Mien, and that he would give them a good Captain to lead them and other good aid. And they replied that they would be delighted. So the Emperor caused them to be fitted out with all that an army requires, and gave them a Captain and a body of men-at-arms to help them ; and so they set out, and marched until they came to the country and province of Mien. And they did conquer the whole of it ! And when they found in the city the two towers of gold and



THE CITY OF MIEN
WITH THE GOLD AND SILVER TOWERS

silver of which I have been telling you, they were greatly astonished, and sent word thereof to the Great Kaan, asking what he would have them do with the two towers, seeing what a great quantity of wealth there was upon them. And the Great Kaan, being well aware that the King had caused these towers to be made for the good of his soul, and to preserve his memory after his death, said that he would not have them injured, but would have them left precisely as they were. And that was no wonder either, for you must know that no Tartar in the world will ever, if he can help it, lay hand on anything appertaining to the dead.²

They have in this province numbers of elephants and wild oxen;³ also beautiful stags and deer and roe, and other kinds of large game in plenty.

Now having told you about the province of Mien, I will tell you about another province which is called Bangala, as you shall hear presently.

NOTE 1.—The name of the city appears as *Amien* both in Pauthier's text here, and in the G. Text in the preceding chapter. In the Bern MS. it is *Aamien*. Perhaps some form like *Amien* was that used by the Mongols and Persians. I fancy it may be traced in the *Arman* or *Uman* of Rashiduddin, probably corrupt readings (in *Elliot* I. 72).

NOTE 2.—M. Pauthier's extracts are here again very valuable. We gather from them that the first Mongol communication with the King of Mien or Burma took place in 1271, when the Commandant of Tali-fu sent a deputation to that sovereign to demand an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Emperor. This was followed by various negotiations and acts of offence on both sides, which led to the campaign of 1277, already spoken of. For a few years no further events appear to be recorded, but in 1282, in consequence of a report from Násruddin of the ease with which Mien could be conquered, an invasion was ordered under a Prince of the Blood called Siangtaur [called *Siam-ghu-talk*, by Visdelou.—H. C.]. This was probably *Singtur*, great-grandson of one of the brothers of Chinghiz, who a few years later took part in the insurrection of Nayan. (See *D'Ohsson*, II. 461.) The army started from Yun-nan fu, then called Chung-khing (and the *Yachi* of Polo) in the autumn of 1283. We are told that the army made use of boats to descend the River *Oho* to the fortified city of Kiangtheu (see *supra*, note 3, ch. lii.), which they took and sacked; and as the King still refused to submit, they then advanced to the "primitive capital," *Taikung*, which they captured. Here Pauthier's details stop. (Pp. 405, 416; see also *D'Ohsson*, II. 444 [and *Visdelou*].)

It is curious to compare these narratives with that from the Burmese Royal Annals given by Colonel Burney, and again by Sir A. Phayre in the *J. A. S. B.* (IV. 401, and XXXVII. Pt. I. p. 101.) Those annals afford no mention of

transactions with the Mongols previous to 1281. In that year they relate that a mission of ten nobles and 1000 horse came from the Emperor to demand gold and silver vessels as symbols of homage, on the ground of an old precedent. The envoys conducted themselves disrespectfully (the tradition was that they refused to take off



The Palace of the King of Mien in modern times.

their boots, an old grievance at the Burmese court), and the King put them all to death. The Emperor of course was very wroth, and sent an army of 6,000,000 of horse and 20,000,000 of foot (!) to invade Burma. The Burmese generals had their *point d'appui* at the city of *Nga-tshaung-gyan*, apparently somewhere near the mouth

of the Bhamó River, and after a protracted resistance on that river, they were obliged to retire. They took up a new point of defence on the Hill of Malé, which they had fortified. Here a decisive battle was fought, and the Burmese were entirely routed. The King, on hearing of their retreat from Bhamó, at first took measures for fortifying his capital Pagán, and destroyed 6000 temples of various sizes to furnish material. But after all he lost heart, and embarking with his treasure and establishments on the Irawadi, fled down that river to Bassein in the Delta. The Chinese continued the pursuit long past Pagán till they reached the place now called *Tarokmau* or "Chinese Point," 30 miles below Prome. Here they were forced by want of provisions to return. The Burmese Annals place the abandonment of Pagán by the King in 1284, a most satisfactory synchronism with the Chinese record. It is a notable point in Burmese history, for it marked the fall of an ancient Dynasty which was speedily followed by its extinction, and the abandonment of the capital. The King is known in the Burmese Annals as *Tarok-pyé-Meng*, "The King who fled from the *Tarok*." *

In Dr. Mason's abstract of the Pegu Chronicle we find the notable statement with reference to this period that "the Emperor of China, having subjugated Pagán, his troops with the Burmese entered Pegu and invested several cities."

We see that the Chinese Annals, as quoted, mention only the "capitale primitive" *Taikung*, which I have little doubt Pauthier is right in identifying with *Tagaung*, traditionally the most ancient royal city of Burma, and the remains of which stand side by side with those of *Old Pagán*, a later but still very ancient capital, on the east bank of the Irawadi, in about lat. 23° 28'. The Chinese extracts give no idea of the temporary completeness of the conquest, nor do they mention Great Pagán (lat. 21° 13'), a city whose vast remains I have endeavoured partially to describe.† Sir Arthur Phayre, from a careful perusal of the Burmese Chronicle, assures me that there can be no doubt that *this* was at the time in question the Burmese Royal Residence, and the city alluded to in the Burmese narrative. M. Pauthier is mistaken in supposing that *Tarok-Mau*, the turning-point of the Chinese Invasion, lay north of this city: he has not unnaturally confounded it with *Tarok-Myo* or "China-Town," a district not far below Ava. Moreover Malé, the position of the decisive victory of the Chinese, is itself much to the south of *Tagaung* (about 22° 55').

Both Pagán and Malé are mentioned in a remarkable Chinese notice extracted in *Amoy's Mémoires* (XIV. 292): "Mien-Tien . . . had five chief towns, of which the first was *Kiangtheu* (*supra*, pp. 105, 111), the second *Taikung*, the third *Malai*, the fourth *Ngan-cheng-kwé* (? perhaps the *Nga-tshaung gyan* of the Burmese Annals), the fifth *PUKAN MIEN-WANG* (Pagán of the Mien King?). The Yuen carried war into this country, particularly during the reign of Shun-Ti, the last Mongol Emperor [1333-1368], who, after subjugating it, erected at *Pukan Mien-Wang* a tribunal styled *Hwen-wei-she-sé*, the authority of which extended over *Pang-ya* and all its dependencies." This is evidently founded on actual documents, for *Panya* or *Pengya*, otherwise styled *Vijáyapúra*, was the capital of Burma during part of the 14th century, between the decay of Pagán and the building of Ava. But none of the translated extracts from the Burmese Chronicle afford corroboration. From *Sangermano's* abstract, however, we learn that the King of *Panya* from 1323 to 1343 was the *son of a daughter of the Emperor of China* (p. 42). I may also refer to *Pemberton's* abstract of the Chronicle of the Shan State of *Pong* in the Upper Irawadi valley, which relates that about the middle of the 14th century the Chinese invaded *Pong* and took *Maung Maorong*, the capital.‡ The Shan King and his son fled to the King of

* This is the name now applied in Burma to the Chinese. Sir A. Phayre supposes it to be *Tark*, in which case its use probably began at this time.

† In the Narrative of Phayre's Mission, ch. ii.

‡ Dr. Anderson has here hastily assumed a discrepancy of sixty years between the chronology of the Shan document and that of the Chinese Annals. But this is merely because he arbitrarily identifies the Chinese invasion here recorded with that of *Kúblái* in the preceding century. (See *Anderson's Western Yunnan*, p. 8.) We see in the quotation above from *Amoy* that the Chinese Annals also contain an obscure indication of the later invasion.

Burma for protection, but *the Burmese surrendered them* and they were carried to China. (*Report on E. Frontier of Bengal*, p. 112.)

I see no sufficient evidence as to whether Marco himself visited the "city of Mien." I think it is quite clear that his account of the *conquest* is from the merest hearsay, not to say gossip. Of the absurd story of the jugglers we find no suggestion in the Chinese extracts. We learn from them that Násrudin had represented the conquest of Mien as a very easy task, and Kúblái may have in jest asked his gleemen if they would undertake it. The haziness of Polo's account of the conquest contrasts strongly with his graphic description of the rout of the elephants at Vochan. Of the latter he heard the particulars on the spot (I conceive) shortly after the event; whilst the conquest took place some years later than his mission to that frontier. His description of the gold and silver pagodas with their canopies of tinkling bells (the Burmese *Hti*), certainly looks like a sketch from the life;* and it is quite possible that some negotiations between 1277 and 1281 may have given him the opportunity of visiting Burma, though he may not have reached the capital. Indeed he would in that case surely have given a distincter account of so important a city, the aspect of which in its glory we have attempted to realize in the plate of "the city of Mien."

It is worthy of note that the unfortunate King then reigning in Pagán, had in 1274 finished a magnificent Pagoda called *Mengala-dzedi* (*Mangala Chaitya*) respecting which ominous prophecies had been diffused. In this pagoda were deposited, besides holy relics, golden images of the Disciples of Buddha, golden models of the holy places, golden images of the King's fifty-one predecessors in Pagán, and of the King and his Family. It is easy to suspect a connection of this with Marco's story. "It is possible that the King's ashes may have been intended to be buried near those relics, though such is not now the custom; and Marco appears to have confounded the custom of depositing relics of Buddha and ancient holy men in pagodas with the *supposed* custom of the burial of the dead. Still, even now, monuments are occasionally erected over the dead in Burma, although the practice is considered a vain folly. I have known a miniature pagoda with a *hti* complete, erected over the ashes of a favourite disciple by a *P'hungyi* or Buddhist monk." The latter practice is common in China. (*Notes by Sir A. Phayre*; *J. A. S. B.* IV. *u. s.*, also V. 164, VI. 251; *Mason's Burmah*, 2nd ed. p. 26; *Milne's Life in China*, pp. 288, 450.)

NOTE 3.—The Gaur—*Bos Gaurus*, or *B. (Bibos) Cavifrons* of Hodgson—exists in certain forests of the Burmese territory; and, in the south at least, a wild ox nearer the domestic species, *Bos Sondaicus*. Mr. Gouger, in his book *The Prisoner in Burma*, describes the rare spectacle which he once enjoyed in the Tenasserim forests of a herd of wild cows at graze. He speaks of them as small and elegant, without hump, and of a light reddish dun colour (pp. 326–327).

CHAPTER LV.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF BANGALA.

BANGALA is a Province towards the south, which up to the year 1290, when the aforesaid Messer Marco Polo

* Compare the old Chinese Pilgrims Hwui Seng and Seng Yun, in their admiration of a vast pagoda erected by the great King Kanishka in Gandhára (at Peshawur in fact): "At sunrise the gilded disks of the vane are lit up with dazzling glory, whilst the gentle breeze of morning causes the precious bells to tinkle with a pleasing sound." (*Beal*, p. 204.)

was still at the Court of the Great Kaan, had not yet been conquered; but his armies had gone thither to make the conquest. You must know that this province has a peculiar language, and that the people are wretched Idolaters. They are tolerably close to India. There are numbers of eunuchs there, insomuch that all the Barons who keep them get them from that Province.¹

The people have oxen as tall as elephants, but not so big.² They live on flesh and milk and rice. They grow cotton, in which they drive a great trade, and also spices such as spikenard, galingale, ginger, sugar, and many other sorts. And the people of India also come thither in search of the eunuchs that I mentioned, and of slaves, male and female, of which there are great numbers, taken from other provinces with which those of the country are at war; and these eunuchs and slaves are sold to the Indian and other merchants who carry them thence for sale about the world.

There is nothing more to mention about this country, so we will quit it, and I will tell you of another province called Caugigu.

NOTE 1.—I do not think it probable that Marco even touched at any port of Bengal on that mission to the Indian Seas of which we hear in the prologue; but he certainly never reached it from the Yun-nan side, and he had, as we shall presently see (*infra*, ch. lix. note 6), a wrong notion as to its position. Indeed, if he had visited it at all, he would have been aware that it was essentially a part of India, whilst in fact he evidently regarded it as an *Indo-Chinese* region, like Zardandan, Mien, and Caugigu.

There is no notice, I believe, in any history, Indian or Chinese, of an attempt by Kúblái to conquer Bengal. The only such attempt by the Mongols that we hear of is one mentioned by Firishta, as made by way of Cathay and Tibet, during the reign of Aláuddin Masa'úd, king of Delhi, in 1244, and stated to have been defeated by the local officers in Bengal. But Mr. Edward Thomas tells me he has most distinctly ascertained that this statement, which has misled every historian "from Badauni and Firishta to Briggs and Elphinstone, is founded purely on an erroneous reading" (and see a note in Mr. Thomas's *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 121).

The date 1290 in the text would fix the period of Polo's final departure from Peking, if the dates were not so generally corrupt.

The subject of the last part of this paragraph, recurred to in the next, has been misunderstood and corrupted in Pauthier's text, and partially in Ramusio's. These make the *escuillés* or *escoilliez* (vide *Ducange* in v. *Escodatus*, and *Raynouard, Lex. Rom.* VI. 11) into *scholars* and what not. But on comparison of the passages in

those two editions with the Geographic Text one cannot doubt the correct reading. As to the fact that Bengal had an evil notoriety for this traffic, especially the province of Silhet, see the *Ayeeen Akbery*, II. 9-11, *Barbosa's* chapter on Bengal, and *De Barros (Ramusio I. 316 and 391)*.

On the cheapness of slaves in Bengal, see *Ibn Batuta*, IV. 211-212. He says people from Persia used to call Bengal *Dúzakh pur-i ni'amat*, "a hell crammed with good things," an appellation perhaps provoked by the official style often applied to it of *Jannat-ul-baldá* or "Paradise of countries."

Professor H. Blochmann, who is, in admirable essays, redeeming the long neglect of the history and archæology of Bengal Proper by our own countrymen, says that one of the earliest passages, in which the name *Bangdlah* occurs, is in a poem of Hafiz, sent from Shiraz to Sultan Ghiássuddfn, who reigned in Bengal from 1367 to 1373. Its occurrence in our text, however, shows that the name was in use among the Mahomedan foreigners (from whom Polo derived his nomenclature) nearly a century earlier. And in fact it occurs (though corruptly in some MSS.) in the history of Rashiduddin, our author's contemporary. (See *Elliot*, I. p. 72.)

NOTE 2.—"Big as elephants" is only a *façon de parler*, but Marsden quotes modern exaggerations as to the height of the *Arna* or wild buffalo, more specific and extravagant. The unimpeachable authority of Mr. Hodgson tells us that the Arna in the Nepal Tarai sometimes does reach a height of 6 ft. 6 in. at the shoulder, with a length of 10 ft. 6 in. (excluding tail), and horns of 6 ft. 6 in. (*J. A. S. B.*, XVI. 710.) Marco, however, seems to be speaking of *domestic* cattle. Some of the breeds of Upper India are very tall and noble animals, far surpassing in height any European oxen known to me; but in modern times these are rarely seen in Bengal, where the cattle are poor and stunted. The *Ain Akbari*, however, speaks of Sharfábád in Bengal, which appears to have corresponded to modern Bardwán, as producing very beautiful white oxen, of great size, and capable of carrying a load of 15 *mans*, which at Prinsep's estimate of Akbar's *man* would be about 600 lbs.

CHAPTER LVI.

DISCOURSES OF THE PROVINCE OF CAUGIGU.

CAUGIGU is a province towards the east, which has a king.¹ The people are Idolaters, and have a language of their own. They have made their submission to the Great Kaan, and send him tribute every year. And let me tell you their king is so given to luxury that he hath at the least 300 wives; for whenever he hears of any beautiful woman in the land, he takes and marries her.

They find in this country a good deal of gold, and they also have great abundance of spices. But they

are such a long way from the sea that the products are of little value, and thus their price is low. They have elephants in great numbers, and other cattle of sundry kinds, and plenty of game. They live on flesh and milk and rice, and have wine made of rice and good spices. The whole of the people, or nearly so, have their skin marked with the needle in patterns representing lions, dragons, birds, and what not, done in such a way that it can never be obliterated. This work they cause to be wrought over face and neck and chest, arms and hands, and belly, and, in short, the whole body; and they look on it as a token of elegance, so that those who have the largest amount of this embroidery are regarded with the greatest admiration.

NOTE 1.—No province mentioned by Marco has given rise to wider and wilder conjectures than this, *Caugigu* as it has been generally printed.

M. Pauthier, who sees in it Laos, or rather one of the states of Laos called in the Chinese histories *Papesifu*, seems to have formed the most probable opinion hitherto propounded by any editor of Polo. I have no doubt that Laos or some part of that region is meant to be *described*, and that Pauthier is right regarding the general direction of the course here taken as being through the regions east of Burma, in a north-easterly direction up into Kwei-chau. But we shall be able to review the geography of this tract better, as a whole, at a point more advanced. I shall then speak of the name CAUGIGU, and why I prefer this reading of it.

I do not believe, for reasons which will also appear further on, that Polo is now following a route which he had traced in person, unless it be in the latter part of it.

M. Pauthier, from certain indications in a Chinese work, fixes on Chiangmai or Kiang-mai, the Zimmé of the Burmese (in about latitude 18° 48' and long. 99° 30') as the capital of the Papesifu and of the Caugigu of our text. It can scarcely however be the latter, unless we throw over entirely all the intervals stated in Polo's itinerary; and M. Garnier informs me that he has evidence that the capital of the Papesifu at this time was *Muang-Yong*, a little to the south-east of Kiang-Tung, where he has seen its ruins.* That the people called by the Chinese Papesifu were of the great race of Laotians, Sháns, or *Thai*, is very certain, from the vocabulary of their language published by Klaproth.

Pauthier's Chinese authority gives a puerile interpretation of *Papesifu* as signifying "the kingdom of the 800 wives," and says it was called so because the Prince maintained that establishment. This may be an indication that there were popular

* Indeed documents in Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta* show that the *Papé* state was also called *Muang-Yong* (pp. 364-365). I observe that the river running to the east of Pu-eul and Ssemao (Puer and Esmok) is called *Papien-Kiang*, the name of which is perhaps a memorial of the *Papé*.

[The old Laocian kingdom of *Xieng-mai* [Kiang-mai], called *Muang-Yong* by the Pa-y, was inhabited by the *Pa-pe Si-fu* or *Bát-bá T'ác-phu*; the inhabitants called themselves *Thái-nai* or great *Thai*. (*Devéria, Frontière*, p. 100.) Ch. ix. of the Chinese work *Sze-i-kuan-kao* is devoted to *Xieng-mai Pa-pe*, which includes the subdivisions of Laos, *Xieng Hung* [Kiang Hung] and *Muang-Ken*. (*Devéria, Mèl. de Harlez*, p. 97.)—H. C.]

ເພື່ອງທຍໆຊຸຍໄຂໄພຕາຕຍນາວິນິດສຸຍມຫວັສເອ
ສຸຍນຫວັສເອວິສານນາຖາຍອເສນຂັນໜັງສຸໜັບ

ໄຂໄພ

ເອວິສຸພພິວາລຸບານທັບຂັວາທພິໄສຍິນ

ເອວິສຸພພິວາໄສຂັນໜັງຂັວາທພິເພັງໄຂທລອາ

ເບວິສິນເພືອນເສວັດພອຍານິເສວາຊາວ

Script Per-44

stories about the numerous wives of the King of Laos, such as Polo had heard ; but the interpretation is doubtless rubbish, like most of the so-called etymologies of proper names applied by the Chinese to foreign regions. At best these seem to be merely a kind of *Memoria Technica*, and often probably bear no more relation to the name in its real meaning than Swift's *All-eggs-under-the-grate* bears to Alexander Magnus. How such "etymologies" arise is obvious from the nature of the Chinese system of writing. If we also had to express proper names by combining monosyllabic words already existing in English, we should in fact be obliged to write the name of the Macedonian hero much as Swift travestied it. As an example we may give the Chinese name of Java, *Kwawa*, which signifies "gourd-sound," and was given to that Island, we are told, because the voice of its inhabitants is very like that of a dry gourd rolled upon the ground ! It is usually stated that Tungking was called *Kiao-chi*, meaning "crossed-toes," because the people often exhibit that malformation (which is a fact), but we may be certain that the syllables were originally a phonetic representation of an indigenous name which has no such meaning. As another example, less ridiculous but not more true, *Chin-tan*, representing the Indian name of China, *Chinasthāna*, is explained to mean "Eastern - Dawn" (*Aurora Orientale*). (*Amyot*, XIV. 101 ; *Klapr. Mém.* III. 268.)

The states of Laos are shut out from the sea in the manner indicated ; they abound in domestic elephants to an extraordinary extent ; and the people do tattoo themselves in various degrees, most of all (as M. Garnier tells me) about Kiang Hung. The *style* of tattooing which the text describes is quite that of the Burmese, in speaking of whom Polo has omitted to mention the custom : "Every male Burman is tattooed in his boyhood from the middle to his knees ; in fact he has a pair of breeches tattooed on him. The pattern is a fanciful medley of animals and arabesques, but it is scarcely distinguishable, save as a general tint, except on a fair skin." (*Mission to Ava*, 151.)

CHAPTER LVII.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ANIN.

ANIN is a Province towards the east, the people of which are subject to the Great Kaan, and are Idolaters. They live by cattle and tillage, and have a peculiar language. The women wear on the legs and arms bracelets of gold and silver of great value, and the men wear such as are even yet more costly. They have plenty of horses which they sell in great numbers to the Indians, making a great profit thereby. And they have also vast herds of buffaloes and oxen, having excellent pastures for these. They have likewise all the necessaries of life in abundance.¹

Now you must know that between Anin and Caugigu, which we have left behind us, there is a distance of [25] days' journey ;² and from Caugigu to Bangala, the third province in our rear, is 30 days' journey. We shall now leave Anin and proceed to another province which is some 8 days' journey further, always going eastward.

NOTE 1.—Ramusio, the printed text of the Soc. de Géographie, and most editions have *Amu*; Pauthier reads *Aniu*, and considers the name to represent Tungking or Annam, called also *Nan-yuè*. The latter word he supposes to be converted into *Anyuè*, *Aniu*. And accordingly he carries the traveller to the capital of Tungking.

Leaving the name for the present, according to the scheme of the route as I shall try to explain it below, I should seek for Amu or Aniu or *Anin* in the extreme south-east of Yun-nan. A part of this region was for the first time traversed by the officers of the French expedition up the Mekong, who in 1867 visited Sheu-ping, Lin-ngan and the upper valley of the River of Tungking on their way to Yun-nan-fu. To my question whether the description in the text, of Aniu or Anin and its fine pastures, applied to the tract just indicated, Lieut. Garnier replied on the whole favourably (see further on), proceeding: "The population about Sheu-ping is excessively mixt. On market days at that town one sees a gathering of wild people in great number and variety, and whose costumes are highly picturesque, as well as often very rich. There are the *Pa-is*, who are also found again higher up, the *Ho-nhi*, the *K'hato*, the *Lopé*, the *Shentsen*. These tribes appear to be allied in part to the Laotians, in part to the Kakhyens. . . . The wilder races about Sheuping are remarkably handsome, and you see there types of women exhibiting an extraordinary regularity of feature, and at the same time a complexion surprisingly *white*. The Chinese look quite an inferior race beside them. . . . I may add that all these tribes, especially the *Ho-nhi* and the *Pa-i*, wear large amounts of silver ornament; great collars of silver round the neck, as well as on the legs and arms."

Though the *whiteness* of the people of Anin is not noticed by Polo, the distinctive manner in which he speaks in the next chapter of the *dark* complexion of the tribes described therein seems to indicate the probable omission of the opposite trait here.

The prominent position assigned in M. Garnier's remarks to a race called *Ho-nhi* first suggested to me that the reading of the text might be ANIN instead of *Aniu*. And as a matter of fact this seems to my eyes to be clearly the reading of the Paris *Livre des Merveilles* (Pauthier's MS. B), while the Paris No. 5631 (Pauthier's A) has *Anin*, and what may be either *Aniu* or *Anin*. *Anyn* is also found in the Latin Brandenburg MS. of Pipino's version collated by Andrew Müller, to which, however, we cannot ascribe much weight. But the two words are so nearly identical in mediæval writing, and so little likely to be discriminated by scribes who had nothing to guide their discrimination, that one need not hesitate to adopt that which is supported by argument. In reference to the suggested identity of *Anin* and *Ho-nhi*, M. Garnier writes again: "All that Polo has said regarding the country of Aniu, though not containing anything *very* characteristic, may apply perfectly to the different indigenous tribes, at present subject to the Chinese, which are dispersed over the country from Talan to Sheuping and Lin-ngan. These tribes bearing the names (given above) relate that they in other days formed an independent state, to which they give the name of *Muang Shung*. Where this Muang was situated there is no knowing. These tribes have *langage par euls*, as Marco Polo says, and silver ornaments are worn by them to this day in extraordinary profusion; more, however, by the women than the men. They have plenty of horses, buffaloes and



Honhi and other Tribes in the Department of Lin-ngan in S. Yun-nan (supposed to be the Anin country of Marco Polo). (From Garnier's Work)

oxen, and of sheep as well. It was the first locality in which the latter were seen. The plateau of Lin-ngan affords pasture-grounds which are exceptionally good for that part of the world.

“Beyond Lin-ngan we find the Ho-nhi, properly so called, no longer. But ought one to lay much stress on mere names which have undergone so many changes, and of which so many have been borne in succession by all those places and peoples? . . . I will content myself with reminding you that the town of *Homi-cheu* near Lin-ngan in the days of the Yuen bore the name of *Ngo-ning*.”

Notwithstanding M. Garnier's caution, I am strongly inclined to believe that ANIN represents either HO-NHI or NGO-NING, if indeed these names be not identical. For on reference to Biot I see that the first syllable of the modern name of the town which M. Garnier writes *HOMI*, is expressed by the same character as the first syllable of *NGONING*.

[The *Wo-nhi* are also called *Ngo-ni*, *Kan-ni*, *Ho-ni*, *Lou-mi*, *No-pi*, *Ko-ni* and *Wa-heh*; they descend from the southern barbarians called *Ho-nhi*. At the time of the kingdom of *Nan-Chao*, the *Ho-nhi*, called *In-yuen*, tribes were a dependence of the *Kiang* (*Xieng*) of *Wei-yuen* (Prefecture of *P'u-erh*). They are now to be found in the Yunnanese prefectures of *Lin-ngan*, *King-tung*, *Chen-yuen*, *Yuen-kiang* and *Yun-nan*. (See *Deveria*, p. 135.)—H. C.]

We give one of M. Garnier's woodcuts representing some of the races in this vicinity. Their dress, as he notices, has, in some cases, a curious resemblance to costumes of Switzerland, or of Brittany, popular at fancy balls.* Coloured figures of some of these races will be found in the Atlas to Garnier's work; see especially Plate 35.

NOTE 2.—All the French MSS. and other texts except Ramusio's read 15. We adopt Ramusio's reading, 25, for reasons which will appear below.

CHAPTER LVIII.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF COLOMAN.

COLOMAN is a province towards the east, the people of which are Idolaters and have a peculiar language, and are subject to the Great Kaan. They are a [tall and] very handsome people, though in complexion brown rather than white, and are good soldiers.¹ They have a good many towns, and a vast number of villages, among great mountains, and in strong positions.²

When any of them die, the bodies are burnt, and then they take the bones and put them in little chests.

* There is a little uncertainty in the adjustment of names and figures of some of these tribes, between the illustrations and the incidental notices in Lieutenant Garnier's work. But all the figures in the present cut certainly belong to the tract to which we point as Anin; and the two middle figures answer best to what is said of the *Ho-nhi*.

These are carried high up the mountains, and placed in great caverns, where they are hung up in such wise that neither man nor beast can come at them.

A good deal of gold is found in the country, and for petty traffic they use porcelain shells such as I have told you of before. All these provinces that I have been speaking of, to wit Bangala and Caugigu and Anin, employ for currency porcelain shells and gold. There are merchants in this country who are very rich and dispose of large quantities of goods. The people live on flesh and rice and milk, and brew their wine from rice and excellent spices.

NOTE I.—The only MSS. that afford the reading *Coloman* or *Choloman* instead of *Toloman* or *Tholoman*, are the Bern MS., which has *Coloman* in the initial word of the chapter, Paris MS. 5649 (Pauthier's C) which has *Coloman* in the Table of Chapters, but not in the text, the Bodleian, and the Brandenburg MS. quoted in the last note. These variations in themselves have little weight. But the confusion between *c* and *t* in mediæval MSS., when dealing with strange names, is so constant that I have ventured to make the correction, in strong conviction that it is the right reading. M. Pauthier indeed, after speaking of tribes called *Lo* on the south-west of China, adds, "on les nommait *To-lo-man* ('les nombreux Barbares Lo')." Were this latter statement founded on actual evidence we might retain that form which is the usual reading. But I apprehend from the manner in which M. Pauthier produces it, without corroborative quotation, that he is rather hazarding a conjecture than speaking with authority. Be that as it may, it is impossible that Polo's *Toloman* or *Coloman* should have been in the south of Kwangsi, where Pauthier locates it.

On the other hand, we find tribes of both *Kolo* and *Kihlau* Barbarians (*i.e.* *Mán*, whence *KOLO-MÁN* or *Kihlau-mán*) very numerous on the frontier of Kweichau. (See *Bridgman's transl. of Tract on Meautsze*, pp. 265, 269, 270, 272, 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 280.) Among these the *Kolo*, described as No. 38 in that Tract, appear to me from various particulars to be the most probable representatives of the *Coloman* of Polo, notwithstanding the sentence with which the description opens: "*Kolo* originally called *Luluh*; the modern designation *Kolo* is incorrect."* They are at present found in the prefecture of Tating (one of the departments of Kweichau towards the Yun-nan side). "They are tall, of a dark complexion, with sunken eyes, aquiline nose, wear long whiskers, and have the beard shaved off above the mouth. They pay great deference to demons, and on that account are sometimes called 'Dragons of Lo.' . . . At the present time these *Kolo* are divided into 48 clans, the elders of which are called Chieftains (lit. 'Head-and-Eyes') and are of nine grades. . . . The men bind their hair into a tuft with blue cloth and make it fast on the forehead like a horn. Their upper dresses are short, with large sleeves, and their lower garments are fine blue. When one of the chieftains dies, all that were under him are assembled together clad in armour and on horseback. Having dressed his corpse in silk and woollen robes, they burn it in the open country; then, invoking the departed spirit, they inter the

* On the other hand, M. Garnier writes: "I do not know any name at all like *Kolo*, except *Lolo*, the generic name given by the Chinese to the wild tribes of Yun-nan." Does not it look as if *Kolo* were really the old name, *Luluh* or *Lolo* the later?

ashes. Their attachment to him as their sole master is such that nothing can drive or tempt them from their allegiance. Their large bows, long spears, and sharp swords, are strong and well-wrought. They train excellent horses, love archery and hunting; and so expert are they in tactics that *their soldiers rank as the best among all the uncivilized tribes*. There is this proverb: 'The Lo Dragons of Shwui-si rap the head and strike the tail,' which is intended to indicate their celerity in defence." (*Bridgman*, pp. 272-273.)

The character *Lo*, here applied in the Chinese Tract to these people, is the same as that in the name of the Kwangsi *Lo* of M. Pauthier.

I append a cut (opposite page) from the drawing representing these Kolo-man in the original work from which Bridgman translated, and which is in the possession of Dr. Lockhart.

[I believe we must read *To-lo-man*. *Man*, barbarian, *T'u-lao* or *Shan-tzû* (mountaineers) who live in the Yunnanese prefectures of Lin-ngan, Cheng-kiang, etc. *T'u-la-Man* or *T'u-la* barbarians of the Mongol Annals. (*Yuen-shi lei-pien*, quoted by Devéria, p. 115.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Magaillans, speaking of the semi-independent tribes of Kwei-chau and Kwang-si, says: "Their towns are usually so girt by high mountains and scarpèd rocks that it seems as if nature had taken a pleasure in fortifying them" (p. 43). (See cut at p. 131.)

CHAPTER LIX.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CUIJU.

CUIJU is a province towards the East.¹ After leaving Coloman you travel along a river for 12 days, meeting with a good number of towns and villages, but nothing worthy of particular mention. After you have travelled those twelve days along the river you come to a great and noble city which is called FUNGUL.

The people are Idolaters and subject to the Great Kaan, and live by trade and handicrafts. You must know they manufacture stuffs of the bark of certain trees which form very fine summer clothing.² They are good soldiers, and have paper-money. For you must understand that henceforward we are in the countries where the Great Kaan's paper-money is current.

The country swarms with lions to that degree that no man can venture to sleep outside his house at night.³



The Koloman, after a Chinese drawing.

“Coloman est une province vers levant El sunt mult belles jens et ne sunt mie bien blanches mès bronz. El sunt bien homes d’armes”

Moreover, when you travel on that river, and come to a halt at night, unless you keep a good way from the bank the lions will spring on the boat and snatch one of the crew and make off with him and devour him. And but for a certain help that the inhabitants enjoy, no one could venture to travel in that province, because of the multitude of those lions, and because of their strength and ferocity.

But you see they have in this province a large breed of dogs, so fierce and bold that two of them together will attack a lion.⁴ So every man who goes a journey takes with him a couple of those dogs, and when a lion appears they have at him with the greatest boldness, and the lion turns on them, but can't touch them for they are very deft at eschewing his blows. So they follow him, perpetually giving tongue, and watching their chance to give him a bite in the rump or in the thigh, or wherever they may. The lion makes no reprisal except now and then to turn fiercely on them, and then indeed were he to catch the dogs it would be all over with them, but they take good care that he shall not. So, to escape the dogs' din, the lion makes off, and gets into the wood, where mayhap he stands at bay against a tree to have his rear protected from their annoyance. And when the travellers see the lion in this plight they take to their bows, for they are capital archers, and shoot their arrows at him till he falls dead. And 'tis thus that travellers in those parts do deliver themselves from those lions.

They have a good deal of silk and other products which are carried up and down, by the river of which we spoke, into various quarters.⁵

You travel along the river for twelve days more, finding a good many towns all along, and the people always Idolaters, and subject to the Great Kaan, with paper-money current, and living by trade and handicrafts. There are also plenty of fighting men. And after

travelling those twelve days you arrive at the city of Sindafu of which we spoke in this book some time ago.⁶

From Sindafu you set out again and travel some 70 days through the provinces and cities and towns which we have already visited, and all which have been already particularly spoken of in our Book. At the end of those 70 days you come to Juju where we were before.⁷

From Juju you set out again and travel four days towards the south, finding many towns and villages. The people are great traders and craftsmen, are all Idolaters, and use the paper-money of the Great Kaan their Sovereign. At the end of those four days you come to the city of Cacanfu belonging to the province of Cathay, and of it I shall now speak.

NOTE 1.—In spite of difficulties which beset the subject (see Note 6 below) the view of Pauthier, suggested doubtfully by Marsden, that the Cuiju of the text is KWEI-CHAU, seems the most probable one. As the latter observes, the reappearance of paper money shows that we have got back into a province of China Proper. Such, Yun-nan, recently conquered from a Shan prince, could not be considered. But, according to the best view we can form, the traveller could only have passed through the extreme west of the province of Kwei-chau.

The name of *Fungul*, if that be a true reading, is suggestive of *Phungan*, which under the Mongols was the head of a district called PHUNGAN-LU. It was founded by that dynasty, and was regarded as an important position for the command of the three provinces Kwei-chau, Kwang-si, and Yun-nan. (*Biot*, p. 168; *Martini*, p. 137.) But we shall explain presently the serious difficulties that beset the interpretation of the itinerary as it stands.

NOTE 2.—Several Chinese plants afford a fibre from the bark, and some of these are manufactured into what we call *grass-cloths*. The light smooth textures so called are termed by the Chinese *Hiapu* or "summer cloths." Kwei-chau produces such. But perhaps that specially intended is a species of hemp (*Urtica Nivea?*) of which M. Perny of the R. C. Missions says, in his notes on Kwei-chau: "It affords a texture which may be compared to *batiste*. This has the notable property of keeping so cool that many people cannot wear it even in the hot weather. Generally it is used only for summer clothing." (*Dict. des Tissus*, VII. 404; *Chin. Repos.* XVIII. 217 and 529; *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, XXXI. 137.)

NOTE 3.—Tigers of course are meant. (See *supra*, vol. i. p. 399.) M. Perny speaks of tigers in the mountainous parts of Kwei-chau. (*Op. cit.* 139.)

NOTE 4.—These great dogs were noticed by Lieutenant (now General) Macleod, in his journey to Kiang Hung on the great River Mekong, as accompanying the caravans of Chinese traders on their way to the Siamese territory. (See *Macleod's Journal*, p. 66.)

NOTE 5.—The trade in wild silk (*i.e.* from the oak-leaf silkworm) is in truth an important branch of commerce in Kwei-chau. But the chief seat of this is at Tsuni-fu, and I do not think that Polo's route can be sought so far to the eastward. (*Ann. de la Prop.* XXXI. 136; *Richthofen*, Letter VII. 81.)

NOTE 6.—We have now got back to Sindafu, *i.e.* Ch'êng-tu fu in Sze-ch'wan, and are better able to review the geography of the track we have been following. I do not find it possible to solve all its difficulties.

The different provinces treated of in the chapters from lv. to lix. are strung by Marco upon an easterly, or, as we must interpret, *north-easterly* line of travel, real or hypothetical. Their names and intervals are as follows: (1) Bangala; whence 30 marches to (2) Caugigu; 25 marches to (3) Anin; 8 marches to (4) Toloman or Coloman; 12 days in Cuiju along a river to the city of (5) Fungul, Sinugul (or what not); 12 days further, on or along the same river, to (6) Ch'êng-tu fu. Total from Bangala to Ch'êng-tu fu 87 days.

I have said that the line of travel is real or hypothetical, for no doubt a large part of it was only founded on hearsay. We last left our traveller at Mien, or on the frontier of Yun-nan and Mien. *Bangala* is reached *per saltum* with no indication of interval, and its position is entirely misapprehended. Marco conceives of it, not as in India, but as being, like Mien, a province *on the confines* of India, as being under the same king as Mien, as lying to the south of that kingdom, and as being at the (south) western extremity of a great traverse line which runs (north) east into Kwei-chau and Sze-ch'wan. All these conditions point consistently to one locality; that, however, is not Bengal but *Pegu*. On the other hand, the circumstances of manners and products, so far as they go, *do* belong to Bengal. I conceive that Polo's information regarding these was derived from persons who had really visited Bengal by sea, but that he had confounded what he so heard of the Delta of the Ganges with what he heard on the Yun-nan frontier of the Delta of the Irawadi. It is just the same kind of error that is made about those great Eastern Rivers by Fra Mauro in his Map. And possibly the name of Pegu (in Burmese *Bagóh*) may have contributed to his error, as well as the probable fact that the Kings of Burma did at this time *claim* to be Kings of Bengal, whilst they actually *were* Kings of Pegu.

Caugigu.—We have seen reason to agree with M. Pauthier that the description of this region points to Laos, though we cannot with him assign it to Kiang-mai. Even if it be identical with the Papesifu of the Chinese, we have seen that the centre of that state may be placed at Muang Yong not far from the Mekong; whilst I believe that the limits of Caugigu must be drawn much nearer the Chinese and Tungking territory, so as to embrace Kiang Hung, and probably the *Papien* River. (See note at p. 117.)

As regards the name, it is *possible* that it may represent some specific name of the Upper Laos territory. But I am inclined to believe that we are dealing with a case of erroneous geographical perspective like that of Bangala; and that whilst the *circumstances* belong to Upper Laos, the *name*, read as I read it, *Caugigu* (or *Cavgigu*), is no other than the *Kafchikie* of Rashiduddin, the name applied by him to Tungking, and representing the KIAOCHI-KWÉ of the Chinese. D'Anville's Atlas brings Kiao-chi up to the Mekong in immediate contact with Che-li or Kiang Hung. I had come to the conclusion that Caugigu was *probably* the correct reading before I was aware that it is an *actual* reading of the Geog. Text more than once, of Pauthier's A more than once, of Pauthier's C *at least* once and possibly twice, and of the Bern MS.; all which I have ascertained from personal examination of those manuscripts.*

Anin or *Aniu*.—I have already pointed out that I seek this in the territory about Lin-ngan and Homi. In relation to this M. Garnier writes: "In starting from Muang Yong, or even if you prefer it, from Xieng Hung (Kiang Hung of our maps), . . . it would be physically impossible in 25 days to get beyond the arc

* A passing suggestion of the identity of Kafchi Kué and Caugigu is made by D'Ohsson, and I formerly objected. (See *Cathay*, p. 272.)

which I have laid down on your map (viz. extending a few miles north-east of Homi). There are scarcely any roads in those mountains, and easy lines of communication begin only *after* you have got to the Lin-ngan territory. In Marco Polo's days things were certainly not better, but the reverse. All that has been done of consequence in the way of roads, posts, and organisation in the part of Yun-nan between Lin-ngan and Xieng Hung, dates in some degree from the Yuen, but in a far greater degree from K'ang-hi." Hence, even with the Ramusian reading of the itinerary, we cannot place *Anin* much beyond the position indicated already.

ᠪ	ᠮ	ᠮ	ᠰ	ᠬ	ᠲ	ᠯ
no .	mo	to	so .	Ko .	to .	lo
ᠪ	ᠬ	ᠰ	ᠴ	ᠲ	ᠫ	ᠶ
lo	Kho	o .	cho .	tho .	pho .	yo
ᠨ	ᠣ	ᠴ	ᠬ	ᠫ	ᠮ	ᠬ
ngo	vo .	cho .	Ko .	Pho .	mo .	cho
ᠨ	ᠶ	ᠶ	ᠮ	ᠬ	ᠬ	ᠲ
no .	yo .	vo .	vo	po	Kho	to
ᠰ	ᠶ	ᠰ	ᠬ	ᠬ	ᠮ	ᠬ
so .	yo	o .	ho	khô .	nô .	na

Script *thai* of Xieng-hung.

Koloman.—We have seen that the position of this region is probably near the western frontier of Kwei-chau. Adhering to *Homi* as the representative of *Anin*, and to the 8 days' journey of the text, the most probable position of *Koloman* would be about *Lo-ping*, which lies about 100 English miles in a straight line north-east from *Homi*. The first character of the name here is again the same as the *Lo* of the *Kolo* tribes.

Beyond this point the difficulties of devising an interpretation, consistent at once with facts and with the text as it stands, become insuperable.

The narrative demands that from *Koloman* we should reach *Fungul*, a great and noble city, by travelling 12 days along a river, and that *Fungul* should be within twelve days' journey of *Ch'eng-tu fu*, along the same river, or at least along rivers connected with it.

In advancing from the south-west guided by the data afforded by the texts, we have not been able to carry the position of *Fungul* (*Sinugul*, or what not of G. T. and other MSS.) further north than *Phungan*. But it is impossible that *Ch'eng-tu fu* should have been reached in 12 days from this point. Nor is it possible that a new post in a secluded position, like *Phungan*, could have merited to be described as "a great and noble city."

Baron v. Richthofen has favoured me with a note in which he shows that in reality the only place answering the more essential conditions of *Fungul* is *Siu-chau fu* at the union of the two great branches of the *Yang-tzü*, viz. the *Kin-sha Kiang*, and

the Min-Kiang from Ch'êng-tu fu. (1) The distance from Siu-chau to Ch'êng-tu by land travelling is just about 12 days, and the road is along a river. (2) In approaching "Fungul" from the south Polo met with a good many towns and villages. This would be the case along either of the navigable rivers that join the Yang-tzû below Siu-chau (or along that which joins above Siu-chau, mentioned further on). (3) The large trade in silk up and down the river is a characteristic that could only apply to the Yang-tzû.

These reasons are very strong; though some little doubt must subsist until we can explain the name (Fungul, or Sinugul) as applicable to Siu-chau.* And assuming Siu-chau to be the city we must needs carry the position of *Coloman* considerably further north than Lo-ping, and must presume the interval between *Anin* and *Coloman* to be greatly understated, through clerical or other error. With these assumptions we should place Polo's *Coloman* in the vicinity of Wei-ning, one of the localities of Kolo tribes.

From a position near Wei-ning it would be quite possible to reach Siu-chau in 12 days, making use of the facilities afforded by one or other of the partially navigable rivers to which allusion has just been made.

"That one," says M. Garnier in a letter, "which enters the Kiang a little above Siu-chau-fu, the River of *Lowatong*, which was descended by our party, has a branch to the eastward which is navigable up to about the latitude of *Chaotong*. Is not this probably Marco Polo's route? It is to this day a line much frequented, and one on which great works have been executed; among others two iron suspension bridges, works truly gigantic for the country in which we find them."



Iron Suspension Bridge at Lowatong. (From Garnier.)

An extract from a Chinese

Itinerary of this route, which M. Garnier has since communicated to me, shows that at a point 4 days from Wei-ning the traveller may embark and continue his voyage to any point on the great Kiang.

We are obliged, indeed, to give up the attempt to keep to a line of communicating rivers throughout the whole 24 days. Nor do I see how it is possible to adhere to that condition literally without taking more material liberties with the text.

* Cuiju might be read *Ciuju*—representing *Siu-chau*, but the difficulty about Fungul would remain.



[To face p. 131, vol. ii.]

My theory of Polo's actual journey would be that he returned from Yun-nan fu to Ch'êng-tu fu through some part of the province of Kwei-chau, perhaps only its western extremity, but that he spoke of Caugigu, and probably of Anin, as he did of Bangala, from report only. And, in recapitulation, I would identify provisionally the localities spoken of in this difficult itinerary as follows: *Caugigu* with Kiang Hung; *Anin* with Homi; *Coloman* with the country about Wei-ning in Western Kwei-chau; *Fungul* or Sinugul with Siu-chau.

[This itinerary is difficult, as Sir Henry Yule says. It takes Marco Polo 24 days to go from Coloman or Toloman to Ch'êng-tu. The land route is 22 days from Yun-nan fu to Swi-fu, *via* Tung-ch'wan and Chao-t'ung. (*J. China B. R. A. S.* XXVIII. 74-75.) From the Toloman province, which I place about Lin-ngan and Cheng-kiang, south of Yun-nan fu, Polo must have passed a second time through this city, which is indeed at the end of all the routes of this part of South-Western China. He might go back to Sze-ch'wan by the western route, *via* Tung-ch'wan and Chao-t'ung to Swi-fu, or, by the eastern, easier and shorter route by Siucn-wei chau, crossing a corner of the Kwei-chau province (Wei-ning), and passing by Yun-ning hien to the Kiang; this is the route followed by Mr. A. Hosié in 1883 and by Mr. F. S. A. Bourne in 1885, and with great likelihood by Marco Polo; he may have taken the Yun-ning River to the district city of Na-ch'i hien, which lies on the right bank both of this river and of the Kiang; the Kiang up to Swi-fu and thence to Ch'êng-tu. I do not attempt to explain the difficulty about Fungul.

I fully agree with Sir H. Yule when he says that Polo spoke of Caugigu and of Bangala, probably of Anin, from report only. However, I believe that Caugigu is the *Kiao-Chi kwé* of the Chinese, that *Anin* must be read *Aniu*, that *Aniu* is but a transcription of *Nan-yué*, that both *Nan-yué* and *Kiao-Chi* represent Northern Annam, *i.e.* the portion of Annam which we call Tung-king. Regarding the tattooed inhabitants of Caugigu, let it be remembered that tattooing existed in Annam till it was prohibited by the Chinese during the occupation of Tung-king at the beginning of the 15th century.—H. C.]

NOTE 7.—Here the traveller gets back to the road-bifurcation near Juju, *i.e.* Chochau (*ante* p. 11), and thence commences to travel southward.



Fortified Villages on Western frontier of Kweichau. (From Garnier.)

"Chastiaux ont-il grant quantité en grandismes montagnes et fortres."

BOOK II.—*Continued.*

PART III.—JOURNEY SOUTHWARD THROUGH EASTERN PROVINCES OF CATHAY AND MANZI.

CHAPTER LX.

CONCERNING THE CITIES OF CACANFU AND OF CHANGLU.

CACANFU is a noble city. The people are Idolaters and burn their dead; they have paper-money, and live by trade and handicrafts. For they have plenty of silk from which they weave stuffs of silk and gold, and sendals in large quantities. [There are also certain Christians at this place, who have a church.] And the city is at the head of an important territory containing numerous towns and villages. [A great river passes through it, on which much merchandise is carried to the city of Cambaluc, for by many channels and canals it is connected therewith.¹]

We will now set forth again, and travel three days towards the south, and then we come to a town called CHANGLU. This is another great city belonging to the Great Kaan, and to the province of Cathay. The people have paper-money, and are Idolaters and burn their

dead. And you must know they make salt in great quantities at this place ; I will tell you how 'tis done.²

A kind of earth is found there which is exceedingly salt. This they dig up and pile in great heaps. Upon these heaps they pour water in quantities till it runs out at the bottom ; and then they take up this water and boil it well in great iron cauldrons, and as it cools it deposits a fine white salt in very small grains. This salt they then carry about for sale to many neighbouring districts, and get great profit thereby.

There is nothing else worth mentioning, so let us go forward five days' journey, and we shall come to a city called Chinangli.

NOTE 1.—In the greater part of the journey which occupies the remainder of Book II., Pauthier is a chief authority, owing to his industrious Chinese reading and citation. Most of his identifications seem well founded, though sometimes we shall be constrained to dissent from them widely. A considerable number have been anticipated by former editors, but even in such cases he is often able to bring forward new grounds.

CACANFU is HO-KIEN FU in Pe Chih-li, 52 miles in a direct line south by east of Chochau. It was the head of one of the *Lu* or circuits into which the Mongols divided China. (*Pauthier*.)

NOTE 2.—Marsden and Murray have identified Changlu with T'SANG-CHAU in Pe Chih-li, about 30 miles east by south of Ho-kien fu. This seems substantially right, but Pauthier shows that there was an old town actually called CH'ANGLU, separated from T'sang-chau only by the great canal. [Ch'ang-lu was the name of T'sang-chau under the T'ang and the Kin. (See *Playfair, Dict.*, p. 34.)—H. C.]

The manner of obtaining salt, described in the text, is substantially the same as one described by Duhalde, and by one of the missionaries, as being employed near the mouth of the Yang-tzu kiang. There is a town of the third order some miles south-east of T'sang-chau, called *Yen-shan* or "salt-hill," and, according to Pauthier, T'sang-chau is the mart for salt produced there. (*Duhalde in Astley*, IV. 310; *Lettres Edif.* XI. 267 *seqq.*; *Biot*, p. 283.)

Polo here introduces a remark about the practice of burning the dead, which, with the notice of the idolatry of the people, and their use of paper-money, constitutes a formula which he repeats all through the Chinese provinces with wearisome iteration. It is, in fact, his definition of the Chinese people, for whom he seems to lack a comprehensive name.

A great change seems to have come over Chinese custom, since the Middle Ages, in regard to the disposal of the dead. Cremation is now entirely disused, except in two cases ; one, that of the obsequies of a Buddhist priest, and the other that in which the coffin instead of being buried has been exposed in the fields, and in the lapse of time has become decayed. But it is impossible to reject the evidence that it was a common practice in Polo's age. He repeats the assertion that it was *the* custom at every stage of his journey through Eastern China ; though perhaps his taking absolutely no notice of the practice of burial is an instance of that imperfect knowledge of strictly Chinese peculiarities which has been elsewhere ascribed to him. It is the

case, however, that the author of the Book of the Estate of the Great Kaan (*circa* 1330) also speaks of cremation as the usual Chinese practice, and that Ibn Batuta says positively: "The Chinese are infidels and idolaters, and they burn their dead after the manner of the Hindus." This is all the more curious, because the Arab *Relations* of the 9th century say distinctly that the Chinese bury their dead, though they often kept the body long (as they do still) before burial; and there is no mistaking the description which Conti (15th century) gives of the Chinese mode of sepulture. Mendoza, in the 16th century, alludes to no disposal of the dead except by burial, but Semedo in the early part of the 17th says that bodies were occasionally burnt, especially in Sze-ch'wan.

I am greatly indebted to the kindness of an eminent Chinese scholar, Mr. W. F. Mayers, of Her Majesty's Legation at Peking, who, in a letter, dated Peking, 18th September, 1874, sends me the following memorandum on the subject:—

"Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, II. 97 [First Edition], *Burning of the Dead*.

"On this subject compare the article entitled *Huo Tsang*, or 'Cremation Burials,' in Bk. XV of the *Jih Che Luh*, or 'Daily Jottings,' a great collection of miscellaneous notes on classical, historical, and antiquarian subjects, by Ku Yen-wu, a celebrated author of the 17th century. The article is as follows:—

"The practice of burning the dead flourished (or flourishes) most extensively in Kiang-nan, and was in vogue already in the period of the Sung Dynasty. According to the history of the Sung Dynasty, in the 27th year of the reign Shao-hing (A.D. 1157), the practice was animadverted upon by a public official.' Here follows a long extract, in which the burning of the dead is reprehended, and it is stated that cemeteries were set apart by Government on behalf of the poorer classes.

"In A.D. 1261, Hwang Chên, governor of the district of Wu, in a memorial praying that the erection of cremation furnaces might thenceforth be prohibited, dwelt upon the impropriety of burning the remains of the deceased, for whose obsequies a multitude of observances were prescribed by the religious rites. He further exposed the fallacy of the excuse alleged for the practice, to wit, that burning the dead was a fulfilment of the precepts of Buddha, and accused the priests of a certain monastery of converting into a source of illicit gain the practice of cremation."

[As an illustration of the cremation of a Buddhist priest, I note the following passage from an article published in the *North-China Herald*, 20th May, 1887, p. 556, on Kwei Hua Ch'eng, Mongolia: "Several Lamas are on visiting terms with me and they are very friendly. There are seven large and eight small Lamaseries, in care of from ten to two hundred Lamas. The principal Lamas at death are cremated. A short time ago, a friendly Lama took me to see a cremation. The furnace was roughly made of mud bricks, with four fire-holes at the base, with an opening in which to place the body. The whole was about 6 feet high, and about 5 feet in circumference. Greased fuel was arranged within and covered with glazed foreign calico, on which were written some Tibetan characters. A tent was erected and mats arranged for the Lamas. About 11.30 A.M. a scarlet covered bier appeared in sight carried by thirty-two beggars. A box 2 feet square and 2½ feet high was taken out and placed near the furnace. The Lamas arrived and attired themselves in gorgeous robes and sat cross-legged. During the preparations to chant, some butter was being melted in a corner of the tent. A screen of calico was drawn round the furnace in which the cremator placed the body, and filled up the opening. Then a dozen Lamas began chanting the burial litany in Tibetan in deep bass voices. Then the head priest blessed the torches and when the fires were lit he blessed a fan to fan the flames, and lastly some melted butter, which was poured in at the top to make the whole blaze. This was frequently repeated. When fairly ablaze, a few pieces of Tibetan grass were thrown in at the top. After three days the whole cooled, and a priest with one gold and one silver chopstick collects the bones, which are placed in a bag for burial. If the bones are white it is a sign that his sin is purged, if black that perfection has not been attained."—H. C.]

And it is very worthy of note that the Chinese envoy to Chinla (Kamboja) in 1295,

an individual who may have personally known Marco Polo, in speaking of the custom prevalent there of exposing the dead, adds: "There are some, however, who burn their dead. *These are all descendants of Chinese immigrants.*"

[Professor J. J. M. de Groot remarks that "being of religious origin, cremation is mostly denoted in China by clerical terms, expressive of the metamorphosis the funeral pyre is intended to effect, viz. 'transformation of man'; 'transformation of the body'; 'metamorphosis by fire.' Without the clerical sphere it bears no such high-sounding names, being simply called 'incineration of corpses.' A term of illogical composition, and nevertheless very common in the books, is 'fire burial.'" It appears that during the Sung Dynasty cremation was especially common in the provinces of Shan-si, Cheh-kiang, and Kiang-su. During the Mongol Dynasty, the instances of cremation which are mentioned in Chinese books are, relatively speaking, numerous. Professor de Groot says also that "there exists evidence that during the Mongol domination cremation also thrived in Fuhkien." (*Religious System of China*, vol. iii. pp. 1391, 1409, 1410.) —II. C.]

(*Doolittle*, 190; *Dequignes*, I. 69; *Cathay*, pp. 247, 479; *Reinaud*, I. 56; *India in the XVth Century*, p. 23; *Semedo*, p. 95; *Rém. Mém. Asiat.* I. 128.)

CHAPTER LXI.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF CHINANGLI, AND THAT OF TADINFU, AND THE REBELLION OF LITAN.

CHINANGLI is a city of Cathay as you go south, and it belongs to the Great Kaan; the people are Idolaters, and have paper-money. There runs through the city a great and wide river, on which a large traffic in silk goods and spices and other costly merchandize passes up and down.

When you travel south from Chinangli for five days, you meet everywhere with fine towns and villages, the people of which are all Idolaters, and burn their dead, and are subject to the Great Kaan, and have paper-money, and live by trade and handicrafts, and have all the necessaries of life in great abundance. But there is nothing particular to mention on the way till you come, at the end of those five days, to TADINFU.¹

This, you must know, is a very great city, and in old times was the seat of a great kingdom; but the Great Kaan conquered it by force of arms. Nevertheless it is

still the noblest city in all those provinces. There are very great merchants here, who trade on a great scale, and the abundance of silk is something marvellous. They have, moreover, most charming gardens abounding with fruit of large size. The city of Tadinfu hath also under its rule eleven imperial cities of great importance, all of which enjoy a large and profitable trade, owing to that immense produce of silk.²

Now, you must know, that in the year of Christ, 1273, the Great Kaan had sent a certain Baron called LIYTAN SANGON,³ with some 80,000 horse, to this province and city, to garrison them. And after the said captain had tarried there a while, he formed a disloyal and traitorous plot, and stirred up the great men of the province to rebel against the Great Kaan. And so they did; for they broke into revolt against their sovereign lord, and refused all obedience to him, and made this Liytan, whom their sovereign had sent thither for their protection, to be the chief of their revolt.

When the Great Kaan heard thereof he straightway despatched two of his Barons, one of whom was called AGUIL and the other MONGOTAY;⁴ giving them 100,000 horse and a great force of infantry. But the affair was a serious one, for the Barons were met by the rebel Liytan with all those whom he had collected from the province, mustering more than 100,000 horse and a large force of foot. Nevertheless in the battle Liytan and his party were utterly routed, and the two Barons whom the Emperor had sent won the victory. When the news came to the Great Kaan he was right well pleased, and ordered that all the chiefs who had rebelled, or excited others to rebel, should be put to a cruel death, but that those of lower rank should receive a pardon. And so it was done. The two Barons had all the leaders of the enterprise put to a cruel death, and all those of lower

rank were pardoned. And thenceforward they conducted themselves with loyalty towards their lord.⁵

Now having told you all about this affair, let us have done with it, and I will tell you of another place that you come to in going south, which is called SINJU-MATU.

NOTE 1.—There seems to be no solution to the difficulties attaching to the account of these two cities (Chinangli and Tadinfu) except that the two have been confounded, either by a lapse of memory on the traveller's part or by a misunderstanding on that of Rusticiano.

The position and name of CHINANGLI point, as Pauthier has shown, to T'SI-NAN FU, the chief city of Shan-tung. The second city is called in the G. Text and Pauthier's MSS. *Candinfu*, *Condinfu*, and *Cundinfu*, names which it has not been found possible to elucidate. But adopting the reading *Tadinfu* of some of the old printed editions (supported by the *Tudinfu* of Ramusio and the *Tandifu* of the Riccardian MS.), Pauthier shows that the city now called *Yen-chau* bore under the Kin the name of TAI-TING FU, which may fairly thus be recognised. [Under the Sung Dynasty Yen-chau was named T'ai-ning and Lung-k'ing. (*Playfair's Dict.* p. 388.)—H. C.]

It was not, however, Yen-chau, but *T'si-nan fu*, which was "the noblest city in all those provinces," and had been "in old times the seat of a kingdom," as well as recently the scene of the episode of Litan's rebellion. T'si-nan fu lies in a direct line 86 miles south of T'sang-chau (*Changfu*), near the banks of the Ta-t'singho, a large river which communicates with the great canal near T'si-ning chau, and which was, no doubt, of greater importance in Polo's time than in the last six centuries. For up nearly to the origin of the Mongol power it appears to have been one of the main discharges of the Hwang-Ho. The recent changes in that river have again brought its main stream into the same channel, and the "New Yellow River" passes three or four miles to the north of the city. T'si-nan fu has frequently of late been visited by European travellers, who report it as still a place of importance, with much life and bustle, numerous book-shops, several fine temples, two mosques, and all the furniture of a provincial capital. It has also a Roman Catholic Cathedral of Gothic architecture. (*Williamson*, I. 102.)

[Tsi-nan "is a populous and rich city; and by means of the river (Ta Tsing ho, Great Clear River) carries on an extensive commerce. The soil is fertile, and produces grain and fruits in abundance. Silk of an excellent quality is manufactured, and commands a high price. The lakes and rivers are well stored with fish." (*Chin. Rep.* XI. p. 562.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The Chinese Annals, more than 2000 years B.C., speak of silk as an article of tribute from Shan-tung; and evidently it was one of the provinces most noted in the Middle Ages for that article. Compare the quotation in note on next chapter from Friar Odoric. Yet the older modern accounts speak only of the *wild* silk of Shan-tung. Mr. Williamson, however, points out that there is an extensive produce from the genuine mulberry silkworm, and anticipates a very important trade in Shan-tung silk. Silk fabrics are also largely produced, and some of extraordinary quality. (*Williamson*, I. 112, 131.)

The expressions of Padre Martini, in speaking of the wild silk of Shan-tung, strongly remind one of the talk of the ancients about the origin of silk, and suggest the possibility that this may not have been mere groundless fancy: "Non in globum aut ovum ductum, sed in longissimum filum paulatim ex ore emissum, albi coloris, quæ arbutis dumisque, adhaerentia, atque a vento huc illucque agitata colliguntur," etc. Compare this with Pliny's "Seres lanitia silvarum nobiles, per-

fusam aqua depectentes frondium caniciem," or Claudian's "Stamine, quod molli tondent de stipite Seres, Frondea lanigeræ carpentes vellera silvæ; Et longum tenues tractus producit in aurum."

NOTE 3.—The title *Sangon* is, as Pauthier points out, the Chinese *Tsiang-kium*, a "general of division," [or better "Military Governor."—H. C.] John Bell calls an officer, bearing the same title, "Merin *Sanguin*." I suspect *T'siang-kium* is the *Jang-jang* of Baber.

NOTE 4.—AGUL was the name of a distant cousin of Kúblái, who was the father of Nayan (*supra*, ch. ii. and Genealogy of the House of Chinghiz in Appendix A). MANGKUTAI, under Kúblái, held the command of the third Hazara (Thousand) of the right wing, in which he had succeeded his father Jedi Noyan. He was greatly distinguished in the invasion of South China under Bayan. (*Erdmann's Temudschin*, pp. 220, 455; *Gaubil*, p. 160.)

NOTE 5.—LITAN, a Chinese of high military position and reputation under the Mongols, in the early part of Kúblái's reign, commanded the troops in Shan-tung and the conquered parts of Kiang-nan. In the beginning of 1262 he carried out a design that he had entertained since Kúblái's accession, declared for the Sung Emperor, to whom he gave up several important places, put detached Mongol garrisons to the sword, and fortified T'si-nan and T'sing-chau. Kúblái despatched Prince Apiché and the General Ssetienché against him. Litan, after some partial success, was beaten and driven into T'si-nan, which the Mongols immediately invested. After a blockade of four months, the garrison was reduced to extremities. Litan, in despair, put his women to death and threw himself into a lake adjoining the city; but he was taken out alive and executed. T'sing-chau then surrendered. (*Gaubil*, 139-140; *De Mailla*, IX. 298 *seqq.*; *D'Ohsson*, II. 381.)

Pauthier gives greater detail from the Chinese Annals, which confirm the amnesty granted to all but the chiefs of the rebellion.

The date in the text is wrong or corrupt, as is generally the case.

CHAPTER LXII.

CONCERNING THE NOBLE CITY OF SINJUMATU.

ON leaving Tadinfu you travel three days towards the south, always finding numbers of noble and populous towns and villages flourishing with trade and manufactures. There is also abundance of game in the country, and everything in profusion.

When you have travelled those three days you come to the noble city of SINJUMATU, a rich and fine place, with great trade and manufactures. The people are Idolaters and subjects of the Great Kaan, and have paper-

money, and they have a river which I can assure you brings them great gain, and I will tell you about it.

You see the river in question flows from the South to this city of Sinjumatu. And the people of the city have divided this larger river in two, making one half of it flow east and the other half flow west; that is to say, the one branch flows towards Manzi and the other towards Cathay. And it is a fact that the number of vessels at this city is what no one would believe without seeing them. The quantity of merchandize also which these vessels transport to Manzi and Cathay is something marvellous; and then they return loaded with other merchandize, so that the amount of goods borne to and fro on those two rivers is quite astonishing.¹

NOTE 1.—Friar Odoric, proceeding by water northward to Cambaluc about 1324-1325, says: "As I travelled by that river towards the east, and passed many towns and cities, I came to a certain city which is called SUNZUMATU, which hath a greater plenty of silk than perhaps any place on earth, for when silk is at the dearest you can still have 40 lbs. for less than eight groats. There is in the place likewise great store of merchandise," etc. When commenting on Odoric, I was inclined to identify this city with Lin-t'sing chau, but its position with respect to the two last cities in Polo's itinerary renders this inadmissible; and Murray and Pauthier seem to be right in identifying it with T'SI-NING CHAU. The affix *Matu* (*Ma-Peu*, a jetty, a place of river trade) might easily attach itself to the name of such a great dépôt of commerce on the canal as Marco here describes, though no Chinese authority has been produced for its being so styled. The only objection to the identification with T'si-ning chau is the difficulty of making 3 days' journey of the short distance between Yen-chau and that city.

Polo, according to the route supposed, comes first upon the artificial part of the Great Canal here. The rivers *Wen* and *Sse* (from near Yen-chau) flowing from the side of Shan-tung, and striking the canal line at right angles near T'si-ning chau, have been thence diverted north-west and south-east, so as to form the canal; the point of their original confluence at Nan-wang forming, apparently, the summit level of the canal. There is a little confusion in Polo's account, owing to his describing the river as coming from the *south*, which, according to his orientation, would be the side towards Honan. In this respect his words would apply more accurately to the *Wei* River at Lin-t'sing (see *Biot* in *J. As. sér.* III. tom. xiv. 194, and *J. N. C. B. R. A. S.*, 1866, p. 11; also the map with 'ch. lxiv.) [Father Gandar (*Canal Impérial*, p. 22, note) says that the remark of Marco Polo: "The river flows from the south to this city of Sinjumatu," cannot be applied to the *Wen-ho* nor to the *Sse-ho*, which are rivers of little importance and running from the east, whilst the *Wei-ho*, coming from the south-east, waters Lin-ts'ing, and answers well to our traveller's text.—II. C.] Duhalde calls T'si-ning chau "one of the most considerable cities of the empire"; and Nieuhoff speaks of its large trade and population. [Sir John F. Davis writes that Tsi-ning chau is a town of considerable dimensions. . . . "The *ma-tow*,

or platforms, before the principal boats had ornamental gateways over them. . . . The canal seems to render this an opulent and flourishing place, to judge by the gilded and carved shops, temples, and public offices, along the eastern banks." (*Sketches of China*, I. pp. 255-257.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER LXIII.

CONCERNING THE CITIES OF LINJU AND PIJU.

ON leaving the city of Sinju-matu you travel for eight days towards the south, always coming to great and rich towns and villages flourishing with trade and manufactures. The people are all subjects of the Great Kaan, use paper-money, and burn their dead. At the end of those eight days you come to the city of LINJU, in the province of the same name of which it is the capital. It is a rich and noble city, and the men are good soldiers, nathless they carry on great trade and manufactures. There is great abundance of game in both beasts and birds, and all the necessaries of life are in profusion. The place stands on the river of which I told you above. And they have here great numbers of vessels, even greater than those of which I spoke before, and these transport a great amount of costly merchandize.¹

So, quitting this province and city of Linju, you travel three days more towards the south, constantly finding numbers of rich towns and villages. These still belong to Cathay; and the people are all Idolaters, burning their dead, and using paper-money, that I mean of their Lord the Great Kaan, whose subjects they are. This is the finest country for game, whether in beasts or birds, that is anywhere to be found, and all the necessaries of life are in profusion.

At the end of those three days you find the city of PIJU, a great, rich, and noble city, with large trade and manufactures, and a great production of silk. This city stands at the entrance to the great province of Manzi, and there reside at it a great number of merchants who despatch carts from this place loaded with great quantities of goods to the different towns of Manzi. The city brings in a great revenue to the Great Kaan.²

NOTE 1.—Murray suggests that Lingiu is a place which appears in D'Anville's Map of Shan-tung as *Lintching-y*, and in Arrowsmith's Map of China (also in those of Berghaus and Keith Johnston) as *Lingchinghien*. The position assigned to it, however, on the west bank of the canal, nearly under the 35th degree of latitude, would agree fairly with Polo's data. [*Lin-ch'ing*, *Lin-tsing*, lat. 37° 03', *Playfair's Dict.* No. 4276; *Biot*, p. 107.—H. C.]

In any case, I imagine Lingiu (of which, perhaps, *Lingin* may be the correct reading) to be the *Lenzin* of Odoric, which he reached in travelling by water from the south, before arriving at Sinjumatu. (*Cathay*, p. 125.)

NOTE 2.—There can be no doubt that this is PEI-CHAU on the east bank of the canal. The abundance of game about here is noticed by Nieuhoff (in *Astley*, III. 417). [See *D. Gandar*, *Canal Impérial*, 1894.—H. C.]

CHAPTER LXIV.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF SIJU, AND THE GREAT RIVER CARAMORAN.

WHEN you leave Piju you travel towards the south for two days, through beautiful districts abounding in everything, and in which you find quantities of all kinds of game. At the end of those two days you reach the city of SIJU, a great, rich, and noble city, flourishing with trade and manufactures. The people are Idolaters, burn their dead, use paper-money, and are subjects of the Great Kaan. They possess extensive and fertile plains producing abundance of wheat and other grain.¹ But there is nothing else to mention, so let us proceed and tell you of the countries further on.

On leaving Siju you ride south for three days, constantly falling in with fine towns and villages and hamlets and farms, with their cultivated lands. There is plenty of wheat and other corn, and of game also; and the people are all Idolaters and subjects of the Great Kaan.

At the end of those three days you reach the great river CARAMORAN, which flows hither from Prester John's country. It is a great river, and more than a mile in width, and so deep that great ships can navigate it. It abounds in fish, and very big ones too. You must know that in this river there are some 15,000 vessels, all belonging to the Great Kaan, and kept to transport his troops to the Indian Isles whenever there may be occasion; for the sea is only one day distant from the place we are speaking of. And each of these vessels, taking one with another, will require 20 mariners, and will carry 15 horses with the men belonging to them, and their provisions, arms, and equipments.²

Hither and thither, on either bank of the river, stands a town; the one facing the other. The one is called COIGANJU and the other CAIJU; the former is a large place, and the latter a little one. And when you pass this river you enter the great province of MANZI. So now I must tell you how this province of Manzi was conquered by the Great Kaan.³

NOTE 1.—SIJU can scarcely be other than Su-t'sien (*Sootsin* of Keith Johnston's map) as Murray and Pauthier have said. The latter states that one of the old names of the place was *Sz-chau*, which corresponds to that given by Marco. Biot does not give this name.

The town stands on the flat alluvial of the Hwang-Ho, and is approached by high embanked roads. (*Astley*, III. 524-525.)

[Sir J. F. Davis writes: "From *Sootsien Hien* to the point of junction with the Yellow River, a length of about fifty miles, that great stream and the canal run nearly parallel with each other, at an average distance of four or five miles, and sometimes much nearer." (*Sketches of China*, I. p. 265.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—We have again arrived on the banks of the Hwang-Ho, which was crossed higher up on our traveller's route to Karájang.

No accounts, since China became known to modern Europe, attribute to the Hwang-Ho the great utility for navigation which Polo here and elsewhere ascribes to

it. Indeed, we are told that its current is so rapid that its navigation is scarcely practicable, and the only traffic of the kind that we hear of is a transport of coal in Shan-si for a certain distance down stream. This rapidity also, bringing down vast quantities of soil, has so raised the bed that in recent times the tide has not entered the river, as it probably did in our traveller's time, when, as it would appear from his account, seagoing craft used to ascend to the ferry north of Hwai-ngan fu, or thereabouts. Another indication of change is his statement that the passage just mentioned was only one day's journey from the sea, whereas it is now about 50 miles in a direct line. But the river has of late years undergone changes much more material.

In the remotest times of which the Chinese have any record, the Hwang-Ho discharged its waters into the Gulf of Chih-li, by two branches, the most northerly of which appears to have followed the present course of the Pei-ho below Tien-tsing. In the time of the Shang Dynasty (ending B.C. 1078) a branch more southerly than either of the above flowed towards T'si-ning, and combined with the T'si River, which flowed by T'si-nan fu, the same in fact that was till recently called the Ta-t'sing. In the time of Confucius we first hear of a branch being thrown off south-east towards the Hwai, flowing north of Hwai-ngan, in fact towards the embouchure which our maps still display as that of the Hwang-Ho. But, about the 3rd and 4th centuries of our era, the river discharged exclusively by the T'si; and up to the Mongol age, or nearly so, the mass of the waters of this great river continued to flow into the Gulf of Chih-li. They then changed their course bodily towards the Hwai, and followed that general direction to the sea; this they had adopted before the time of our traveller, and they retained it till a very recent period. The mass of Shan-tung thus forms a mountainous island rising out of the vast alluvium of the Hwang-Ho, whose discharge into the sea has alternated between the north and the south of that mountainous tract. (*See Map opposite.*)

During the reign of the last Mongol emperor, a project was adopted for restoring the Hwang-Ho to its former channel, discharging into the Gulf of Chih-li; and discontents connected with this scheme promoted the movement for the expulsion of the dynasty (1368).

A river whose regimen was liable to such vast changes was necessarily a constant source of danger, inasmuch that the Emperor Kia-K'ing in his will speaks of it as having been "from the remotest ages China's sorrow." Some idea of the enormous works maintained for the control of the river may be obtained from the following description of their character on the north bank, some distance to the west of Kai-fung fu:

"In a village, apparently bounded by an earthen wall as large as that of the Tartar city of Peking, was reached the first of the outworks erected to resist the Hwang-Ho, and on arriving at the top that river and the gigantic earthworks rendered necessary by its outbreaks burst on the view. On a level with the spot on which I was standing stretched a series of embankments, each one about 70 feet high, and of breadth sufficient for four railway trucks to run abreast on them. The mode of their arrangement was on this wise: one long bank ran parallel to the direction of the stream; half a mile distant from it ran a similar one; these two embankments were then connected by another series exactly similar in size, height, and breadth, and running at right angles to them right down to the edge of the water."

In 1851, the Hwang-Ho burst its northern embankment nearly 30 miles east of Kai-fung fu; the floods of the two following years enlarged the breach; and in 1853 the river, after six centuries, resumed the ancient direction of its discharge into the Gulf of Chih-li. Soon after leaving its late channel, it at present spreads, without defined banks, over the very low lands of South-Western Shan-tung, till it reaches the Great Canal, and then enters the Ta-t'sing channel, passing north of T'si-nan to the sea. The old channel crossed by Polo in the present journey is quite deserted. The greater part of the bed is there cultivated; it is dotted with numerous villages; and the vast trading town of Tsing-kiang pu was in 1868 extending so rapidly from the

southern bank that a traveller in that year says he expected that in two years it would reach the northern bank.

The same change has destroyed the Grand Canal as a navigable channel for many miles south of Lin-t'ing chau. (*J. R. G. S.* XXVIII. 294-295; *Escayrac de Lauture, Mém. sur la Chine; Cathay*, p. 125; *Reports of Journeys in China*, etc. [by Consuls Alabaster, Oxenham, etc., Parl. Blue Book], 1869, pp. 4-5, 14; *Mr. Elias* in *J. R. G. S.* XL. p. 1 seq.)

[Since the exploration of the Hwang-Ho in 1868 by Mr. Ney Elias and by Mr. H. G. Hollingworth, an inspection of this river was made in 1889 and a report published in 1891 by the Dutch Engineers J. G. W. Fijnje van Salverda, Captain P. G. van Schermbeek and A. Visser, for the improvement of the Yellow River.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—Coiganju will be noticed below. *Caiju* does not seem to be traceable, having probably been carried away by the changes in the river. But it would seem to have been at the mouth of the canal on the north side of the Hwang-Ho, and the name is the same as that given below (ch. lxxii.) to the town (*Kwachau*) occupying the corresponding position on the Kiang.

"Khatai," says Rashiduddin, "is bounded on one side by the country of Máchfn, which the Chinese call MANZI. . . . In the Indian language Southern China is called Mahá-chn, i.e. 'Great China,' and hence we derive the word *Machin*. The Mongols call the same country *Nangiass*. It is separated from Khatai by the river called KARAMORAN, which comes from the mountains of Tibet and Kashmir, and which is never fordable. The capital of this kingdom is the city of *Khingsai*, which is forty days' journey from Khanbalik." (*Quat. Rashid.*, xci. xciii.)

MANZI (or Mangi) is a name used for Southern China, or more properly for the territory which constituted the dominion of the Sung Dynasty at the time when the Mongols conquered Cathay or Northern China from the Kin, not only by Marco, but by Odoric and John Marignolli, as well as by the Persian writers, who, however, more commonly call it *Máchfn*. I imagine that some confusion between the two words led to the appropriation of the latter name, also to *Southern* China. The term *Man-tzu* or *Man-tze* signifies "Barbarians" ("Sons of Barbarians"), and was applied, it is said, by the Northern Chinese to their neighbours on the south, whose civilisation was of later date.* The name is now specifically applied to a wild race on the banks of the Upper Kiang. But it retains its mediæval application in Manchuria, where *Mantszi* is the name given to the Chinese immigrants, and in that use is said to date from the time of Kúblái. (*Palladius* in *J. R. G. S.* vol. xlii. p. 154.) And Mr. Moule has found the word, apparently used in Marco's exact sense, in a Chinese extract of the period, contained in the topography of the famous Lake of Hang-chau (*infra*, ch. lxxvi.-lxxvii.)

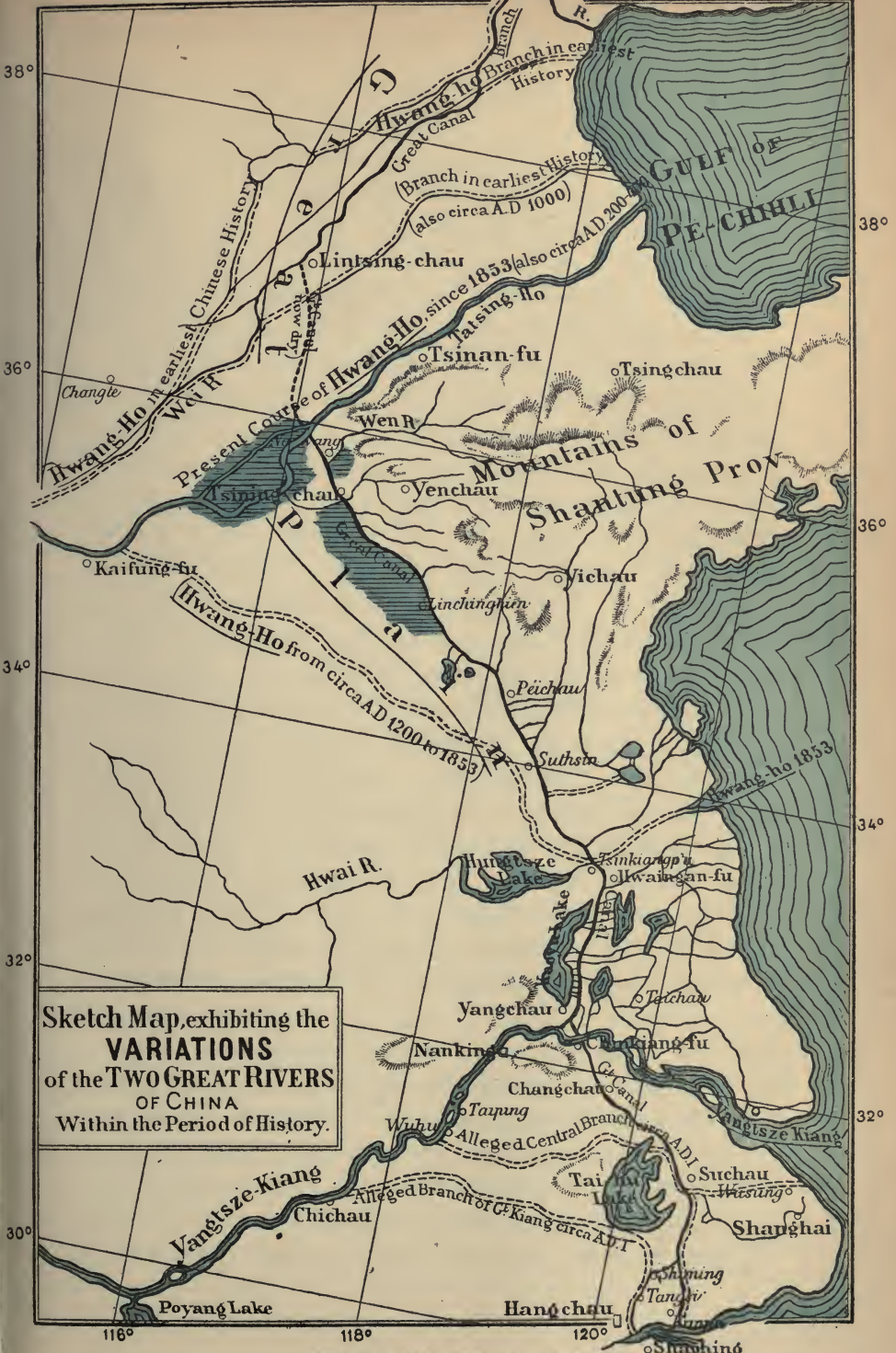
Though both Polo and Rashiduddin call the Karamoran the boundary between Cathay and Manzi, it was not so for any great distance. Ho-nan belonged essentially to Cathay.

CHAPTER LXV.

HOW THE GREAT KAAH CONQUERED THE PROVINCE OF MANZI.

YOU must know that there was a King and Sovereign lord of the great territory of Manzi who was styled

* Magaillans says the Southern, in return, called the Northern *Pe-tai*, "Fools of the North" !



Sketch Map, exhibiting the
VARIATIONS
 of the **TWO GREAT RIVERS**
 OF CHINA
 Within the Period of History.

FACFUR, so great and puissant a prince, that for vastness of wealth and number of subjects and extent of dominion, there was hardly a greater in all the earth except the Great Kaan himself.¹ But the people of his land were anything rather than warriors; all their delight was in women, and nought but women; and so it was above all with the King himself, for he took thought of nothing else but women, unless it were of charity to the poor.

In all his dominion there were no horses; nor were the people ever inured to battle or arms, or military service of any kind. Yet the province of Manzi is very strong by nature, and all the cities are encompassed by sheets of water of great depth, and more than an arblast-shot in width; so that the country never would have been lost, had the people but been soldiers. But that is just what they were not; so lost it was.²

Now it came to pass, in the year of Christ's incarnation, 1268, that the Great Kaan, the same that now reigneth, despatched thither a Baron of his whose name was BAYAN CHINCSAN, which is as much as to say "Bayan Hundred Eyes." And you must know that the King of Manzi had found in his horoscope that he never should lose his Kingdom except through a man that had an hundred eyes; so he held himself assured in his position, for he could not believe that any man in existence could have an hundred eyes. There, however, he deluded himself, in his ignorance of the name of Bayan.³

This Bayan had an immense force of horse and foot entrusted to him by the Great Kaan, and with these he entered Manzi, and he had also a great number of boats to carry both horse and food when need should be. And when he, with all his host, entered the territory of Manzi and arrived at this city of COIGANJU—whither we now are got, and of which we shall speak presently—

he summoned the people thereof to surrender to the Great Kaan; but this they flatly refused. On this Bayan went on to another city, with the same result, and then still went forward; acting thus because he was aware that the Great Kaan was despatching another great host to follow him up.⁴

What shall I say then? He advanced to five cities in succession, but got possession of none of them; for he did not wish to engage in besieging them and they would not give themselves up. But when he came to the sixth city he took that by storm, and so with a second, and a third, and a fourth, until he had taken twelve cities in succession. And when he had taken all these he advanced straight against the capital city of the kingdom, which was called KINSAY, and which was the residence of the King and Queen.

And when the King beheld Bayan coming with all his host, he was in great dismay, as one unused to see such sights. So he and a great company of his people got on board a thousand ships and fled to the islands of the Ocean Sea, whilst the Queen who remained behind in the city took all measures in her power for its defence, like a valiant lady.

Now it came to pass that the Queen asked what was the name of the captain of the host, and they told her that it was Bayan Hundred-Eyes. So when she wist that he was styled Hundred-Eyes, she called to mind how their astrologers had foretold that a man of an hundred eyes should strip them of the kingdom.⁵ Wherefore she gave herself up to Bayan, and surrendered to him the whole kingdom and all the other cities and fortresses, so that no resistance was made. And in sooth this was a goodly conquest, for there was no realm on earth half so wealthy.⁶ The amount that the King used to expend was perfectly marvellous; and as an

example I will tell you somewhat of his liberal acts.

In those provinces they are wont to expose their newborn babes; I speak of the poor, who have not the means of bringing them up. But the King used to have all those foundlings taken charge of, and had note made of the signs and planets under which each was born, and then put them out to nurse about the country. And when any rich man was childless he would go to the King and obtain from him as many of these children as he desired. Or, when the children grew up, the King would make up marriages among them, and provide for the couples from his own purse. In this manner he used to provide for some 20,000 boys and girls every year.⁷

I will tell you another thing this King used to do. If he was taking a ride through the city and chanced to see a house that was very small and poor standing among other houses that were fine and large, he would ask why it was so, and they would tell him it belonged to a poor man who had not the means to enlarge it. Then the King would himself supply the means. And thus it came to pass that in all the capital of the kingdom of Manzi, Kinsay by name, you should not see any but fine houses.

This King used to be waited on by more than a thousand young gentlemen and ladies, all clothed in the richest fashion. And he ruled his realm with such justice that no malefactors were to be found therein. The city in fact was so secure that no man closed his doors at night, not even in houses and shops that were full of all sorts of rich merchandize. No one could do justice in the telling to the great riches of that country, and to the good disposition of the people. Now that I have told you about the kingdom, I will go back to the Queen.

You must know that she was conducted to the Great Kaan, who gave her an honourable reception, and caused her to be served with all state, like a great lady as she was. But as for the King her husband, he never more did quit the isles of the sea to which he had fled, but died there. So leave we him and his wife and all their concerns, and let us return to our story, and go on regularly with our account of the great province of Manzi and of the manners and customs of its people. And, to begin at the beginning, we must go back to the city of Coiganju, from which we digressed to tell you about the conquest of Manzi.

NOTE 1.—*Faghfūr* or *Baghbūr* was a title applied by old Persian and Arabic writers to the Emperor of China, much in the way that we used to speak of the *Great Mogul*, and our fathers of the *Sophy*. It is, as Neumann points out, an old Persian translation of the Chinese title *Tien-tzū*, "Son of Heaven"; *Bagh-Pūr* = "The Son of the Divinity," as *Sapor* or *Shāh-Pūr* = "The Son of the King." *Faghfur* seems to have been used as a proper name in Turkestan. (See *Baber*, 423.)

There is a word, *Takfūr*, applied similarly by the Mahomedans to the Greek emperors of both Byzantium and Trebizond (and also to the Kings of Cilician Armenia), which was perhaps adopted as a jingling match to the former term; *Faghfur*, the great infidel king in the East; *Takfur*, the great infidel king in the West. Defréméry says this is Armenian, *Tagavor*, "a king." (*I. B.*, II. 393, 427.)

"[The last of the Sung Emperors (1276) 'Facfur' (*i.e.* the Arabic for *Tien Tzū*) was freed by Kúblái from the (ancient Kotan) indignity of surrendering with a rope round his neck, leading a sheep, and he received the title of Duke: In 1288 he went to Tibet to study Buddhism, and in 1296 he and his mother, Ts'üen T'ai How, became a bonze and a nun, and were allowed to hold 360 *king* (say 5000 acres) of land free of taxes under the then existing laws." (*E. H. Parker, China Review*, February, March 1901, p. 195.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Nevertheless the history of the conquest shows instances of extraordinary courage and self-devotion on the part of Chinese officers, especially in the defence of fortresses—virtues often shown in like degree, under like circumstances, by the same class, in the modern history of China.

NOTE 3.—*Bayan* (signifying "great" or "noble") is a name of very old renown among the Nomad nations, for we find it as that of the Khagan of the Avars in the 6th century. The present *BAYAN*, Kúblái's most famous lieutenant, was of princely birth, in the Mongol tribe called *Barin*. In his youth he served in the West of Asia under *Hulaku*. According to *Rashiduddin*, about 1265 he was sent to *Cathay* with certain ambassadors of the *Kaan*'s who were returning thither. He was received with great distinction by Kúblái, who was greatly taken with his prepossessing appearance and ability, and a command was assigned him. In 1273, after the capture of *Siang-Yang* (*infra*, ch. lxx.) the *Kaan* named him to the chief command in the prosecution of the war against the *Sung* Dynasty. Whilst *Bayan* was in the full tide of success, Kúblái, alarmed by the ravages of *Kaidu* on the Mongolian frontier, recalled him to take the command there, but, on the general's remonstrance, he gave way, and made him a minister of state (*CHINGSIANG*). The essential part of his task

was completed by the surrender of the capital *King-szé* (Lin-ngan, now Hing-chau) to his arms in the beginning of 1276. He was then recalled to court, and immediately despatched to Mongolia, where he continued in command for seventeen years, his great business being to keep down the restless Kaidu. ["The biography of this valiant captain is found in the *Yuen-shi* (ch. cxxvii.). It is quite in accordance with the biographical notices Rashid gives of the same personage. He calls him *Bayan*." (*Bretschneider, Med. Res. I. p. 271, note*.)]

["The inventory, records, etc., of Kinsai, mentioned by Marco Polo, as also the letter from the old empress, are undoubted facts: complete stock was taken, and 5,692,656 souls were added to the population (in the two Chêh alone). The Emperor surrendered in person to Bayan a few days after his official surrender, which took place on the 18th day of the 1st moon in 1276. Bayan took the Emperor to see Kúblái." (*E. H. Parker, China Review, XXIV. p. 105.*)—H. C.]

In 1293, enemies tried to poison the emperor's ear against Bayan, and they seemed to have succeeded; for Kúblái despatched his heir, the Prince Teimur, to supersede him in the frontier command. Bayan beat Kaidu once more, and then made over his command with characteristic dignity. On his arrival at court, Kúblái received him with the greatest honour, and named him chief minister of state and commandant of his guards and the troops about Cambaluc. The emperor died in the beginning of the next year (1294), and Bayan's high position enabled him to take decisive measures for preserving order, and maintaining Kúblái's disposition of the succession. Bayan was raised to still higher dignities, but died at the age of 59, within less than a year of the master whom he had served so well for 30 years (about January, 1295). After his death, according to the peculiar Chinese fashion, he received yet further accessions of dignity.

The language of Chinese historians in speaking of this great man is thus rendered by De Mailla; it is a noble eulogy of a Tartar warrior:—

"He was endowed with a lofty genius, and possessed in the highest measure the art of handling great bodies of troops. When he marched against the Sung, he directed the movements of 200,000 men with as much ease and coolness as if there had been but one man under his orders. All his officers looked up to him as a prodigy; and having absolute trust in his capacity, they obeyed him with entire submission. Nobody knew better how to deal with soldiers, or to moderate their ardour when it carried them too far. He was never seen sad except when forced to shed blood, for he was sparing even of the blood of his enemy. . . . His modesty was not inferior to his ability. . . . He would attribute all the honour to the conduct of his officers, and he was ever ready to extol their smallest feats. He merited the praises of Chinese as well as Mongols, and both nations long regretted the loss of this great man." De Mailla gives a different account from Rashiduddin and Gaubil, of the manner in which Bayan first entered the Kaan's service. (*Gaubil, 145, 159, 169, 179, 183, 221, 223-224; Erdmann, 222-223; De Mailla, IX. 335, 458, 461-463.*)

NOTE 4.—As regards Bayan personally, and the main body under his command, this seems to be incorrect. His advance took place from Siang-yang along the lines of the Han River and of the Great Kiang. Another force indeed marched direct upon Yang-chau, and therefore probably by Hwai-ngan chau (*infra, p. 152*); and it is noted that Bayan's orders to the generals of this force were to spare bloodshed. (*Gaubil, 159; D'Ohsson, II. 398.*)

NOTE 5.—So in our own age ran the Hindu prophecy that Bhartpúr should never fall till there came a great alligator against it; and when it fell to the English assault, the Brahmans found that the name of the leader was COMBERMERE = *Kumhr-Mr.* the Crocodile Lord!

—"Be those juggling fiends no more believed
That palter with us in a double sense;
That keep the word of promise to our ear
And break it to our hope!"

It would seem from the expression, both in Pauthier's text and in the G. T., as if Polo intended to say that *Chincsan* (Cinqsan) meant "One Hundred Eyes"; and if so we could have no stronger proof of his ignorance of Chinese. It is *Pe-yen*, the Chinese form of *Bayan*, that means, or rather may be punningly rendered, "One Hundred Eyes." *Chincsan*, *i.e.* *Ching-siang*, was the title of the superior ministers of state at Khanbaligh, as we have already seen. The title occurs pretty frequently in the Persian histories of the Mongols, and frequently as a Mongol title in Sanang Setzen. We find it also disguised as *Chyansam* in a letter from certain Christian nobles at Khanbaligh, which Wadding quotes from the Papal archives. (See *Cathay*, pp. 314-315.)

But it is right to observe that in the Ramusian version the mistranslation which we have noticed is not so undubitable: "Volendo sapere come avea nome il Capitano nemico, le fu detto, *Chinsambaian*, cioè *Cent'occhi*."

A kind of corroboration of Marco's story, but giving a different form to the pun, has been found by Mr. W. F. Mayers, of the Diplomatic Department in China, in a Chinese compilation dating from the latter part of the 14th century. Under the heading, "*A Kiang-nan Prophecy*," this book states that prior to the fall of the Sung a prediction ran through Kiang-nan: "If Kiang-nan fall, a hundred wild geese (*Pe-yen*) will make their appearance." This, it is added, was not understood till the generalissimo *Peyen Chingsiang* made his appearance on the scene. "Punning prophecies of this kind are so common in Chinese history, that the above is only worth noticing in connection with Marco Polo's story." (*N. and Q., China and Japan*, vol. ii. p. 162.)

But I should suppose that the Persian historian Wassáf had also heard a bungled version of the same story, which he tells in a pointless manner of the fortress of *Sindfúr* (evidently a clerical error for *Saianfu*, see below, ch. lxx.): "Payan ordered this fortress to be assaulted. The garrison had heard how the capital of China had fallen, and the army of Payan was drawing near. The commandant was an experienced veteran who had tasted all the sweets and bitters of fortune, and had borne the day's heat and the night's cold; he had, as the saw goes, milked the world's cow dry. So he sent word to Payan: 'In my youth' (here we abridge Wassáf's rigmarole) 'I heard my father tell that this fortress should be taken by a man called *Payan*, and that all fencing and trenching, fighting and smiting, would be of no avail. You need not, therefore, bring an army hither; we give in; we surrender the fortress and all that is therein.' So they opened the gates and came down." (*Wassáf*, Hammer's ed., p. 41).

NOTE 6.—There continues in this narrative, with a general truth as to the course of events, a greater amount of error as to particulars than we should have expected. The Sung Emperor Tu Tsong, a debauched and effeminate prince, to whom Polo seems to refer, had died in 1274, leaving young children only. Chaohien, the second son, a boy of four years of age, was put on the throne, with his grandmother Siechi, as regent. The approach of Bayan caused the greatest alarm; the Sung Court made humble propositions, but they were not listened to. The brothers of the young emperor were sent off by sea into the southern provinces; the empress regent was also pressed to make her escape with the young emperor, but, after consenting, she changed her mind and would not move. The Mongols arrived before King-szé, and the empress sent the great seal of the empire to Bayan. He entered the city without resistance in the third month (say April), 1276, riding at the head of his whole staff with the standard of the general-in-chief before him. It is remarked that he went to look at the tide in the River Tsien Tang, which is noted for its bore. He declined to meet the regent and her grandson, pleading that he was ignorant of the etiquettes proper to such an interview. Before his entrance Bayan had nominated a joint-commission of Mongol and Chinese officers to the government of the city, and appointed a committee to take charge of all the public documents, maps, drawings, records of courts, and seals of all public offices, and to plant sentinels at necessary

points. The emperor, his mother, and the rest of the Sung princes and princesses, were despatched to the Mongol capital. A desperate attempt was made, at Kwa-chau (*infra*, ch. lxxii.) to recapture the young emperor, but it failed. On their arrival at Ta-tu, Kúblái's chief queen, Jamui Khatun, treated them with delicate consideration. This amiable lady, on being shown the spoils that came from Lin-ngan, only wept, and said to her husband, "So also shall it be with the Mongol empire one day!" The eldest of the two boys who had escaped was proclaimed emperor by his adherents at Fu-chau, in Fo-kien, but they were speedily driven from that province (where the local histories, as Mr. G. Phillips informs me, preserve traces of their adventures in the Islands of Amoy Harbour), and the young emperor died on a desert island off the Canton coast in 1278. His younger brother took his place, but a battle, in the beginning of 1279 finally extinguished these efforts of the expiring dynasty, and the minister jumped with his young lord into the sea. It is curious that Rashiduddin, with all his opportunities of knowledge, writing at least twenty years later, was not aware of this, for he speaks of the Prince of Manzi as still a fugitive in the forests between Zayton and Canton. (*Gaubil; D'Ohsson; De Mailla; Cathay*, p. 272.) [See *Parker, supra*, p. 148 and 149.—H. C.]

There is a curious account in the *Lettres Édifiantes* (xxiv. 45 *seqq.*) by P. Parrenin of a kind of *Pariah* caste at Shao-hing (see ch. lxxix. note 1), who were popularly believed to be the descendants of the great lords of the Sung Court, condemned to that degraded condition for obstinately resisting the Mongols. Another notice, however, makes the degraded body rebels against the Sung. (*Milne*, p. 218.)

NOTE 7.—There is much about the exposure of children, and about Chinese founding hospitals, in the *Lettres Édifiantes*, especially in Recueil xv. 83, *seqq.* It is there stated that frequently a person not in circumstances to *pay* for a wife for his son, would visit the founding hospital to seek one. The childless rich also would sometimes get children there to pass off as their own; *adopted* children being excluded from certain valuable privileges.

Mr. Milne (*Life in China*), and again Mr. Medhurst (*Foreigner in Far Cathay*), have discredited the great prevalence of infant exposure in China; but since the last work was published, I have seen the translation of a recent strong remonstrance against the practice by a Chinese writer, which certainly implied that it was *very* prevalent in the writer's own province. Unfortunately, I have lost the reference. [See *Father G. Palatre, L'Infanticide et l'Oeuvre de la Ste. Enfance en Chine*, 1878.—II. C.]

CHAPTER LXVI.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF COIGANJU.

COIGANJU is, as I have told you already, a very large city standing at the entrance to Manzi. The people are Idolaters and burn their dead, and are subject to the Great Kaan. They have a vast amount of shipping, as I mentioned before in speaking of the River Caramoran. And an immense quantity of merchandize comes hither,

for the city is the seat of government for this part of the country. Owing to its being on the river, many cities send their produce thither to be again thence distributed in every direction. A great amount of salt also is made here, furnishing some forty other cities with that article, and bringing in a large revenue to the Great Kaan.¹

NOTE 1.—Coiganju is HWAI-NGAN CHAU, now *-Fu*, on the canal, some miles south of the channel of the Hwang-Ho; but apparently in Polo's time the great river passed close to it. Indeed, the city takes its name from the River *Hwai*, into which the Hwang-Ho sent a branch when first seeking a discharge south of Shantung. The city extends for about 3 miles along the canal and much below its level. [According to Sir J. F. Davis, the situation of Hwai-ngan "is in every respect remarkable. A part of the town was so much below the level of the canal, that only the tops of the walls (at least 25 feet high) could be seen from our boats. . . . It proved to be, next to Tien-tsin, by far the largest and most populous place we had yet seen, the capital itself excepted." (*Sketches of China*, I. pp. 277-278.)—H. C.]

The headquarters of the salt manufacture of Hwai-ngan is a place called Yen-ching ("Salt-Town"), some distance to the S. of the former city (*Pauthier*).

CHAPTER LXVII.

OF THE CITIES OF PAUKIN AND CAYU.

WHEN you leave Coiganju you ride south-east for a day along a causeway laid with fine stone, which you find at this entrance to Manzi. On either hand there is a great expanse of water, so that you cannot enter the province except along this causeway. At the end of the day's journey you reach the fine city of PAUKIN. The people are Idolaters, burn their dead, are subject to the Great Kaan, and use paper-money. They live by trade and manufactures and have great abundance of silk, whereof they weave a great variety of fine stuffs of silk and gold. Of all the necessaries of life there is great store.

When you leave Paukin you ride another day to the south-east, and then you arrive at the city of CAYU.

The people are Idolaters (and so forth). They live by trade and manufactures and have great store of all necessaries, including fish in great abundance. There is also much game, both beast and bird, insomuch that for a Venice groat you can have three good pheasants.¹

NOTE 1.—Paulkin is PAO-YING-Hien [a populous place, considerably below the level of the canal (*Davis, Sketches*, I. pp. 279-280)]; Cayu is KAO-YU-chau, both cities on the east side of the canal. At Kao-yu, the country east of the canal lies some 20 feet below the canal level; so low indeed that the walls of the city are not visible from the further bank of the canal. To the west is the Kao-yu Lake, one of the expanses of water spoken of by Marco, and which threatens great danger to the low country on the east. (See *Alabaster's Journey in Consular Reports* above quoted, p. 5 [and *Gandar, Canal Impérial*, p. 17.—H. C.]

There is a fine drawing of Pao-ying, by Alexander, in the Staunton collection, British Museum.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

OF THE CITIES OF TIJU, TINJU, AND YANJU.

WHEN you leave Cayu, you ride another day to the south-east through a constant succession of villages and fields and fine farms until you come to TIJU, which is a city of no great size but abounding in everything. The people are Idolaters (and so forth). There is a great amount of trade, and they have many vessels. And you must know that on your left hand, that is towards the east, and three days' journey distant, is the Ocean Sea. At every place between the sea and the city salt is made in great quantities. And there is a rich and noble city called TINJU, at which there is produced salt enough to supply the whole province, and I can tell you it brings the Great Kaan an incredible revenue. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Kaan. Let us quit this, however, and go back to Tiju.¹

Again, leaving Tiju, you ride another day towards

the south-east, and at the end of your journey you arrive at the very great and noble city of YANJU, which has seven-and-twenty other wealthy cities under its administration; so that this Yanju is, you see, a city of great importance.² It is the seat of one of the Great Kaan's Twelve Barons, for it has been chosen to be one of the Twelve *Sings*. The people are Idolaters and use paper-money, and are subject to the Great Kaan. And Messer Marco Polo himself, of whom this book speaks, did govern this city for three full years, by the order of the Great Kaan.³ The people live by trade and manufactures, for a great amount of harness for knights and men-at-arms is made there. And in this city and its neighbourhood a large number of troops are stationed by the Kaan's orders.

There is no more to say about it. So now I will tell you about two great provinces of Manzi which lie towards the west. And first of that called Nanghin.

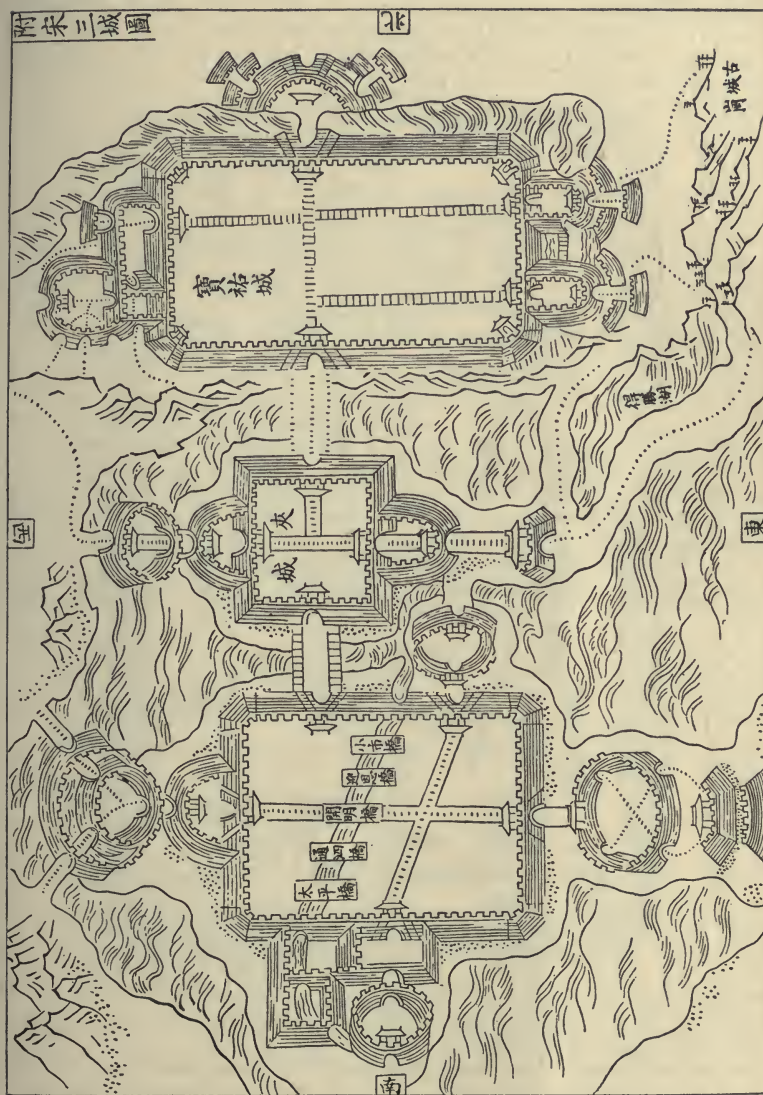
NOTE 1.—Though the text would lead us to look for *Tiju* on the direct line between Kao-yu and Yang-chau, and like them on the canal bank (indeed one MS., C. of Pauthier, specifies its standing on the same river as the cities already passed, *i.e.* on the canal), we seem constrained to admit the general opinion that this is TAI-CHAU, a town lying some 25 miles at least to the eastward of the canal, but apparently connected with it by a navigable channel.

Tinju or *Chinju* (for both the G. T. and Ramusio read *Cingui*) cannot be identified with certainty. But I should think it likely, from Polo's "geographical style," that when he spoke of the sea as three days distant he had this city in view, and that it is probably TUNG-CHAU, near the northern shore of the estuary of the Yang-tzū, which might be fairly described as three days from Tai-chau. Mr. Kingsmill identifies it with I-chin hien, the great port on the Kiang for the export of the Yang-chau salt. This is possible; but I-chin lies *west* of the canal, and though the form *Chinju* would really represent I-chin as then named, such a position seems scarcely compatible with the way, vague as it is, in which *Tinju* or *Chinju* is introduced. Moreover, we shall see that I-chin is spoken of hereafter. (*Kingsmill in N. and Q. Ch. and Japan*, I. 53.)

NOTE 2.—Happily, there is no doubt that this is YANG-CHAU, one of the oldest and most famous great cities of China. [Abulfeda (*Guyard*, II. ii. 122) says that Yang-chau is the capital of the Faghfir of China, and that he is called Tamghâdj-khan.—H. C.] Some five-and-thirty years after Polo's departure from China, Friar Odoric found at this city a House of his own Order (Franciscans), and three Nestorian churches. The city also appears in the Catalan Map as *Iangio*. Yang-chau suffered greatly in the T'ai-P'ing rebellion, but its position is an "obligatory point" for

commerce, and it appears to be rapidly recovering its prosperity. It is the headquarters of the salt manufacture, and it is also now noted for a great manufacture of sweetmeats. (See *Alabaster's Report*, as above, p. 6.)

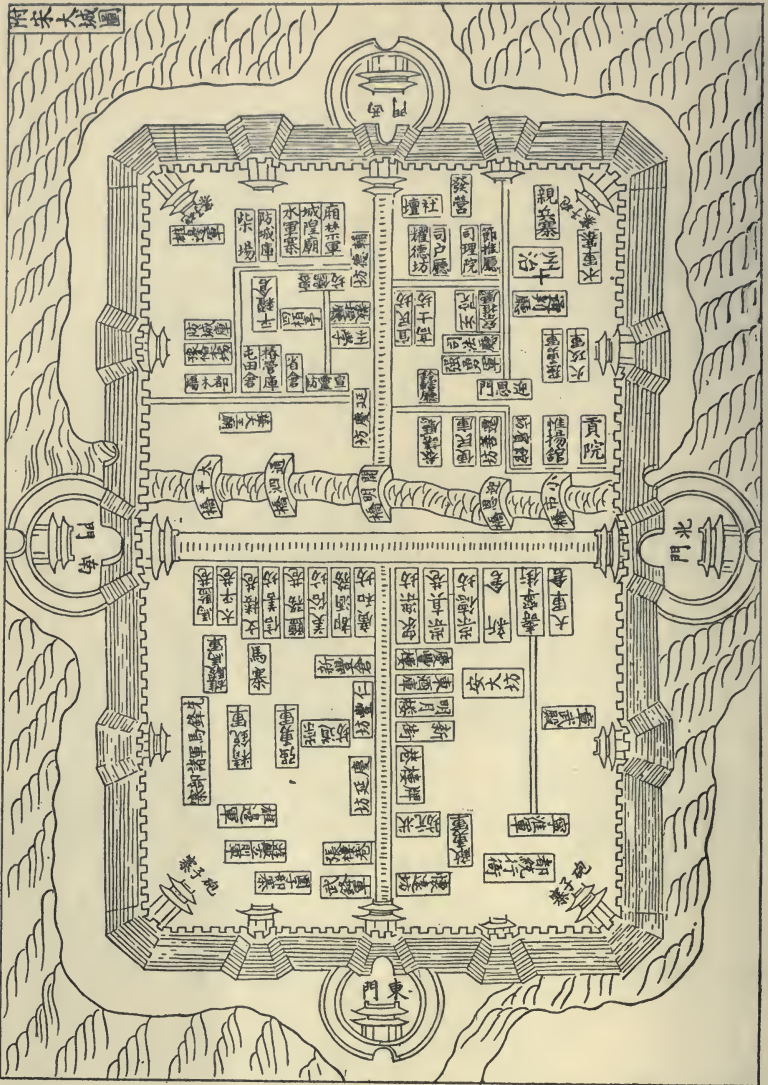
[Through the kindness of the late Father H. Havret, S. J., of Zi-ka-wei, I am enabled



Yang-chau: the three Cities under the Sung.

to give two plans from the Chronicles of Yang-chau, *Yang-chau fu ché* (ed. 1733); one bears the title: "The Three Cities under the Sung," and the other: "The Great City under the Sung." The three cities are *Pao yew cheng*, built in 1256, *Sin Pao-cheng* or *Kia cheng*, built after 1256, and *Tacheng*, the "Great City," built in 1175;

in 1357, Ta cheng was rebuilt, and in 1557 it was augmented, taking the place of the three cities; from 553 B.C. until the 12th century, Yang-chau had no less than five enclosures; the governor's yamen stood where a cross is marked in the Great City.



Yang-chau: the Great City under the Sung.

Since Yang-chau has been laid in ruins by the T'ai-P'ing insurgents, these plans offer now a new interest.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—What I have rendered "Twelve Sings" is in the G. T. "douze sajes," and in Pauthier's text "sieges." It seems to me a reasonable conclusion that the

original word was *Sings* (see I. 432, *supra*); anyhow that was the proper term for the thing meant.

In his note on this chapter, Pauthier produces evidence that Yang-chau was the seat of a *Lu* or circuit* from 1277, and also of a *Sing* or Government-General, but only for the first year after the conquest, viz. 1276-1277, and he seems (for his argument is obscure) to make from this the unreasonable deduction that at this period Kúblái placed Marco Polo—who could not be more than twenty-three years of age, and had been but two years in Cathay—in charge either of the general government, or of an important district government in the most important province of the empire.

In a later note M. Pauthier speaks of 1284 as the date at which the *Sing* of the province of Kiang-ché was transferred from Yang-chau to Hang-chau; this is probably to be taken as a correction of the former citations, and it better justifies Polo's statement. (*Pauthier*, pp. 467, 492.)

I do not think that we are to regard Marco as having held at any time the important post of Governor-General of Kiang-ché. The expressions in the G. T. are: "*Meser Marc Pol meisme, celui de cui trate ceste livre, seigneurie ceste cité por trois ans.*" Pauthier's MS. A. appears to read: "*Et ot seigneurie, Marc Pol, en ceste cité, trois ans.*" These expressions probably point to the government of the *Lu* or circuit of Yang-chau, just as we find in ch. lxxiii. another Christian, Mar Sarghis, mentioned as Governor of Chin-kiang fu for the same term of years, that city being also the head of a *Lu*. It is remarkable that in Pauthier's MS. C., which often contains readings of peculiar value, the passage runs (and also in the Bern MS.): "*Et si vous dy que ledit Messire Marc Pol, celui meisme de qui nostre livre parle, sejourna, en ceste cité de Janguy, iii. ans accompliz, par le commandement du Grant Kaan,*" in which the nature of his employment is not indicated at all (though *stjourna* may be an error for *seigneuria*). The impression of his having been Governor-General is mainly due to the Ramusian version, which says distinctly indeed that "*M. Marco Polo di commissione del Gran Can n' ebbe il governo tre anni continui* in luogo di un dei detti Baroni," but it is very probable that this is a gloss of the translator. I should conjecture his rule at Yang-chau to have been between 1282, when we know he was at the capital (vol. i. p. 422), and 1287-1288, when he must have gone on his first expedition to the Indian Seas.

CHAPTER LXIX.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF NANGHIN.

NANGHIN is a very noble Province towards the west. The people are Idolaters (and so forth) and live by trade and manufactures. They have silk in great abundance, and they weave many fine tissues of silk and gold. They have all sorts of corn and victuals very cheap, for the province is a most productive one. Game also is

* The *Lu* or Circuit was an administrative division under the Mongols, intermediate between the *Sing* and the *Fu*, or department. There were 185 *lu* in all China under Kúblái. (*Pauth.* 333). [*Mr. E. L. Oxenham, Hist. Atlas Chin. Emp.*, reckons 10 provinces or *sheng*, 39 *fu* cities, 316 *chau*, 188 *lu*, 12 military governorships.—H. C.]

abundant, and lions too are found there. The merchants are great and opulent, and the Emperor draws a large revenue from them, in the shape of duties on the goods which they buy and sell.¹

And now I will tell you of the very noble city of Saianfu, which well deserves a place in our book, for there is a matter of great moment to tell about it.

NOTE 1.—The name and direction from Yang-chau are probably sufficient to indicate (as Pauthier has said) that this is NGAN-KING on the Kiang, capital of the modern province of Ngan-hwei. The more celebrated city of *Nan-king* did not bear that name in our traveller's time.

Ngan-king, when recovered from the T'ai-P'ing in 1861, was the scene of a frightful massacre by the Imperialists. They are said to have left neither man, woman, nor child alive in the unfortunate city. (*Blakiston*, p. 55.)

CHAPTER LXX.

CONCERNING THE VERY NOBLE CITY OF SAIANFU, AND HOW ITS CAPTURE WAS EFFECTED.

SAIANFU is a very great and noble city, and it rules over twelve other large and rich cities, and is itself a seat of great trade and manufacture. The people are Idolaters (and so forth). They have much silk, from which they weave fine silken stuffs; they have also a quantity of game, and in short the city abounds in all that it behoves a noble city to possess.

Now you must know that this city held out against the Great Kaan for three years after the rest of Manzi had surrendered. The Great Kaan's troops made incessant attempts to take it, but they could not succeed because of the great and deep waters that were round about it, so that they could approach from one side only, which was the north. And I tell you they never would have taken it, but for a circumstance that I am going to relate.

You must know that when the Great Kaan's host had lain three years before the city without being able to take it, they were greatly chafed thereat. Then Messer Nicolo Polo and Messer Maffeo and Messer Marco said: "We could find you a way of forcing the city to surrender speedily;" whereupon those of the army replied, that they would be right glad to know how that should be. All this talk took place in the presence of the Great Kaan. For messengers had been despatched from the camp to tell him that there was no taking the city by blockade, for it continually received supplies of victual from those sides which they were unable to invest; and the Great Kaan had sent back word that take it they must, and find a way how. Then spoke up the two brothers and Messer Marco the son, and said: "Great Prince, we have with us among our followers men who are able to construct mangonels which shall cast such great stones that the garrison will never be able to stand them, but will surrender incontinently, as soon as the mangonels or trebuchets shall have shot into the town."¹

The Kaan bade them with all his heart have such mangonels made as speedily as possible. Now Messer Nicolo and his brother and his son immediately caused timber to be brought, as much as they desired, and fit for the work in hand. And they had two men among their followers, a German and a Nestorian Christian, who were masters of that business, and these they directed to construct two or three mangonels capable of casting stones of 300 lbs. weight. Accordingly they made three fine mangonels, each of which cast stones of 300 lbs. weight and more.² And when they were complete and ready for use, the Emperor and the others were greatly pleased to see them, and caused several stones to be shot in their presence; whereat they marvelled greatly and greatly praised the work. And

the Kaan ordered that the engines should be carried to his army which was at the leaguer of Saianfu.³

And when the engines were got to the camp they were forthwith set up, to the great admiration of the Tartars. And what shall I tell you? When the engines were set up and put in gear, a stone was shot from each of them into the town. These took effect among the buildings, crashing and smashing through everything with huge din and commotion. And when the townspeople witnessed this new and strange visitation they were so astonished and dismayed that they wist not what to do or say. They took counsel together, but no counsel could be suggested how to escape from these engines, for the thing seemed to them to be done by sorcery. They declared that they were all dead men if they yielded not, so they determined to surrender on such conditions as they could get.⁴ Wherefore they straightway sent word to the commander of the army that they were ready to surrender on the same terms as the other cities of the province had done, and to become the subjects of the Great Kaan; and to this the captain of the host consented.

So the men of the city surrendered, and were received to terms; and this all came about through the exertions of Messer Nicolo, and Messer Maffeo, and Messer Marco; and it was no small matter. For this city and province is one of the best that the Great Kaan possesses, and brings him in great revenues.⁵

NOTE I.—Pauthier's MS. C. here says: "When the Great Kaan, and the Barons about him, and the messengers from the camp . . . heard this, they all marvelled greatly; for I tell you that in all those parts they know nothing of mangonels or trebuchets; and they were so far from being accustomed to employ them in their wars that they had never even seen them, nor knew what they were." The MS. in question has in this narrative several statements peculiar to itself,* as indeed it has in various other passages of the book; and these often look very like the result of revision by

* And to the Bern MS. which seems to be a copy of it, as is also I think (in substance) the Bodleian.

Polo himself. Yet I have not introduced the words just quoted into our text, because they are, as we shall see presently, notoriously contrary to fact.

NOTE 2.—The same MS. has here a passage which I am unable to understand. After the words “300 lbs. and more,” it goes on: “Et la veoit l'en voler moult loing, desquelles pierres il en y avoit plus de lx routes qui tant montoit l'une comme l'autre.” The Bern has the same. [Perhaps we might read lx *en routes*, viz. on their way.—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—I propose here to enter into some detailed explanation regarding the military engines that were in use in the Middle Ages.* None of these depended for their motive force on *torsion* like the chief engines used in classic times. However numerous the names applied to them, with reference to minor variations in construction or differences in power, they may all be reduced to two classes, viz. *great slings* and *great crossbows*. And this is equally true of all the three great branches of mediæval civilisation—European, Saracenic, and Chinese. To the first class belonged the *Trebuchet* and *Mangonel*; to the second, the *Winch-Arblast* (*Arbalète à Tour*), *Springgold*, etc.

Whatever the ancient *Balista* may have been, the word in mediæval Latin seems always to mean some kind of crossbow. The heavier crossbows were wound up by various aids, such as winches, ratchets, etc. They discharged stone shot, leaden bullets, and short, square-shafted arrows called *quarrels*, and these with such force we are told as to pierce a six-inch post (?). But they were worked so slowly in the field that they were no match for the long-bow, which shot five or six times to their once. The great machines of this kind were made of wood, of steel, and very frequently of horn; † and the bow was sometimes more than 30 feet in length. Dufour calculates that such a machine could shoot an arrow of half a kilogram in weight to a distance of about 860 yards.

The *Trebuchet* consisted of a long tapering shaft or beam, pivoted at a short distance from the butt end on a pair of strong pyramidal trestles. At the other end of the shaft a sling was applied, one cord of which was firmly attached by a ring, whilst the other hung in a loop over an iron hook which formed the extremity of the shaft. The power employed to discharge the sling was either the strength of a number of men, applied to ropes which were attached to the short end of the shaft or lever, or the weight of a heavy counterpoise hung from the same, and suddenly released.

Supposing the latter force to be employed, the long end of the shaft was drawn down by a windlass; the sling was laid forward in a wooden trough provided for it, and charged with the shot. The counterpoise was, of course, now aloft, and was so maintained by a detent provided with a trigger. On pulling this, the counterpoise falls and the shaft flies upwards drawing the sling. When a certain point is reached the loop end of the sling releases itself from the hook, and the sling flies abroad

* In this note I am particularly indebted to the researches of the Emperor Napoleon III. on this subject. (*Études sur le passé et l'avenir de l'Artillerie*; 1851.)

† Thus Joinville mentions the journey of Jehan li Ermin, the king's artillerist, from Acre to Damascus, *pour acheter cornes et glus pour faire arbalèstres*—to buy horns and glue to make crossbows withal (p. 134).

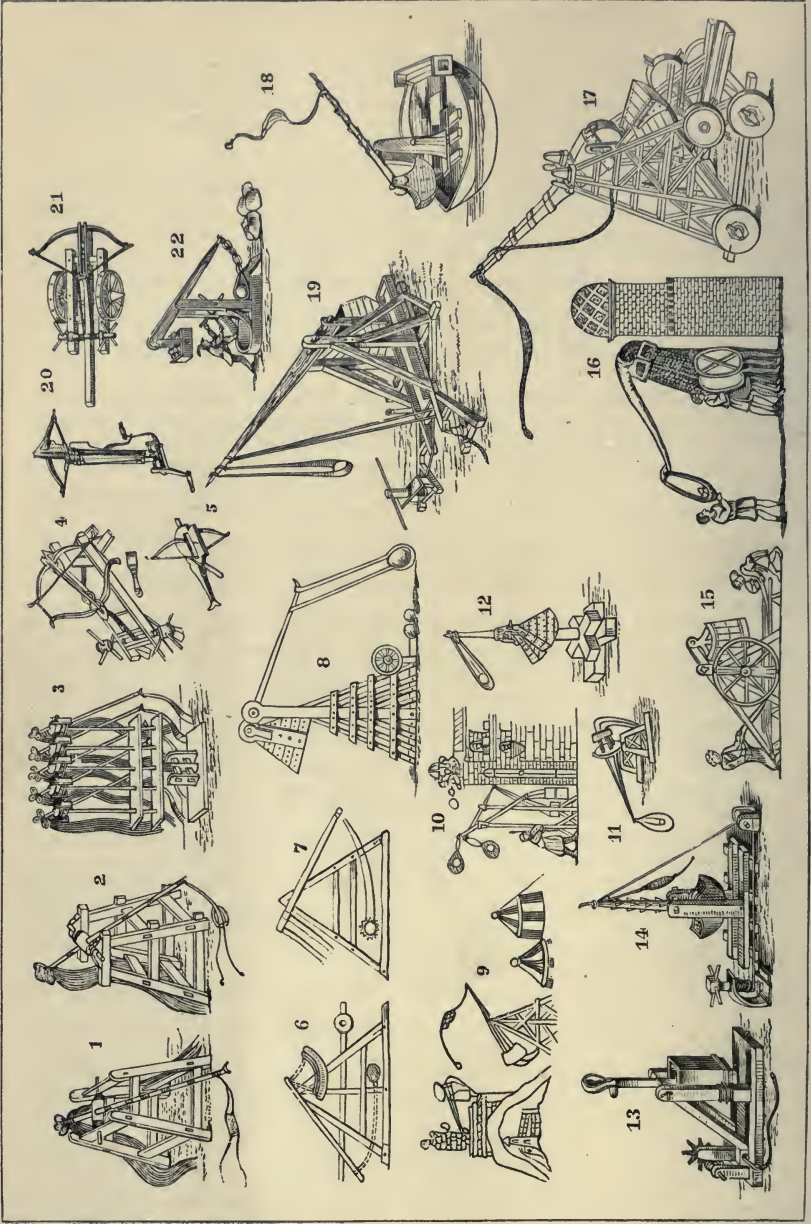
In the final defence of Acre (1291) we hear of *balistæ bipedales* (with a forked rest?) and other *vertiginales* (traversing on a pivot?) that shot 3 quarrels at once, and with such force as to *stitch* the Saracens to their bucklers—*cum clypeis consutos interfecerunt*.

The crossbow, though apparently indigenous among various tribes of Indo-China, seems to have been a new introduction in European warfare in the 12th century. William of Brittainy in a poem called the *Philippis*, speaking of the early days of Philip Augustus, says:—

“Francigenis nostris illis ignota diebus
Res erat omnino quid balistarius arcus,
Quid balista foret, nec habebat in agmine toto
Rex quenquam sciret armis qui talibus uti.”

—*Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script.*, V. 115.

Anna Comnena calls it *Τζάγρα* (which looks like Persian *charkh*), “a barbaric bow, totally unknown to the Greeks”; and she gives a very lengthy description of it, ending: “Such then are the facts about the *Tzagra*, and a truly diabolical affair it is.” (*Alex. X.*—Paris ed. p. 291.)



Medieval Artillery Engines. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Chinese; Figs. 6, 7, 8, Saracenic; the rest Frank.

whilst the shot is projected in its parabolic flight.* To secure the most favourable result the shot should have acquired its maximum velocity, and should escape at an angle of about 45° . The attainment of this required certain proportions between the different dimensions of the machine and the weight of the shot, for which, doubtless, traditional rules of thumb existed among the mediæval engineers.

The ordinary shot consisted of stones carefully rounded. But for these were substituted on occasion rough stones with fuses attached,† pieces of red-hot iron, pots of fused metal, or casks full of Greek fire or of foul matter to corrupt the air of the besieged place. Thus carrion was shot into Negropont from such engines by Mahomed II. The Cardinal Octavian, besieging Modena in 1249, slings a dead ass into the town. Froissart several times mentions such measures, as at the siege of Thin l'Evêque on the Scheldt in 1340, when "the besiegers by their engines flung dead horses and other carrion into the castle to poison the garrison by their smell." In at least one instance the same author tells how a living man, an unlucky messenger from the Castle of Auberoche, was caught by the besiegers, thrust into the sling with the letters that he bore hung round his neck, and shot into Auberoche, where he fell dead among his horrified comrades. And Lipsius quotes from a Spanish Chronicle the story of a virtuous youth, Pelagius, who, by order of the Tyrant Abderramin, was shot across the Guadalquivir, but lighted unharmed upon the rocks beyond. Ramon de Muntaner relates how King James of Aragon, besieging Majorca in 1228, vowed vengeance against the Saracen King because he shot Christian prisoners into the besiegers' camp with his trebuchets (pp. 223-224). We have mentioned one kind of corruption propagated by these engines; the historian Wassáf tells of another. When the garrison of Dehli refused to open the gates to Aláuddin Khilji after the murder of his uncle, Firúz (1296), he loaded his mangonels with bags of gold and shot them into the fort, a measure which put an end to the opposition.

Ibn Batuta, forty years later, describes Mahomed Tughlak as entering Dehli accompanied by elephants carrying small *balistae* (*ra'áddá*), from which gold and silver pieces were shot among the crowd. And the same king, when he had given the crazy and cruel order that the population of Dehli should evacuate the city and depart to Deogir, 900 miles distant, having found two men skulking behind, one of whom was paralytic and the other blind, caused the former to be shot from a mangonel. (*A. B.* III. 395, 315.)

Some old drawings represent the shaft as discharging the shot from a kind of spoon at its extremity, without the aid of a sling (*e.g.* fig. 13); but it may be doubted if this was actually used, for the sling was essential to the efficiency of the engine. The experiments and calculations of Dufour show that without the sling, other things remaining the same, the range of the shot would be reduced by more than a half.

In some of these engines the counterpoise, consisting of a timber case filled with stones, sand, or the like, was permanently fixed to the butt-end of the shaft. This seems to have been the *Trebuchet* proper. In others the counterpoise hung free on a pivot from the yard; whilst a third kind (as in fig. 17) combined both arrangements. The first kind shot most steadily and truly; the second with more force.

Those machines, in which the force of men pulling cords took the place of the counterpoise, could not discharge such weighty shot, but they could be worked more rapidly, and no doubt could be made of lighter scantling. Mr. Hewitt points out a curious resemblance between this kind of Trebuchet and the apparatus used on the Thames to raise the cargo from the hold of a collier.

The Emperor Napoleon deduces from certain passages in mediæval writers that the *Mangonel* was similar to the Trebuchet, but of lighter structure and power. But

* The construction is best seen in Figs. 17 and 19. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in the cut are from Chinese sources; Figs. 6, 7, 8 from Arabic works; the rest from European sources.

† Christine de Pisan says that when keeping up a discharge by night lighted brands should be attached to the stones in order to observe and correct the practice. (*Livre des faits, etc., du sage Roy Charles*, Pt. II. ch. xxiv.)

often certainly the term Mangonel seems to be used generically for all machines of this class. Marino Sanudo uses no word but *Machina*, which he appears to employ as the Latin equivalent of *Mangonel*, whilst the machine which he describes is a Trebuchet with moveable counterpoise. The history of the word appears to be the following. The Greek word *μάγανον*, "a piece of witchcraft," came to signify a juggler's trick, an unexpected contrivance (in modern slang "a jim"), and so specially a military engine. It seems to have reached this specific meaning by the time of Hero the Younger, who is believed to have written in the first half of the 7th century. From the form *μαγγανικόν* the Orientals got *Manganik* and *Manjánik*,* whilst the Franks adopted *Mangona* and *Mangonella*. Hence the verbs *manganare* and *amanganare*, to batter and crush with such engines, and eventually our verb "to mangle." Again, when the use of gunpowder rendered these warlike engines obsolete, perhaps their ponderous counterweights were utilised in the peaceful arts of the laundry, and hence gave us our substantive "the Mangle" (It. *Mangano*)!

The Emperor Napoleon, when Prince President, caused some interesting experiments in the matter of mediæval artillery to be carried out at Vincennes, and a full-sized trebuchet was constructed there. With a shaft of 33 feet 9 inches in length, having a permanent counterweight of 3300 lbs. and a pivoted counterweight of 6600 lbs. more, the utmost effect attained was the discharge of an iron 24-kilo. shot to a range of 191 yards, whilst a 12½-inch shell, filled with earth, ranged to 131 yards. The machine suffered greatly at each discharge, and it was impracticable to increase the counterpoise to 8000 kilos., or 17,600 lbs. as the Prince desired. It was evident that the machine was not of sufficiently massive structure. But the officers in charge satisfied themselves that, with practice in such constructions and the use of very massive timber, even the exceptional feats recorded of mediæval engineers might be realised.

Such a case is that cited by Quatremère, from an Oriental author, of the discharge of stones weighing 400 *mans*, certainly not less than 800 lbs., and possibly much more; or that of the Men of Bern, who are reported, when besieging Nidau in 1388, to have employed trebuchets which shot daily into the town upwards of 200 blocks weighing 12 cwt. apiece.† Stella relates that the Genoese armament sent against Cyprus, in 1373, among other great machines had one called *Troja* (*Truia?*), which cast stones of 12 to 18 hundredweights; and when the Venetians were besieging the revolted city of Zara in 1346, their Engineer, Master Francesco delle Barche, shot into the city stones of 3000 lbs. weight.‡ In this case the unlucky engineer was "hoist with his own petard," for while he stood adjusting one of his engines, it went off, and shot him into the town.

With reference to such cases the Emperor calculates that a stone of 3000 lbs. weight might be shot 77 yards with a counterpoise of 36,000 lbs. weight, and a shaft 65 feet long. The counterpoise, composed of stone shot of 55 lbs. each, might be contained in a cubical case of about 5½ feet to the side. The machine would be preposterous, but there is nothing impossible about it. Indeed in the Album of Villard de Honnecourt, an architect of the 13th century, which was published at Paris in 1858, in the notes accompanying a plan of a trebuchet (from which

* Professor Sprenger informs me that the first mention of the *Manjanik* in Mahomedan history is at the siege of Táyif by Mahomed himself, A.D. 630 (and see *Sprenger's Mohammed* [German], III. 330). The *Annales Marbacenses* in *Pertz*, xvii. 172, say under 1212, speaking of wars of the Emperor Otho in Germany: "Ibi tunc cepit haberi usus instrumenti bellici quod vulgo *tribok* appellari solet."

There is a ludicrous Oriental derivation of *Manjanik*, from the Persian: "*Man chi nek*!" "How good am I!" Ibn Khallikan remarks that the word must be foreign, because the letters *j* and *k* (ج and ك) never occur together in genuine Arabic words (*Notes* by Mr. E. Thomas, F.R.S.). It may be noticed that the letters in question occur together in another Arabic word of foreign origin used by Polo, viz. *Játhalkh*.

† Dufour mentions that stone shot of the mediæval eng. exist at Zurich, of 20 and 22 inches diameter. The largest of these would, however, scarcely exceed 500 lbs. in weight.

‡ *Georg. Stellæ Ann. in Muratori*, XVII. 1105; and *Daru*, Bk. viii. § 12.

Professor Willis restored the machine as it is shown in our fig. 19), the artist remarks: "It is a great job to heave down the beam, for the counterpoise is very heavy. For it consists of a chest full of earth which is 2 great toises in length, 8 feet in breadth, and 12 feet in depth" (p. 203).

Such calculations enable us to understand the enormous quantities of material said to have been used in some of the larger mediæval machines. Thus Abulfeda speaks of one used at the final capture of Acre, which was entrusted to the troops of Hamath, and which formed a load for 100 carts, of which one was in charge of the historian himself. The romance of Richard Cœur de Lion tells how in the King's Fleet an entire ship was taken up by one such machine with its gear:—

"Another schyp was laden yet
With an engyne hyghte Robinet,
(It was Richardys o mangonel)
And all the takyl that thereto fel."

Twenty-four machines, captured from the Saracens by St. Lewis in his first partial success on the Nile, afforded material for stockading his whole camp. A great machine which cumbered the Tower of St. Paul at Orleans, and was dismantled previous to the celebrated defence against the English, furnished 26 cart-loads of timber. (*Abulf. Ann. Muslem*, V. 95-97; *Weber*, II. 56; *Michel's Joinville*, App. p. 278; *Jollois, H. du Siège d'Orleans*, 1833, p. 12.)

The number of such engines employed was sometimes very great. We have seen that St. Lewis captured 24 at once, and these had been employed in the field. Villehardouin says that the fleet which went from Venice to the attack of Constantinople carried more than 300 perriers and mangonels, besides quantities of other engines required for a siege (ch. xxxviii). At the siege of Acre in 1291, just referred to, the Saracens, according to Makrizi, set 92 engines in battery against the city, whilst Abulfaraj says 300, and a Frank account, of great and small, 666. The larger ones are said to have shot stones of "a kantar and even more." (*Makrizi*, III. 125; *Reinaud, Chroniques Arabes, etc.*, p. 570; *De Excidio Urbis Aconis*, in *Martène and Durand*, V. 769.)

How heavy a mangonade was sometimes kept up may be understood from the account of the operations on the Nile, already alluded to. The King was trying to run a dam across a branch of the river, and had protected the head of his work by "cat-castles" or towers of timber, occupied by archers, and these again supported by trebuchets, etc., in battery. "And," says Jean Pierre Sarrasin, the King's Chamberlain, "when the Saracens saw what was going on, they planted a great number of engines against ours, and to destroy our towers and our causeway they shot such vast quantities of stones, great and small, that all men stood amazed. They slung stones, and discharged arrows, and shot quarrels from winch-arblasts, and pelted us with Turkish darts and Greek fire, and kept up such a harassment of every kind against our engines and our men working at the causeway, that it was horrid either to see or to hear. Stones, darts, arrows, quarrels, and Greek fire came down on them like rain."

The Emperor Napoleon observes that the direct or grazing fire of the great arblasts may be compared to that of guns in more modern war, whilst the mangonels represent mortar-fire. And this vertical fire was by no means contemptible, at least against buildings of ordinary construction. At the sieges of Thin l'Evêque in 1340, and Auberoche in 1344, already cited, Froissart says the French cast stones in, night and day, so as in a few days to demolish all the roofs of the towers, and none within durst venture out of the vaulted basement.

The Emperor's experiments showed that these machines were capable of surprisingly accurate direction. And the mediæval histories present some remarkable feats of this kind. Thus, in the attack of Mortagne by the men of Hainault and Valenciennes (1340), the latter had an engine which was a great annoyance to the garrison; there was a clever engineer in the garrison who set up another machine

against it, and adjusted it so well that the first shot fell within 12 paces of the enemy's engine, the second fell near the box, and the third struck the shaft and split it in two.

Already in the first half of the 13th century, a French poet (quoted by Weber) looks forward with disgust to the supersession of the feats of chivalry by more mechanical methods of war :—

“Chevaliers sont esperdus,
Cil ont auques leur tens perdus ;
Arbalestier et mineor
Et perrier et engigneor
Seront dorenavant plus chier.”

When Gházán Khan was about to besiege the castle of Damascus in 1300, so much importance was attached to this art that whilst his Engineer, a man of reputation therein, was engaged in preparing the machines, the Governor of the castle offered a reward of 1000 dinars for that personage's head. And one of the garrison was daring enough to enter the Mongol camp, stab the Engineer, and carry back his head into the castle !

Marino Sanudo, about the same time, speaks of the range of these engines with a prophetic sense of the importance of artillery in war :—

“On this subject (length of range) the engineers and experts of the army should employ their very sharpest wits. For if the shot of one army, whether engine-stones or pointed projectiles, have a longer range than the shot of the enemy, rest assured that the side whose artillery hath the longest range will have a vast advantage in action. Plainly, if the Christian shot can take effect on the Pagan forces, whilst the Pagan shot cannot reach the Christian forces, it may be safely asserted that the Christians will continually gain ground from the enemy, or, in other words, they will win the battle.”

The importance of these machines in war, and the efforts made to render them more effective, went on augmenting till the introduction of the still more “villanous saltpetre,” even then, however, coming to no sudden halt. Several of the instances that we have cited of machines of extraordinary power belong to a time when the use of cannon had made some progress. The old engines were employed by Timur ; in the wars of the Hussites as late as 1422 ; and, as we have seen, up to the middle of that century by Mahomed II. They are also distinctly represented on the towers of Aden, in the contemporary print of the escalade in 1514, reproduced in this volume. (Bk. III. ch. xxxvi.)

(*Etudes sur le Passé et l'Avenir de l'Artillerie*, par L. N. Bonaparte, etc., tom. II. ; *Marinus Sanutius*, Bk. II. Pt. 4, ch. xxi. and xxii. ; *Kington's Fred. II.*, II. 488 ; *Froissart*, I. 69, 81, 182 ; *Elliot*, III. 41, etc. ; *Hewitt's Ancient Armour*, I. 350 ; *Pertz, Scriptores*, XVIII. 420, 751 ; *Q. R.* 135-7 ; *Weber*, III. 103 ; *Hammer, Ilch.* II. 95.)

NOTE 4.—Very like this is what the Romance of Cœur de Lion tells of the effects of Sir Fulke Doyley's mangonels on the Saracens of *Ebedy* :—

“Sir Fouke brought good engynes
Swylke knew but fewe Sarazynes—

* * *
A prys tour stood ovyr the Gate ;
He bent his engynes and threw thereate
A great stone that harde droff,
That the Tour al to roff
* * *

And slough the folk that therinne stood ;
The other fledde and wer nygh wood,
And sayde it was the devyls dent,” etc.—*Weber*, II. 172.

NOTE 5.—This chapter is one of the most perplexing in the whole book, owing to the chronological difficulties involved.

SAIANFU is SIANG-YANG FU, which stands on the south bank of the River Han, and with the sister city of Fan-ch'eng, on the opposite bank, commands the junction of two important approaches to the southern provinces, viz. that from Shen-si down the Han, and that from Shan-si and Peking down the Pe-ho. Fan-ch'eng seems now to be the more important place of the two.

The name given to the city by Polo is precisely that which Siang-yang bears in Rashiduddin, and there is no room for doubt as to its identity.

The Chinese historians relate that Kúblái was strongly advised to make the capture of Siang-yang and Fan-ch'eng a preliminary to his intended attack upon the Sung. The siege was undertaken in the latter part of 1268, and the twin cities held out till the spring [March] of 1273. Nor did Kúblái apparently prosecute any other operations against the Sung during that long interval.

Now Polo represents that the long siege of Saianfu, instead of being a prologue to the subjugation of Manzi, was the protracted epilogue of that enterprise; and he also represents the fall of the place as caused by advice and assistance rendered by his father, his uncle, and himself, a circumstance consistent only with the siege's having really been such an epilogue to the war. For, according to the narrative as it stands in all the texts, the Polos *could not* have reached the Court of Kúblái before the end of 1274, *i.e.* a year and a half after the fall of Siang-yang, as represented in the Chinese histories.

The difficulty is not removed, nor, it appears to me, abated in any degree, by omitting the name of Marco as one of the agents in this affair, an omission which occurs both in Pauthier's MS. B and in Ramusio. Pauthier suggests that the father and uncle may have given the advice and assistance in question when on their first visit to the Kaan, and when the siege of Siang-yang was first contemplated. But this would be quite inconsistent with the assertion that the place had held out three years longer than the rest of Manzi, as well as with the idea that their aid had abridged the duration of the siege, and, in fact, with the spirit of the whole story. It is certainly very difficult in this case to justify Marco's veracity, but I am very unwilling to believe that there was no justification in the facts.

It is a very curious circumstance that the historian Wassáf also appears to represent Saianfu (see note 5, ch. lxxv.) as holding out after all the rest of Manzi had been conquered. Yet the Chinese annals are systematic, minute, and consequent, and it seems impossible to attribute to them such a misplacement of an event which they represent as the key to the conquest of Southern China.

In comparing Marco's story with that of the Chinese, we find the same coincidence in prominent features, accompanying a discrepancy in details, that we have had occasion to notice in other cases where his narrative intersects history. The Chinese account runs as follows:—

In 1271, after Siang-yang and Fan-ch'eng had held out already nearly three years, an Uighúr General serving at the siege, whose name was Alihaiya, urged the Emperor to send to the West for engineers expert at the construction and working of machines casting stones of 150 lbs. weight. With such aid he assured Kúblái the place would speedily be taken. Kúblái sent to his nephew Abaka in Persia for such engineers, and two were accordingly sent post to China, *Alawating* of Mufali and his pupil Ysemain of Huli or Hiulie (probably *Ala'uddin* of *Miafarakain* and *Ismael* of *Heri* or *Herat*). Kúblái on their arrival gave them military rank. They exhibited their skill before the Emperor at Tatu, and in the latter part of 1272 they reached the camp before Siang-yang, and set up their engines. The noise made by the machines, and the crash of the shot as it broke through everything in its fall, caused great alarm in the garrison. Fan-ch'eng was first taken by assault, and some weeks later Siang-yang surrendered.

The shot used on this occasion weighed 125 Chinese pounds (if *catties*, then equal to about 166 *lbs. avoird.*), and penetrated 7 or 8 feet into the earth.

Rashiduddin also mentions the siege of Siangyang, as we learn from D'Ohsson. He states that as there were in China none of the *Manjanlks* or Mangonels called *Kumghá*, the Kaan caused a certain engineer to be sent from Damascus or Balbek, and the three sons of this person, Abubakr, Ibrahim, and Mahomed, with their workmen, constructed seven great Manjanlks which were employed against SAYANFU, a frontier fortress and bulwerk of Manzi.

We thus see that three different notices of the siege of Siang-yang, Chinese, Persian, and Venetian, all concur as to the employment of foreign engineers from the West, but all differ as to the individuals.

We have seen that one of the MSS. makes Polo assert that till this event the Mongols and Chinese were totally ignorant of mangonels and trebuchets. This, however, is quite untrue; and it is not very easy to reconcile even the statement, implied in all versions of the story, that mangonels of considerable power were unknown in the far East, with other circumstances related in Mongol history.

The Persian History called *Tabakát-i-Násiri* speaks of Aikah Nowin the *Manjanlki Khás* or Engineer-in-Chief to Chinghiz Khan, and his corps of ten thousand *Manjanlks* or Mangonellers. The Chinese histories used by Gaubil also speak of these artillery battalions of Chinghiz. At the siege of Kai-fung fu near the Hwang-Ho, the latest capital of the Kin Emperors, in 1232, the Mongol General, Subutai, threw from his engines great quarters of millstones which smashed the battlements and watch-towers on the ramparts, and even the great timbers of houses in the city. In 1236 we find the Chinese garrison of Chinchau (*I-chin-hien* on the Great Kiang near the Great Canal) repelling the Mongol attack, partly by means of their stone shot. When Hulaku was about to march against Persia (1253), his brother, the Great Kaan Mangku, sent to *Cathay* to fetch thence 1000 families of mangonellers, naphtha-shooters, and arblasters. Some of the crossbows used by these latter had a range, we are told, of 2500 paces! European history bears some similar evidence. One of the Tartar characteristics reported by a fugitive Russian Archbishop, in Matt. Paris (p. 570 under 1244), is: "*Machinas habent multiplicés, recte et fortiter jacentes.*"

It is evident, therefore, that the Mongols and Chinese had engines of war, but that they were deficient in some advantage possessed by those of the Western nations. Rashiduddin's expression as to their having no *Kumghá* mangonels, seems to be unexplained. Is it perhaps an error for *Karábughá*, the name given by the Turks and Arabs to a kind of great mangonel? This was known also in Europe as Carabaga, Calabria, etc. It is mentioned under the former name by Marino Sanudo, and under the latter, with other quaintly-named engines, by William of Tudela, as used by Simon de Montfort the Elder against the Albigenses:—

"E dressa sos *Calabres*, et foi *Mal Vezina*
E sas outras pereiras, e *Dona*, e *Reina*;
Pessia les autz murs e la sala peirina."*

("He set up his *Calibers*, and likewise his *Ill-Neighbours*,
With many a more machine, this the *Lady*, that the *Queen*,
And breached the lofty walls, and smashed the stately Halls.")

Now, in looking at the Chinese representations of their ancient mangonels, which are evidently genuine, and of which I have given some specimens (figs. 1, 2, 3), I see none worked by the counterpoise; all (and there are six or seven different representations in the work from which these are taken) are shown as worked by man-ropes. Hence, probably, the improvement brought from the West was essentially the use of the counterpoised lever. And, after I had come to this conclusion, I found it to be the view of Captain Favé. (See *Du Feu Grégeois*, by MM. Reinaud and Favé, p. 193.)

In Ramusio the two Polos propose to Kúblái to make "*mangani al modo di*

* Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, vol. i. No. 22.

Ponente"; and it is worthy of note that in the campaigns of Alaudin Khilji and his generals in the Deccan, circa 1300, frequent mention is made of the *Western Manjaniks* and their great power. (See *Elliot*, III. 75, 78, etc.)

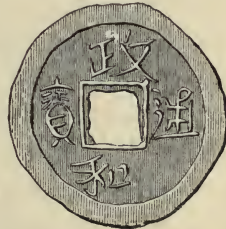
Of the kind worked by man-ropes must have been that huge mangonel which Mahomed Ibn Kásim, the conqueror of Sind, set in battery against the great Dagoba of Daibul, and which required 500 men to work it. Like Simon de Montfort's it had a tender name; it was called "The Bride." (*Elliot*, I. 120.)

Before quitting this subject, I will quote a curious passage from the History of the Sung Dynasty, contributed to the work of Reynaud and Favé by M. Stanislas Julien: "In the 9th year of the period Hien-shun (A.D. 1273) the frontier cities had fallen into the hands of the enemy (Tartars). The *Pao* (or engines for shooting) of the Hwei-Hwei (Mahomedans) were imitated, but in imitating them very ingenious improvements were introduced, and *pao* of a different and very superior kind were constructed. Moreover, an extraordinary method was invented of neutralising the effects of the enemy's *pao*. Ropes were made of rice-straw 4 inches thick, and 34 feet in length. Twenty such ropes were joined, applied to the tops of buildings, and covered with clay. In this manner the fire-arrows, fire-*pao*, and even the *pao* casting stones of 100 lbs. weight, could cause no damage to the towers or houses." (*Ib.* 196; also for previous parts of this note, *Visdelou*, 188; *Gaubil*, 34, 155 *seqq.* and 70; *De Mailla*, 329; *Pauthier in loco* and Introduction; *D'Ohsson*, II. 35, and 391; Notes by Mr. Edward Thomas, F.R.S.; *Q. Rashid*, pp. 132, 136.) [See I. p. 342.]

[Captain Gill writes (*River of Golden Sand*, I. p. 148): "The word 'P'ao' which now means 'cannon,' was, it was asserted, found in old Chinese books of a date anterior to that in which gunpowder was first known to Europeans; hence the deduction was drawn that the Chinese were acquainted with gunpowder before it was used in the West. But close examination shows that in all old books the radical of the character 'P'ao' means 'stone,' but that in modern books the radical of the character 'P'ao' means 'fire'; that the character with the radical 'fire' only appears in books well known to have been written since the introduction of gunpowder into the West; and that the old character 'P'ao' in reality means 'Balista.'"—H. C.]

["Wheeled boats are mentioned in 1272 at the siege of Siang-yang. Kúblái did not decide to 'go for' Manzi, *i.e.* the southern of the two Chinese Empires, until 1273. Bayan did not start until 1274, appearing before Hankow in January 1275. Wuhu and Taiping surrendered in April; then Chinkiang, Kien K'ang (Nanking), and Ning kwoh; the final crushing blow being dealt at Hwai-chan. In March 1276, the Manzi Emperor accepted vassalhood. Kiang-nan was regularly administered in 1278." (*E. H. Parker, China Review*, xxiv. p. 105.)—H. C.]

Siang-yang has been twice visited by Mr. A. Wylie. Just before his first visit (I believe in 1866) a discovery had been made in the city of a quantity of treasure buried at the time of the siege. One of the local officers gave Mr. Wylie one of the copper coins, not indeed in itself of any great rarity, but worth engraving here on account of its connection with the siege commemorated in the text; and a little on the principle of Smith the Weaver's evidence:—"The bricks are alive at this day to testify of it; therefore deny it not."



Coin from a treasure hidden at Siang-yang during the siege in 1268-73, lately discovered.

CHAPTER LXXI.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF SINJU AND THE GREAT RIVER KIAN.

YOU must know that when you leave the city of Yanju, after going 15 miles south-east, you come to a city called SINJU, of no great size, but possessing a very great amount of shipping and trade. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Great Kaan, and use paper-money.¹

And you must know that this city stands on the greatest river in the world, the name of which is KIAN. It is in some places ten miles wide, in others eight, in others six, and it is more than 100 days' journey in length from one end to the other. This it is that brings so much trade to the city we are speaking of; for on the waters of that river merchandize is perpetually coming and going, from and to the various parts of the world, enriching the city, and bringing a great revenue to the Great Kaan.

And I assure you this river flows so far and traverses so many countries and cities that in good sooth there pass and repass on its waters a great number of vessels, and more wealth and merchandize than on all the rivers and all the seas of Christendom put together! It seems indeed more like a Sea than a River.² Messer Marco Polo said that he once beheld at that city 15,000 vessels at one time. And you may judge, if this city, of no great size, has such a number, how many must there be altogether, considering that on the banks of this river there are more than sixteen provinces and more than 200 great cities, besides towns and villages, all possessing vessels?

Messer Marco Polo aforesaid tells us that he heard from the officer employed to collect the Great Kaan's duties on this river that there passed up-stream 200,000

vessels in the year, without counting those that passed down! [Indeed as it has a course of such great length, and receives so many other navigable rivers, it is no wonder that the merchandize which is borne on it is of vast amount and value. And the article in largest quantity of all is salt, which is carried by this river and its branches to all the cities on their banks, and thence to the other cities in the interior.³]

The vessels which ply on this river are decked. They have but one mast, but they are of great burthen, for I can assure you they carry (reckoning by our weight) from 4000 up to 12,000 cantars each.⁴

Now we will quit this matter and I will tell you of another city called CAIJU. But first I must mention a point I had forgotten. You must know that the vessels on this river, in going up-stream have to be tracked, for the current is so strong that they could not make head in any other manner. Now the tow-line, which is some 300 paces in length, is made of nothing but cane. 'Tis in this way: they have those great canes of which I told you before that they are some fifteen paces in length; these they take and split from end to end [into many slender strips], and then they twist these strips together so as to make a rope of any length they please. And the ropes so made are stronger than if they were made of hemp.⁵

[There are at many places on this river hills and rocky eminences on which the idol-monasteries and other edifices are built; and you find on its shores a constant succession of villages and inhabited places.⁶

NOTE 1.—The traveller's diversion from his direct course—*sceloc* or south-east, as he regards it—towards Fo-kien, in order to notice Ngan-king (as we have supposed) and Siang-yang, has sadly thrown out both the old translators and transcribers, and the modern commentators. Though the G. Text has here "*quant l'en se part de la cité de Angui*," I cannot doubt that *Jangui* (Yanju) is the reading intended, and that Polo here comes back to the main line of his journey.



“Sono sopra questo fiume in molti luoghi, colline e monticelli sassosi, sopra quali sono edificati monasteri d'Edoli, e altre stanze.”

I conceive Sinju to be the city which was then called CHÊN-CHAU, but now I-CHING HIEN,* and which stands on the Kiang as near as may be 15 miles from Yang-chau. It is indeed south-west instead of south-east, but those who have noted the style of Polo's orientation will not attach much importance to this. I-ching hien is still the great port of the Yang-chau salt manufacture, for export by the Kiang and its branches to the interior provinces. It communicates with the Grand Canal by two branch canals. Admiral Collinson, in 1842, remarked the great numbers of vessels lying in the creek off I-ching. (See note I to ch. lxxviii. above; and *J. R. G. S.* XVII. 139.)

[“We anchored at a place near the town of *Y-ching-hien*, distinguished by a pagoda. The most remarkable objects that struck us here were some enormously large salt-junks of a very singular shape, approaching to a crescent, with sterns at least thirty feet above the water, and bows that were two-thirds of that height. They had ‘bright sides,’ that is, were varnished over the natural wood without painting, a very common style in China.” (*Davis, Sketches*, II. p. 13.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The river is, of course, the Great Kiang or Yang-tzŭ Kiang (already spoken of in ch. xliv. as the *Kiansui*), which Polo was justified in calling the greatest river in the world, whilst the New World was yet hidden. The breadth seems to be a good deal exaggerated, the length not at all. His expressions about it were perhaps accompanied by a mental reference to the term *Dalai*, “The Sea,” which the Mongols appear to have given the river. (See *Fr. Odoric*, p. 121.) The Chinese have a popular saying, “*Hai vu ping, Kiang vu ti*,” “Boundless is the Ocean, bottomless the Kiang!”

NOTE 3.—“The assertion that there is a greater amount of tonnage belonging to the Chinese than to all other nations combined, does not appear overcharged to those who have seen the swarms of boats on their rivers, though it might not be found strictly true.” (*Mid. Kingd.* II. 398.) Barrow's picture of the life, traffic, and population on the Kiang, excepting as to specific numbers, quite bears out Marco's account. This part of China suffered so long from the wars of the T'ai-P'ing rebellion that to travellers it has presented thirty years ago an aspect sadly belying its old fame. Such havoc is not readily repaired in a few years, nor in a few centuries, but prosperity is reviving, and European navigation is making an important figure on the Kiang.

[From the *Returns of Trade for the Year 1900* of the Imperial Maritime Customs of China, we take the following figures regarding the navigation on the Kiang. Steamers entered inwards and cleared outwards, under General Regulations at *Chung-King*: 1; 331 tons; sailing vessels, 2681; 84,862 tons, of which Chinese, 816; 27,684 tons. At *Ichang*: 314; 231,000 tons, of which Chinese, 118; 66,944 tons; sailing vessels, all Chinese, 5139; 163,320 tons. At *Shasi*: 606; 453,818 tons, of which Chinese, 606; 453,818 tons; no sailing vessels. At *Yochow*: 650; 299,962 tons, of which Chinese, 458; 148,112 tons; no sailing vessels; under Inland Steam Navigation Rules, 280 Chinese vessels, 20,958 tons. At *Hankow*: under General Regulation, Steamers, 2314; 2,101,555 tons, of which Chinese, 758; 462,424 tons; sailing vessels, 1137; 166,118 tons, of which Chinese, 1129; 163,724 tons; under Inland Steam Navigation Rules, 1682 Chinese vessels, 31,173 tons. At *Kiu-Kiang*: under General Regulation, Steamers, 2916; 3,393,514 tons, of which Chinese, 478; 697,468 tons; sailing vessels, 163; 29,996 tons, of which Chinese, 160; 27,797 tons; under Inland Steam Navigation Rules, 798 Chinese vessels; 21,670 tons. At *Wu-hu*: under General Regulation, Steamers, 3395; 3,713,172 tons, of which Chinese, 540; 678,362 tons; sailing vessels, 356; 48,299 tons, of which Chinese, 355; 47,848 tons; under Inland Steam Navigation Rules, 286 Chinese vessels; 4272 tons. At *Nanking*: under General Regulation, Steamers, 1672; 1,138,726 tons, of which Chinese, 970; 713,232 tons; sailing vessels, 290; 36,873 tons, of which Chinese, 281; 34,985 tons; under Inland Steam Navigation Rules, 30 Chinese vessels; 810 tons. At *Chinkingang*:

* See *Gaubil*, p. 93, note 4; *Biot*, p. 275 [and *Playfair's Dict.*, p. 393].

under General Regulation, Steamers, 4710; 4,413,452 tons, of which Chinese, 924; 794,724 tons; sailing vessels, 1793; 294,664 tons, of which Chinese, 1771; 290,286 tons; under Inland Steam Navigation Rules, 2920; 39,346 tons, of which Chinese, 1684; 22,776 tons.—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—†12,000 *cantars* would be more than 500 tons, and this is justified by the burthen of *Chinese* vessels on the river; we see it is more than doubled by that of some British or American steamers thereon. In the passage referred to under Note 1, Admiral Collinson speaks of the salt-junks at I-ching as “very remarkable, being built nearly in the form of a crescent, the stern rising in some of them nearly 30 feet and the prow 20, whilst the mast is 90 feet high.” These dimensions imply large capacity. Oliphant speaks of the old rice-junks for the canal traffic as transporting 200 and 300 tons (I. 197).

NOTE 5.—The tow-line in river-boats is usually made (as here described) of strips of bamboo twisted. Hawsers are also made of bamboo. Ramusio, in this passage, says the boats are tracked by horses, ten or twelve to each vessel. I do not find this mentioned anywhere else, nor has any traveller in China that I have consulted heard of such a thing.

NOTE 6.—Such eminences as are here alluded to are the Little Orphan Rock, Silver Island, and the Golden Island, which is mentioned in the following chapter. We give on the preceding page illustrations of those three picturesque islands; the Orphan Rock at the top, Golden Island in the middle, Silver Island below.

CHAPTER LXXII.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAIJU.

CAIJU is a small city towards the south-east. The people are subject to the Great Kaan and have paper-money. It stands upon the river before mentioned.¹ At this place are collected great quantities of corn and rice to be transported to the great city of Cambaluc for the use of the Kaan's Court; for the grain for the Court all comes from this part of the country. You must understand that the Emperor hath caused a water-communication to be made from this city to Cambaluc, in the shape of a wide and deep channel dug between stream and stream, between lake and lake, forming as it were a great river on which large vessels can ply. And thus there is a communication all the way from this city of Caiju to Cambaluc; so that great vessels with their loads can go the whole way.

A land road also exists, for the earth dug from those channels has been thrown up so as to form an embanked road on either side.²

Just opposite to the city of Caiju, in the middle of the River, there stands a rocky island on which there is an idol-monastery containing some 200 idolatrous friars, and a vast number of idols. And this Abbey holds supremacy over a number of other idol-monasteries, just like an archbishop's see among Christians.³

Now we will leave this and cross the river, and I will tell you of a city called Chinghianfu.

NOTE 1.—No place in Polo's travels is better identified by his local indications than this. It is on the Kiang; it is at the extremity of the Great Canal from Cambaluc; it is opposite the Golden Island and Chin-kiang fu. Hence it is KWA-CHAU, as Murray pointed out. Marsden here misunderstands his text, and puts the place on the south side of the Kiang.

Here Van Braam notices that there passed in the course of the day more than fifty great rice-boats, most of which could easily carry more than 300,000 lbs. of rice. And Mr. Alabaster, in 1868, speaks of the canal from Yang-chau to Kwa-chau as "full of junks."

[Sir J. F. Davis writes (*Sketches of China*, II. p. 6): "Two . . . days . . . were occupied in exploring the half-deserted town of *Kwa-chow*, whose name signifies 'the island of gourds,' being completely insulated by the river and canal. We took a long walk along the top of the walls, which were as usual of great thickness, and afforded a broad level platform behind the parapet: the parapet itself, about six feet high, did not in thickness exceed the length of a brick and a half, and the embrasures were evidently not constructed for cannon, being much too high. A very considerable portion of the area within the walls consisted of burial-grounds planted with cypress; and this alone was a sufficient proof of the decayed condition of the place, as in modern or fully inhabited cities no person can be buried within the walls. Almost every spot bore traces of ruin, and there appeared to be but one good street in the whole town; this, however, was full of shops, and as busy as Chinese streets always are."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Rashiduddin gives the following account of the Grand Canal spoken of in this passage. "The river of Khanbaligh had," he says, "in the course of time, become so shallow as not to admit the entrance of shipping, so that they had to discharge their cargoes and send them up to Khanbaligh on pack-cattle. And the Chinese engineers and men of science having reported that the vessels from the provinces of Cathay, from Machin, and from the cities of Khingsai and Zaitún, could no longer reach the court, the Kaan gave them orders to dig a great canal into which the waters of the said river, and of several others, should be introduced. This canal extends for a distance of 40 days' navigation from Khanbaligh to Khingsai and Zaitún, the ports frequented by the ships that come from India, and from the city of Machin (Canton). The canal is provided with many sluices . . . and when vessels arrive at these sluices they are hoisted up by means of machinery, whatever be their size, and let down on the other side into the water. The canal has a width of more than 30 ells. Kúblái caused the sides of the embankments to be revetted

with stone, in order to prevent the earth giving way. Along the side of the canal runs the high road to Machin, extending for a space of 40 days' journey, and this has been paved throughout, so that travellers and their animals may get along during the rainy season without sinking in the mud. . . . Shops, taverns, and villages line the road on both sides, so that dwelling succeeds dwelling without intermission throughout the whole space of 40 days' journey." (*Cathay*, 259-260.)

The canal appears to have been [begun in 1289 and to have been completed in 1292.—H. C.] though large portions were in use earlier. Its chief object was to provide the capital with food. Pauthier gives the statistics of the transport of rice by this canal from 1283 to the end of Kúblái's reign, and for some subsequent years up to 1329. In the latter year the quantity reached 3,522,163 *shi* or 1,247,633 quarters. As the supplies of rice for the capital and for the troops in the Northern Provinces always continued to be drawn from Kiang-nan, the distress and derangement caused by the recent rebel occupation of that province must have been enormous. (*Pauthier*, p. 481-482; *De Mailla*, p. 439.) Polo's account of the formation of the canal is exceedingly accurate. Compare that given by Mr. Williamson (I. 62).

NOTE 3.—"On the Kiang, not far from the mouth, is that remarkably beautiful little island called the 'Golden Isle,' surmounted by numerous temples inhabited by the votaries of Buddha or Fo, and very correctly described so many centuries since by Marco Polo." (*Davis's Chinese*, I. 149.) The monastery, according to Pauthier, was founded in the 3rd or 4th century, but the name *Kin-Shan*, or "Golden Isle," dates only from a visit of the Emperor K'ang-hi in 1684.

The monastery contained one of the most famous Buddhist libraries in China. This was in the hands of our troops during the first China war, and, as it was intended to remove the books, there was no haste made in examining their contents. Meanwhile peace came, and the library was restored. It is a pity now that the *jus belli* had not been exercised promptly, for the whole establishment was destroyed by the T'ai-P'ings in 1860, and, with the exception of the Pagoda at the top of the hill, which was left in a dilapidated state, not one stone of the buildings remained upon another. The rock had also then ceased to be an island; and the site of what not many years before had been a channel with four fathoms of water separating it from the southern shore, was covered by flourishing cabbage-gardens. (*Gützlaff in J. R. A. S.* XII. 87; *Mid. Kingd.* I. 84, 86; *Oliphant's Narrative*, II. 301; *N. and Q. Ch. and Jap.* No. 5, p. 58.)

CHAPTER LXXIII.

OF THE CITY OF CHINGHIANFU.

CHINGHIANFU is a city of Manzi. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Great Kaan, and have paper-money, and live by handicrafts and trade. They have plenty of silk, from which they make sundry kinds of stuffs of silk and gold. There are great and wealthy merchants in the place; plenty of game is to be had, and of all kinds of victual.

There are in this city two churches of Nestorian Christians which were established in the year of our Lord 1278; and I will tell you how that happened. You see, in the year just named, the Great Kaan sent a Baron of his whose name was MAR SARGHIS, a Nestorian



West Gate of Chin-kiang fu in 1842.

Christian, to be governor of this city for three years. And during the three years that he abode there he caused these two Christian churches to be built, and since then there they are. But before his time there was no church, neither were there any Christians.¹

NOTE I.—CHIN-KIANG FU retains its name unchanged. It is one which became well known in the war of 1842. On its capture on the 21st July in that year, the heroic Manchu commandant seated himself among his records and then set fire to the building, making it his funeral pyre. The city was totally destroyed in the T'ai-P'ing wars, but is rapidly recovering its position as a place of native commerce.

[Chên-kiang, "a name which may be translated 'River Guard,' stands at the point where the Grand Canal is brought to a junction with the waters of the Yang-tzu when the channel of the river proper begins to expand into an extensive tidal estuary." (*Treaty Ports of China*, p. 421.) It was declared open to foreign trade by the Treaty of Tien-Tsin 1858.—H. C.]

Mar Sarghis (or Dominus Sergius) appears to have been a common name among Armenian and other Oriental Christians. As Pauthier mentions, this very name is

one of the names of Nestorian priests inscribed in Syriac on the celebrated monument of Si-ngan fu.

[In the description of Chin-kiang quoted by the Archimandrite Palladius (see vol. i. p. 187, note 3), a Christian monastery or temple is mentioned: "The temple *Ta-hing-kuo-sze* stands in Chin-kiang fu, in the quarter called *K'ia-t'ao h'eang*. It was built in the 18th year of *Chi-yuen* (A.D. 1281) by the *Sub-darugachi*, *Sie-li-ki-sze* (Sergius). *Liang Siang*, the teacher in the Confucian school, wrote a commemorative inscription for him." From this document we see that "*Sie-mi-sze-hien* (Samarcand) is distant from China 100,000 li (probably a mistake for 10,000) to the north-west. It is a country where the religion of the *Ye-li-ko-wen* dominates. . . . The founder of the religion was called *Ma-rh Ye-li-ya*. He lived and worked miracles a thousand five hundred years ago. *Ma Sie-li-ki-sze* (Mar Sergius) is a follower of him." (*Chinese Recorder*, VI. p. 108).—H. C.]

From this second mention of *three years* as a term of government, we may probably gather that this was the usual period for the tenure of such office. (*Mid. Kingd.*, I. 86; *Cathay*, p. xciii.)

CHAPTER LXXIV.

OF THE CITY OF CHINGINJU AND THE SLAUGHTER OF CERTAIN ALANS THERE.

LEAVING the city of Chinghianfu and travelling three days south-east through a constant succession of busy and thriving towns and villages, you arrive at the great and noble city of CHINGINJU. The people are Idolaters, use paper-money, and are subject to the Great Kaan. They live by trade and handicrafts, and they have plenty of silk. They have also abundance of game, and of all manner of victuals, for it is a most productive territory.¹

Now I must tell you of an evil deed that was done, once upon a time, by the people of this city, and how dearly they paid for it.

You see, at the time of the conquest of the great province of Manzi, when Bayan was in command, he sent a company of his troops, consisting of a people called Alans, who are Christians, to take this city.² They took it accordingly, and when they had made their

way in, they lighted upon some good wine. Of this they drank until they were all drunk, and then they lay down and slept like so many swine. So when night fell, the townspeople, seeing that they were all dead-drunk, fell upon them and slew them all; not a man escaped.

And when Bayan heard that the townspeople had thus treacherously slain his men, he sent another Admiral of his with a great force, and stormed the city; and put the whole of the inhabitants to the sword; not a man of them escaped death. And thus the whole population of that city was exterminated.³

Now we will go on, and I will tell you of another city called Suju.

NOTE 1.—Both the position and the story which follows identify this city with CHANG-CHAU. The name is written in Pauthier's MSS. *Chinginguy*, in the G. T. *Cingiggui* and *Cinghingui*, in Ramusio *Tinguigui*.

The capture of Chang-chau by Gordon's force, 11th May 1864, was the final achievement of that "Ever Victorious Army."

Regarding the territory here spoken of, once so rich and densely peopled, Mr. Medhurst says, in reference to the effects of the T'ai-P'ing insurrection: "I can conceive of no more melancholy sight than the acres of ground that one passes through strewn with remains of once thriving cities, and the miles upon miles of rich land, once carefully parcelled out into fields and gardens, but now only growing coarse grass and brambles—the home of the pheasant, the deer, and the wild pig." (*Foreigner in Far Cathay*, p. 94.)

NOTE 2.—The relics of the Alans were settled on the northern skirts of the Caucasus, where they made a stout resistance to the Mongols, but eventually became subjects of the Khans of Sarai. The name by which they were usually known in Asia in the Middle Ages was *Aas*, and this name is assigned to them by Carpini, Rubruquis, and Josafat Barbaro, as well as by Ibn Batuta. Mr. Howorth has lately denied the identity of Alans and Aas; but he treats the question as all one with the identity of Alans and Ossethi, which is another matter, as may be seen in Vivien de St. Martin's elaborate paper on the Alans (*N. Ann. des Voyages*, 1848, tom. 3, p. 129 *seqq.*). The Alans are mentioned by the Byzantine historian, Pachymeres, among nations whom the Mongols had assimilated to themselves and adopted into their military service. Gaubil, without being aware of the identity of the *Asu* (as the name *Aas* appears to be expressed in the Chinese Annals), beyond the fact that they dwelt somewhere near the Caspian, observes that this people, after they were conquered, furnished many excellent officers to the Mongols; and he mentions also that when the Mongol army was first equipt for the conquest of Southern China, many officers took service therein from among the Uighúrs, Persians, and Arabs, Kincha (people of Kipchak), the *Asu* and other foreign nations. We find also, at a later period of the Mongol history (1336), letters reaching Pope Benedict XII. from several Christian Alans holding high office at the court of Cambaluc—one of them being a *Chingsang* or Minister of the First Rank, and another a *Fanchang* or Minister of the Second Order—in which they conveyed their urgent request for the nomination of an Arch-

bishop in succession to the deceased John of Monte Corvino. John Marignolli speaks of those Alans as "the greatest and noblest nation in the world, the fairest and bravest of men," and asserts that in his day there were 30,000 of them in the Great Kaan's service, and all, at least nominally, Christians.* Rashiduddin also speaks of the Alans as Christians; though Ibn Batuta certainly mentions the *Aas* as Mahomedans. We find Alans about the same time (in 1306) fighting well in the service of the Byzantine Emperors (*Muntaner*, p. 449). All these circumstances render Marco's story of a corps of Christian Alans in the army of Bayan perfectly consistent with probability. (*Carpini*, p. 707; *Rub.*, 243; *Ramusio*, II. 92; *I. B.* II. 428; *Gaubil*, 40, 147; *Cathay*, 314 *seqq.*)

[Mr. Rockhill writes (*Rubruck*, p. 88, note): "The Alans or Aas appear to be identical with the An-ts'ai or A-lan-na of the *Hou Han shu* (bk. 88, 9), of whom we read that 'they led a pastoral life N.W. of Sogdiana (K'ang-chü) in a plain bounded by great lakes (or swamps), and in their wanderings went as far as the shores of the Northern Ocean.' (Ma T'wan-lin, bk. 338.) *Pei-shih* (bk. 97, 12) refers to them under the name of Su-tê and Wen-na-sha (see also *Bretschneider*, *Med. Geog.*, 258, *et seq.*). Strabo refers to them under the name of Aorsi, living to the north but contiguous to the Albani, whom some authors confound with them, but whom later Armenian historians carefully distinguish from them (*De Morgan*, *Mission*, i. 232). Ptolemy speaks of this people as the 'Scythian Alans' ('Αλανοὶ Σκύθαι); but the first definite mention of them in classical authors is, according to Bunbury (ii. 486), found in Dionysius Periergetes (305), who speaks of the ἀλκίτητες Ἀλανοί. (See also *De Morgan*, i. 202, and *De Guignes*, ii. 279 *et seq.*)

"Ammianus Marcellinus (xxxii. 348) says, the Alans were a congeries of tribes living E. of the Tanais (Don), and stretching far into Asia. 'Distributed over two continents, all these nations, whose various names I refrain from mentioning, though separated by immense tracts of country in which they pass their vagabond existence, have with time been confounded under the generic appellation of Alans.' Ibn Alathir, at a later date, also refers to the Alans as 'formed of numerous nations.' (*Dulaurier*, xiv. 455).

"Conquered by the Huns in the latter part of the fourth century, some of the Alans moved westward, others settled on the northern slopes of the Caucasus; though long prior to that, in A.D. 51, they had, as allies of the Georgians, ravaged Armenia. (See *Yule*, *Cathay*, 316; *De Guignes*, I., pt. ii. 277 *et seq.*; and *De Morgan*, I. 217, *et seq.*)

"Mirkhond, in the *Tarikhi Wassaf*, and other Mohammedan writers speak of the Alans and As. However this may be, it is thought that the Oss or Ossetes of the Caucasus are their modern representatives (*Klaproth*, *Tabl. hist.*, 180; *De Morgan*, i. 202, 231.)" *Aas* is the transcription of *A-soo* (*Yuen-shi*, quoted by Devéria, *Notes d'épig.*, p. 75. (See *Bretschneider*, *Med. Res.*, II., p. 84.)—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—The Chinese histories do not mention the story of the Alans and their fate; but they tell how Chang-chau was first taken by the Mongols about April 1275, and two months later recovered by the Chinese; how Bayan, some months afterwards, attacked it in person, meeting with a desperate resistance; finally, how the place was stormed, and how Bayan ordered the whole of the inhabitants to be put to the sword. Gaubil remarks that some grievous provocation must have been given, as Bayan was far from cruel. Pauthier gives original extracts on the subject, which are interesting. They picture the humane and chivalrous Bayan on this occasion as demoniacal in cruelty, sweeping together all the inhabitants of the suburbs, forcing them to construct his works of attack, and then butchering the whole of them, boiling down their carcasses, and using the fat to grease his mangonels! Perhaps there is some misunderstanding as to the *use* of this barbarous lubricant. For Carpini relates that the

* I must observe here that the learned Professor Bruun has raised doubts whether these Alans of Marignolli's could be Alans of the Caucasus, and if they were not rather *Ohtans*, i.e. Mongol princes and nobles. There are difficulties certainly about Marignolli's Alans; but obvious difficulties also in this explanation.

Tartars, when they cast Greek fire into a town, shot with it human fat, for this caused the fire to rage inextinguishably.

Cruelties, like Bayan's on this occasion, if exceptional with him, were common enough among the Mongols generally. Chinghiz, at an early period in his career, after a victory, ordered seventy great caldrons to be heated, and his prisoners to be boiled therein. And the "evil deed" of the citizens of Chang-chau fell far short of Mongol atrocities. Thus Hulaku, suspecting the Turkoman chief Nasiruddin, who had just quitted his camp with 300 men, sent a body of horse after him to cut him off. The Mongol officers told the Turkoman they had been ordered to give him and his men a parting feast; they made them all drunk and then cut their throats. (*Gaubil*, 166, 167, 170; *Carpini*, 696; *Erdmann*, 262; *Quat. Rashid*. 357.)

CHAPTER LXXV.

OF THE NOBLE CITY OF SUJU.

SUJU is a very great and noble city. The people are Idolaters, subjects of the Great Kaan, and have paper-money. They possess silk in great quantities, from which they make gold brocade and other stuffs, and they live by their manufactures and trade.¹

The city is passing great, and has a circuit of some 60 miles; it hath merchants of great wealth and an incalculable number of people. Indeed, if the men of this city and of the rest of Manzi had but the spirit of soldiers they would conquer the world; but they are no soldiers at all, only accomplished traders and most skilful craftsmen. There are also in this city many philosophers and leeches, diligent students of nature.

And you must know that in this city there are 6,000 bridges, all of stone, and so lofty that a galley, or even two galleys at once, could pass underneath one of them.²

In the mountains belonging to this city, rhubarb and ginger grow in great abundance; insomuch that you may get some 40 pounds of excellent fresh ginger for a Venice groat.³ And the city has sixteen other great

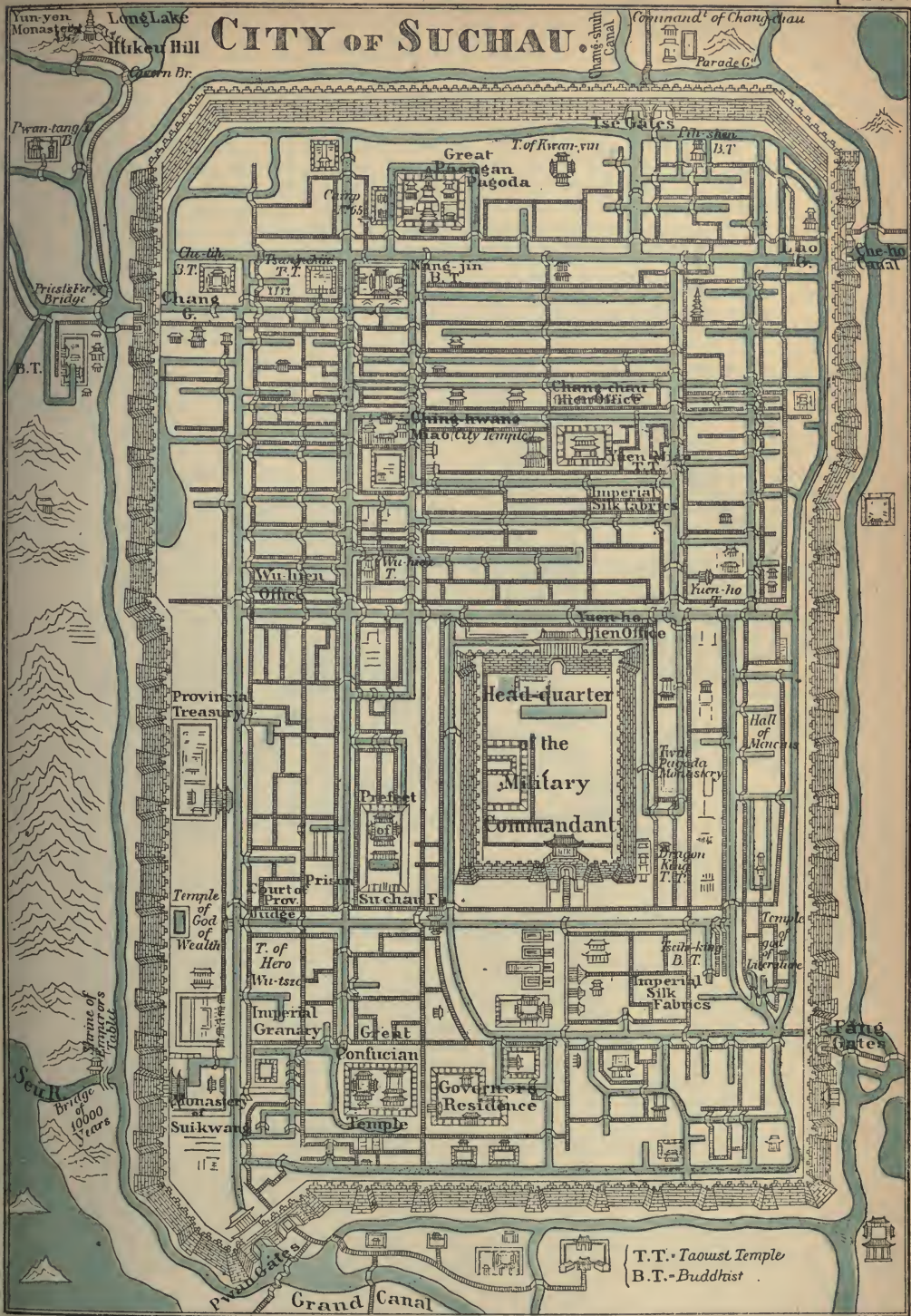
trading cities under its rule. The name of the city, Suju, signifies in our tongue, "Earth," and that of another near it, of which we shall speak presently, called Kinsay, signifies "Heaven;" and these names are given because of the great splendour of the two cities.⁴

Now let us quit Suju, and go on to another which is called VUJU, one day's journey distant; it is a great and fine city, rife with trade and manufactures. But as there is nothing more to say of it we shall go on and I will tell you of another great and noble city called VUGHIN. The people are Idolaters, &c., and possess much silk and other merchandize, and they are expert traders and craftsmen. Let us now quit Vughin and tell you of another city called CHANGAN, a great and rich place. The people are Idolaters, &c., and they live by trade and manufactures. They make great quantities of sendal of different kinds, and they have much game in the neighbourhood. There is however nothing more to say about the place, so we shall now proceed.⁵

NOTE 1.—SUJU is of course the celebrated city of SU-CHAU in Kiang-nan—before the rebellion brought ruin on it, the Paris of China. "Everything remarkable was alleged to come from it; fine pictures, fine carved-work, fine silks, and fine ladies!" (*Fortune*, I. 186.) When the Emperor K'ang-hi visited Su-chau, the citizens laid the streets with carpets and silk stuffs, but the Emperor dismounted and made his train do the like. (*Davis*, I. 186.)

[Su-chau is situated 80 miles west of Shang-hai, 12 miles east of the Great Lake, and 40 miles south of the Kiang, in the plain between this river and Hang-chau Bay. It was the capital of the old kingdom of Wu which was independent from the 12th to the 4th centuries (B.C.) inclusive; it was founded by Wu Tzū-sü, prime minister of King Hoh Lü (514-496 B.C.), who removed the capital of Wu from Mei-li (near the modern Ch'ang-chau) to the new site now occupied by the city of Su-chau. "Suchau is built in the form of a rectangle, and is about three and a half miles from North to South, by two and a half in breadth, the wall being twelve or thirteen miles in length. There are six gates." (*Rev. H. C. Du Bose, Chin. Rec.*, xix. p. 205.) It has greatly recovered since the T'ai-P'ing rebellion, and its recapture by General (then Major) Gordon on the 27th November 1863; Su-chau has been declared open to foreign trade on the 26th September 1896, under the provisions of the Japanese Treaty of 1895.

"The great trade of Soochow is silk. In the silk stores are found about 100 varieties of satin, and 200 kinds of silks and gauzes. . . . The weavers are divided into two guilds, the Nankin and Suchau, and have together about 7000 looms. Thousands of men and women are engaged in reeling the thread." (*Rev. H. C. Du Bose, Chin. Rec.*, xix. pp. 275-276.)—H. C.]



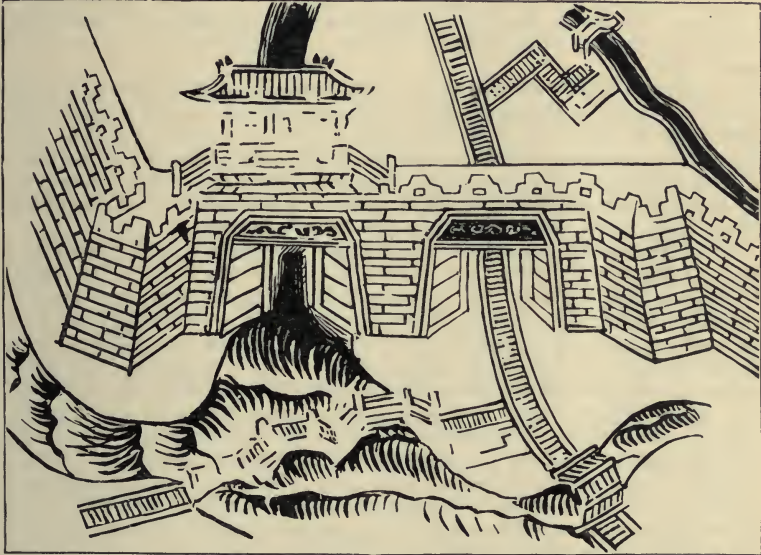
Lit. Frauentfelder, Palermo

Reduced to $\frac{1}{10}$ the Scale from a Rubbing of a PLAN INCISED ON MARBLE A-D-MCCXLVII, & preserved in the GREAT TEMPLE of CONFUCIUS at SUCHAU.

(To face p. 182, vol. II.)

NOTE 2.—I believe we must not bring Marco to book for the literal accuracy of his statements as to the bridges; but all travellers have noticed the number and elegance of the bridges of cut stone in this part of China; see, for instance, *Van Braam*, II. 107, 119-120, 124, 126; and *Deguignes*, I. 47, who gives a particular account of the arches. These are said to be often 50 or 60 feet in span.

["Within the city there are, generally speaking, six canals from North to South, and six canals from East to West, intersecting one another at from a quarter to half a mile. There are a hundred and fifty or two hundred bridges at intervals of two or three hundred yards; some of these with arches, others with stone slabs thrown across, many of which are twenty feet in length. The canals are from ten to fifteen feet wide and faced with stone." (*Rev. H. C. Du Bose, Chin. Rec.*, xix., 1888, p. 207).—H. C.]



South-West Gate and Water-Gate of Su-chau; facsimile on half the scale from a mediæval Map, incised on Marble, A.D. 1247.

NOTE 3.—This statement about the abundance of rhubarb in the hills near Su-chau is believed by the most competent authorities to be quite erroneous. Rhubarb is exported from Shang-hai, but it is brought thither from Hankau on the Upper Kiang, and Hankau receives it from the further west. Indeed Mr. Hanbury, in a note on the subject, adds his disbelief also that *ginger* is produced in Kiang-nan. And I see in the Shang-hai trade-returns of 1865, that there is *no* ginger among the exports. [Green ginger is mentioned in the Shang-hai Trade Reports for 1900 among the exports (p. 309) to the amount of 18,756 piculs; none is mentioned at Su-chau.—H. C.]. Some one, I forget where, has suggested a confusion with Suh-chau in Kan-suh, the great rhubarb mart, which seems possible.

["Polo is correct in giving Tangut as the native country of Rhubarb (*Rheum palmatum*), but no species of Rheum has hitherto been gathered by our botanists as far south as Kiang-Su, indeed, not even in Shan-tung." (*Bretschneider, Hist. of Bot. Disc.*, I. p. 5).—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—The meanings ascribed by Polo to the names of Su-chau and King-szé (Hiang-chau) show plainly enough that he was ignorant of Chinese. Odoric does not

mention Su-chau, but he gives the same explanation of Kinsay as signifying the "City of Heaven," and Wassáf also in his notice of the same city has an obscure passage about Paradise and Heaven, which is not improbably a corrupted reference to the same interpretation.* I suspect therefore that it was a "Vulgar Error" of the foreign residents in China, probably arising out of a misunderstanding of the Chinese adage quoted by Duhalde and Davis:—

"*Shang yeu P'ien l'ang, Hia yeu SU HANG !*"

"There's Paradise above 'tis true,
But here below we've HANG and SU !"

These two neighbouring cities, in the middle of the beautiful tea and silk districts, and with all the advantages of inland navigation and foreign trade, combined every source of wealth and prosperity, and were often thus coupled together by the Chinese. Both are, I believe, now recovering from the effects of devastation by T'ai-P'ing occupation and Imperialist recapture; but neither probably is one-fifth of what it was.

The plan of Su-chau which we give is of high interest. It is reduced ($\frac{1}{10}$ the scale) from a rubbing of a plan of the city incised on marble measuring 6' 7" by 4' 4", and which has been preserved in the Confucian Temple in Su-chau since A.D. 1247. Marco Polo's eyes have probably rested on this fine work, comparable to the famous *Pianta Capitolina*. The engraving on page 183 represents one of the gates traced from the rubbing and reduced to half the scale. It is therefore an authentic representation of Chinese fortification in or before the 13th century.†

["In the southern part of Su-chau is the park, surrounded by a high wall, which contains the group of buildings called the Confucian Temple. This is the Dragon's head;—the Dragon Street, running directly North, is his body, and the Great Pagoda is his tail. In front is a grove of cedars. To one side is the hall where thousands of scholars go to worship at the Spring and Autumn Festivals—this for the gentry alone, not for the unlettered populace. There is a building used for the slaughter of animals, another containing a map of the city engraved in stone; a third with tablets and astronomical diagrams, and a fourth containing the Provincial Library. On each side of the large courts are rooms where are placed the tablets of the 500 sages. The main temple is 50 by 70 feet, and contains the tablet of Confucius and a number of gilded boards with mottoes. It is a very imposing structure. On the stone dais in front, a mat-shed is erected for the great sacrifices at which the official magnates exercise their sacerdotal functions. As a tourist beheld the sacred grounds and the aged trees, she said: 'This is the most venerable-looking place I have seen in China.' On the gateway in front, the sage is called 'The Prince of Doctrine in times Past and Present.'" (*Rev. H. C. Du Bose, Chin. Rec.*, xix. p. 272).—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—The Geographic Text only, at least of the principal Texts, has distinctly the *three* cities, *Vugui, Vughin, Ciangan*. Pauthier identifies the first and third with HU-CHAU FU and Sung-kiang fu. In favour of Vuju's being Hu-chau is the fact mentioned by Wilson that the latter city is locally called WUCHU.‡ If this be the place, the Traveller does not seem to be following a direct and consecutive route from Su-chau to Hang-chau. Nor is Hu-chau within a day's journey of Su-chau. Mr. Kingsmill observes that the only town at that distance is *Wukiang-hien*, once of some little importance but now much reduced. WUKIANG, however, is suggestive

* See Quatremère's *Rashid.*, p. lxxxvii., and Hammer's *Wassáf*, p. 42.

† I owe these valuable illustrations, as so much else, to the unwearied kindness of Mr. A. Wylie. There were originally four maps: (1) *The City*, (2) *The Empire*, (3) *The Heavens*, (4) no longer known. They were drawn originally by one Hwan Kin-shan, and presented by him to a high official in Sze-ch'wan. Wang Che-yuen, subsequently holding office in the same province, got possession of the maps, and had them incised at Su-chau in A.D. 1247. The inscription bearing these particulars is partially gone, and the date of the original drawings remains uncertain. (See *List of Illustrations*.)

‡ *The Ever Victorious Army*, p. 395.

of VUGHIN ; and, in that supposition, Hu-chau must be considered the object of a digression from which the Traveller returns and takes up his route to Hang-chau *via* Wukiang. *Kiahing* would then best answer to *Cian_gn*, or *Caingan*, as it is written in the following chapter of the G.T.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT CITY OF KINSAY, WHICH IS THE CAPITAL
OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY OF MANZI.

WHEN you have left the city of Changan and have travelled for three days through a splendid country, passing a number of towns and villages, you arrive at the most noble city of KINSAY, a name which is as much as to say in our tongue "The City of Heaven," as I told you before.¹

And since we have got thither I will enter into particulars about its magnificence ; and these are well worth the telling, for the city is beyond dispute the finest and the noblest in the world. In this we shall speak according to the written statement which the Queen of this Realm sent to Bayan the conqueror of the country for transmission to the Great Kaan, in order that he might be aware of the surpassing grandeur of the city and might be moved to save it from destruction or injury. I will tell you all the truth as it was set down in that document. For truth it was, as the said Messer Marco Polo at a later date was able to witness with his own eyes. And now we shall rehearse those particulars.

First and foremost, then, the document stated the city of Kinsay to be so great that it hath an hundred miles of compass. And there are in it twelve thousand bridges of stone, for the most part so lofty that a great fleet could pass beneath them. And let no man marvel that there are so many bridges, for you see the whole city

stands as it were in the water and surrounded by water, so that a great many bridges are required to give free passage about it. [And though the bridges be so high the approaches are so well contrived that carts and horses do cross them.²]

The document aforesaid also went on to state that there were in this city twelve guilds of the different crafts, and that each guild had 12,000 houses in the occupation of its workmen. Each of these houses contains at least 12 men, whilst some contain 20 and some 40,—not that these are all masters, but inclusive of the journey-men who work under the masters. And yet all these craftsmen had full occupation, for many other cities of the kingdom are supplied from this city with what they require.

The document aforesaid also stated that the number and wealth of the merchants, and the amount of goods that passed through their hands, was so enormous that no man could form a just estimate thereof. And I should have told you with regard to those masters of the different crafts who are at the head of such houses as I have mentioned, that neither they nor their wives ever touch a piece of work with their own hands, but live as nicely and delicately as if they were kings and queens. The wives indeed are most dainty and angelical creatures! Moreover it was an ordinance laid down by the King that every man should follow his father's business and no other, no matter if he possessed 100,000 bezants.³

Inside the city there is a Lake which has a compass of some 30 miles: and all round it are erected beautiful palaces and mansions, of the richest and most exquisite structure that you can imagine, belonging to the nobles of the city. There are also on its shores many abbeys and churches of the Idolaters. In the middle of the Lake are two Islands, on each of which stands a rich,

beautiful and spacious edifice, furnished in such style as to seem fit for the palace of an Emperor. And when any one of the citizens desired to hold a marriage feast, or to give any other entertainment, it used to be done at one of these palaces. And everything would be found there ready to order, such as silver plate, trenchers, and dishes [napkins and table-cloths], and whatever else was needful. The King made this provision for the gratification of his people, and the place was open to every one who desired to give an entertainment. [Sometimes there would be at these palaces an hundred different parties; some holding a banquet, others celebrating a wedding; and yet all would find good accommodation in the different apartments and pavilions, and that in so well ordered a manner that one party was never in the way of another.⁴]

The houses of the city are provided with lofty towers of stone in which articles of value are stored for fear of fire; for most of the houses themselves are of timber, and fires are very frequent in the city.

The people are Idolaters; and since they were conquered by the Great Kaan they use paper-money. [Both men and women are fair and comely, and for the most part clothe themselves in silk, so vast is the supply of that material, both from the whole district of Kinsay, and from the imports by traders from other provinces.⁵] And you must know they eat every kind of flesh, even that of dogs and other unclean beasts, which nothing would induce a Christian to eat.

Since the Great Kaan occupied the city he has ordained that each of the 12,000 bridges should be provided with a guard of ten men, in case of any disturbance, or of any being so rash as to plot treason or insurrection against him. [Each guard is provided with a hollow instrument of wood and with a metal basin, and with a

time-keeper to enable them to know the hour of the day or night. And so when one hour of the night is past the sentry strikes one on the wooden instrument and on the basin, so that the whole quarter of the city is made aware that one hour of the night is gone. At the second hour he gives two strokes, and so on, keeping always wide awake and on the look out. In the morning again, from the sunrise, they begin to count anew, and strike one hour as they did in the night, and so on hour after hour.

Part of the watch patrols the quarter, to see if any light or fire is burning after the lawful hours ; if they find any they mark the door, and in the morning the owner is summoned before the magistrates, and unless he can plead a good excuse he is punished. Also if they find any one going about the streets at unlawful hours they arrest him, and in the morning they bring him before the magistrates. Likewise if in the daytime they find any poor cripple unable to work for his livelihood, they take him to one of the hospitals, of which there are many, founded by the ancient kings, and endowed with great revenues.⁶ Or if he be capable of work they oblige him to take up some trade. If they see that any house has caught fire they immediately beat upon that wooden instrument to give the alarm, and this brings together the watchmen from the other bridges to help to extinguish it, and to save the goods of the merchants or others, either by removing them to the towers above mentioned, or by putting them in boats and transporting them to the islands in the lake. For no citizen dares leave his house at night, or to come near the fire ; only those who own the property, and those watchmen who flock to help, of whom there shall come one or two thousand at the least.]

Moreover, within the city there is an eminence on

which stands a Tower, and at the top of the tower is hung a slab of wood. Whenever fire or any other alarm breaks out in the city a man who stands there with a mallet in his hand beats upon the slab, making a noise that is heard to a great distance. So when the blows upon this slab are heard, everybody is aware that fire has broken out, or that there is some other cause of alarm.

The Kaan watches this city with especial diligence because it forms the head of all Manzi; and because he has an immense revenue from the duties levied on the transactions of trade therein, the amount of which is such that no one would credit it on mere hearsay.

All the streets of the city are paved with stone or brick, as indeed are all the highways throughout Manzi, so that you ride and travel in every direction without inconvenience. Were it not for this pavement you could not do so, for the country is very low and flat, and after rain 'tis deep in mire and water. [But as the Great Kaan's couriers could not gallop their horses over the pavement, the side of the road is left unpaved for their convenience. The pavement of the main street of the city also is laid out in two parallel ways of ten paces in width on either side, leaving a space in the middle laid with fine gravel, under which are vaulted drains which convey the rain water into the canals; and thus the road is kept ever dry.]⁷

You must know also that the city of Kinsay has some 3000 baths, the water of which is supplied by springs. They are hot baths, and the people take great delight in them, frequenting them several times a month, for they are very cleanly in their persons. They are the finest and largest baths in the world; large enough for 100 persons to bathe together.⁸

And the Ocean Sea comes within 25 miles of the city at a place called GANFU, where there is a town and

an excellent haven, with a vast amount of shipping which is engaged in the traffic to and from India and other foreign parts, exporting and importing many kinds of wares, by which the city benefits. And a great river flows from the city of Kinsay to that sea-haven, by which vessels can come up to the city itself. This river extends also to other places further inland.⁹

Know also that the Great Kaan hath distributed the territory of Manzi into nine parts, which he hath constituted into nine kingdoms. To each of these kingdoms a king is appointed who is subordinate to the Great Kaan, and every year renders the accounts of his kingdom to the fiscal office at the capital.¹⁰ This city of Kinsay is the seat of one of these kings, who rules over 140 great and wealthy cities. For in the whole of this vast country of Manzi there are more than 1200 great and wealthy cities, without counting the towns and villages, which are in great numbers. And you may receive it for certain that in each of those 1200 cities the Great Kaan has a garrison, and that the smallest of such garrisons musters 1000 men; whilst there are some of 10,000, 20,000 and 30,000; so that the total number of troops is something scarcely calculable. The troops forming these garrisons are not all Tartars. Many are from the province of Cathay, and good soldiers too. But you must not suppose they are by any means all of them cavalry; a very large proportion of them are foot-soldiers, according to the special requirements of each city. And all of them belong to the army of the Great Kaan.¹¹

I repeat that everything appertaining to this city is on so vast a scale, and the Great Kaan's yearly revenues therefrom are so immense, that it is not easy even to put it in writing, and it seems past belief to one who merely hears it told. But I *will* write it down for you.

First, however, I must mention another thing. The people of this country have a custom, that as soon as a child is born they write down the day and hour and the planet and sign under which its birth has taken place; so that every one among them knows the day of his birth. And when any one intends a journey he goes to the astrologers, and gives the particulars of his nativity in order to learn whether he shall have good luck or no. Sometimes they will say *no*, and in that case the journey is put off till such day as the astrologer may recommend. These astrologers are very skilful at their business, and often their words come to pass, so the people have great faith in them.

They burn the bodies of the dead. And when any one dies the friends and relations make a great mourning for the deceased, and clothe themselves in hempen garments,¹² and follow the corpse playing on a variety of instruments and singing hymns to their idols. And when they come to the burning place, they take representations of things cut out of parchment, such as caparisoned horses, male and female slaves, camels, armour suits of cloth of gold (and money), in great quantities, and these things they put on the fire along with the corpse, so that they are all burnt with it. And they tell you that the dead man shall have all these slaves and animals of which the effigies are burnt, alive in flesh and blood, and the money in gold, at his disposal in the next world; and that the instruments which they have caused to be played at his funeral, and the idol hymns that have been chaunted, shall also be produced again to welcome him in the next world; and that the idols themselves will come to do him honour.¹³

Furthermore there exists in this city the palace of the king who fled, him who was Emperor of Manzi, and that is the greatest palace in the world, as I shall tell you more

particularly. For you must know its demesne hath a compass of ten miles, all enclosed with lofty battlemented walls; and inside the walls are the finest and most delectable gardens upon earth, and filled too with the finest fruits. There are numerous fountains in it also, and lakes full of fish. In the middle is the palace itself, a great and splendid building. It contains 20 great and handsome halls, one of which is more spacious than the rest, and affords room for a vast multitude to dine. It is all painted in gold, with many histories and representations of beasts and birds, of knights and dames, and many marvellous things. It forms a really magnificent spectacle, for over all the walls and all the ceiling you see nothing but paintings in gold. And besides these halls the palace contains 1000 large and handsome chambers, all painted in gold and divers colours.

Moreover, I must tell you that in this city there are 160 *tomans* of fires, or in other words 160 *tomans* of houses. Now I should tell you that the *toman* is 10,000, so that you can reckon the total as altogether 1,600,000 houses, among which are a great number of rich palaces. There is one church only, belonging to the Nestorian Christians.

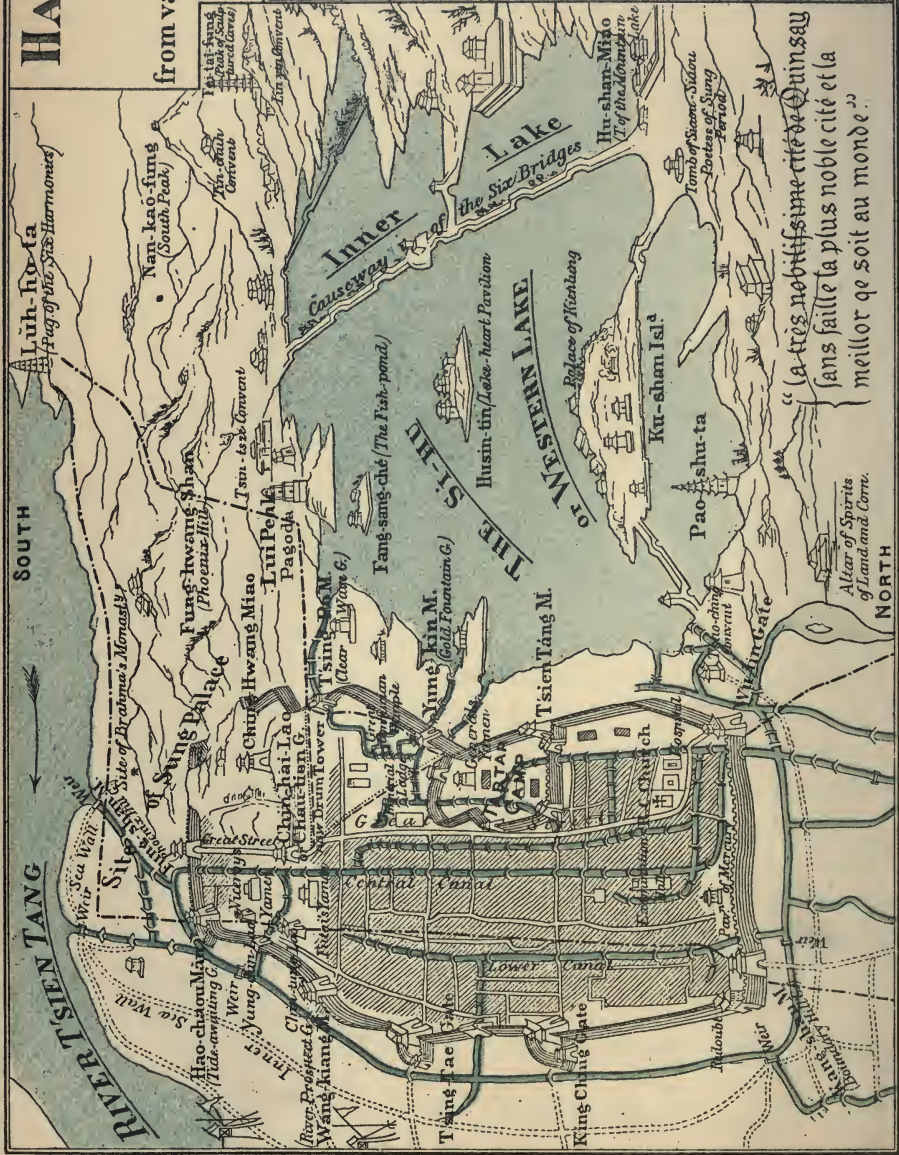
There is another thing I must tell you. It is the custom for every burgess of this city, and in fact for every description of person in it, to write over his door his own name, the name of his wife, and those of his children, his slaves, and all the inmates of his house, and also the number of animals that he keeps. And if any one dies in the house then the name of that person is erased, and if any child is born its name is added. So in this way the sovereign is able to know exactly the population of the city. And this is the practice also throughout all Manzi and Cathay.¹⁴

And I must tell you that every hosteler who keeps

HANG-CHAU-FU

with
The LAKE
compiled
from various Chinese Sources

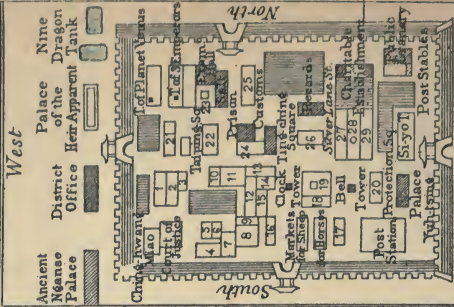
N.B. The dotted line is that ascribed to the Wall under the Sung. Part of an older trace (A.D. 892) is



“la très noble cité de Qain sau sans faille la plus noble cité et la meilleur qe soit au monde.”

Altar of Spirits of Land and Corn.

Lit Frauentfelder, Palermo



Plan of the City of
SI-NGAN-FU
Reduced from one published under the
MONGOL DYNASTY
(See Book II. Chap. XLI.)

an hostel for travellers is bound to register their names and surnames, as well as the day and month of their arrival and departure. And thus the sovereign hath the means of knowing, whenever it pleases him, who come and go throughout his dominions. And certes this is a wise order and a provident.

NOTE 1.—KINSAY represents closely enough the Chinese term *King-sze*, "capital," which was then applied to the great city, the proper name of which was at that time Lin-ngan and is now HANG-CHAU, as being since 1127 the capital of the Sung Dynasty. The same term *King-sze* is now on Chinese maps generally used to designate Peking. It would seem, however, that the term adhered long as a quasi-proper name to Hang-chau; for in the Chinese Atlas, dating from 1595, which the traveller Carletti presented to the Magliabecchian Library, that city appears to be still marked with this name, transcribed by Carletti as *Camse*; very near the form *Campsay* used by Marignolli in the 14th century.

NOTE 2.—!—The Ramusian version says: "Messer Marco Polo was frequently at this city, and took great pains to learn everything about it, writing down the whole in his notes." The information being originally derived from a Chinese document, there might be some ground for supposing that 100 miles of circuit stood for 100 *li*. Yet the circuit of the modern city is stated in the official book called *Hang-chau Fu-Chi*, or topographical history of Hang-chau, at only 35 *li*. And the earliest record of the wall, as built under the Sui by Yang-su (before A.D. 606), makes its extent little more (36 *li* and 90 paces.)* But the wall was reconstructed by Ts'ien Kiao, feudal prince of the region, during the reign



The ancient Lun-ho-ta Pagoda at Hang-chau.

* In the first edition my best authority on this matter was a lecture on the city by the late Rev. D. D. Green, an American Missionary at Ningpo, which is printed in the November and December numbers for 1866 of the (Fuchau) *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*. In the present (second) edition I have on this, and other points embraced in this and the following chapter, benefited largely

of Chao Tsung, one of the last emperors of the T'ang Dynasty (892), so as to embrace the Luh-ho-ta Pagoda, on a high bluff over the T sien-tang River,* 15 *li* distant from the present south gate, and had then a circuit of 70 *li*. Moreover, in 1159, after the city became the capital of the Sung emperors, some further extension was given to it, so that, even exclusive of the suburbs, the circuit of the city may have been not far short of 100 *li*. When the city was in its glory under the Sung, the Luh-ho-ta Pagoda may be taken as marking the extreme S.W. Another known point marks approximately the chief north gate of that period, at a mile and a half or two miles beyond the present north wall. The S.E. angle was apparently near the river bank. But, on the other hand, the *waist* of the city seems to have been a good deal narrower than it now is. Old descriptions compare its form to that of a slender-waisted drum (dice-box or hour-glass shape).

Under the Mongols the walls were allowed to decay; and in the disturbed years that closed that dynasty (1341-1368) they were rebuilt by an insurgent chief on a greatly reduced compass, probably that which they still retain. Whatever may have been the facts, and whatever the origin of the estimate, I imagine that the ascription of 100 miles of circuit to Kinsay had become popular among Westerns. Odoric makes the same statement. Wassáf calls it 24 parasangs, which will not be far short of the same amount. Ibn Batuta calls the *length* of the city three days' journey. Rashiduddin says the enceinte had a *diameter* of 11 parasangs, and that there were three post stages between the two extremities of the city, which is probably what Ibn Batuta had heard. The *Masálak-al-Absár* calls it *one* day's journey in length, and half a day's journey in breadth. The enthusiastic Jesuit Martini tries hard to justify Polo in this as in other points of his description. We shall quote the whole of his remarks at the end of the chapters on Kinsay.

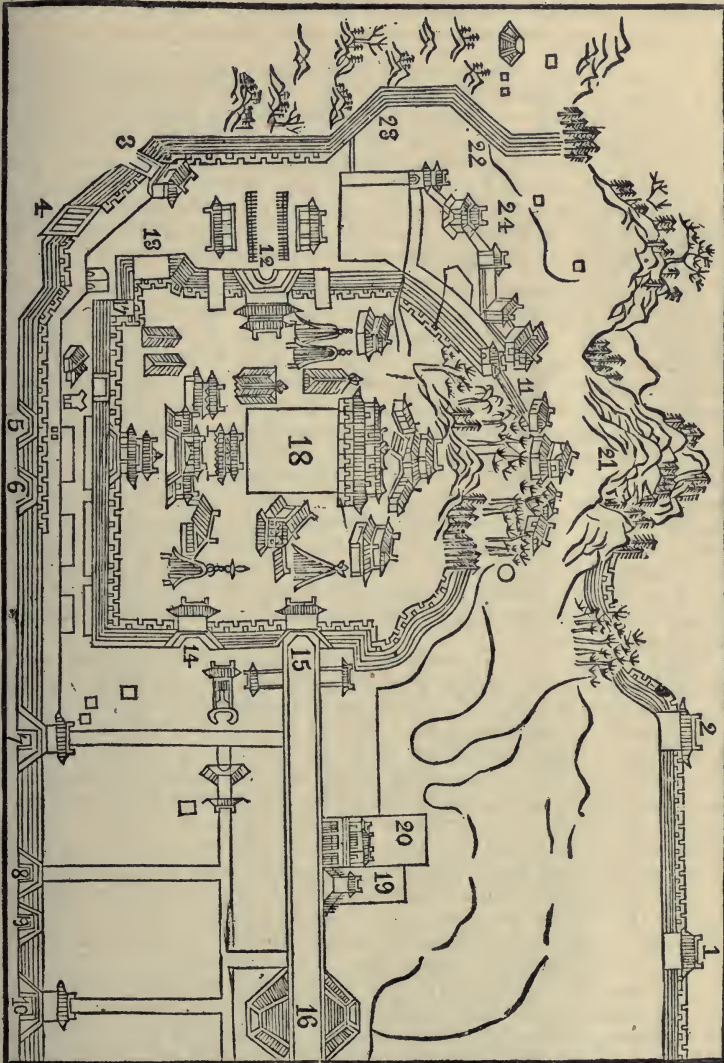
[Dr. F. Hirth, in a paper published in the *T'oung Pao*, V. pp. 386-390 (*Ueber den Schiffsverkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit*), has some interesting notes on the maritime trade of Hang-chau, collected from a work in twenty books, kept at the Berlin Royal Library, in which is to be found a description of Hang-chau under the title of *Mêng-liang-lu*, published in 1274 by Wu Tzu-mu, himself a native of this city: there are various classes of sea-going vessels; large boats measuring 5000 *liao* and carrying from five to six hundred passengers; smaller boats measuring from 2 to 1000 *liao* and carrying from two to three hundred passengers; there are small fast boats called *tsuan-fêng*, "wind breaker," with six or eight oarsmen, which can carry easily 100 passengers, and are generally used for fishing; sampans are not taken into account. To start for foreign countries one must embark at Ts'wan-chau, and then go to the sea of Ts'i-chau (Paracels), through the Tai-hsiü pass; coming back he must look to Kwen-lun (Pulo Condor).—H. C.]

The 12,000 bridges have been much carped at, and modern accounts of Hang-chau (desperately meagre as they are) do not speak of its bridges as notable. "There is, indeed," says Mr. Kingsmill, speaking of changes in the hydrography about Hang-chau, "no trace in the city of the magnificent canals and bridges described by Marco Polo." The number was no doubt in this case also a more popular saw, and Friar Odoric repeats it. The sober and veracious John Marignolli, alluding apparently to their statements, and perhaps to others which have not reached us, says: "When authors tell of its ten thousand noble bridges of stone, adorned with sculptures and statues of armed princes, it passes the belief of one who has not been there, and yet peradventure these authors tell us no lie." Wassáf speaks of 360 bridges only, but

by the remarks of the Right Rev. G. E. Moule of the Ch. Mission. Soc., now residing at Hang-chau. These are partly contained in a paper (*Notes on Colonel Yule's Edition of Marco Polo's 'Quinsay'*) read before the North China Branch of the R. A. Soc. at Shang-hai in December 1873 [published in New Series, No. IX. of the *Journal N. C. B. R. A. Soc.*], of which a proof has been most kindly sent to me by Mr. Moule, and partly in a special communication, both forwarded through Mr. A. Wylie. [See also *Notes on Hangchow Past and Present*, a paper read in 1889 by Bishop G. E. Moule at a Meeting of the Hangchow Missionary Association, at whose request it was compiled, and subsequently printed for private circulation.—H. C.]

* The building of the present Luh-ho-ta ("Six Harmonies Tower"), after repeated destructions by fire, is recorded on a fine tablet of the Sung period, still standing (*Moule*).

they make up in size what they lack in number, for they cross canals as big as the Tigris! Marsden aptly quotes in reference to this point excessively loose and discrepant statements from modern authors as to the number of bridges in Venice. The



Plan of the Imperial City of Hangchow in the 13th Century. (From the Notes of the Right Rev. G. E. Moule.)

1-17, Gates; 18, *Ta-nuy*; 19, *Woo-Foo*; 20, *T'ai Miao*; 21, *Fung-hwang shan*; 22, *Shih fuh she*; 23, *Fan t'ien she*; 24, *Koo-shing Kwo she*.

great height of the arches of the canal bridges in this part of China is especially noticed by travellers. Barrow, quoted by Marsden, says: "Some have the piers of such an

extraordinary height that the largest vessels of 200 tons sail under them without striking their masts."

Mr. Moule has added up the lists of bridges in the whole department (or *Fu*) and found them to amount to 848, and many of these even are now unknown, their approximate sites being given from ancient topographies. The number represented in a large modern map of the city, which I owe to Mr. Moule's kindness, is 111.

NOTE 3.—Though Rubruquis (p. 292) says much the same thing, there is little trace of such an ordinance in modern China. Père Parrenin observes: "As to the hereditary perpetuation of trades, it has never existed in China. On the contrary, very few Chinese will learn the trade of their fathers; and it is only necessity that ever constrains them to do so." (*Lett. Edif.* XXIV. 40.) Mr. Moule remarks, however, that P. Parrenin is a little too absolute. Certain trades do run in families, even of the free classes of Chinese, not to mention the disfranchised boatmen, barbers, chair-coolies, etc. But, except in the latter cases, there is no compulsion, though the Sacred Edict goes to encourage the perpetuation of the family calling.

NOTE 4.—This sheet of water is the celebrated SI-HU, or "Western Lake," the fame of which had reached Abulfeda, and which has raised the enthusiasm even of modern travellers, such as Barrow and Van Braam. The latter speaks of *three* islands (and this the Chinese maps confirm), on each of which were several villas, and of causeways across the lake, paved and bordered with trees, and provided with numerous bridges for the passage of boats. Barrow gives a bright description of the lake, with its thousands of gay, gilt, and painted pleasure boats, its margins studded with light and fanciful buildings, its gardens of choice flowering shrubs, its monuments, and beautiful variety of scenery. None surpasses that of Martini, whom it is always pleasant to quote, but here he is too lengthy. The most recent description that I have met with is that of Mr. C. Gardner, and it is as enthusiastic as any. It concludes: "Even to us foreigners . . . the spot is one of peculiar attraction, but to the Chinese it is as a paradise." The Emperor K'ien Lung had erected a palace on one of the islands in the lake; it was ruined by the T'ai-P'ings. Many of the constructions about the lake date from the flourishing days of the T'ang Dynasty, the 7th and 8th centuries.

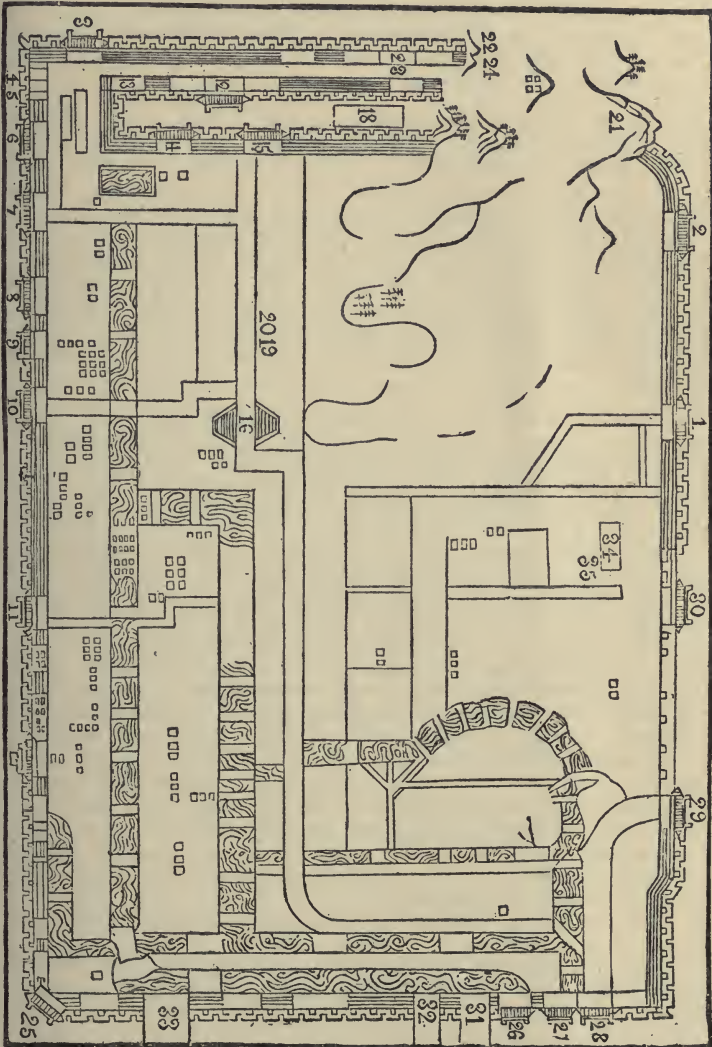
Polo's ascription of a circumference of 30 miles to the lake, corroborates the supposition that in the compass of the city a confusion had been made between miles and *li*, for Semedo gives the circuit of the lake really as 30 *li*. Probably the document to which Marco refers at the beginning of the chapter was seen by him in a Persian translation, in which *li* had been rendered by *mil*. A Persian work of the same age, quoted by Quatremère (the *Nuzhât al-Kulûb*), gives the circuit of the lake as six parasangs, or some 24 miles, a statement which probably had a like origin.

Polo says the lake was *within* the city. This might be merely a loose way of speaking, but it may on the other hand be a further indication of the former existence of an extensive outer wall. The Persian author just quoted also speaks of the lake as within the city. (*Barrow's Autobiog.*, p. 104; *V. Braam*, II. 154; *Gardner in Proc. of the R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xiii. p. 178; *Q. Rashid*, p. lxxxviii.) Mr. Moule states that popular oral tradition does enclose the lake within the walls, but he can find no trace of this in the Topographies.

Elsewhere Mr. Moule says: "Of the luxury of the (Sung) period, and its devotion to pleasure, evidence occurs everywhere. Hang-chow went at the time by the nickname of the melting-pot for money. The use, at houses of entertainment, of *linen* and *silver plate* appears somewhat out of keeping in a Chinese picture. I cannot vouch for the linen, but here is the plate. . . . 'The most famous Tea-houses of the day were the *Pa-seen* ("8 genii"), the "Pure Delight," the "Pearl," the "House of the Pwan Family," and the "Two and Two" and "Three and Three" houses (perhaps rather "Double honours" and "Treble honours"). In these places they always set out bouquets of fresh flowers, according to the season. . . . At the counter were sold "Precious thunder Tea," Tea of fritters and onions,

or else Pickle broth; and in hot weather wine of snow bubbles and apricot blossom, or other kinds of refrigerating liquor. *Saucers, ladles, and bowls were all of pure silver!* (*Si-Hu-Chi.*)”

NOTE 5.—This is still the case: “The people of Hang-chow dress gaily, and are



Plan of the Metropolitan City of Hangchow in the 13th Century. (From the Notes of the Right Rev. G. E. Moule.)

1-17, Gates; 18, *Ta-nuy*, Central Palace; 19, *Woo-foo*, The Five Courts; 20, *T'ai Miao*, The Imperial Temple; 21, *Fung-hwang shan*, Phoenix Hill; 22, *Shih fuh she*, Monastery of the Stone Buddha; 23, *Fan t'ien she*, Monastery of Brahma; 24, *Koo-shing Kwo-she*, Monastery of the Sacred Fruit; 25-30, Gates; 31, *T'ien tsung yen tsang* T'ien tsung Salt Depot; 2, *T'ien tsung tsew koo*, T'ien tsung Wine Store; 33, *Chang she*, The Chang Monastery; 34, *Foo che*, Prefecture; *Foo hio*, Prefectural Confucian Temple.

remarkable among the Chinese for their dandyism. All, except the lowest labourers and coolies, strutted about in dresses composed of silk, satin, and crape. . . . 'Indeed' (said the Chinese servants) 'one can never tell a rich man in Hang-chow, for it is just possible that all he possesses in the world is on his back.' (*Fortune*, II. 20.) "The silk manufactures of Hang-chau are said to give employment to 60,000 persons within the city walls, and Hu-chau, Kia-hing, and the surrounding villages, are reputed to employ 100,000 more." (*Ningpo Trade Report*, January 1869, comm. by Mr. N. B. Dennys.) The store-towers, as a precaution in case of fire, are still common both in China and Japan.

NOTE 6.—Mr. Gardner found in this very city, in 1868, a large collection of cottages covering several acres, which were "erected, after the taking of the city from the rebels, by a Chinese charitable society for the refuge of the blind, sick, and infirm." This asylum sheltered 200 blind men with their families, amounting to 800 souls; basket-making and such work was provided for them; there were also 1200 other inmates, aged and infirm; and doctors were maintained to look after them. "None are allowed to be absolutely idle, but all help towards their own sustenance." (*Proc. R. G. Soc.* XIII. 176-177.) Mr. Moule, whilst abating somewhat from the colouring of this description, admits the establishment to be a considerable charitable effort. It existed before the rebellion, as I see in the book of Mr. Milne, who gives interesting details on such Chinese charities. (*Life in China*, pp. 46 *seqq.*)

NOTE 7.—The paved roads of Manzi are by no means extinct yet. Thus, Mr. Fortune, starting from Chang-shan (see below, ch. lxxix.) in the direction of the Black-Tea mountains, says: "The road on which we were travelling was well paved with granite, about 12 feet in width, and perfectly free from weeds." (II. 148). Garnier, Sladen, and Richthofen speak of well-paved roads in Yun-Nan and Sze-ch'wan.

The Topography quoted by Mr. Moule says that in the year 1272 the Governor renewed the pavement of the Imperial road (or Main Street), "after which nine cars might move abreast over a way perfectly smooth, and straight as an arrow." In the Mongol time the people were allowed to encroach on this grand street.

NOTE 8.—There is a curious discrepancy in the account of these baths. Pauthier's text does not say whether they are hot baths or cold. The latter sentence, beginning, "They are hot baths" (*estuves*), is from the G. Text. And Ramusio's account is quite different: "There are numerous baths of cold water, provided with plenty of attendants, male and female, to assist the visitors of the two sexes in the bath. For the people are used from their childhood to bathe in cold water at all seasons, and they reckon it a very wholesome custom. But in the bath-houses they have also certain chambers furnished with hot water, for foreigners who are unaccustomed to cold bathing, and cannot bear it. The people are used to bathe daily, and do not eat without having done so." This is in contradiction with the notorious Chinese horror of cold water for any purpose.

A note from Mr. C. Gardner says: "There are numerous public baths at Hang-chau, as at every Chinese city I have ever been in. In my experience natives always take *hot* baths. But only the poorer classes go to the public baths; the tradespeople and middle classes are generally supplied by the bath-houses with hot water at a moderate charge."

NOTE 9.—The estuary of the Ts'ien T'ang, or river of Hang-chau, has undergone great changes since Polo's day. The sea now comes up much nearer the city; and the upper part of the Bay of Hang-chau is believed to cover what was once the site of the port and town of KAN'U, the Ganpu of the text. A modern representative of the name still subsists, a walled town, and one of the depôts for the salt which is so extensively manufactured on this coast; but the present port of Hang-chau, and till

recently the sole seat of Chinese trade with Japan, is at *Chapu*, some 20 miles further seaward.

It is supposed by Klapproth that KANP'U was the port frequented by the early Arab voyagers, and of which they speak under the name of *Khánfú*, confounding in their details Hang-chau itself with the port. Neumann dissents from this, maintaining that the Khanfu of the Arabs was certainly Canton. Abulfeda, however, states expressly that Khanfu was known in his day as *Khansá* (i.e. Kinsay), and he speaks of its lake of fresh water called *Sikhu* (Si-hu). [Abulfeda has in fact two *Khánqú* (Khanfú): *Khansá* with the lake which is Kinsay, and one *Khanfú* which is probably Canton. (See *Guyard's transl.*, II., ii., 122-124.)—H. C.] There seems to be an indication in Chinese records that a southern branch of the Great Kiang once entered the sea at Kanp'u; the closing of it is assigned to the 7th century, or a little later.

[Dr. F. Hirth writes (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1896, pp. 68-69: "For centuries Canton must have been the only channel through which foreign trade was permitted; for it is not before the year 999 that we read of the appointment of Inspectors of Trade at Hang-chou and Ming-chou. The latter name is identified with Ning-po." Dr. Hirth adds in a note: "This is in my opinion the principal reason why the port of *Khanfu*, mentioned by the earliest Muhammadan travellers, or authors (Soleiman, Abu Zeid, and Maçoudi), cannot be identified with Hang-chou. The report of Soleiman, who first speaks of *Khanfu*, was written in 851, and in those days Canton was apparently the only port open to foreign trade. Marco Polo's *Ganfu* is a different port altogether, viz. *Kan-fu*, or *Kan-pu*, near Hang-chou, and should not be confounded with *Khanfu*."—H. C.]

The changes of the Great Kiang do not seem to have attracted so much attention among the Chinese as those of the dangerous Hwang-Ho, nor does their history seem to have been so carefully recorded. But a paper of great interest on the subject was published by Mr. Edkins, in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the R. A. S.* for September 1860 [pp. 77-84], which I know only by an abstract given by the late Comte d'Escayrac de Lauture. From this it would seem that about the time of our era the Yang-tzú Kiang had three great mouths. The most southerly of these was the Che-Kiang, which is said to have given its name to the Province still so called, of which Hang-chau is the capital. This branch quitted the present channel at Chi-chau, passed by Ning-Kwé and Kwang-té, communicating with the southern end of a great group of lakes which occupied the position of the T'ai-Hu, and so by Shih-men and T'ang-si into the sea not far from Shao-hing. The second branch quitted the main channel at Wu-hu, passed by I-hing (or I-shin) communicating with the northern end of the T'ai-Hu (passed apparently by Su-chau), and then bifurcated, one arm entering the sea at Wu-sung, and the other at Kanp'u. The third, or northerly branch is that which forms the present channel of the Great Kiang. These branches are represented hypothetically on the sketch-map attached to ch. lxiv. *supra*.

[*Kingsmill*, u. s. p. 53; *Chin. Repos.* III. 118; *Middle Kingdom*, I. 95-106; *Bürck.* p. 483; *Cathay*, p. cxciiii.; *J. N. Ch. Br. R. A. S.*, December 1865, p. 3 *seqq.*; *Escayrac de Lauture*, *Mém. sur la Chine*, *H. du Sol*, p. 114.)

NOTE 10.—Pauthier's text has: "*Chascun Roy fait chascun an le compte de son royaume aux comptes du grant siècle*," where I suspect the last word is again a mistake for *sing* or *scieng*. (See *supra*, Bk. II. ch. xxv., note 1.) It is interesting to find Polo applying the term *king* to the viceroys who ruled the great provinces; Ibn Batuta uses a corresponding expression, *sultán*. It is not easy to make out the nine kingdoms or great provinces into which Polo considered Manzi to be divided. Perhaps his *nine* is after all merely a traditional number, for the "Nine Provinces" was an ancient synonym for China proper, just as *Nau-Khanda*, with like meaning, was an ancient name of India. (See *Cathay*, p. cxxxix. *note*; and *Reinaud*, *Inde*, p. 116.) But I observe that on the portage road between Chang-shan and Yuh-shan

(*infra*, p. 222) there are stone pillars inscribed "Highway (from Che-kiang) to Eight Provinces," thus indicating Nine. (*Milne*, p. 319.)

NOTE 11.—We have in Ramusio: "The men levied in the province of Manzi are not placed in garrison in their own cities, but sent to others at least 20 days' journey from their homes; and there they serve for four or five years, after which they are relieved. This applies both to the Cathayans and to those of Manzi.

"The great bulk of the revenue of the cities, which enters the exchequer of the Great Kaan, is expended in maintaining these garrisons. And if perchance any city rebel (as you often find that under a kind of madness or intoxication they rise and murder their governors), as soon as it is known, the adjoining cities despatch such large forces from their garrisons that the rebellion is entirely crushed. For it would be too long an affair if troops from Cathay had to be waited for, involving perhaps a delay of two months."

NOTE 12.—"The sons of the dead, wearing hempen clothes as badges of mourning, kneel down," etc. (*Doolittle*, p. 138.)

NOTE 13.—These practices have been noticed, *supra*, Bk. I. ch. xl.

NOTE 14.—This custom has come down to modern times. In Pauthier's *Chine Moderne*, we find extracts from the statutes of the reigning dynasty and the comments thereon, of which a passage runs thus: "To determine the exact population of each province the governor and the lieutenant-governor cause certain persons who are nominated as *Pao-kia*, or Tithing-Men, in all the places under their jurisdiction, to add up the figures inscribed on the wooden tickets attached to the doors of houses, and exhibiting the number of the inmates" (p. 167).

Friar Odoric calls the number of fires 89 *tomans*; but says 10 or 12 households would unite to have one fire only!

CHAPTER LXXVII.

[FURTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE GREAT CITY OF KINSAY.¹]

[THE position of the city is such that it has on one side a lake of fresh and exquisitely clear water (already spoken of), and on the other a very large river. The waters of the latter fill a number of canals of all sizes which run through the different quarters of the city, carry away all impurities, and then enter the Lake; whence they issue again and flow to the Ocean, thus producing a most excellent atmosphere. By means of these channels, as well as by the streets, you can go all about the city. Both streets and canals are so wide and spacious that carts on the one and boats on the other can

readily pass to and fro, conveying necessary supplies to the inhabitants.²

At the opposite side the city is shut in by a channel, perhaps 40 miles in length, very wide, and full of water derived from the river aforesaid, which was made by the ancient kings of the country in order to relieve the river when flooding its banks. This serves also as a defence to the city, and the earth dug from it has been thrown inwards, forming a kind of mound enclosing the city.³

In this part are the ten principal markets, though besides these there are a vast number of others in the different parts of the town. The former are all squares of half a mile to the side, and along their front passes the main street, which is 40 paces in width, and runs straight from end to end of the city, crossing many bridges of easy and commodious approach. At every four miles of its length comes one of those great squares of 2 miles (as we have mentioned) in compass. So also parallel to this great street, but at the back of the market places, there runs a very large canal, on the bank of which towards the squares are built great houses of stone, in which the merchants from India and other foreign parts store their wares, to be handy for the markets. In each of the squares is held a market three days in the week, frequented by 40,000 or 50,000 persons, who bring thither for sale every possible necessary of life, so that there is always an ample supply of every kind of meat and game, as of roebuck, red-deer, fallow-deer, hares, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, francolins, quails, fowls, capons, and of ducks and geese an infinite quantity; for so many are bred on the Lake that for a Venice groat of silver you can have a couple of geese and two couple of ducks. Then there are the shambles where the larger animals are slaughtered, such as calves, beeves, kids, and

lambs, the flesh of which is eaten by the rich and the great dignitaries.⁴

Those markets make a daily display of every kind of vegetables and fruits; and among the latter there are in particular certain pears of enormous size, weighing as much as ten pounds apiece, and the pulp of which is white and fragrant like a confection; besides peaches in their season both yellow and white, of every delicate flavour.⁵

Neither grapes nor wine are produced there, but very good raisins are brought from abroad, and wine likewise. The natives, however, do not much care about wine, being used to that kind of their own made from rice and spices. From the Ocean Sea also come daily supplies of fish in great quantity, brought 25 miles up the river, and there is also great store of fish from the lake, which is the constant resort of fishermen, who have no other business. Their fish is of sundry kinds, changing with the season; and, owing to the impurities of the city which pass into the lake, it is remarkably fat and savoury. Any one who should see the supply of fish in the market would suppose it impossible that such a quantity could ever be sold; and yet in a few hours the whole shall be cleared away; so great is the number of inhabitants who are accustomed to delicate living. Indeed they eat fish and flesh at the same meal.

All the ten market places are encompassed by lofty houses, and below these are shops where all sorts of crafts are carried on, and all sorts of wares are on sale, including spices and jewels and pearls. Some of these shops are entirely devoted to the sale of wine made from rice and spices, which is constantly made fresh and fresh, and is sold very cheap.

Certain of the streets are occupied by the women of the town, who are in such a number that I dare not say

what it is. They are found not only in the vicinity of the market places, where usually a quarter is assigned to them, but all over the city. They exhibit themselves splendidly attired and abundantly perfumed, in finely garnished houses, with trains of waiting-women. These women are extremely accomplished in all the arts of allurements, and readily adapt their conversation to all sorts of persons, insomuch that strangers who have once tasted their attractions seem to get bewitched, and are so taken with their blandishments and their fascinating ways that they never can get these out of their heads. Hence it comes to pass that when they return home they say they have been to Kinsay or the City of Heaven, and their only desire is to get back thither as soon as possible.⁶

Other streets are occupied by the Physicians, and by the Astrologers, who are also teachers of reading and writing; and an infinity of other professions have their places round about those squares. In each of the squares there are two great palaces facing one another, in which are established the officers appointed by the King to decide differences arising between merchants, or other inhabitants of the quarter. It is the daily duty of these officers to see that the guards are at their posts on the neighbouring bridges, and to punish them at their discretion if they are absent.

All along the main street that we have spoken of, as running from end to end of the city, both sides are lined with houses and great palaces and the gardens pertaining to them, whilst in the intervals are the houses of tradesmen engaged in their different crafts. The crowd of people that you meet here at all hours, passing this way and that on their different errands, is so vast that no one would believe it possible that victuals enough could be provided for their consumption, unless they should see

how, on every market-day, all those squares are thronged and crammed with purchasers, and with the traders who have brought in stores of provisions by land or water; and everything they bring in is disposed of.

To give you an example of the vast consumption in this city let us take the article of *pepper*; and that will enable you in some measure to estimate what must be the quantity of victual, such as meat, wine, groceries, which have to be provided for the general consumption. Now Messer Marco heard it stated by one of the Great Kaan's officers of customs that the quantity of pepper introduced daily for consumption into the city of Kinsay amounted to 43 loads, each load being equal to 223 lbs.⁷

The houses of the citizens are well built and elaborately finished; and the delight they take in decoration, in painting and in architecture, leads them to spend in this way sums of money that would astonish you.

The natives of the city are men of peaceful character, both from education and from the example of their kings, whose disposition was the same. They know nothing of handling arms, and keep none in their houses. You hear of no feuds or noisy quarrels or dissensions of any kind among them. Both in their commercial dealings and in their manufactures they are thoroughly honest and truthful, and there is such a degree of good will and neighbourly attachment among both men and women that you would take the people who live in the same street to be all one family.⁸

And this familiar intimacy is free from all jealousy or suspicion of the conduct of their women. These they treat with the greatest respect, and a man who should presume to make loose proposals to a married woman would be regarded as an infamous rascal. They also treat the foreigners who visit them for the sake of trade with great cordiality, and entertain them in the

most winning manner, affording them every help and advice on their business. But on the other hand they hate to see soldiers, and not least those of the Great Kaan's garrisons, regarding them as the cause of their having lost their native kings and lords.

On the Lake of which we have spoken there are numbers of boats and barges of all sizes for parties of pleasure. These will hold 10, 15, 20, or more persons, and are from 15 to 20 paces in length, with flat bottoms and ample breadth of beam, so that they always keep their trim. Any one who desires to go a-pleasuring with the women, or with a party of his own sex, hires one of these barges, which are always to be found completely furnished with tables and chairs and all the other apparatus for a feast. The roof forms a level deck, on which the crew stand, and pole the boat along whithersoever may be desired, for the Lake is not more than 2 paces in depth. The inside of this roof and the rest of the interior is covered with ornamental painting in gay colours, with windows all round that can be shut or opened, so that the party at table can enjoy all the beauty and variety of the prospects on both sides as they pass along. And truly a trip on this Lake is a much more charming recreation than can be enjoyed on land. For on the one side lies the city in its entire length, so that the spectators in the barges, from the distance at which they stand, take in the whole prospect in its full beauty and grandeur, with its numberless palaces, temples, monasteries, and gardens, full of lofty trees, sloping to the shore. And the Lake is never without a number of other such boats, laden with pleasure parties; for it is the great delight of the citizens here, after they have disposed of the day's business, to pass the afternoon in enjoyment with the ladies of their families, or perhaps with others less reputable, either in these barges or in driving about the city in carriages.⁹

Of these latter we must also say something, for they afford one mode of recreation to the citizens in going about the town, as the boats afford another in going about the Lake. In the main street of the city you meet an infinite succession of these carriages passing to and fro. They are long covered vehicles, fitted with curtains and cushions, and affording room for six persons; and they are in constant request for ladies and gentlemen going on parties of pleasure. In these they drive to certain gardens, where they are entertained by the owners in pavilions erected on purpose, and there they divert themselves the livelong day, with their ladies, returning home in the evening in those same carriages.¹⁰

(FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE PALACE OF THE KING FACFUR.)

The whole enclosure of the Palace was divided into three parts. The middle one was entered by a very lofty gate, on each side of which there stood on the ground-level vast pavilions, the roofs of which were sustained by columns painted and wrought in gold and the finest azure. Opposite the gate stood the chief Pavilion, larger than the rest, and painted in like style, with gilded columns, and a ceiling wrought in splendid gilded sculpture, whilst the walls were artfully painted with the stories of departed kings.

On certain days, sacred to his gods, the King Facfur* used to hold a great court and give a feast to his chief lords, dignitaries, and rich manufacturers of the city of Kinsay. On such occasions those pavilions used to give ample accommodation for 10,000 persons sitting at table. This court lasted for ten or twelve days, and exhibited an astonishing and incredible spectacle in the magnificence of the guests, all clothed in silk and

* *Fanfūr*, in Ramusio.

gold, with a profusion of precious stones; for they tried to outdo each other in the splendour and richness of their appointments. Behind this great Pavilion that faced the great gate, there was a wall with a passage in it shutting off the inner part of the Palace. On entering this you found another great edifice in the form of a cloister surrounded by a portico with columns, from which opened a variety of apartments for the King and the Queen, adorned like the outer walls with such elaborate work as we have mentioned. From the cloister again you passed into a covered corridor, six paces in width, of great length, and extending to the margin of the lake. On either side of this corridor were ten courts, in the form of oblong cloisters surrounded by colonnades; and in each cloister or court were fifty chambers with gardens to each. In these chambers were quartered one thousand young ladies in the service of the King. The King would sometimes go with the Queen and some of these maidens to take his diversion on the Lake, or to visit the Idol-temples, in boats all canopied with silk.

The other two parts of the enclosure were distributed in groves, and lakes, and charming gardens planted with fruit-trees, and preserves for all sorts of animals, such as roe, red-deer, fallow-deer, hares, and rabbits. Here the King used to take his pleasure in company with those damsels of his; some in carriages, some on horseback, whilst no man was permitted to enter. Sometimes the King would set the girls a-coursing after the game with dogs, and when they were tired they would hie to the groves that overhung the lakes, and leaving their clothes there they would come forth naked and enter the water and swim about hither and thither, whilst it was the King's delight to watch them; and then all would return home. Sometimes the King would have his dinner carried to those groves, which were dense with lofty trees,

and there would be waited on by those young ladies. And thus he passed his life in this constant dalliance with women, without so much as knowing what *arms* meant! And the result of all this cowardice and effeminacy was that he lost his dominion to the Great Kaan in that base and shameful way that you have heard.¹¹

All this account was given me by a very rich merchant of Kinsay when I was in that city. He was a very old man, and had been in familiar intimacy with the King Facfur, and knew the whole history of his life; and having seen the Palace in its glory was pleased to be my guide over it. As it is occupied by the King appointed by the Great Kaan, the first pavilions are still maintained as they used to be, but the apartments of the ladies are all gone to ruin and can only just be traced. So also the wall that enclosed the groves and gardens is fallen down, and neither trees nor animals are there any longer.¹²]

NOTE 1.—I have, after some consideration, followed the example of Mr. H. Murray, in his edition of *Marco Polo*, in collecting together in a separate chapter a number of additional particulars concerning the Great City, which are only found in Ramusio. Such of these as could be interpolated in the text of the older form of the narrative have been introduced between brackets in the last chapter. Here I bring together those particulars which could not be so interpolated without taking liberties with one or both texts.

The picture in Ramusio, taken as a whole, is so much more brilliant, interesting, and complete than in the older texts, that I thought of substituting it entirely for the other. But so much doubt and difficulty hangs over *some* passages of the Ramusian version that I could not satisfy myself of the propriety of this, though I feel that the dismemberment inflicted on that version is also objectionable.

NOTE 2.—The tides in the Hang-chau estuary are now so furious, entering in the form of a bore, and running sometimes, by Admiral Collinson's measurement, $11\frac{1}{2}$ knots, that it has been necessary to close by weirs the communication which formerly existed between the River Tsien-tang on the one side and the Lake Si-hu and internal waters of the district on the other. Thus all cargoes are passed through the small city canal in barges, and are subject to transhipment at the river-bank, and at the great canal terminus outside the north gate, respectively. Mr. Kingsmill, to whose notices I am indebted for part of this information, is, however, mistaken in supposing that in Polo's time the tide stopped some 20 miles below the city. We have seen (note 6, ch. lxx. *supra*) that the tide in the river before Kinsay was the object which first attracted the attention of Bayan, after his triumphant entrance into the city. The tides reach Fuyang, 20 miles higher. (*N. and Q., China and Japan,*

vol. I. p. 53; *Mid. Kingd.* I. 95, 106; *J. N. Ch. Br. R. A. S.*, December, 1865, p. 6; *Milne*, p. 295; *Note by Mr. Moule*).

[Miss E. Scidmore writes (*China*, p. 294): "There are only three wonders of the world in China—The Demons at Tungchow, the Thunder at Lungchow, and the Great Tide at Hangchow, the last, the greatest of all, and a living wonder to this day of 'the open door,' while its rivals are lost in myth and oblivion. . . The Great Bore charges up the narrowing river at a speed of ten and thirteen miles an hour, with a roar that can be heard for an hour before it arrives."—H. C.]

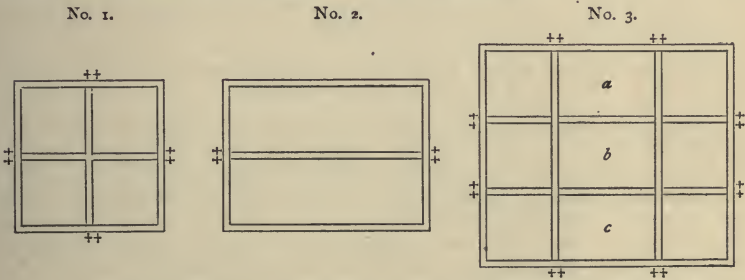
NOTE 3.—For satisfactory elucidation as to what is or may have been authentic in these statements, we shall have to wait for a correct survey of Hang-chau and its neighbourhood. We have already seen strong reason to suppose that *miles* have been substituted for *li* in the circuits assigned both to the city and to the lake, and we are yet more strongly impressed with the conviction that the same substitution has been made here in regard to the canal on the east of the city, as well as the streets and market-places spoken of in the next paragraph.

Chinese plans of Hang-chau do show a large canal encircling the city on the east and north, *i.e.*, on the sides away from the lake. In some of them this is represented like a ditch to the rampart, but in others it is more detached. And the position of the main street, with its parallel canal, does answer fairly to the account in the next paragraph, setting aside the extravagant dimensions.

The existence of the squares or market-places is alluded to by Wassáf in a passage that we shall quote below; and the *Masdlak-al-Absár* speaks of the main street running from end to end of the city.

On this Mr. Moule says: "I have found no certain account of market-squares, though the *Fang*,* of which a few still exist, and a very large number are laid down in the Sung Map, mainly grouped along the chief street, may perhaps represent them. . . . The names of some of these (*Fang*) and of the *Sze* or markets still remain."

Mr. Wylie sent Sir Henry Yule a tracing of the figures mentioned in the foot note; it is worth while to append them, at least in *diagram*.



No. 1. Plan of a *Fang* or Square.
 No. 2: " " in the South of the Imperial City of Si-ngan fu.
 No. 3 Arrangement of Two-*Fang* Square, with four streets and 8 gates.
 a. The Market place.
 b. The Official Establishment.
 c. Office for regulating Weights.

Compare Polo's statement that in each of the squares at Kinsay, where the

* See the mention of the *I-ning Fang* at Si-ngan fu, *supra*, p. 28. Mr. Wylie writes that in a work on the latter city, published during the Yuen time, of which he has met with a reprint, there are figures to illustrate the division of the city into *Fang*, a word "which appears to indicate a certain space of ground, not an open square . . . but a block of buildings crossed by streets, and at the end of each street an open gateway." In one of the figures a first reference indicates "the market place," a second "the official establishment," a third "the office for regulating weights." These indications seem to explain Polo's squares. (See Note 3, above.)

markets were held, there were two great Palaces facing one another, in which were established the officers who decided differences between merchants, etc.

The double lines represent streets, and the ‡ are gates.

NOTE 4.—There is no mention of *pork*, the characteristic animal food of China, and the only one specified by Friar Odoric in his account of the same city. Probably Mark may have got a little *Saracenized* among the Mahomedans at the Kaan's Court, and doubted if 'twere good manners to mention it. It is perhaps a relic of the same feeling, gendered by Saracen rule, that in Sicily pigs are called *i neri*.

"The larger game, red-deer and fallow-deer, is now never seen for sale. Hog-deer, wild-swine, pheasants, water-fowl, and every description of 'vermin' and small birds, are exposed for sale, not now in markets, but at the retail wine shops. Wild-cats, racoons, otters, badgers, kites, owls, etc., etc., festoon the shop fronts along with game." (*Moule*.)

NOTE 5.—Van Braam, in passing through Shan-tung Province, speaks of very large pears. "The colour is a beautiful golden yellow. Before it is pared the pear is somewhat hard, but in eating it the juice flows, the pulp melts, and the taste is pleasant enough." Williams says these Shan-tung pears are largely exported, but he is not so complimentary to them as Polo: "The pears are large and juicy, sometimes weighing 8 or 10 pounds, but remarkably tasteless and coarse." (*V. Braam*, II. 33-34; *Mid. Kingd.*, I. 78 and II. 44). In the beginning of 1867 I saw pears in Covent Garden Market which I should guess to have weighed 7 or 8 lbs. each. They were priced at 18 guineas a dozen!

["Large pears are nowadays produced in Shan-tung and Manchuria, but they are rather tasteless and coarse. I am inclined to suppose that Polo's large pears were Chinese quinces, *Cydonia chinensis*, Thouin, this fruit being of enormous size, sometimes one foot long, and very fragrant. The Chinese use it for sweet-meats." (*Bretschneider, Hist. of Bot. Disc.* I. p. 2.)—H. C.]

As regards the "yellow and white" peaches, Marsden supposes the former to be apricots. Two kinds of peach, correctly so described, are indeed common in Sicily, where I write;—and both are, in their raw state, equally good food for *i neri*! But I see Mr. Moule also identifies the yellow peach with "the *hwang-mei* or clingstone apricot," as he knows no yellow peach in China.

NOTE 6.—"*E non veggono mai l'ora che di nuovo possano ritornarvi*;" a curious Italian idiom. (See *Vocab. It. Univ.*, sub. v. "*vedere*".)

NOTE 7.—It would seem that the habits of the Chinese in reference to the use of pepper and such spices have changed. Besides this passage, implying that their consumption of pepper was large, Marco tells us below (ch. lxxxii.) that for one ship-load of pepper carried to Alexandria for the consumption of Christendom, a hundred went to Zayton in Manzi. At the present day, according to Williams, the Chinese use little spice; pepper chiefly as a febrifuge in the shape of *pepper-tea*, and that even less than they did some years ago. (See p. 239, *infra*, and *Mid. Kingd.*, II. 46, 408.) On this, however, Mr. Moule observes: "Pepper is not so completely relegated to the doctors. A month or two ago, passing a portable cookshop in the city, I heard a girl-purchaser cry to the cook, 'Be sure you put in *pepper and licks!*'"

NOTE 8.—Marsden, after referring to the ingenious frauds commonly related of Chinese traders, observes: "In the long continued intercourse that has subsisted between the agents of the European companies and the more eminent of the Chinese merchants . . . complaints on the ground of commercial unfairness have been extremely rare, and on the contrary, their transactions have been marked with the most perfect good faith and mutual confidence." Mr. Consul Medhurst bears similar strong testimony to the upright dealings of Chinese merchants. His remark that, as a rule, he has found that the Chinese deteriorate by intimacy with foreigners

is worthy of notice;* it is a remark capable of application wherever the East and West come into habitual contact. Favourable opinions among the nations on their frontiers of Chinese dealing, as expressed to Wood and Burnes in Turkestan, and to Macleod and Richardson in Laos, have been quoted by me elsewhere in reference to the old classical reputation of the Seres for integrity. Indeed, Marco's whole account of the people here might pass for an expanded paraphrase of the Latin commonplaces regarding the Seres. Mr. Milne, a missionary for many years in China, stands up manfully against the wholesale disparagement of Chinese character (p. 401).

NOTE 9.—Semedo and Martini, in the 17th century, give a very similar account of the Lake Si-hu, the parties of pleasure frequenting it, and their gay barges. (*Semedo*, pp. 20-21; *Mart.* p. 9.) But here is a Chinese picture of the very thing described by Marco, under the Sung Dynasty: "When Yaou Shunming was Prefect of Hangchow, there was an old woman, who said she was formerly a singing-girl, and in the service of Tung-p'o Seen-sheng.† She related that her master, whenever he found a leisure day in spring, would invite friends to take their pleasure on the lake. They used to take an early meal on some agreeable spot, and, the repast over, a chief was chosen for the company of each barge, who called a number of dancing-girls to follow them to any place they chose. As the day waned a gong sounded to assemble all once more at 'Lake Prospect Chambers,' or at the 'Bamboo Pavilion,' or some place of the kind, where they amused themselves to the top of their bent, and then, at the first or second drum, before the evening market dispersed, returned home by candle-light. In the city, gentlemen and ladies assembled in crowds, lining the way to see the return of the thousand Knights. It must have been a brave spectacle of that time." (*Moule*, from the *Si-hu-Chi*, or "Topography of the West Lake.") It is evident, from what Mr. Moule says, that this book abounds in interesting illustration of these two chapters of Polo. Barges with paddle-wheels are alluded to.

NOTE 10.—Public carriages are still used in the great cities of the north, such as Peking. Possibly this is a revival. At one time carriages appear to have been much more general in China than they were afterwards, or are now. Semedo says they were abandoned in China just about the time that they were adopted in Europe, viz. in the 16th century. And this disuse seems to have been either cause or effect of the neglect of the roads, of which so high an account is given in old times. (*Semedo; N. and Q. Ch. and Jap.* I. 94.)

Dequignes describes the public carriages of Peking, as "shaped like a palankin, but of a longer form, with a rounded top, lined outside and in with coarse blue cloth, and provided with black cushions" (I. 372). This corresponds with our author's description, and with a drawing by Alexander among his published sketches. The present Peking cab is evidently the same vehicle, but smaller.

NOTE 11.—The character of the King of Manzi here given corresponds to that which the Chinese histories assign to the Emperor Tu-Tsong, in whose time Kúblái commenced his enterprise against Southern China, but who died two years before the fall of the capital. He is described as given up to wine and women, and indifferent to all public business, which he committed to unworthy ministers. The following words, quoted by Mr. Moule from the *Hang-Chau Fu-Chi*, are like an echo of Marco's: "In those days the dynasty was holding on to a mere corner of the realm, hardly able to defend even that; and nevertheless all, high and low, devoted themselves to dress and ornament, to music and dancing on the lake and amongst the hills, with no idea of sympathy for the country." A garden called Tseu-king ("of many prospects") near the Tsing-po Gate, and a monastery west of the lake, near the Lingin, are mentioned as pleasure haunts of the Sung Kings.

* *Foreigner in Far Cathay*, pp. 158, 176.

† A famous poet and scholar of the 11th century.

NOTE 12.—The statement that the palace of Kingszé was occupied by the Great Kaan's lieutenant seems to be inconsistent with the notice in De Mailla that Kúblái made it over to the Buddhist priests. Perhaps *Kúblái's* name is a mistake; for one of Mr. Moule's books (*Jin-ho-hien-chi*) says that under the last Mongol Emperor five convents were built on the area of the palace.

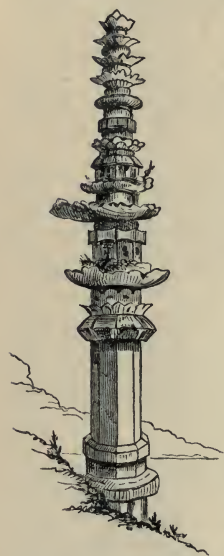
Mr. H. Murray argues, from this closing passage especially, that Marco never could have been the author of the Ramusian interpolations; but with this I cannot agree. Did this passage stand alone we might doubt if it were Marco's; but the interpolations must be considered as a whole. Many of them bear to my mind clear evidence of being his own, and I do not see that the present one *may* not be his. The picture conveyed of the ruined walls and half-obliterated buildings does, it is true, give the impression of a long interval between their abandonment and the traveller's visit, whilst the whole interval between the capture of the city and Polo's departure from China was not more than fifteen or sixteen years. But this is too vague a basis for theorising.

Mr. Moule has ascertained by maps of the Sung period, and by a variety of notices in the Topographies, that the palace lay to the south and south-east of the present city, and included a large part of the fine hills called *Fung-hwang Shan* or Phoenix Mount,* and other names, whilst its southern gate opened near the Ts'ien-T'ang River. Its north gate is supposed to have been the Fung Shan Gate of the present city, and the chief street thus formed the avenue to the palace.

By the kindness of Messrs. Moule and Wylie, I am able to give a copy of the Sung Map of the Palace (for origin of which see list of illustrations). I should note that the orientation is different from that of the map of the city already given. This map elucidates Polo's account of the palace in a highly interesting manner.

[Father H. Havret has given in p. 21 of *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 19, a complete study of the inscription of a *chwang*, nearly similar to the one given here, which is erected near Ch'êng-tu.—H. C.]

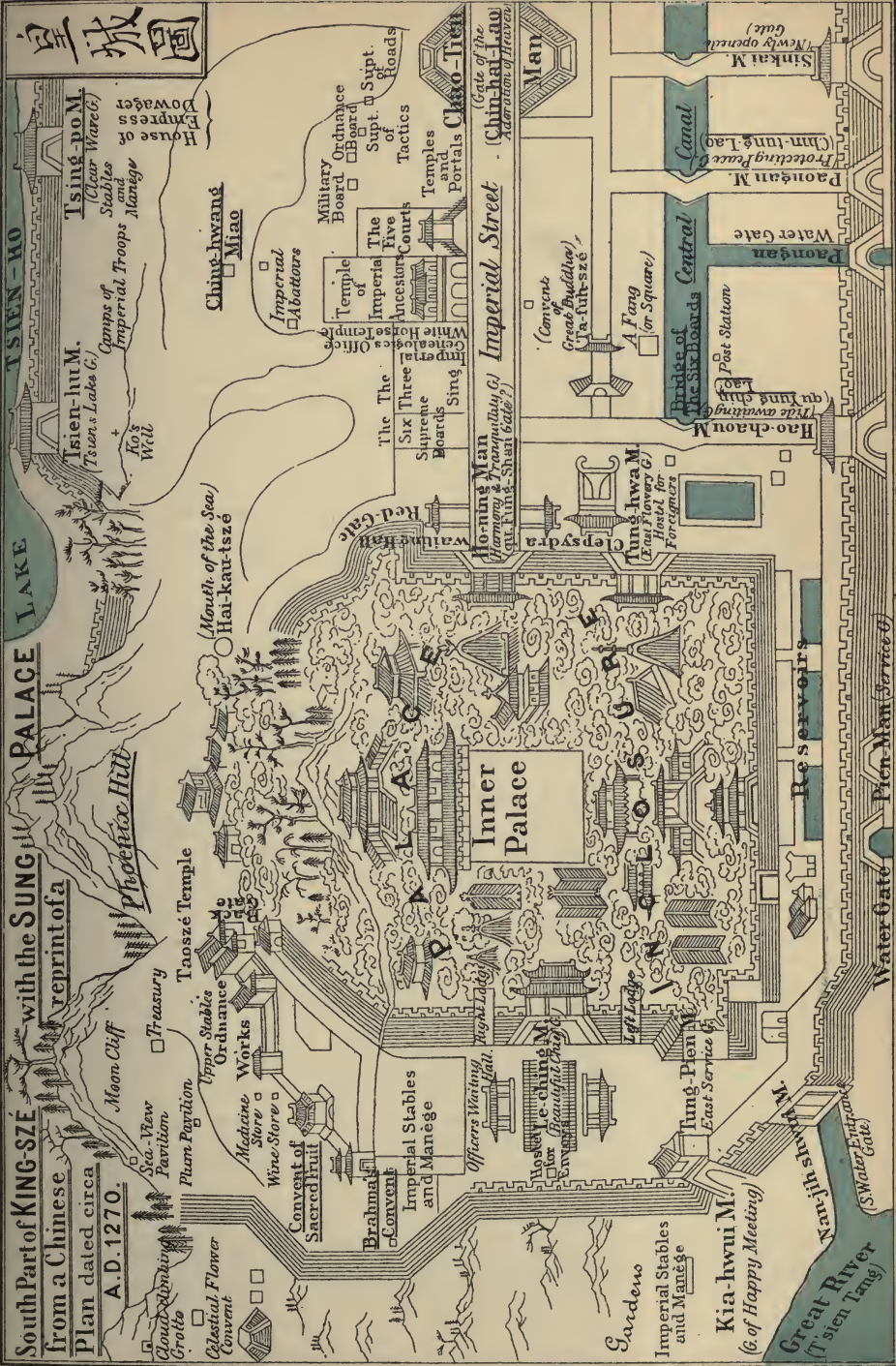
Before quitting KINSAY, the description of which forms the most striking feature in Polo's account of China, it is worth while to quote other notices from authors of nearly the same age. However exaggerated some of these may be, there can be little doubt that it was the greatest city then existing in the world.



Stone *Chwang*, or Umbrella Column, on site of "Brahma's Temple," Hang-chau.

Friar Odoric (in China about 1324-1327):—"Departing thence I came unto the city of CANSAY, a name which signifieth the 'City of Heaven.' And 'tis the greatest city in the whole world, so great indeed that I should scarcely venture to tell of it, but that I have met at Venice people in plenty who have been there. It is a good hundred miles in compass, and there is not in it a span of ground which is not well peopled. And many a tenement is there which shall have 10 or 12 households comprised in it. And there be also great suburbs which contain a greater population than even the city itself. . . . This city is situated upon lagoons of standing water, with canals like the city of Venice. And it hath more than 12,000 bridges, on each of which are stationed guards, guarding the city on behalf of the Great Kaan. And

* Mr. Wylie, after ascending this hill with Mr. Moule, writes: "It is about two miles from the south gate to the top, by a rather steep road. On the top is a remarkably level plot of ground, with a cluster of rocks in one place. On the face of these rocks are a great many inscriptions, but so obliterated by age and weather that only a few characters can be deciphered. A stone road leads up from the city gate, and another one, very steep, down to the lake. This is the only vestige remaining of the old palace grounds. There is no doubt about this being really a relic of the palace.



SOUTH

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at the side of this city there flows a river near which it is built, like Ferrara by the Po, for it is longer than it is broad," and so on, relating how his host took him to see a great monastery of the idolaters, where there was a garden full of grottoes, and therein many animals of divers kinds, which they believed to be inhabited by the souls of gentlemen. "But if any one should desire to tell all the vastness and great marvels of this city, a good quire of stationery would not hold the matter, I trow. For 'tis the greatest and noblest city, and the finest for merchandize that the whole world containeth." (*Cathay*, 113 *seqq.*)

The Archbishop of Soltania (circa 1330):—"And so vast is the number of people that the soldiers alone who are posted to keep ward in the city of Cambalec are 40,000 men by sure tale. And in the city of CASSAY there be yet more, for its people is greater in number, seeing that it is a city of very great trade. And to this city all the traders of the country come to trade; and greatly it aboundeth in all manner of merchandize." (*Ib.* 244-245.)

John Marignolli (in China 1342-1347):—"Now Manzi is a country which has countless cities and nations included in it, past all belief to one who has not seen them. . . . And among the rest is that most famous city of CAMPSAY, the finest, the biggest, the richest, the most populous, and altogether the most marvellous city, the city of the greatest wealth and luxury, of the most splendid buildings (especially idol-temples, in some of which there are 1000 and 2000 monks dwelling together), that exists now upon the face of the earth, or mayhap that ever did exist." (*Ib.* p. 354.) He also speaks, like Odoric, of the "cloister at Campsay, in that most famous monastery where they keep so many monstrous animals, which they believe to be the souls of the departed" (384). Perhaps this monastery may yet be identified. Odoric calls it *Thebe*. [See *A. Vissière, Bul. Soc. Géog. Com.*, 1901, pp. 112-113.—H. C.]

Turning now to Asiatic writers, we begin with *Wassáf* (A. D. 1300):—

"KHANZAI is the greatest city of the cities of Chin,

'Stretching like Paradise through the breadth of Heaven.'

Its shape is oblong, and the measurement of its perimeter is about 24 parasangs. Its streets are paved with burnt brick and with stone. The public edifices and the houses are built of wood, and adorned with a profusion of paintings of exquisite elegance. Between one end of the city and the other there are three *Yams* (post-stations) established. The length of the chief streets is three parasangs, and the city contains 64 quadrangles corresponding to one another in structure, and with parallel ranges of columns. The salt excise brings in daily 700 *balish* in paper-money. The number of craftsmen is so great that 32,000 are employed at the dyer's art alone; from that fact you may estimate the rest. There are in the city 70 *tomans* of soldiers and 70 *tomans* of *rayats*, whose number is registered in the books of the Dewán. There are 700 churches (*Kalstá*) resembling fortresses, and every one of them overflowing with presbyters without faith, and monks without religion, besides other officials, wardens, servants of the idols, and this, that, and the other, to tell the names of which would surpass number and space. All these are exempt from taxes of every kind. Four *tomans* of the garrison constitute the night patrol. . . . Amid the city there are 360 bridges erected over canals ample as the Tigris, which are ramifications of the great river of Chín; and different kinds of vessels and ferry-boats, adapted to every class, ply upon the waters in such numbers as to pass all powers of enumeration. . . . The concourse of all kinds of foreigners from the four quarters of the world, such as the calls of trade and travel bring together in a kingdom like this, may easily be conceived." (*Revised on Hammer's Translation*, pp. 42-43.)

. . . You will see on the map, just inside the walls of the Imperial city, the Temple of Brahma. There are still two stone columns standing with curious Buddhist inscriptions. . . . Although the temple is entirely gone, these columns retain the name and mark the place. They date from the 6th century, and there are few structures earlier in China." One is engraved above, after a sketch by Mr. Moule.

The Persian work *Nushát-al-Kulúb*:—"KHINZAI is the capital of the country of Máchn. If one may believe what some travellers say, there exists no greater city on the face of the earth; but anyhow, all agree that it is the greatest in all the countries in the East. Inside the place is a lake which has a circuit of six parasangs, and all round which houses are built. . . . The population is so numerous that the watchmen are some 10,000 in number." (*Quat. Rash.* p. lxxxviii.)

The Arabic work *Masálik-al-Absár*:—"Two routes lead from Khanbalik to KHINSÁ, one by land, the other by water; and either way takes 40 days. The city of Khinsá extends a whole day's journey in length and half a day's journey in breadth. In the middle of it is a street which runs right from one end to the other. The streets and squares are all paved; the houses are five-storied (?), and are built with planks nailed together," etc. (*Ibid.*)

Ibn Batuta:—"We arrived at the city of KHANSÁ. . . . This city is the greatest I have ever seen on the surface of the earth. It is three days' journey in length, so that a traveller passing through the city has to make his marches and his halts! . . . It is subdivided into six towns, each of which has a separate enclosure, while one great wall surrounds the whole," etc. (*Cathay*, p. 496 *seqq.*)

Let us conclude with a writer of a later age, the worthy Jesuit Martin Martini, the author of the admirable *Atlas Sinensis*, one whose honourable zeal to maintain Polo's veracity, of which he was one of the first intelligent advocates, is apt, it must be confessed, a little to colour his own spectacles:—"That the cosmographers of Europe may no longer make such ridiculous errors as to the QUINSAI of Marco Polo, I will here give you the very place. [He then explains the name.] . . . And to come to the point; this is the very city that hath those bridges so lofty and so numberless, both within the walls and in the suburbs; nor will they fall much short of the 10,000 which the Venetian alleges, if you count also the triumphal arches among the bridges, as he might easily do because of their analogous structure, just as he calls tigers *lions*; . . . or if you will, he may have meant to include not merely the bridges in the city and suburbs, but in the whole of the dependent territory. In that case indeed the number which Europeans find it so hard to believe might well be set still higher, so vast is everywhere the number of bridges and of triumphal arches. Another point in confirmation is that lake which he mentions of 40 Italian miles in circuit. This exists under the name of *Si-hu*; it is not, indeed, as the book says, inside the walls, but lies in contact with them for a long distance on the west and south-west, and a number of canals drawn from it *do* enter the city. Moreover, the shores of the lake on every side are so thickly studded with temples, monasteries, palaces, museums, and private houses, that you would suppose yourself to be passing through the midst of a great city rather than a country scene. Quays of cut stone are built along the banks, affording a spacious promenade; and causeways cross the lake itself, furnished with lofty bridges, to allow of the passage of boats; and thus you can readily walk all about the lake on this side and on that. 'Tis no wonder that Polo considered it to be part of the city. This, too, is the very city that hath within the walls, near the south side, a hill called *Ching-hoang** on which stands that tower with the watchmen, on which there is a clepsydra to measure the hours, and where each hour is announced by the exhibition of a placard, with gilt letters of a foot and a half in height. This is the very city the streets of which are paved with squared stones: the city which lies in a swampy situation, and is intersected by a number of navigable canals; this, in short, is the city from which the emperor escaped to seaward by the great river Ts'ien-T'ang, the breadth of which exceeds a German mile, flowing on the south of the city, exactly corresponding to the river described by the Venetian at Quinsai, and flowing eastward to the sea, which it enters precisely at the distance which he mentions. I will add that the compass of the city will be 100 Italian

* See the plan of the city with last chapter.

miles and more, if you include its vast suburbs, which run out on every side an enormous distance; insomuch that you may walk for 50 Chinese *li* in a straight line from north to south, the whole way through crowded blocks of houses, and without encountering a spot that is not full of dwellings and full of people; whilst from east to west you can do very nearly the same thing." (*Atlas Sinensis*, p. 99.)

And so we quit what Mr. Moule appropriately calls "Marco's famous rhapsody of the Manzi capital"; perhaps the most striking section of the whole book, as manifestly the subject was that which had made the strongest impression on the narrator.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

TREATING OF THE GREAT YEARLY REVENUE THAT THE GREAT KAAN
HATH FROM KINSAY.

Now I will tell you about the great revenue which the Great Kaan draweth every year from the said city of Kinsay and its territory, forming a ninth part of the whole country of Manzi.

First there is the salt, which brings in a great revenue. For it produces every year, in round numbers, fourscore *tomans* of gold; and the *toman* is worth 70,000 *saggi* of gold, so that the total value of the fourscore *tomans* will be five millions and six hundred thousand *saggi* of gold, each *saggio* being worth more than a gold florin or ducat; in sooth, a vast sum of money! [This province, you see, adjoins the ocean, on the shores of which are many lagoons or salt marshes, in which the sea-water dries up during the summer time; and thence they extract such a quantity of salt as suffices for the supply of five of the kingdoms of Manzi besides this one.]

Having told you of the revenue from salt, I will now tell you of that which accrues to the Great Kaan from the duties on merchandize and other matters.

You must know that in this city and its dependencies they make great quantities of sugar, as indeed they do

in the other eight divisions of this country; so that I believe the whole of the rest of the world together does not produce such a quantity, at least, if that be true which many people have told me; and the sugar alone again produces an enormous revenue.—However, I will not repeat the duties on every article separately, but tell you how they go in the lump. Well, all spicery pays three and a third per cent. on the value; and all merchandize likewise pays three and a third per cent. [But sea-borne goods from India and other distant countries pay ten per cent.] The rice-wine also makes a great return, and coals, of which there is a great quantity; and so do the twelve guilds of craftsmen that I told you of, with their 12,000 stations apiece, for every article they make pays duty. And the silk which is produced in such abundance makes an immense return. But why should I make a long story of it? The silk, you must know, pays ten per cent., and many other articles also pay ten per cent.

And you must know that Messer Marco Polo, who relates all this, was several times sent by the Great Kaan to inspect the amount of his customs and revenue from this ninth part of Manzi,¹ and he found it to be, exclusive of the salt revenue which we have mentioned already, 210 *tomans* of gold, equivalent to 14,700,000 *saggi* of gold; one of the most enormous revenues that ever was heard of. And if the sovereign has such a revenue from one-ninth part of the country, you may judge what he must have from the whole of it! However, to speak the truth, this part is the greatest and most productive; and because of the great revenue that the Great Kaan derives from it, it is his favourite province, and he takes all the more care to watch it well, and to keep the people contented.²

Now we will quit this city and speak of others.

NOTE I.—Pauthier's text seems to be the only one which says that Marco was sent by the Great Kaan. The G. Text says merely: "*Si ge joo March Pol ge plusor fois hoï faire le conte de la rende de tous cestes couses*,"—"had several times heard the calculations made."

NOTE 2.—*Toman* is 10,000. And the first question that occurs in considering the statements of this chapter is as to the unit of these toman, as intended by Polo. I believe it to have been the *tael* (or Chinese ounce) of gold.

We do not know that the Chinese ever made monetary calculations in gold. But the usual unit of the revenue accounts appears from Pauthier's extracts to have been the *ting*, i.e. a money of account equal to ten taels of silver, and we know (*supra*, ch. I. note 4) that this was in those days the exact equivalent of one tael of gold.

The equation in our text is $10,000 x = 70,000$ saggi of gold, giving x , or the unit sought, = 7 saggi. But in both Ramusio on the one hand, and in the Geog. Latin and Crusca Italian texts on the other hand, the equivalent of the toman is 80,000 saggi; though it is true that neither with one valuation nor the other are the calculations consistent in any of the texts, except Ramusio's.* This consistency does not give any greater weight to Ramusio's reading, because we know that version to have been *edited*, and corrected when the editor thought it necessary: but I adopt his valuation, because we shall find other grounds for preferring it. The unit of the *toman* then is = 8 saggi.

The Venice saggio was one-sixth of a Venice ounce. The Venice mark of 8 ounces I find stated to contain 3681 grains troy; † hence the saggio = 76 grains. But I imagine the term to be used by Polo here and in other Oriental computations, to express the Arabic *miskāl*, the real weight of which, according to Mr. Maskelyne, is 74 grains troy. The *miskāl* of gold was, as Polo says, something more than a ducat or sequin, indeed, weight for weight, it was to a ducat nearly as 1'4 : 1.

Eight saggi or *miskāls* would be 592 grains troy. The tael is 580, and the approximation is as near as we can reasonably expect from a calculation in such terms.

Taking the silver tael at 6s. 7d., the gold tael, or rather the *ting*, would be = 3l. 5s. 10d.; the *toman* = 32,916l. 13s. 4d.; and the whole salt revenue (80 toman) = 2,633,333l.; the revenue from other sources (210 toman) = 6,912,500l.; total revenue from Kinsay and its province (290 toman) = 9,545,833l. A sufficiently startling statement, and quite enough to account for the sobriquet of Marco Milioni.

Pauthier, in reference to this chapter, brings forward a number of extracts regarding Mongol finance from the official history of that dynasty. The extracts are extremely interesting in themselves, but I cannot find in them that confirmation of Marco's accuracy which M. Pauthier sees.

First as to the salt revenue of Kiang-Ché, or the province of Kinsay. The facts given by Pauthier amount to these: that in 1277, the year in which the Mongol salt department was organised, the manufacture of salt amounted to 92,148 *jin*, or 22,115,520 *kilos.*; in 1286 it had reached 450,000 *jin*, or 108,000,000 *kilos.*; in 1289 it fell off by 100,000 *jin*.

The price was, in 1277, 18 *liang* or taels, in *chao* or paper-money of the years 1260-64 (see vol. i. p. 426); in 1282 it was raised to 22 taels; in 1284 a permanent and reduced price was fixed, the amount of which is not stated.

M. Pauthier assumes as a mean 400,000 *jin*, at 18 taels, which will give 7,200,000 *taels*; or, at 6s. 7d. to the tael, 2,370,000l. But this amount being in *chao* or paper-currency, which at its highest valuation was worth only 50 per cent. of the nominal

* Pauthier's MSS. A and B are hopelessly corrupt here. His MS. C agrees with the Geog. Text in making the toman = 70,000 saggi, but 210 toman = 15,700,000, instead of 14,700,000. The Crusca and Latin have 80,000 saggi in the first place, but 15,700,000 in the second. Ramusio alone has 80,000 in the first place, and 16,800,000 in the second.

† *Eng. Cyclop.*, "Weights and Measures."

value of the notes, we must *halve* the sum, giving the salt revenue on Pauthier's assumptions = 1,185,000*l.*

Pauthier has also endeavoured to present a table of the whole revenue of Kiang-Ché under the Mongols, amounting to 12,955,710 paper *taels*, or 2,132,294*l.*, including the salt revenue. This would leave only 947,294*l.* for the other sources of revenue, but the fact is that several of these are left blank, and among others one so important as the sea-customs. However, even making the extravagant supposition that the sea-customs and other omitted items were equal in amount to the whole of the other sources of revenue, salt included, the total would be only 4,264,585*l.*

Marco's amount, as he gives it, is, I think, unquestionably a huge exaggeration, though I do not suppose an intentional one. In spite of his professed rendering of the amounts in gold, I have little doubt that his tomans really represent paper-currency, and that to get a valuation in gold, his total has to be divided *at the very least* by two. We may then compare his total of 290 tomans of paper *ting* with Pauthier's 130 tomans of paper *ting*, excluding sea-customs and some other items. No nearer comparison is practicable; and besides the sources of doubt already indicated, it remains uncertain what in either calculation are the limits of the province intended. For the bounds of Kiang-Ché seem to have varied greatly, sometimes including and sometimes excluding Fo-kien.

I may observe that Rashiduddin reports, on the authority of the Mongol minister Pulad Chingsang, that the whole of Manzi brought in a revenue of "900 tomans." This Quatremère renders "nine million pieces of gold," presumably meaning dinars. It is unfortunate that there should be uncertainty here again as to the unit. If it were the *dinar* the whole revenue of Manzi would be about 5,850,000*l.*, whereas if the unit were, as in the case of Polo's toman, the *ting*, the revenue would be nearly 30,000,000 sterling!

It does appear that in China a toman of some denomination of money near the *dinar* was known in account. For Friar Odoric states the revenue of Yang-chau in *tomans of Balish*, the latter unit being, as he explains, a sum in paper-currency equivalent to a florin and a half (or something more than a *dinar*); perhaps, however, only the *liang* or *tael* (see vol. i. pp. 426-7).

It is this calculation of the Kinsay revenue which Marco is supposed to be expounding to his fellow-prisoner on the title-page of this volume. [See *P. Hoang, Commerce Public du Sel*, Shanghai, 1898, Liang-tché-yen, pp. 6-7.—H. C.]

CHAPTER LXXIX.

OF THE CITY OF TANPIJU AND OTHERS.

WHEN you leave Kinsay and travel a day's journey to the south-east, through a plenteous region, passing a succession of dwellings and charming gardens, you reach the city of TANPIJU, a great, rich, and fine city, under Kinsay. The people are subject to the Kaan, and have paper-money, and are Idolaters, and burn their dead in the way described before. They live by trade and

manufactures and handicrafts, and have all necessaries in great plenty and cheapness.¹

But there is no more to be said about it, so we proceed, and I will tell you of another city called VUJU at three days' distance from Tanpiju. The people are Idolaters, &c., and the city is under Kinsay. They live by trade and manufactures.

Travelling through a succession of towns and villages that look like one continuous city, two days further on to the south-east, you find the great and fine city of GHIUJU which is under Kinsay. The people are Idolaters, &c. They have plenty of silk, and live by trade and handicrafts, and have all things necessary in abundance. At this city you find the largest and longest canes that are in all Manzi; they are full four palms in girth and 15 paces in length.²

When you have left Ghiuju you travel four days S.E. through a beautiful country, in which towns and villages are very numerous. There is abundance of game both in beasts and birds; and there are very large and fierce lions. After those four days you come to the great and fine city of CHANSHAN. It is situated upon a hill which divides the River, so that the one portion flows up country and the other down.* It is still under the government of Kinsay.

I should tell you that in all the country of Manzi they have no sheep, though they have beeves and kine, goats and kids and swine in abundance. The people are Idolaters here, &c.

When you leave Changshan you travel three days through a very fine country with many towns and villages, traders and craftsmen, and abounding in game of all kinds, and arrive at the city of CUJU. The people

* "Est sus un mont que parte le Flum, que le une moitié ala en sus e l'autre moitié en jus" (G. T.).

are Idolaters, &c., and live by trade and manufactures. It is a fine, noble, and rich city, and is the last of the government of Kinsay in this direction.³ The other kingdom which we now enter, called Fuju, is also one of the nine great divisions of Manzi as Kinsay is.

NOTE 1.—The traveller's route proceeds from Kinsay or Hang-chau southward to the mountains of Fo-kien, ascending the valley of the Ts'ien T'ang, commonly called by Europeans the Green River. The general line, directed as we shall see upon Kien-ning fu in Fo-kien, is clear enough, but some of the details are very obscure, owing partly to vague indications and partly to the excessive uncertainty in the reading of some of the proper names.

No name resembling Tanpiju (G. T., *Tanpigui*; Pauthier, *Tacpiguy*, *Carpiguy*, *Capiguy*; Ram., *Tapinzu*) belongs, so far as has yet been shown, to any considerable town in the position indicated.* Both Pauthier and Mr. Kingsmill identify the place with Shao-hing fu, a large and busy town, compared by Fortune, as regards population, to Shang-hai. Shao-hing is across the broad river, and somewhat further down than Hang-chau: it is out of the traveller's general direction; and it seems unnatural that he should commence his journey by passing this wide river, and yet not mention it.

For these reasons I formerly rejected Shao-hing, and looked rather to Fu-yang as the representative of Tanpiju. But my opinion is shaken when I find both Mr. Elias and Baron Richthofen decidedly opposed to Fu-yang, and the latter altogether in favour of Shao-hing. "The journey through a plenteous region, passing a succession of dwellings and charming gardens; the epithets 'great, rich, and fine city'; the 'trade, manufactures, and handicrafts,' and the 'necessaries in great plenty and cheapness,' appear to apply rather to the populous plain and the large city of ancient fame, than to the small Fu-yang hien . . . shut in by a spur from the hills, which would hardly have allowed it in former days to have been a great city." (*Note by Baron R.*) The after route, as elucidated by the same authority, points with even more force to Shao-hing.

[Mr. G. Phillips has made a special study of the route from Kinsay to Zaytun in the *To'ung Pao*, I. p. 218 *seq.* (*The Identity of Marco Polo's Zaitun with Changchau*). He says (p. 222): "Leaving Hangchau by boat for Fuhkien, the first place of importance is Fuyang, at 100 *li* from Hangchau. This name does not in any way resemble Polo's Ta Pin Zu, but I think it can be no other." Mr. Phillips writes (pp. 221-222) that by the route he describes, he "intends to follow the highway which has been used by travellers for centuries, and the greater part of which is by water." He adds: "I may mention that the boats used on this route can be luxuriously fitted up, and the traveller can go in them all the way from Hangchau to Chinghu, the head of the navigation of the Ts'ien-t'ang River. At this Chinghu, they disembark and hire coolies and chairs to take them and their luggage across the Sien-hia pass to Puching in Fuhkien. This route is described by Fortune in an opposite direction, in his *Wanderings in China*, vol. ii. p. 139. I am inclined to think that Polo followed this route, as the one given by Yule, by way of Shao-hing and Kin-hua by land, would be unnecessarily tedious for the ladies Polo was escorting, and there was no necessity to take it; more especially as there was a direct water route to the point for which they were making. I further incline to this route, as I can find no city at all fitting in with Yenchau, Ramusio's Gengiu, along the route given by Yule."

* One of the *Hien*, forming the special districts of Hang-chau itself, now called *Tsien-tang*, was formerly called *Tang-wei-tang*. But it embraces the eastern part of the district, and can, I think, have nothing to do with *Tanpiju*. (See *Biol.*, p. 257, and *Chin. Repos.* for February, 1842, p. 109.)

In my paper on the Catalan Map (Paris, 1895) I gave the following itinerary: Kinsay (Hang-chau), Tanpiju (Shao-hing fu), Vuju (Kin-hwa fu), Ghiuju (K'iu-chau fu), Chan-shan (Sui-chang hien), Cuju (Ch'u-chau), Ke-lin-fu (Kien-ning fu), Unken (Hu-kwan), Fuju (Fu-chau), Zayton (Kayten, Hai-t'au), Zayton (Ts'iuen-chau), Tyunju (Tek-hwa).

Regarding the burning of the dead, Mr. Phillips (*T'oung Pao*, VI. p. 454) quotes the following passage from a notice by M. Jaubert. "The town of Zaitun is situated half a day's journey inland from the sea. At the place where the ships anchor, the water is fresh. The people drink this water and also that of the wells. Zaitun is 30 days' journey from Khanbaligh. The inhabitants of this town burn their dead either with Sandal, or Brazil wood, according to their means; they then throw the ashes into the river." Mr. Phillips adds: "The custom of burning the dead is a long established one in Fuh-Kien, and does not find much favour among the upper classes. It exists even to this day in the central parts of the province. The time for cremation is generally at the time of the Tsing-Ming. At the commencement of the present dynasty the custom of burning the dead appears to have been pretty general in the Fuchow Prefecture; it was looked upon with disfavour by many, and the gentry petitioned the Authorities that proclamations forbidding it should be issued. It was thought unfilial for children to cremate their parents; and the practice of gathering up the bones of a partially cremated person and thrusting them into a jar, euphoniouly called a Golden Jar, but which was really an earthen one, was much commented on, as, if the jar was too small to contain all the bones, they were broken up and put in, and many pieces got thrown aside. In the Changchow neighbourhood, with which we have here most to do, it was a universal custom in 1126 to burn the dead, and was in existence for many centuries after." (See note, *supra*, II. p. 134.)

Captain Gill, speaking of the country near the Great Wall, writes (I. p. 61): ["The Chinese] consider mutton very poor food, and the butchers' shops are always kept by Mongols. In these, however, both beef and mutton can be bought for 3*d.* or 4*d.* a lb., while pork, which is considered by the Chinese as the greatest delicacy, sells for double the price."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Che-kiang produces bamboos more abundantly than any province of Eastern China. Dr. Medhurst mentions meeting, on the waters near Hang-chau, with numerous rafts of bamboos, one of which was one-third of a mile in length. (*Glance at Int. of China*, p. 53.)

NOTE 3.—Assuming Tanpiju to be Shao-hing, the remaining places as far as the Fo-kien Frontier run thus:—

- 3 days to Vuju (P. *Vugui*, G. T. *Vugui*, *Vuigui*, Ram. *Uguiu*).
- 2 ,, to Ghiuju (P. *Guiguy*, G. T. *Ghingui*, *Ghengui*, *Chengui*, Ram. *Gengui*).
- 2 ,, to Chanshan (P. *Ciancian*, G. T. *Cianscian*, Ram. *Zengian*).
- 3 ,, to Cuju or Chuju (P. *Cinguy*, G. T. *Cugui*, Ram. *Gieza*).

First as regards *Chanshan*, which, with the notable circumstances about the waters there, constitutes the key to the route, I extract the following remarks from a note which Mr. Fortune has kindly sent me: "When we get to *Chanshan* the proof as to the route is *very strong*. This is undoubtedly my *Chang-shan*. The town is near the head of the Green River (the Ts'ien T'ang) which flows in a N.E. direction and falls into the Bay of Hang-chau. At Chang-shan the stream is no longer navigable even for small boats. Travellers going west or south-west walk or are carried in sedan-chairs across country in a westerly direction for about 30 miles to a town named Yuh-shan. Here there is a river which flows westward ('the other half goes down'), taking the traveller rapidly in that direction, and passing *en route* the towns of Kwansinfu, Hokow or Hokeu, and onward to the Poyang Lake." From the careful study of Mr. Fortune's published narrative I had already arrived at the conclusion that this was the correct explanation of the remarkable expressions about the division of the waters, which are closely analogous to those used by the traveller in ch. lxii. of this book

when speaking of the watershed of the Great Canal at Sinjumatu. Paraphrased the words might run: "At Chang-shan you reach high ground, which interrupts the continuity of the River; from one side of this ridge it flows up country towards the north, from the other it flows down towards the south." The expression "The River" will be elucidated in note 4 to ch. lxxxii. below.

This route by the Ts'ien T'ang and the Chang-shan portage, which turns the danger involved in the navigation of the Yang-tzū and the Poyang Lake, was formerly a thoroughfare to the south much followed; though now almost abandoned through one of the indirect results (as Baron Richthofen points out) of steam navigation.

The portage from Chang-shan to Yuh-shan was passed by the English and Dutch embassies in the end of last century, on their journeys from Hang-chau to Canton, and by Mr. Fortune on his way from Ningpo to the Bohea country of Fo-kien. It is probable that Polo on some occasion made the ascent of the Ts'ien T'ang by water, and that this leads him to notice the interruption of the navigation.

[Mr. Phillips writes (*T. Pao*, I. p. 222): "From Fuyang the next point reached is Tunglu, also another 100 *li* distant. Polo calls this city Ugim, a name bearing no resemblance to Tunglu, but this name and Ta Pin Zu are so corrupted in all editions that they defy conjecture. One hundred *li* further up the river from Tunglu, we come to Yenchau, in which I think we have Polo's Gengiu of Ramusio's text. Yule's text calls this city Ghiuju, possibly an error in transcription for Ghinju; Yenchau in ancient Chinese would, according to Williams, be pronounced Ngam, Ngin, and Ngienchau, all of which are sufficiently near Polo's Gengiu. The next city reached is Lan Ki Hien or Lan Chi Hsien, famous for its hams, dates, and all the good things of this life, according to the Chinese. In this city I recognise Polo's Zen Gi An of Ramusio. Does its description justify me in my identification? 'The city of "Zen gi an," says Ramusio, 'is built upon a hill that stands isolated in the river, which latter, by dividing itself into two branches, appears to embrace it. These streams take opposite directions: one of them pursuing its course to the south-east and the other to the north-west.' Fortune, in his *Wanderings in China* (vol. ii. p. 139), calls Lan-Khi, Nan-Che-hien, and says: 'It is built on the banks of the river, and has a picturesque hill behind it.' Milne, who also visited it, mentions it in his *Life in China* (p. 258), and says: 'At the southern end of the suburbs of Lan-Ki the river divides into two branches, the one to the left on south-east leading direct to Kinhua.' Milne's description of the place is almost identical with Polo's, when speaking of the division of the river. There are in Fuchau several Lan-Khi shopkeepers, who deal in hams, dates, etc., and these men tell me the city from the river has the appearance of being built on a hill, but the houses on the hill are chiefly temples. I would divide the name as follows, Zen gi an; the last syllable *an* most probably represents the modern Hien, meaning District city, which in ancient Chinese was pronounced *Han*, softened by the Italians into *an*. Lan-Khi was a Hien in Polo's day."—H. C.]

Kin-hwa fu, as Pauthier has observed, bore at this time the name of WU-CHAU, which Polo would certainly write *Vugiu*. And between Shao-hing and Kin-hwa there exists, as Baron Richthofen has pointed out, a line of depression which affords an easy connection between Shao-hing and Lan-ki hien or Kin-hwa fu. This line is much used by travellers, and forms just 3 short stages. Hence Kin-hwa, a fine city destroyed by the T'ai-P'ings, is satisfactorily identified with *Vugiu*.

The journey from Vugiu to Ghiuju is said to be through a succession of towns and villages, looking like a continuous city. Fortune, whose journey occurred before the T'ai-P'ing devastations, speaks of the approach to Kiu-chau as a vast and beautiful garden. And Mr. Milne's map of this route shows an incomparable density of towns in the Ts'ien T'ang valley from Yen-chau up to Kiu-chau. *Ghiuju* then will be KIU-CHAU. But between Kiu-chau and Chang-shan it is impossible to make four days: barely possible to make two. My map (*Itineraries*, No. VI.), based on D'Anville and Fortune, makes the *direct* distance 24 miles; Milne's map barely 18; whilst from his book we deduce the distance travelled by water to be about 30. On the whole, it seems probable that there is a mistake in the figure here.



Marco Polo's route from Kinsai to ZAITUN, illustrating Mr. G. Phillips' theory.

From the head of the great Che-kiang valley I find two roads across the mountains into Fo-kien described.

One leads from *Kiang-shan* (not Chang-shan) by a town called Ching-hu, and then, nearly due south, across the mountains to Pu-ch'eng in Upper Fo-kien. This is specified by Martini (p. 113): it seems to have been followed by the Dutch Envoy, Van Hoorn, in 1665 (see *Astley*, III. 463), and it was travelled by Fortune on his return from the Bohea country to Ningpo. (II. 247, 271.)

The other route follows the portage spoken of above from *Chang-shan* to Yuh-shan, and descends the river on that side to *Hokeu*, whence it strikes south-east across the mountains to Tsung-ngan-hien in Fo-kien. This route was followed by Fortune on his way to the Bohea country.

Both from Pu-ch'eng on the former route, and from near Tsung-ngan on the latter, the waters are navigable down to Kien-ning fu and so to Fu-chau.

Mr. Fortune judges the first to have been Polo's route. There does not, however, seem to be on this route any place that can be identified with his *Cuju* or *Chuju*. Ching-hu seems to be insignificant, and the name has no resemblance. On the other route followed by Mr. Fortune himself from that side we have Kwansin fu, *Hokeu*, Yen-shan, and (last town passed on that side) *Chuchu*. The latter, as to both name and position, is quite satisfactory, but it is described as a small poor town. *Hokeu* would be represented in Polo's spelling as *Caghui* or *Cughui*. It is now a place of great population and importance as the entrepôt of the Black Tea Trade, but, like many important commercial cities in the interior, not being even a *hien*, it has no place either in *Duhalde* or in *Biot*, and I cannot learn its age.

It is no objection to this line that Polo speaks of *Cuju* or *Chuju* as the last city of the government of Kinsay, whilst the towns just named are in Kiang-si. For *Kiang-Ché*, the province of Kinsay, then included the eastern part of Kiang-si. (See *Cathay*, p. 270.)

[Mr. Phillips writes (*T. Pao*, I. 223-224): "Eighty-five *li* beyond Lan-ki hien is Lung-yin, a place not mentioned by Polo, and another ninety-five *li* still further on is Chüchau or Keuchau, which is, I think, the Gie-za of Ramusio, and the *Cuju* of Yule's version. Polo describes it as the last city of the government of Kinsai (Che-kiang) in this direction. It is the last Prefectural city, but ninety *li* beyond Chü-chau, on the road to Pu-chêng, is Kiang-shan, a district city which is the last one in this direction. Twenty *li* from Kiang-shan is Ching-hu, the head of the navigation of the T'sien-T'ang river. Here one hires chairs and coolies for the journey over the Sien-hia Pass to Pu-chêng, a distance of 215 *li*. From Pu-cheng, Fu-chau can be reached by water in 4 or 5 days. The distance is 780 *li*."—H. C.]

CHAPTER LXXX.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF FUJU.

ON leaving *Cuju*, which is the last city of the kingdom of Kinsay, you enter the kingdom of *FUJU*, and travel six days in a south-easterly direction through a country of mountains and valleys, in which are a number of towns and villages with great plenty of victuals and

abundance of game. Lions, great and strong, are also very numerous. The country produces ginger and galingale in immense quantities, insomuch that for a Venice groat you may buy fourscore pounds of good fine-flavoured ginger. They have also a kind of fruit resembling saffron, and which serves the purpose of saffron just as well.¹

And you must know the people eat all manner of unclean things, even the flesh of a man, provided he has not died a natural death. So they look out for the bodies of those that have been put to death and eat their flesh, which they consider excellent.²

Those who go to war in those parts do as I am going to tell you. They shave the hair off the forehead and cause it to be painted in blue like the blade of a glaive. They all go afoot except the chief; they carry spears and swords, and are the most savage people in the world, for they go about constantly killing people, whose blood they drink, and then devour the bodies.³

Now I will quit this and speak of other matters. You must know then that after going three days out of the six that I told you of you come to the city of KELINFU, a very great and noble city, belonging to the Great Kaan. This city hath three stone bridges which are among the finest and best in the world. They are a mile long and some nine paces in width, and they are all decorated with rich marble columns. Indeed they are such fine and marvellous works that to build any one of them must have cost a treasure.⁴

The people live by trade and manufactures, and have great store of silk [which they weave into various stuffs], and of ginger and galingale.⁵ [They also make much cotton cloth of dyed thread, which is sent all over Manzi.] Their women are particularly beautiful. And there is a strange thing there which I needs must tell you. You

must know they have a kind of fowls which have no feathers, but hair only, like a cat's fur.⁶ They are black all over; they lay eggs just like our fowls, and are very good to eat.

In the other three days of the six that I have mentioned above,⁷ you continue to meet with many towns and villages, with traders, and goods for sale, and craftsmen. The people have much silk, and are Idolaters, and subject to the Great Kaan. There is plenty of game of all kinds, and there are great and fierce lions which attack travellers. In the last of those three days' journey, when you have gone 15 miles you find a city called UNKEN, where there is an immense quantity of sugar made. From this city the Great Kaan gets all the sugar for the use of his Court, a quantity worth a great amount of money. [And before this city came under the Great Kaan these people knew not how to make fine sugar; they only used to boil and skim the juice, which when cold left a black paste. But after they came under the Great Kaan some men of Babylonia who happened to be at the Court proceeded to this city and taught the people to refine the sugar with the ashes of certain trees.⁸]

There is no more to say of the place, so now we shall speak of the splendour of Fuju. When you have gone 15 miles from the city of Unken, you come to this noble city which is the capital of the kingdom. So we will now tell you what we know of it.

NOTE 1.—The vague description does not suggest the root *turmeric* with which Marsden and Pauthier identify this "fruit like saffron." It is probably one of the species of *Gardenia*, the fruits of which are used by the Chinese for their colouring properties. Their splendid yellow colour "is due to a body named crocine which appears to be identical with the polychroite of saffron." (*Hanbury's Notes on Chinese Mat. Medica*, pp. 21-22.) For this identification, I am indebted to Dr. Flücker of Bern. ["Colonel Yule concludes that the fruit of a *Gardenia*, which yields a yellow colour, is meant. But Polo's vague description might just as well agree with the Bastard Saffron, *Carthamus tinctorius*, a plant introduced into China from Western



Scene in the Bohea Mountains, on Polo's route between Kiang-si and Fo-kien. (From Fortune.)

“Adonc entre l'en en royaume de Fugiu, et ici comance. Et ala siz jornee por montangnes e por balés. . . .”

Asia in the 2nd century B.C., and since then much cultivated in that country." (*Bretschneider, Hist. of Bot. Disc.* I. p. 4.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—See vol. i. p. 312.

NOTE 3.—These particulars as to a race of painted or tattooed caterans accused of cannibalism apparently apply to some aboriginal tribe which still maintained its ground in the mountains between Fo-kien and Che-kiang or Kiang-si. Davis, alluding to the Upper part of the Province of Canton, says: "The Chinese History speaks of the aborigines of this wild region under the name of *Mán* (Barbarians), who within a comparatively recent period were subdued and incorporated into the Middle Nation. Many persons have remarked a decidedly Malay cast in the features of the natives of this province; and it is highly probable that the Canton and Fo-kien people were originally the same race as the tribes which still remain unreclaimed on the east side of Formosa."* (*Supply. Vol.* p. 260.) Indeed Martini tells us that even in the 17th century this very range of mountains, farther to the south, in the Ting-chau department of Fo-kien, contained a race of uncivilised people, who were enabled by the inaccessible character of the country to maintain their independence of the Chinese Government (p. 114; see also *Semedo*, p. 19).

["Colonel Yule's 'pariah caste' of Shao-ling, who, he says, rebelled against either the Sung or the Yüan, are evidently the *tomín* of Ningpo and *zikas* of Wenchow. Colonel Yule's 'some aboriginal tribe between Fo-kien and Che-kiang' are probably the *zikas* of Wenchow and the *siapo* of Fu-kien described by recent travellers. The *zikas* are locally called dogs' heads, which illustrates Colonel Yule's allophylian theories." (*Parker, China Review*, XIV. p. 359.) Cf. *A Visit to the "Dog-Headed Barbarians" or Hill People, near Fu-chow*, by Rev. F. Ohlinger, *Chinese Recorder*, July, 1886, pp. 265-268.—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—Padre Martini long ago pointed out that this *Quelinfu* is KIEN-NING FU, on the upper part of the Min River, an important city of Fo-kien. In the Fo-kien dialect he notices that *l* is often substituted for *n*, a well-known instance of which is *Liamfoo*, the name applied by F. M. Pinto and the old Portuguese to *Ningpo*.

[Mr. Phillips writes (*T. Pao*, I. p. 224): "From Puchêng to Kien-Ning-Foo the distance is 290 *li*, all down stream. I consider this to have been the route followed by Polo. His calling Kien-Ning-Foo, Que-lin-fu, is quite correct, as far as the Ling is concerned, the people of the city and of the whole southern province pronounce Ning, Ling. The Ramusian version gives very full particulars regarding the manufactures of Kien-Ning-Foo, which are not found in the other texts; for example, silk is said in this version to be woven into various stuffs, and further: 'They also make much cotton cloth of dyed thread which is sent all over Manzi.' All this is quite true. Much silk was formerly and is still woven in Kien-Ning, and the manufacture of cotton cloth with dyed threads is very common. Such stuff is called Hung Lu Kin 'red and green cloth.' Cotton cloth, made with dyed thread, is also very common in our day in many other cities in Fuh-Kien."—H. C.]

In Ramusio the bridges are only "each more than 100 paces long and 8 paces wide." In Pauthier's text *each* is a mile long, and 20 feet wide. I translate from the G. T.

Martini describes *one* beautiful bridge at Kien-ning fu: the piers of cut stone, the superstructure of timber, roofed in and lined with houses on each side (pp. 112-113). If this was over the Min it would seem not to survive. A recent journal says: "The river is crossed by a bridge of boats, the remains of a stone bridge being visible just above water." (*Chinese Recorder* (Foochow), August, 1870, p. 65.)

* "It is not improbable that there is some admixture of aboriginal blood in the actual population (of Fuh-Kien), but if so, it cannot be much. The *surnames* in this province are the same as those in Central and North China. . . . The language also is pure Chinese; actually much nearer the ancient form of Chinese than the modern Mandarin dialect. There are indeed many words in the vernacular for which no corresponding character has been found in the literary style: but careful investigation is gradually diminishing the number." (*Note by Rev. Dr. C. Douglas.*)

NOTE 5.—*Galanga* or Galangal is an aromatic root belonging to a class of drugs once much more used than now. It exists of two kinds: 1. *Great* or *Java Galangal*, the root of the *Alpinia Galanga*. This is rarely imported and hardly used in Europe in modern times, but is still found in the Indian bazaars. 2. *Lesser* or *China Galangal* is imported into London from Canton, and is still sold by druggists in England. Its botanical origin is unknown. It is produced in Shan-si, Fo-kien, and Kwang-tung, and is called by the Chinese *Liang K'iang* or "Mild Ginger."

["According to the Chinese authors the province of Sze-ch'wan and Han-chung (Southern Shen-si) were in ancient times famed for their Ginger. Ginger is still exported in large quantities from Han k'ou. It is known also to be grown largely in the southern provinces.—Galingale is the Lesser or Chinese Galanga of commerce, *Alpinia officinarum* Hance." (*Bretschneider, Hist. of Bot. Disc.* I. p. 2. See *Heyd, Com. Levant*, II. 616-618.)—H. C.]

Galangal was much used as a spice in the Middle Ages. In a syrup for a capon, *temp.* Rich. II., we find ground-ginger, cloves, cinnamon and *galingale*. "Galingale" appears also as a growth in old English gardens, but this is believed to have been *Cyperus Longus*, the tubers of which were substituted for the real article under the name of English Galingale.

The name appears to be a modification of the Arabic *Kuljjan*, Pers. *Kholinjân*, and these from the Sanskrit *Kulanjana*. (*Mr. Hanbury; China Comm.-Guide*, 120; *Eng. Cycl.*; *Garcia*, f. 63; *Wright*, p. 352.)

NOTE 6.—The cat in question is no doubt the fleecy Persian. These fowls,—but white,—are mentioned by Odoric at Fu-chau; and Mr. G. Phillips in a MS. note says that they are still abundant in Fo-kien, where he has often seen them; all that he saw or heard of were *white*. The Chinese call them "velvet-hair fowls." I believe they are well known to poultry-fanciers in Europe. [*Gallus Lanatus*, Temm. See note, p. 286, of my edition of Odoric.—H. C.]

NOTE 7.—The *times* assigned in this chapter as we have given them, after the G. Text, appear very short; but I have followed that text because it is perfectly consistent and clear. Starting from the last city of Kinsay government, the traveller goes six days south-east; *three* out of those six days bring him to Kelinfu; he goes on the other three days and at the 15th mile of the 3rd day reaches Unken; 15 miles further bring him to Fuju. This is interesting as showing that Polo reckoned his day at 30 miles.

In Pauthier's text again we find: "*Sachiez que quand on est allé six journées, après ces trois que je vous ay dit,*" not having mentioned *trois* at all "*on treuve la cité de Quelifu.*" And on leaving Quelinfu: "*Sachiez que es autres trois journées outre et plus xv. milles treuve l'en une cité qui a nom Vuguen.*" This seems to mean from Cugui to Kelinfu six days, and thence to Vuguen (or Unken) three and a half days more. But evidently there has been bungling in the transcript, for the *es autre trois journées* belongs to the same conception of the distance as that in the G. T. Pauthier's text does not say how far it is from Unken to Fuju. Ramusio makes six days to Kelinfu, three days more to Unguem, and then 15 miles more to Fuju (which he has erroneously as *Cāgiu* here, though previously given right, *Fugiu*).

The latter scheme looks probable certainly, but the times in the G. T. are quite admissible, if we suppose that water conveyance was adopted where possible.

For assuming that *Cugiu* was Fortune's Chuchu at the western base of the Bohea mountains (see note 3, ch. lxxix.), and that the traveller reached Tsun-ngan-hien, in two marches, I see that from Tsin-tsun, near Tsun-ngan-hien, Fortune says he could have reached Fu-chau in four days by boat. Again Martini, speaking of the skill with which the Fo-kien boatmen navigate the rocky rapids of the upper waters, says that even from *Pu-ch'eng* the descent to the capital could be made in three days. So the thing is quite possible, and the G. Text may be quite correct. (See *Fortune*, II. 171-183 and 210; *Mart.* 110.) A party which recently made the journey seem to

have been six days from *Hokeu* to the Wu-e-shan and then five and a half days by water (but in stormy weather) to Fu-chau. (*Chinese Recorder*, as above.)

NOTE 8.—Pauthier supposes Unken, or *Vuguen* as he reads it, to be *Hukwan*, one of the *hiens* under the immediate administration of Fu-chau city. This cannot be, according to the lucid reading of the G. T., making Unken 15 miles from the chief city. The only place which the maps show about that position is *Min-ts'ing hien*. And the Dutch mission of 1664-1665 names this as "*Binkin*, by some called *Min-sing*." (*Astley*, III. 461.)

[Mr. Phillips writes (*T. Pao*, I. 224-225): "Going down stream from Kien-Ning, we arrive first at Yen-Ping on the Min Main River. Eighty-seven *li* further down is the mouth of the Yiu-Ki River, up which stream, at a distance of eighty *li*, is Yiu-Ki city, where travellers disembark for the land journey to Yung-chun and Chinchew. This route is the highway from the town of Yiu-Ki to the seaport of Chinchew. This I consider to have been Polo's route, and Ramusio's Unguen I believe to be Yung-chun, locally known as Eng-chun or Ung-chun, a name greatly resembling Polo's Unguen. I look upon this mere resemblance of name as of small moment in comparison with the weighty and important statement, that 'this place is remarkable for a great manufacture of sugar.' Going south from the Min River towards Chinchew, this is the first district in which sugar-cane is seen growing in any quantity. Between Kien-Ning-Foo and Fuchau I do not know of any place remarkable for the great manufacture of sugar. Pauthier makes How-Kuan do service for Unken or Unguen, but this is inadmissible, as there is no such place as How-Kuan; it is simply one of the divisions of the city of Fuchau, which is divided into two districts, viz. the Min-Hien and the How-Kuan-Hien. A small quantity of sugar-cane is, I admit, grown in the How-Kuan division of Fuchau-foo, but it is not extensively made into sugar. The cane grown there is usually cut into short pieces for chewing and hawked about the streets for sale. The nearest point to Foochow where sugar is made in any great quantity is Yung-Foo, a place quite out of Polo's route. The great sugar manufacturing districts of Fuh-Kien are Hing-hwa, Yung-chun, Chinchew, and Chang-chau."—H. C.]

The *Babylonia* of the passage from Ramusio is Cairo,—Babylon of Egypt, the sugar of which was very famous in the Middle Ages. *Zucchero di Bambellonia* is repeatedly named in Pegolotti's Handbook (210, 311, 362, etc.).

The passage as it stands represents the Chinese as not knowing even how to get sugar in the granular form: but perhaps the fact was that they did not know how to refine it. Local Chinese histories acknowledge that the people of Fo-kien did not know how to make fine sugar, till, in the time of the Mongols, certain men from the West taught the art.* It is a curious illustration of the passage that in India coarse sugar is commonly called *Chini*, "the produce of China," and sugar candy or fine sugar *Misri*, the produce of Cairo (*Babylonia*) or Egypt. Nevertheless, fine *Misri* has long been exported from Fo-kien to India, and down to 1862 went direct from Amoy. It is now, Mr. Phillips states, sent to India by steamers *via* Hong-Kong. I see it stated, in a late Report by Mr. Consul Medhurst, that the sugar at this day commonly sold and consumed throughout China is excessively coarse and repulsive in appearance. (See *Academy*, February, 1874, p. 229.) [We note from the *Returns of Trade for 1900*, of the Chinese Customs, p. 467, that during that year 1900, the following quantities of sugar were exported from Amoy: *Brown*, 89,116 *piculs*, value 204,969 Hk. taels; *white*, 3,708 *piculs*, 20,024 Hk. taels; *candy*, 53,504 *piculs*, 304,970 Hk. taels.—H. C.]

[Dr. Bretschneider (*Hist. of Bot. Disc.* I. p. 2) remarks that "the sugar cane although not indigenous in China, was known to the Chinese in the 2nd century B.C. It is largely cultivated in the Southern provinces."—H. C.]

* Note by Mr. C. Phillips. I omit a corroborative quotation about sugar from the Turkish Geography, copied from Klaproth in the former edition; because the author, Hajji Khalifa, used European sources; and I have no doubt the passage was derived indirectly from Marco Polo.

The fierce lions are, as usual, tigers. These are numerous in this province, and tradition points to the diversion of many roads, owing to their being infested by tigers. Tiger cubs are often offered for sale in Amoy.*

CHAPTER LXXXI.

CONCERNING THE GREATNESS OF THE CITY OF FUJU.

Now this city of Fuju is the key of the kingdom which is called CHONKA, and which is one of the nine great divisions of Manzi.¹ The city is a seat of great trade and great manufactures. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Great Kaan. And a large garrison is maintained there by that prince to keep the kingdom in peace and subjection. For the city is one which is apt to revolt on very slight provocation.

There flows through the middle of this 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. Enormous quantities of sugar are made there, and there is a great traffic in pearls and precious stones. For many ships of India come to these parts bringing many merchants who traffic about the Isles of the Indies. For this city is, as I must tell you, in the vicinity of the Ocean Port of ZAYTON,² which is greatly frequented by the ships of India with their cargoes of various merchandize; and from Zayton ships come this way right up to the city of Fuju by the river I have told you of; and 'tis in this way that the precious wares of India come hither.³

The city is really a very fine one and kept in good order, and all necessaries of life are there to be had in great abundance and cheapness.

*Note by Mr. G. Phillips.

NOTE I.—The name here applied to Fo-kien by Polo is variously written as *Choncha*, *Chonka*, *Concha*, *Chouka*. It has not been satisfactorily explained. Klaproth and Neumann refer it to *Kiang-Ché*, of which Fo-kien at one time of the Mongol rule formed a part. This is the more improbable as Polo expressly distinguishes this province or kingdom from that which was under Kinsay, viz. Kiang-Ché. Pauthier supposes the word to represent *Kien-Kwé*, “the Kingdom of Kien,” because in the 8th century this territory had formed a principality of which the seat was at *Kien-chau*, now Kien-ning fu. This is not satisfactory either, for no evidence is adduced that the name continued in use.

One might suppose that *Choncha* represented *T'swan-chau*, the Chinese name of the city of Zayton, or rather of the department attached to it, written by the French *Thsuan-tchéou*, but by Medhurst *Chwancheu*, were it not that Polo's practice of writing the term *tchou* or *chau* by *giu* is so nearly invariable, and that the soft *ch* is almost always expressed in the old texts by the Italian *ci* (though the Venetian does use the soft *ch*).*

It is again impossible not to be struck with the resemblance of *Chonka* to “CHUNG-KWÉ” “the Middle Kingdom,” though I can suggest no ground for the application of such a title specially to Fo-kien, except a possible misapprehension. *Chonkwé* occurs in the Persian *Historia Cathaica* published by Müller, but is there specially applied to *North China*. (See *Quat. Rashid.*, p. lxxxvi.)

The city of course is FU-CHAU. It was visited also by Friar Odoric, who calls it *Fuzo*, and it appears in duplicate on the Catalan Map as *Fugio* and as *Fozo*.

I used the preceding words, “the city of course is Fu-chau,” in the first edition. Since then Mr. G. Phillips, of the consular staff in Fo-kien, has tried to prove that Polo's Fuju is not Fu-chau (*Foochow* is his spelling), but T'swan-chau. This view is bound up with another regarding the identity of Zayton, which will involve lengthy notice under next chapter; and both views have met with an able advocate in the Rev. Dr. C. Douglas, of Amoy.† I do not in the least accept these views about Fuju.

In considering the objections made to Fu-chau, it must never be forgotten that, according to the spelling usual with Polo or his scribe, Fuju is not merely “a name with a great resemblance in sound to Foochow” (as Mr. Phillips has it); it is Mr. Phillips's word Foochow, just as absolutely as my word Fu-chau is his word Foochow. (See remarks almost at the end of the Introductory Essay.) And what has to be proved against me in this matter is, that when Polo *speaks* of Fu-chau he does not *mean* Fu-chau. It must also be observed that the distances as given by Polo (three days from Quelinfu to Fuju, five days from Fuju to Zayton) do correspond well with my interpretations, and do *not* correspond with the other. These are very strong fences of my position, and it demands strong arguments to level them. The adverse arguments (in brief) are these :

- (1.) That Fu-chau was not the capital of Fo-kien (“*chief dou reigne*”).
- (2.) That the River of Fu-chau does not flow through the middle of the city (“*por le mi de cest cite*”), nor even under the walls.
- (3.) That Fu-chau was not frequented by foreign trade till centuries afterwards.

The first objection will be more conveniently answered under next chapter (p. 239).

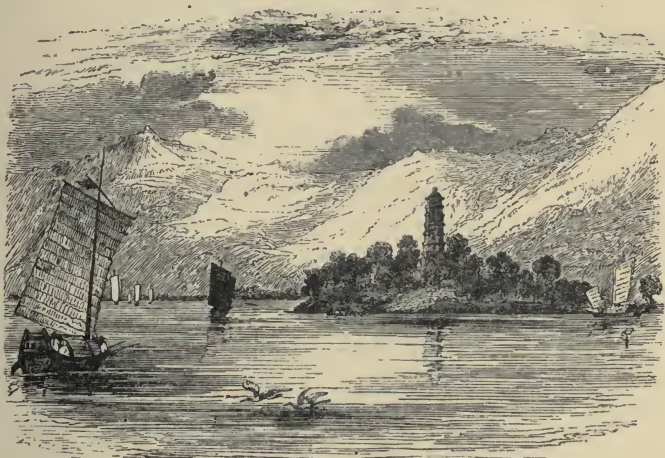
As regards the second, the fact urged is true. But even now a straggling street

* Dr. Medhurst calls the proper name of the city, as distinct from the *Fu*, *Chinkang* (*Dict. of the Hok-keen dialect*). Dr. Douglas has suggested *Chinkang*, and *T'swan-kok*, i.e. “Kingdom of T'swan” (chau), as possible explanations of *Chonka*.

† Mr. Phillips's views were issued first in the *Chinese Recorder* (published by Missionaries at Fu-chau) in 1870, and afterwards sent to the R. Geo. Soc., in whose Journal for 1874 they appeared, with remarks in reply more detailed than I can introduce here. Dr. Douglas's notes were received after this sheet was in proof, and it will be seen that they modify to a certain extent my views about Zayton, though not about Fu-chau. His notes, which do more justice to the question than Mr. Phillips's, should find a place with the other papers in the Geog. Society's Journal.

extends to the river, ending in a large suburb on its banks, and a famous bridge there crosses the river to the south side where now the foreign settlements are. There *may* have been suburbs on that side to justify the *por le mi*, or these words may have been a slip; for the Traveller begins the next chapter—"When you quit Fuju (to go south) you *cross the river*."*

Touching the question of foreign commerce, I do not see that Mr. Phillips's negative evidence would be sufficient to establish his point. But, in fact, the words of the Geog. Text (*i.e.* the original dictation), which we have followed, do not (as I now see) necessarily involve any foreign trade at Fu-chau, the impression of which has been derived mainly from Ramusio's text. They appear to imply no more than that, through the vicinity of Zayton, there was a great influx of Indian wares, which were brought on from the great port by vessels (it may be local junks) ascending the river Min.†



Scene on the Min River, below Fu-chau. (From Fortune.)

“E sachiés che por le mi de ceste cité bait un grant flun qe bien est large un mil, et en ceste cité se font maintes nés lesquelz najent por cel flun.”

[Mr. Phillips gives the following itinerary after Unguen : Kangu = Chinchew = Chuan-chiu or Ts'wan-chiu. He writes (*T. Pao*, I. p. 227): “When you leave the city of Chinchew for Changchau, which lies in a south-westerly, not a south-easterly direction, you cross the river by a handsome bridge, and travelling for five days by way of Tung-an, locally Tang-oa, you arrive at Changchau. Along this route in many parts, more especially in that part lying between Tang-oa and Changchau, very large camphor-trees are met with. I have frequently travelled over this road. The road from Fuchau to Chinchew, which also takes five days to travel over, is bleak and barren, lying chiefly along the sea-coast, and in winter a most uncomfortable journey.

* There is a capital lithograph of Fu-chau in *Fortune's Three Years' Wanderings* (1847), in which the city shows as on the river, and Fortune always so speaks of it; *e.g.* (p. 366): “The river runs through the suburbs.” I do not know what is the worth of the old engravings in Montanus. A view of Fu-chau in one of these (reproduced in *Astley*, iv. 33) shows a broad creek from the river penetrating to the heart of the city.

† The words of the G. T. are these: “Il hi se fait grant mercandies de perles e d'autres pierres prestiose, e ce est por ce que les nés de Yndie hi viennent maintes con maint merchaant qe usent en les ysles de Endie; et encore voz di que ceste ville est près au port de Caitou en la mer Osiane; et illuec viennent maintes nés de Indie con maintes mercandies, e puis de cest part viennent les nés por le grant flun qe je voz ai dit desoure jusque à la cité de Fugui, et en ceste mainere hi viennent chieres couste de Indie.”

But few trees are met with ; a banyan here and there, but no camphor-trees along this route ; but there is one extremely interesting feature on it that would strike the most unobservant traveller, viz. : the Loyang bridge, one of the wonders of China." Had Polo travelled by this route, he would certainly have mentioned it. Pauthier remarks upon Polo's silence in this matter : " It is surprising," says he, " that Marco Polo makes no mention of it."—H. C.]

NOTE 2. — The G. T. reads *Caïton*, presumably for Çaiton or Zayton. In Pauthier's text, in the following chapter, the name of Zayton is written *Çaiton* and *Çayton*, and the name of that port appears in the same form in the Letter of its Bishop, Andrew of Perugia, quoted in note 2, ch. lxxxii. Pauthier, however, in *this* place reads *Kayten*, which he develops into a port at the mouth of the River Min.*

NOTE 3.—The Min, the River of Fu-chau, "varies much in width and depth. Near its mouth, and at some other parts, it is not less than a mile in width, elsewhere deep and rapid." It is navigable for ships of large size 20 miles from the mouth, and for good-sized junks thence to the great bridge. The scenery is very fine, and is compared to that of the Hudson. (*Fortune*, I. 281 ; *Chin. Repos.* XVI. 483.)

CHAPTER LXXXII.

OF THE CITY AND GREAT HAVEN OF ZAYTON.

Now when you quit Fuju and cross the River, you travel for five days south-east through a fine country, meeting with a constant succession of flourishing cities, towns, and villages, rich in every product. You travel by mountains and valleys and plains, and in some places by great forests in which are many of the trees which give Camphor.¹ There is plenty of game on the road, both of bird and beast. The people are all traders and craftsmen, subjects of the Great Kaan, and under the government of Fuju. When you have accomplished those five days' journey you arrive at the very great and noble city of ZAYTON, which is also subject to Fuju.

At this city 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

* It is odd enough that Martini (though M. Pauthier apparently was not aware of it) does show a fort called *Haiten* at the mouth of the Min ; but I believe this to be merely an accidental coincidence. The various readings must be looked at together ; that of the G. T. which I have followed is clear in itself and accounts for the others.

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.² 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.³

The Great Kaan derives a very large revenue from the duties paid in this city and haven; for you must know that on all the merchandize imported, including precious stones and pearls, he levies a duty of ten per cent., or in other words takes tithes of everything. Then again the ship's charge for freight on small wares is 30 per cent., on pepper 44 per cent., and on lignaloes, sandalwood, and other bulky goods 40 per cent., so that between freight and the Kaan's duties the merchant has to pay a good half the value of his investment [though on the other half he makes such a profit that he is always glad to come back with a new supply of merchandize]. But you may well believe from what I have said that the Kaan hath a vast revenue from this city.

There is a great abundance here of all provision for every necessity of man's life. [It is a charming country, and the people are very quiet, and fond of an easy life. Many come hither from Upper India to have their bodies painted with the needle in the way we have elsewhere described, there being many adepts at this craft in the city.⁴]

Let me tell you also that in this province there is a town called TYUNJU, where they make vessels of porcelain of all sizes, the finest that can be imagined. They make it nowhere but in that city, and thence it is exported all over the world. Here it is abundant and

very cheap, insomuch that for a Venice groat you can buy three dishes so fine that you could not imagine better.⁵

I should tell you that in this city (*i.e.* of Zayton) they have a peculiar language. [For you must know that throughout all Manzi they employ one speech and one kind of writing only, but yet there are local differences of dialect, as you might say of Genoese, Milanese, Florentines, and Neapolitans, who though they speak different dialects can understand one another.⁶]

And I assure you that the Great Kaan has as large customs and revenues from this kingdom of Chonka as from Kinsay, aye and more too.⁷

We have now spoken of but three out of the nine kingdoms of Manzi, to wit Yanju and Kinsay and Fujū. We could tell you about the other six, but it would be too long a business; so we will say no more about them.

And now you have heard all the truth about Cathay and Manzi and many other countries, as has been set down in this Book; the customs of the people and the various objects of commerce, the beasts and birds, the gold and silver and precious stones, and many other matters have been rehearsed to you. But our Book as yet does not contain nearly all that we purpose to put therein. For we have still to tell you all about the people of India and the notable things of that country, which are well worth the describing, for they are marvellous indeed. What we shall tell is all true, and without any lies. And we shall set down all the particulars in writing just as Messer Marco Polo related them. And he well knew the facts, for he remained so long in India, and enquired so diligently into the manners and peculiarities of the nations, that I can assure you there never

was a single man before who learned so much and beheld so much as he did.

NOTE 1.—The *Laurus* (or *Cinnamomum*) *Camphora*, a large timber tree, grows abundantly in Fo-kien. A description of the manner in which camphor is produced at a very low cost, by sublimation from the chopped twigs, etc., will be found in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, XXIV. 19 *seqq.*; and more briefly in *Hedde* by *Rondot*, p. 35. Fo-kien alone has been known to send to Canton in one year 4000 *piculs* (of 133½ lbs. each), but the average is 2500 to 3000 (*ib.*).

NOTE 2.—When Marco says Zayton is one of the *two* greatest commercial ports in the world, I know not if he has another haven in his eye, or is only using an idiom of the age. For in like manner Friar Odoric calls Java “the *second best* of all Islands that exist”; and Kansan (or Shen-si) the “*second best* province in the world, and the best populated.” But apart from any such idiom, Ibn Batuta pronounces Zayton to be the greatest haven in the world.

Martini relates that when one of the Emperors wanted to make war on Japan, the Province of Fo-kien offered to bridge the interval with their vessels!

ZAYTON, as Martini and Deguignes conjectured, is T'SWAN-CHAU FU, or CHWAN-CHAU FU (written by French scholars *Thsiouan-tchéou-fou*), often called in our charts, etc., *Chincheu*, a famous seaport of Fo-kien about 100 miles in a straight line S.W. by S. of Fu-chau. Klaproth supposes that the name by which it was known to the Arabs and other Westerns was corrupted from an old Chinese name of the city, given in the Imperial Geography, viz. TSEU-T'UNG.* *Zaitún* commended itself to Arabian ears, being the Arabic for an olive-tree (whence Jerusalem is called *Zaitúniyah*); but the corruption (if such it be) must be of very old date, as the city appears to have received its present name in the 7th or 8th century.

Abulfeda, whose Geography was terminated in 1321, had heard the real name of Zayton: “*Shanju*” he calls it, “known in our time as *Zaitún*”; and again: “*Zaitún*, *i.e.* *Shanju*, is a haven of China, and, according to the accounts of merchants who have travelled to those parts, is a city of mark. It is situated on a marine estuary which ships enter from the China Sea. The estuary extends fifteen miles, and there is a river at the head of it. According to some who have seen the place, the tide flows. It is half a day from the sea, and the channel by which ships come up from the sea is of fresh water. It is smaller in size than Hamath, and has the remains of a wall which was destroyed by the Tartars. The people drink water from the channel, and also from wells.”

Friar Odoric (in China, *circa* 1323-1327, who travelled apparently by land from Chin-kalán, *i.e.* Canton) says: “Passing through many cities and towns, I came to a certain noble city which is called Zayton, where we Friars Minor have two Houses. . . . In this city is great plenty of all things that are needful for human subsistence. For example, you can get three pounds and eight ounces of sugar for less than half a groat. The city is twice as great as Bologna, and in it are many monasteries of devotees, idol-worshippers every man of them. In one of those monasteries which I visited there were 3000 monks. . . . The place is one of the best in the world. . . . Thence I passed eastward to a certain city called Fuzo. . . . The city is a mighty fine one, and standeth upon the sea.” Andrew of Perugia, another Franciscan, was Bishop of Zayton from 1322, having resided there from 1318. In 1326 he writes a letter home, in which he speaks of the place as “a great city on the shores of the Ocean Sea, which is called in the Persian tongue

* Dr. C. Douglas objects to this derivation of *Zayton*, that the place was never called *Tseut'ung* absolutely, but *T'seu-t'ung-ching*, “city of prickly T'ung-trees”; and this not as a name, but as a polite literary epithet, somewhat like “City of Palaces” applied to Calcutta.

Çayton (Çayton); and in this city a rich Armenian lady did build a large and fine enough church, which was erected into a cathedral by the Archbishop," and so on. He speaks incidentally of the Genoese merchants frequenting it. John Marignolli, who was there about 1347, calls it "a wondrous fine sea-port, and a city of incredible size, where our Minor Friars have three very fine churches; . . . and they have a bath also, and a *fondaco* which serves as a *dépôt* for all the merchants." Ibn Batuta about the same time says: "The first city that I reached after crossing the sea was ZAITÚN. . . . It is a great city, superb indeed; and in it they make damasks of velvet as well as those of satin (*Kimkhá* and *Atlás*), which are called from the name of the city *Zaitúnlah*; they are superior to the stuffs of Khansá and Khánbálik. The harbour of Zaitún is one of the greatest in the world—I am wrong; it is *the* greatest! I have seen there about an hundred first-class junks together; as for small ones, they were past counting. The harbour is formed by an estuary which runs inland from the sea until it joins the Great River."

[Mr. Geo. Phillips finds a strong argument in favour of Changchau being Zayton in this passage of Ibn Batuta. He says (*Jour. China Br. R. A. Soc.* 1888, 28-29): "Changchow in the Middle Ages was the seat of a great silk manufacture, and the production of its looms, such as gauzes, satins and velvets, were said to exceed in beauty those of Soochow and Hangchow. According to the *Fukkien Gazetteer*, silk goods under the name of Kinki, and porcelain were, at the end of the Sung Dynasty, ordered to be taken abroad and to be bartered against foreign wares, treasure having been prohibited to leave the country. In this Kinki I think we may recognise the Kimkha of IBN BATUTA. I incline to this fact, as the characters Kinki are pronounced in the Amoy and Changchow dialects Khimkhi and Kimkhia. Anxious to learn if the manufacture of these silk goods still existed in Changchow, I communicated with the Rev. Dr. TALMAGE of Amoy, who, through the Rev. Mr. Ross of the London Mission, gave me the information that Kinki was formerly somewhat extensively manufactured at Changchow, although at present it was only made by one shop in that city. IBN BATUTA tells us that the King of China had sent to the Sultan, five hundred pieces of Kamkha, of which one hundred were made in the city of Zaitun. This form of present appears to have been continued by the Emperors of the Ming Dynasty, for we learn that the Emperor Yunglo gave to the Envoy of the Sultan of Quilon, presents of Kinki and Shalo, that is to say, brocaded silks and gauzes. Since writing the above, I found that Dr. HIRTH suggests that the characters Kinhua, meaning literally gold flower in the sense of silk embroidery, possibly represent the mediæval Khimka. I incline rather to my own suggestion. In the *Pei-wen-yun-fu* these characters Kien-ki are frequently met in combination, meaning a silk texture, such as brocade or tapestry. Curtains made of this texture are mentioned in Chinese books, as early as the commencement of the Christian era."—H. C.]

Rashiduddin, in enumerating the Sings or great provincial governments of the empire, has the following: "7th FUCHÚ.—This is a city of Manzi. The Sing was formerly located at ZAITÚN, but afterwards established here, where it still remains. Zaitún is a great shipping-port, and the commandant there is Boháuddin Qandári." Pauthier's Chinese extracts show us that the seat of the *Sing* was, in 1281, at T'swan-chau, but was then transferred to Fu-chau. In 1282 it was removed back to T'swan-chau, and in 1283 recalled to Fu-chau. That is to say, what the Persian writer tells us of Fújú and Zayton, the Chinese Annalists tell us of Fu-chau and T'swan-chau. Therefore Fuju and Zayton were respectively Fu-chau and T'swan-chau.

[In the *Yuen-shi* (ch. 94), *Shi po*, Maritime trade regulations, it "is stated, among other things, that in 1277, a superintendency of foreign trade was established in Ts'üan-chou. Another superintendency was established for the three ports of K'ing-yüan (the present Ning-po), Shang-hai, and Gan-p'u. These three ports depended on the province of Fu-kien, the capital of which was Ts'üan-chou. Farther on, the ports of Hang-chou and Fu-chou are also mentioned in connection with foreign trade. Chang-chou (in Fu-kien, near Amoy) is only once spoken of

there. We meet further the names of Wen-chou and Kuang-chou as seaports for foreign trade in the Mongol time. But Ts'üan-chou in this article on the sea-trade seems to be considered as the most important of the seaports, and it is repeatedly referred to. I have, therefore, no doubt that the port of Zayton of Western mediæval travellers can only be identified with Ts'üan-chou, not with Chang-chou. . . . There are many other reasons found in Chinese works in favour of this view. Gan-p'u of the *Yuen-shi* is the seaport Ganfu of Marco Polo." (*Bretschneider, Med. Res. I.* pp. 186-187.)

In his paper on *Changchow, the Capital of Fuhkien in Mongol Times*, printed in the *Four. China B. R. A. Soc.* 1888, pp. 22-30, Mr. Geo. Phillips from Chinese works has shown that the Port of Chang-chau did, in Mongol times, alternate with Chinchew and Fu-chau as the capital of Fuh-kien.—H. C.]

Further, Zayton was, as we see from this chapter, and from the 2nd and 5th of Bk. III., in that age the great focus and harbour of communication with India and the Islands. From Zayton sailed Kúblái's ill-fated expedition against Japan. From Zayton Marco Polo seems to have sailed on his return to the West, as did John Marignolli some half century later. At Zayton Ibn Batuta first landed in China, and from it he sailed on his return.

All that we find quoted from Chinese records regarding *T'swan-chau* corresponds to these Western statements regarding *Zayton*. For centuries T'swan-chau was the seat of the Customs Department of Fo-kien, nor was this finally removed till 1473. In all the historical notices of the arrival of ships and missions from India and the Indian Islands during the reign of Kúblái, T'swan-chau, and T'swan-chau almost alone, is the port of debarkation; in the notices of Indian regions in the annals of the same reign it is from T'swan-chau that the distances are estimated; it was from T'swan-chau that the expeditions against Japan and Java were mainly fitted out. (See quotations by Pauthier, pp. 559, 570, 604, 653, 603, 643; *Gaubil*, 205, 217; *Deguignes*, III. 169, 175, 180, 187; *Chinese Recorder* (Foochow), 1870, pp. 45 seqq.)

When the Portuguese, in the 16th century, recovered China to European knowledge, Zayton was no longer the great haven of foreign trade; but yet the old name was not extinct among the mariners of Western Asia. Giovanni d'Empoli, in 1515, writing about China from Cochin, says: "Ships carry spices thither from these parts. Every year there go thither from Sumatra 60,000 cantars of pepper, and 15,000 or 20,000 from Cochin and Malabar, worth 15 to 20 ducats a cantar; besides ginger (?), mace, nutmegs, incense, aloes, velvet, European goldwire, coral, woollens, etc. The Grand Can is the King of China, and he dwells at ZEITON." Giovanni hoped to get to Zeiton before he died.*

The port of T'swan-chau is generally called in our modern charts *Chincheu*. Now *Chincheo* is the name given by the old Portuguese navigators to the coast of Fo-kien, as well as to the port which they frequented there, and till recently I supposed this to be T'swan-chau. But Mr. Phillips, in his paper alluded to at p. 232, asserted that by *Chincheo* modern Spaniards and Portuguese designated (not T'swan-chau but) *Chang-chau*, a great city 60 miles W.S.W. of T'swan-chau, on a river entering Amoy Harbour. On turning, with this hint, to the old maps of the 17th century, I found that their *Chincheo* is really *Chang-chau*. But Mr. Phillips also maintains that *Chang-chau*, or rather its port, a place formerly called *Gehkong* and now *Haiteng*, is *Zayton*. Mr. Phillips does not adduce any precise evidence to show that this place was known as a port in Mongol times, far less that it was

* Giovanni did not get to Zayton; but two years later he got to Canton with Fernão Perez, was sent ashore as Factor, and a few days after died of fever. (*De Barros*, III. II. viii.) The way in which Botero, a compiler in the latter part of the 16th century, speaks of Zayton as between Canton and Liampo (Ningpo), and exporting immense quantities of porcelain, salt and sugar, looks as if he had before him modern information as to the place. He likewise observes, "All the moderns note the port of Zaiton between Canton and Liampo." Yet I know no other modern allusion except Giovanni d'Empoli's; and that was printed only a few years ago. (*Botero, Relazione Universale*, pp. 97, 228.)

known as the most famous haven in the world; nor was I able to attach great weight to the arguments which he adduced. But his thesis, or a modification of it, has been taken up and maintained with more force, as already intimated, by the Rev. Dr. Douglas.

The latter makes a strong point in the magnificent character of Amoy Harbour, which really is one of the grandest havens in the world, and thus answers better to the emphatic language of Polo, and of Ibn Batuta, than the river of T'swan-chau. All the rivers of Fo-kien, as I learn from Dr. Douglas himself, are rapidly silting up; and it is probable that the river of Chinchew presented, in the 13th and 14th centuries, a far more impressive aspect as a commercial basin than it does now. But still it must have been far below Amoy Harbour in magnitude, depth, and accessibility. I have before recognised this, but saw no way to reconcile the proposed deduction with the positive historical facts already stated, which absolutely (to my mind) identify the Zayton of Polo and Rashiduddin with the Chinese city and port of T'swan-chau. Dr. Douglas, however, points out that the whole northern shore of Amoy Harbour, with the Islands of Amoy and Quemoy, are within the Fu or Department of T'swan-chau; and the latter name would, in Chinese parlance, apply equally to the city and to any part of the department. He cites among other analogous cases the Treaty Port Neuchwang (in Liao-tong). That city really lies 20 miles up the Liao River, but the name of Neuchwang is habitually applied by foreigners to Ying-tzū, which is the actual port. Even now much of the trade of T'swan-chau merchants is carried on through Amoy, either by junks touching, or by using the shorter sea-passage to 'An-hai, which was once a port of great trade, and is only 20 miles from T'swan-chau.* With such a haven as Amoy Harbour close by, it is improbable that Kúblái's vast armaments would have made *rendezvous* in the comparatively inconvenient port of T'swan-chau. Probably then the two were spoken of as one. In all this I recognise strong likelihood, and nothing inconsistent with recorded facts, or with Polo's concise statements. It is even possible that (as Dr. Douglas thinks) Polo's words intimate a distinction between Zayton the City and Zayton the Ocean Port; but for me Zayton the city, in Polo's chapters, remains still T'swan-chau. Dr. Douglas, however, seems disposed to regard it as *Chang-chau*.

The chief arguments urged for this last identity are: (1.) Ibn Batuta's representation of his having embarked at Zayton "on the river," *i.e.* on the internal navigation system of China, first for Sin-kalán (Canton), and afterwards for Kinsay. This could not, it is urged, be T'swan-chau, the river of which has no communication with the internal navigation, whereas the river at Chang-chau has such communication, constantly made use of in both directions (interrupted only by brief portages); (2.) Martini's mention of the finding various Catholic remains, such as crosses and images of the Virgin, at Chang-chau, in the early part of the 17th century, indicating that city as the probable site of the Franciscan establishments.

[I remember that the argument brought forward by Mr. Phillips in favour of Changchow which most forcibly struck Sir H. Yule, was the finding of various Christian remains at this place, and Mr. Phillips wrote (*Jour. China Br. R. A. Soc.* 1888, 27-28): "We learn from the history of the Franciscan missions that two churches were built in Zaitun, one in the city and the other in a forest not far from the town. MARTINI makes mention of relics being found in the city of Changchow, and also of a missal which he tried in vain to purchase from its owner, who gave as a reason for not parting with it, that it had been in his family for several generations. According to the history of the Spanish Dominicans in China, ruins of churches were used in rebuilding the city walls, many of the stones having crosses cut on them. Another singular discovery relating to these missions, is one mentioned by Father VITTORIO RICCI, which would seem to point distinctly to the remains of the

* Martini says of Ganhai ('An-Hai or Ngan-Hai), "Ingens hic mercium ac Sinsium navium copia est . . . ex his (Anhai and Amoy) in totam Indiam merces avehuntur."



[To face p. 240, vol. ii.]

Franciscan church built by ANDRÉ DE PÉROUSE outside the city of Zaitun: "The heathen of Changchow," says RICCI, "found buried in a neighbouring hill called Saysou another cross of a most beautiful form cut out of a single block of stone, which I had the pleasure of placing in my church in that city. The heathen were alike ignorant of the time when it was made and how it came to be buried there."—H. C.]

Whether the application by foreigners of the term Zayton, may, by some possible change in trade arrangements in the quarter-century after Polo's departure from China, have undergone a transfer, is a question which it would be vain to answer positively without further evidence. But as regards Polo's Zayton, I continue in the belief that this was T'swan-chau and its haven, with the admission that this haven may probably have embraced that great basin called Amoy Harbour, or part of it.*

[Besides the two papers I have already mentioned, the late Mr. Phillips has published, since the last edition of Marco Polo, in the *T'oung-Pao*, VI. and VII.: *Two Mediæval Fuh-kien Trading-Ports: Chüan-chow and Chang-chow*. He has certainly given many proofs of the importance of Chang-chau at the time of the Mongol Dynasty, and one might well hesitate (I know it was also the feeling of Sir Henry Yule at the end of his life) between this city and T'swan-chau, but the weak point of his controversy is his theory about Fu-chau. However, Mr. George Phillips, who died in 1896, gathered much valuable material, of which we have made use; it is only fair to pay this tribute to the memory of this learned consul.—H. C.]

Martini (*circa* 1650) describes T'swan-chau as delightfully situated on a promontory between two branches of the estuary which forms the harbour, and these so deep that the largest ships could come up to the walls on either side. A great suburb, Loyang, lay beyond the northern water, connected with the city by the most celebrated bridge in China. Collinson's Chart in some points below the town gives only $1\frac{1}{2}$ fathom for the present depth, but Dr. Douglas tells me he has even now occasionally seen large junks come close to the city.

Chinchew, though now occasionally visited by missionaries and others, is not a Treaty port, and we have not a great deal of information about its modern state. It is the head-quarters of the *T'i-tuh*, or general commanding the troops in Fo-kien. The walls have a circuit of 7 or 8 miles, but embracing much vacant ground. The chief exports now are tea and sugar, which are largely grown in the vicinity, tobacco, china-ware, nankeens, etc. There are still to be seen (as I learn from Mr. Phillips) the ruins of a fine mosque, said to have been founded by the Arab traders who resorted thither. The English Presbyterian Church Mission has had a chapel in the city for about ten years.


Zayton, we have seen from Ibn Batuta's report, was famed for rich satins called *Zaitunlah*. I have suggested in another work (*Cathay*, p. 486) that this may be the origin of our word *Satin*, through the *Zetiani* of mediæval Italian (or *Aceytuni* of mediæval Spanish). And I am more strongly disposed to support this, seeing that Francisque-Michel, in considering the origin of *Satin*, hesitates between *Satalin* from Satalia in Asia Minor and *Soudanin* from the Soudan or Sultan; neither half so probable as *Zaituni*. I may add that in a French list of charges of 1352 we find the intermediate form *Zatony*. *Satin* in the modern form occurs in Chaucer:—

"In Surrie whilom dwelt a compaignie
Of chapmen rich, and therto sad and trewe,
That widë where senten their spicerie,
Clothes of gold, and *satins* riche of hewe."

—*Man of Lawe's Tale*, st. 6.

[Hatzfeld (*Dict.*) derives *satin* from the Italian *setino*; and *setino* from SETA, pig's hair, and gives the following example: "Deux aunes et un quartier de satin

* Dr. Douglas assures me that the cut at p. 245 is an *excellent* view of the entrance to the S. channel of the *Chang-chau River*, though I derived it from a professed view of the mouth of the *Chinchew River*. I find he is quite right; see *List of Illustrations*.

vremeil," in *Cassiaux, Abattis de maisons à Gommegnies*, p. 17, 14th century. The Portuguese have *setim*. But I willingly accept Sir Henry Yule's suggestion that the origin of the word is Zayton; cf. *zeitun*  olive.

"The King [of Bijánagar] . . . was clothed in a robe of *zaitún* satin." (*Elliot*, IV. p. 113, who adds in a note *zaitún*: Olive-coloured?). And again (*Ibid.* p. 120): "Before the throne there was placed a cushion of *zaitúni* satin, round which three rows of the most exquisite pearls were sewn."—II. C.]

(*Recherches*, etc., II. 229 *seqq.*; *Martini*, *circa* p. 110; *Klaproth*, *Mem.* II. 209-210; *Cathay*, cxciii. 268, 223, 355, 486; *Empoli* in *Append.* vol. iii. 87 to *Archivio Storico Italiano*; *Douet d'Arceq*, p. 342; *Galv.*, *Discoveries of the World*, Hak. Soc. p. 129; Marsden, 1st ed. p. 372; *Appendix to Trade Report of Amoy*, for 1868 and 1900. [*Heyd*, *Com. Levant*, II. 701-702.]

NOTE 3.—We have referred in a former note (ch. lxxvii. note 7) to an apparent change in regard to the Chinese consumption of pepper, which is now said to be trifling. We shall see in the first chapter of Bk. III. that Polo estimates the tonnage of Chinese junks by the number of baskets of pepper they carried, and we have seen in last note the large estimate by Giov. d'Empoli of the quantity that went to China in 1515. Galvano also, speaking of the adventure of Fernão Perez d'Andrade to China in 1517, says that he took in at Pacem a cargo of pepper, "as being the chief article of trade that is valued in China." And it is evident from what Marsden says in his *History of Sumatra*, that in the last century some tangible quantity was still sent to China. The export from the Company's plantations in Sumatra averaged 1200 tons, of which the greater part came to Europe, the rest went to China.

[Couto says also: "Os portos principaes do Reyno da Sunda são Banta, Aché, Xacatara, por outro nome Caravão, aos quaes vam todos os annos mui perto de vinte sommas, que são embarcações do Chincheo, huma das Provincias maritimas da China, a carregar de pimenta, porque dá este Reyno todos os annos oito mil bares della, que são trinta mil quintaes." (*Decada* IV. Liv. III. Cap. I. 167.)]

NOTE 4.—These tattooing artists were probably employed mainly by mariners frequenting the port. We do not know if the Malays practised tattooing before their conversion to Islam. But most Indo-Chinese races tattoo, and the Japanese still "have the greater part of the body and limbs scrolled over with bright-blue dragons, and lions, and tigers, and figures of men and women tattooed into their skins with the most artistic and elaborate ornamentation." (*Alcock*, I. 191.) Probably the Arab sailors also indulged in the same kind of decoration. It is common among the Arab women now, and Della Valle speaks of it as in his time so much in vogue among both sexes through Egypt, Arabia, and Babylonia, that *he* had not been able to escape. (I. 395.)

NOTE 5.—The divergence in Ramusio's version is here very notable: "The River which enters the Port of Zayton is great and wide, running with great velocity, and is a branch of that which flows by the city of Kinsay. And at the place where it quits the main channel is the city of Tingui, of which all that is to be said is that there they make porcelain basins and dishes. The manner of making porcelain was thus related to him. They excavate a certain kind of earth, as it were from a mine, and this they heap into great piles, and then leave it undisturbed and exposed to wind, rain, and sun for 30 or 40 years. In this space of time the earth becomes sufficiently refined for the manufacture of porcelain; they then colour it at their discretion, and bake it in a furnace. Those who excavate the clay do so always therefore for their sons and grandsons. The articles are so cheap in that city that you get 8 bowls for a Venice groat."

Ibn Batuta speaks of porcelain as manufactured at Zayton; indeed he says positively (and wrongly): "Porcelain is made nowhere in China except in the cities

of Zaitun and Sinkalan" (Canton). A good deal of China ware in modern times is made in Fo-kien and Canton provinces, and it is still an article of export from T'swan-chau and Amoy; but it is only of a very ordinary kind. Pakwiha, between Amoy and Chang-chau, is mentioned in the *Chinese Commercial Guide* (p. 114) as now the place where the coarse blue ware, so largely exported to India, etc., is largely manufactured; and Phillips mentions Tung-an (about half-way between T'swan-chau and Chang-chau) as a great seat of this manufacture.

Looking, however, to the Ramusian interpolations, which do not indicate a locality necessarily near Zayton, or even in Fo-kien, it is possible that Murray is right in supposing the place intended in these to be really *King-tê chên* in Kiang-si, the great seat of the manufacture of genuine porcelain, or rather its chief mart JAU-CHAU FU on the P'o-yang Lake.

The geographical indication of this city of porcelain, as at the place where a branch of the River of Kinsay flows off towards Zayton, points to a notion prevalent in the Middle Ages as to the interdivergence of rivers in general, and especially of Chinese rivers. This notion will be found well embodied in the Catalan Map, and something like it in the maps of the Chinese themselves;* it is a ruling idea with Ibn Batuta, who, as we have seen (in note 2), speaks of the River of Zayton as connected in the interior with "the Great River," and who travels by this waterway accordingly from Zayton to Kinsay, taking no notice of the mountains of Fo-kien. So also (*supra*, p. 175) Rashiduddin had been led to suppose that the Great Canal extended to Zayton. With apparently the same idea of one Great River of China with many ramifications, Abulfeda places most of the great cities of China upon "The River." The "Great River of China," with its branches to Kinsay, is alluded to in a like spirit by Wassáf (*supra*, p. 213). Polo has already indicated the same idea (p. 219).

Assuming this as the notion involved in the passage from Ramusio, the position of *Jau-chau* might be fairly described as that of Tingui is therein, standing as it does on the P'o-yang Lake, from which there is such a ramification of internal navigation, e.g. to Kinsay or Hang-chau fu directly by Kwansin, the Chang-shan portage already referred to (*supra*, p. 222), and the Ts'ien T'ang (and this is the Kinsay River line to which I imagine Polo here to refer), or circuitously by the Yang-tzû and Great Canal; to Canton by the portage of the Meiling Pass; and to the cities of Fo-kien either by the Kwansin River or by Kian-chan fu, further south, with a portage in each case across the Fo-kien mountains. None of our maps give any idea of the extent of internal navigation in China. (See *Klaproth, Mém.* vol. iii.)

The story of the life-long period during which the porcelain clay was exposed to temper long held its ground, and probably was only dispelled by the publication of the details of the King-tê chên manufacture by Père d'Entrecolles in the *Lettres Edifiantes*.

NOTE 6.—The meagre statement in the French texts shows merely that Polo had heard of the Fo-kien dialect. The addition from Ramusio shows further that he was aware of the unity of the written character throughout China, but gives no indication of knowledge of its peculiar principles, nor of the extent of difference in the spoken dialects. Even different districts of Fo-kien, according to Martini, use dialects so different that they understand each other with difficulty (108).

[Mendoza already said: "It is an admirable thing to consider how that in that kingdome they doo speake manie languages, the one differing from the other: yet generallie in writing they doo understand one the other, and in speaking not." (*Parke's Transl.* p. 93.)]

Professor Kidd, speaking of his instructors in the Mandarin and Fo-kien dialects respectively, says: "The teachers in both cases read the same books, composed in the same style, and attached precisely the same ideas to the written symbols, but

* In a modern Chinese geographical work abstracted by Mr. Laidlay, we are told that the great river of *Tsin-lo*, or Siam, "penetrates to a branch of the Hwang-Ho." (*J. A. S. B.* XVII. Pt. I. 157.)

could not understand each other in conversation." Moreover, besides these sounds attaching to the Chinese characters when read in the dialect of Fo-kien, thus discrepant from the sounds used in reading the same characters in the Mandarin dialect, yet another class of sounds is used to express the same ideas in the Fo-kien dialect when it is used colloquially and without reference to written symbols! (*Kidd's China*, etc., pp. 21-23.)

The term *Fokien dialect* in the preceding passage is ambiguous, as will be seen from the following remarks, which have been derived from the Preface and Appendices to the Rev. Dr. Douglas's Dictionary of the Spoken Language of Amoy,* and which throw a distinct light on the subject of this note:—

"The vernacular or spoken language of Amoy is not a mere colloquial dialect or *patois*, it is a *distinct language*—one of the many and widely differing spoken languages which divide among them the soil of China. For these spoken languages are not *dialects* of one language, but cognate languages, bearing to each other a relation similar to that between Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, or between English, Dutch, German, and Danish. The so-called '*written language*' is indeed uniform throughout the whole country, but that is rather a *notation* than a language. And this written language, as read aloud from books, is not *spoken* in any place whatever, under any form of pronunciation. The most learned men never employ it as a means of ordinary oral communication even among themselves. It is, in fact, a *dead language*, related to the various spoken languages of China, somewhat as Latin is to the languages of Southern Europe.

"Again: Dialects, properly speaking, of the Amoy vernacular language are found (*e.g.*) in the neighbouring districts of Changchew, Chinchew, and Tungan, and the language with its subordinate dialects is believed to be spoken by 8 or 10 millions of people. Of the other languages of China the most nearly related to the Amoy is the vernacular of Chau-chau-fu, often called 'the Swatow dialect,' from the only treaty-port in that region. The ancestors of the people speaking it emigrated many years ago from Fuh-kien, and are still distinguished there by the appellation *Hok-ló*, *i.e.* people from Hok-kien (or Fuh-kien). This language differs from the Amoy, much as Dutch differs from German, or Portuguese from Spanish.

"In the Island of Hai-nan (Hái-lâm), again (setting aside the central aborigines), a language is spoken which differs from Amoy more than that of Swatow, but is more nearly related to these two than to any other of the languages of China.

"In Fuh-chau fu we have another language which is largely spoken in the centre and north of Fuh-kien. This has many points of resemblance to the Amoy, but is quite unintelligible to the Amoy people, with the exception of an occasional word or phrase.

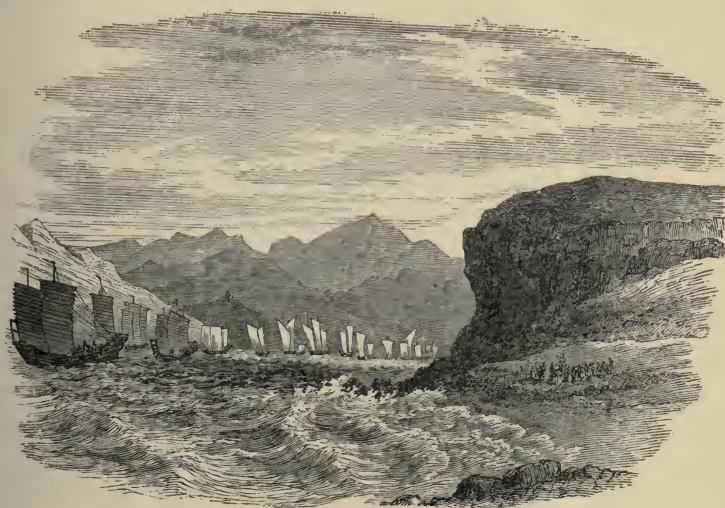
"Hing-hwa fu (Heng-hoà), between Fuh-chau and Chinchew, has also a language of its own, though containing only two *Hien* districts. It is alleged to be unintelligible both at Amoy and at Fuhchau.

"To the other languages of China that of Amoy is less closely related; yet all evidently spring from one common stock. But that common stock is *not* the modern Mandarin dialect, but the ancient form of the Chinese language as spoken some 3000 years ago. The so-called *Mandarin*, far from being the original form, is usually more changed than any. It is in the ancient form of the language (naturally) that the relation of Chinese to other languages can best be traced; and as the Amoy vernacular, which very generally retains the final consonants in their original shape, has been one of the chief sources from which the ancient form of Chinese has been recovered, the study of that vernacular is of considerable importance."

* CHINESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY of the Vernacular or Spoken language of Amoy, with the principal variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew Dialects; by the Rev. Carstairs Douglas, M.A., LL.D., Glasg., Missionary of the Presb. Church in England. (Trübner, 1873.) I must note that I have not access to the book itself, but condense these remarks from extracts and abstracts made by a friend at my request.

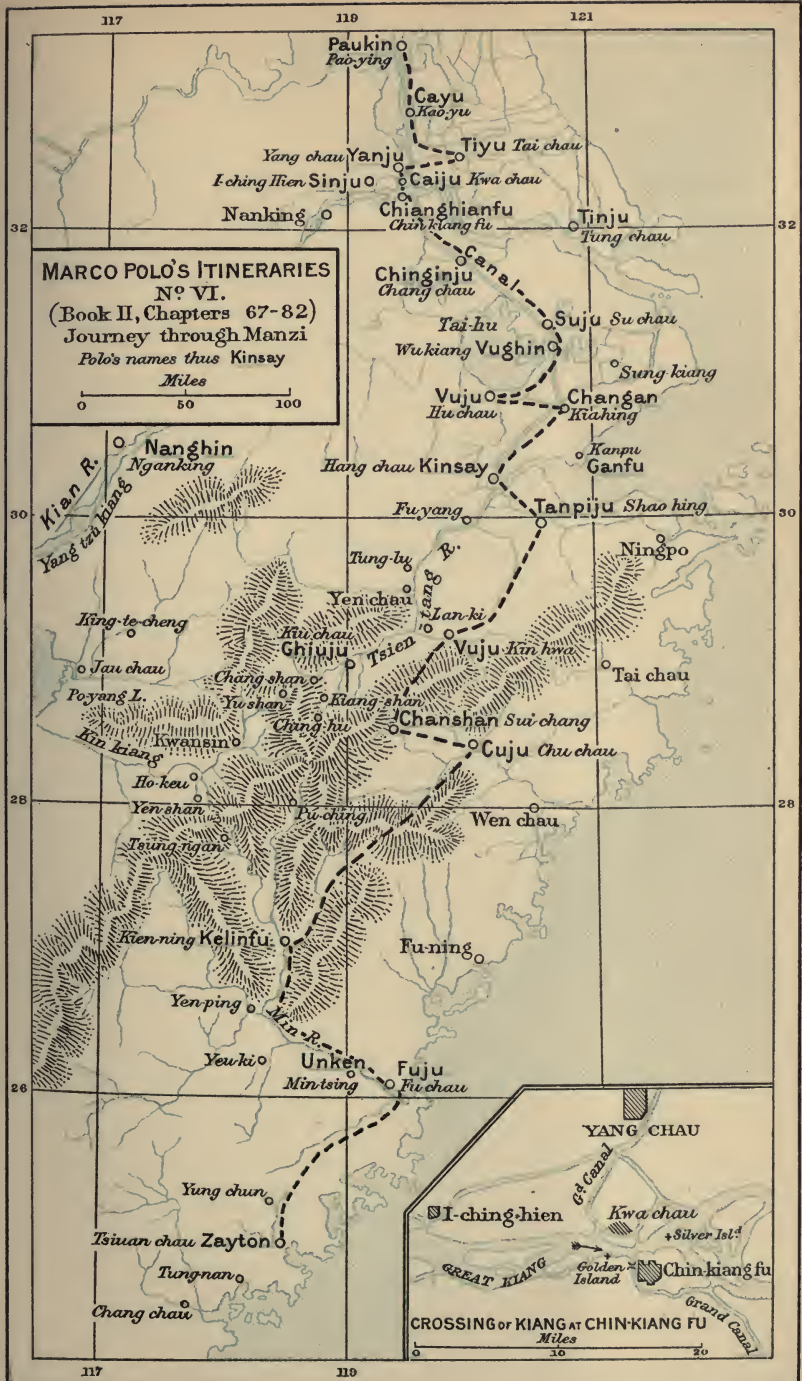
NOTE 7.—This is inconsistent with his former statements as to the supreme wealth of Kinsay. But with Marco the subject in hand is always *pro magnifico*.

Ramusio says that the Traveller will now “begin to speak of the territories, cities, and provinces of the Greater, Lesser, and Middle India, in which regions he was when in the service of the Great Kaan, being sent thither on divers matters of business: and then again when he returned to the same quarter with the queen of King Argon, and with his father and uncle, on his way back to his native land. So he will relate the strange things that he saw in those Indies, not omitting others which he heard related by persons of reputation and worthy of credit, and things that were pointed out to him on the maps of mariners of the Indies aforesaid.”



The Kaan's Fleet leaving the Port of Zayton.

246

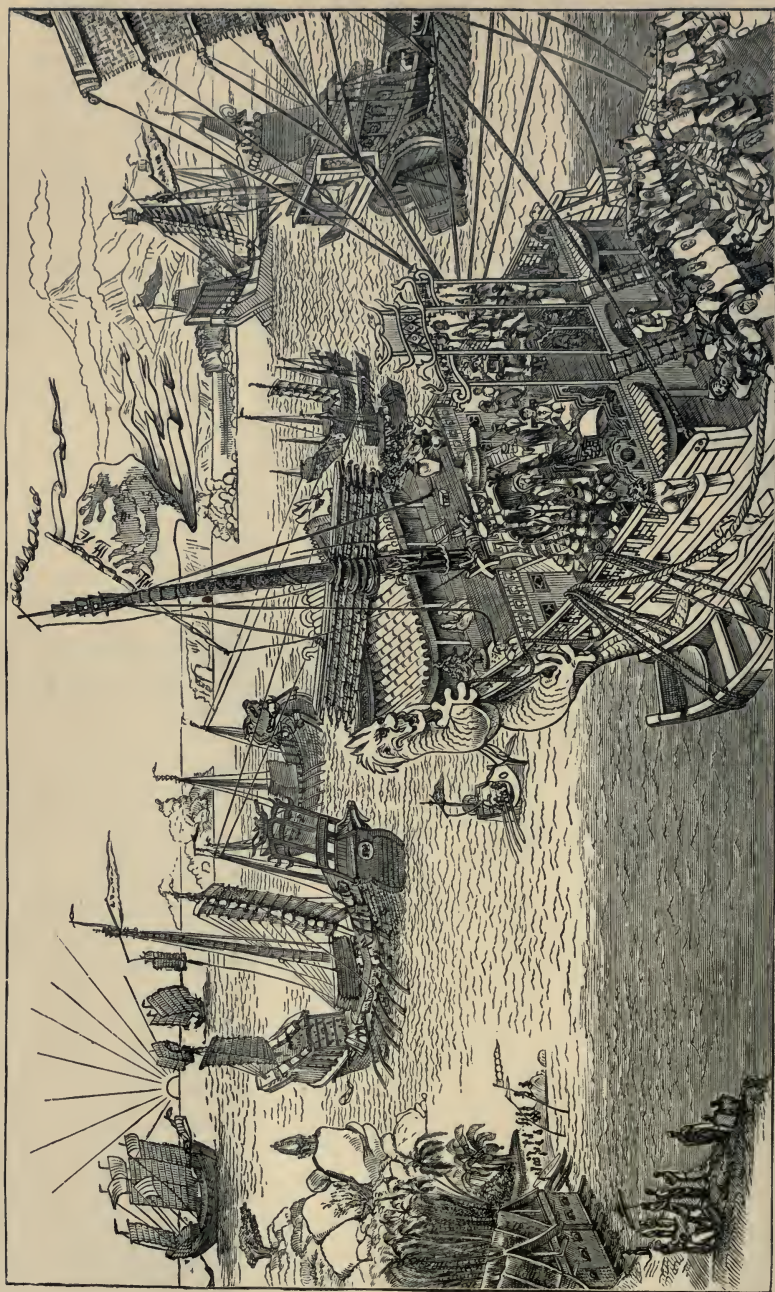


[To face p. 246, vol. ii.]

BOOK THIRD.



JAPAN, THE ARCHIPELAGO, SOUTHERN INDIA,
AND THE COASTS AND ISLANDS OF THE
INDIAN SEA



The Kaan's Fleet passing through the Indian Archipelago.

“Fist aparoiller xib. nés, lesquels aboit chascune ib. arbres, et maintes foies aloient à xii. boiles . . . et majèrent bien iii. mois, tant k'il bindrent a bue Tisle qui es ber midi”

BOOK III.



CHAPTER I.

OF THE MERCHANT SHIPS OF MANZI THAT SAIL UPON THE
INDIAN SEAS.

HAVING finished our discourse concerning those countries wherewith our Book hath been occupied thus far, we are now about to enter on the subject of INDIA, and to tell you of all the wonders thereof.

And first let us speak of the ships in which merchants go to and fro amongst the Isles of India.

These ships, you must know, are of fir timber.¹ They have but one deck, though each of them contains some 50 or 60 cabins, wherein the merchants abide greatly at their ease, every man having one to himself. The ship hath but one rudder, but it hath four masts; and sometimes they have two additional masts, which they ship and unship at pleasure.²

[Moreover the larger of their vessels have some thirteen compartments or severances in the interior, made with planking strongly framed, in case mayhap the ship should spring a leak, either by running on a rock or by the blow of a hungry whale (as shall betide oftentimes, for when the ship in her course by night sends a ripple back alongside of the whale, the creature seeing the foam fancies there is something to eat afloat, and makes a rush

forward, whereby it often shall stave in some part of the ship). In such case the water that enters the leak flows to the bilge, which is always kept clear; and the mariners having ascertained where the damage is, empty the cargo from that compartment into those adjoining, for the planking is so well fitted that the water cannot pass from one compartment to another. They then stop the leak and replace the lading.³

The fastenings are all of good iron nails and the sides are double, one plank laid over the other, and caulked outside and in. The planks are not pitched, for those people do not have any pitch, but they daub the sides with another matter, deemed by them far better than pitch; it is this. You see they take some lime and some chopped hemp, and these they knead together with a certain wood-oil; and when the three are thoroughly amalgamated, they hold like any glue. And with this mixture they do paint their ships.⁴

Each of their great ships requires at least 200 mariners [some of them 300]. They are indeed of great size, for one ship shall carry 5000 or 6000 baskets of pepper [and they used formerly to be larger than they are now]. And aboard these ships, you must know, when there is no wind they use sweeps, and these sweeps are so big that to pull them requires four mariners to each.⁵ Every great ship has certain large barks or tenders attached to it; these are large enough to carry 1000 baskets of pepper, and carry 50 or 60 mariners apiece [some of them 80 or 100], and they are likewise moved by oars; they assist the great ship by towing her, at such times as her sweeps are in use [or even when she is under sail, if the wind be somewhat on the beam; not if the wind be astern, for then the sails of the big ship would take the wind out of those of the tenders, and she would run them down]. Each ship has two [or three] of these barks, but one is

bigger than the others. There are also some ten [small] boats for the service of each great ship, to lay out the anchors, catch fish, bring supplies aboard, and the like. When the ship is under sail she carries these boats slung to her sides. And the large tenders have their boats in like manner.

When the ship has been a year in work and they wish to repair her, they nail on a third plank over the first two, and caulk and pay it well; and when another repair is wanted they nail on yet another plank, and so on year by year as it is required. Howbeit, they do this only for a certain number of years, and till there are six thicknesses of planking. When a ship has come to have six planks on her sides, one over the other, they take her no more on the high seas, but make use of her for coasting as long as she will last, and then they break her up.⁶

Now that I have told you about the ships which sail upon the Ocean Sea and among the Isles of India, let us proceed to speak of the various wonders of India; but first and foremost I must tell you about a number of Islands that there are in that part of the Ocean Sea where we now are, I mean the Islands lying to the eastward. So let us begin with an Island which is called Chipangu.

NOTE 1.—Pine [*Pinus sinensis*] is [still] the staple timber for ship-building both at Canton and in Fo-kien. There is a very large export of it from Fu-chau, and even the chief fuel at that city is from a kind of fir. Several varieties of pine-wood are also brought down the rivers for sale at Canton. (*N. and Q., China and Japan*, I. 170; *Fortune*, I. 286; *Doolittle*.)

NOTE 2.—Note the *one rudder* again. (*Supra*, Bk. I. ch. xix. note 3.) One of the shifting masts was probably a bowsprit, which, according to Lecomte, the Chinese occasionally use, very slight, and planted on the larboard bow.

NOTE 3.—The system of water-tight compartments, for the description of which we have to thank Ramusio's text, in our own time introduced into European construction, is still maintained by the Chinese, not only in sea-going junks, but in the larger river craft. (See *Mid. Kingd.* II. 25; *Blakiston*, 88; *Deguignes*, I. 204-206.)

NOTE 4.—This still remains quite correct, hemp, old nets, and the fibre of a certain creeper being used for oakum. The *wood-oil* is derived from a tree called

Tong-shu, I do not know if identical with the wood-oil trees of Arakan and Pegu (*Dipterocarpus laevis*).

[“What goes under the name of ‘wood-oil’ to-day in China is the poisonous oil obtained from the nuts of *Eleococca verrucosa*. It is much used for painting and caulking ships.” (*Bretschneider, Hist. of Bot. Disc. I. p. 4.*)—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—The junks that visit Singapore still use these sweeps. (*J. Ind. Arch. II. 607.*) Ibn Batuta puts a much larger number of men to each. It will be seen from his account below that great ropes were attached to the oars to pull by, the bulk of timber being too large to grasp; as in the old French galleys wooden *manettes*, or grips, were attached to the oar for the same purpose.

NOTE 6.—The Chinese sea-going vessels of those days were apparently larger than was at all common in European navigation. Marco here speaks of 200 (or in Ramusio up to 300) mariners, a large crew indeed for a merchant vessel, but not so great as is implied in Odoric’s statement, that the ship in which he went from India to China had 700 souls on board. The numbers carried by Chinese junks are occasionally still enormous. “In February, 1822, Captain Pearl, of the English ship *Indiana*, coming through Gaspar Straits, fell in with the cargo and crew of a wrecked junk, and saved 198 persons out of 1600, with whom she had left Amoy, whom he landed at Pontianak. This humane act cost him 11,000*l.*” (Quoted by *Williams from Chin. Rep. VI. 149.*)

The following are some other mediæval accounts of the China shipping, all unanimous as to the main facts.

Friar Jordanus :—“The vessels which they navigate to Cathay be very big, and have upon the ship’s hull more than one hundred cabins, and with a fair wind they carry ten sails, and they are very bulky, being made of three thicknesses of plank, so that the first thickness is as in our great ships, the second crosswise, the third again longwise. In sooth, ‘tis a very strong affair !” (55.)

Nicolo Conti :—“They build some ships much larger than ours, capable of containing 2000 butts (*vegetes*), with five masts and five sails. The lower part is constructed with triple planking, in order to withstand the force of the tempests to which they are exposed. And the ships are divided into compartments, so formed that if one part be shattered the rest remains in good order, and enables the vessel to complete its voyage.”

Ibn Batuta :—“Chinese ships only are used in navigating the sea of China. . . . There are three classes of these : (1) the Large, which are called *Jonúk* (sing. *Junk*) ; (2) the Middling, which are called *Zao* ; and (3) the Small, called *Kakam*. Each of the greater ships has from twelve sails down to three. These are made of bamboo laths woven into a kind of mat ; they are never lowered, and they are braced this way and that as the wind may blow. When these vessels anchor the sails are allowed to fly loose. Each ship has a crew of 1000 men, viz. 600 mariners and 400 soldiers, among whom are archers, target-men, and cross-bow men to shoot naphtha. Each large vessel is attended by three others, which are called respectively ‘The Half,’ ‘The Third,’ and ‘The Quarter.’ These vessels are built only at Zayton, in China, and at Sínkalán or Sín-ul-Sín (*i.e.* Canton). This is the way they are built. They construct two walls of timber, which they connect by very thick slabs of wood, clenching all fast this way and that with huge spikes, each of which is three cubits in length. When the two walls have been united by these slabs they apply the bottom planking; and then launch the hull before completing the construction. The timbers projecting from the sides towards the water serve the crew for going down to wash and for other needs. And to these projecting timbers are attached the oars, which are like masts in size, and need from 10 to 15 men * to ply each of them. There are about 20 of these great oars, and the rowers at each oar stand in two ranks facing one another. The oars are provided with two strong cords or cables ; each rank pulls

* Or even 30 (p. 248).

at one of these and then lets go, whilst the other rank pulls on the opposite cable. These rowers have a pleasant chaunt at their work usually, singing *Lá! lá! Lá! lá!** The three tenders which we have mentioned above also use oars, and tow the great ships when required.

"On each ship four decks are constructed; and there are cabins and public rooms for the merchants. Some of these cabins are provided with closets and other conveniences, and they have keys so that their tenants can lock them, and carry with them their wives or concubines. The crew in some of the cabins have their children, and they sow kitchen herbs, ginger, etc., in wooden buckets. The captain is a very great Don; and when he lands, the archers and negro-slaves march before him with javelins, swords, drums, horns, and trumpets." (IV. pp. 91 *segg.* and 247 *segg.* combined.) Comparing this very interesting description with Polo's, we see that they agree in all essentials except size and the number of decks. It is not unlikely that the revival of the trade with India, which Kúblái stimulated, may have in its development under his successors led to the revival also of the larger ships of former times to which Marco alludes.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF CHIPANGU, AND THE GREAT KAAK'S DESPATCH OF A HOST AGAINST IT.

CHIPANGU is an Island towards the east in the high seas, 1500 miles distant from the Continent; and a very great Island it is.¹

The people are white, civilized, and well-favoured. They are Idolaters, and are dependent on nobody. And I can tell you the quantity of gold they have is endless; for they find it in their own Islands, [and the King does not allow it to be exported. Moreover] few merchants visit the country because it is so far from the main land, and thus it comes to pass that their gold is abundant beyond all measure.²

I will tell you a wonderful thing about the Palace of the Lord of that Island. You must know that he hath a great Palace which is entirely roofed with fine gold, just as our churches are roofed with lead, insomuch that it

* Corresponding to the "Hevelow and rumbelow" of the Christian oarsmen. (See *Cœur de Lion* in *Weber*, II. 99.)

would scarcely be possible to estimate its value. Moreover, all the pavement of the Palace, and the floors of its chambers, are entirely of gold, in plates like slabs of stone, a good two fingers thick; and the windows also are of



Ancient Japanese Emperor. (After a Native Drawing; from Humbert.)

gold, so that altogether the richness of this Palace is past all bounds and all belief.³

They have also pearls in abundance, which are of a rose colour, but fine, big, and round, and quite as valuable as the white ones. [In this Island some of the dead are buried, and others are burnt. When a body is

burnt, they put one of these pearls in the mouth, for such is their custom.] They have also quantities of other precious stones.⁴

Cublay, the Grand Kaan who now reigneth, having heard much of the immense wealth that was in this Island, formed a plan to get possession of it. For this purpose he sent two of his Barons with a great navy, and a great force of horse and foot. These Barons were able and valiant men, one of them called ABACAN and the other VONSAINCHIN, and they weighed with all their company from the ports of Zayton and Kinsay, and put out to sea. They sailed until they reached the Island aforesaid, and there they landed, and occupied the open country and the villages, but did not succeed in getting possession of any city or castle. And so a disaster befel them, as I shall now relate.

You must know that there was much ill-will between those two Barons, so that one would do nothing to help the other. And it came to pass that there arose a north wind which blew with great fury, and caused great damage along the coasts of that Island, for its harbours were few. It blew so hard that the Great Kaan's fleet could not stand against it. And when the chiefs saw that, they came to the conclusion that if the ships remained where they were the whole navy would perish. So they all got on board and made sail to leave the country. But when they had gone about four miles they came to a small Island, on which they were driven ashore in spite of all they could do; and a large part of the fleet was wrecked, and a great multitude of the force perished, so that there escaped only some 30,000 men, who took refuge on this Island.

These held themselves for dead men, for they were without food, and knew not what to do, and they were in great despair when they saw that such of the ships as had escaped the storm were making full sail for their own

country without the slightest sign of turning back to help them. And this was because of the bitter hatred between the two Barons in command of the force; for the Baron who escaped never showed the slightest desire to return to his colleague who was left upon the Island in the way you have heard; though he might easily have done so after the storm ceased; and it endured not long. He did nothing of the kind, however, but made straight for home. And you must know that the Island to which the soldiers had escaped was uninhabited; there was not a creature upon it but themselves.

Now we will tell you what befel those who escaped on the fleet, and also those who were left upon the Island.

NOTE 1.—‡CHIPANGU represents the Chinese *Jih-pên-kwo*, the kingdom of Japan, the name Jih-pên being the Chinese pronunciation, of which the term *Nippon*, *Niphon* or *Nihon*, used in Japan, is a dialectic variation, both meaning "the origin of the sun," or sun-rising, the place the sun comes from. The name *Chipangu* is used also by Rashiduddin. Our *Japan* was probably taken from the Malay *Japin* or *Japang*.

[“The name *Nihon* (‘Japan’) seems to have been first officially employed by the Japanese Government in A.D. 670. Before that time, the usual native designation of the country was *Yamato*, properly the name of one of the central provinces. *Yamato* and *Ō-mi-kuni*, that is, ‘the Great August Country,’ are the names still preferred in poetry and *belles-lettres*. Japan has other ancient names, some of which are of learned length and thundering sound, for instance, *Toyo-ashi-wara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-mizu-ho-no-kuni*, that is ‘the Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-Ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns-of-Long-Five-Hundred-Autumns.’” (*B. H. Chamberlain, Things Japanese*, 3rd ed. p. 222.)—H. C.]

It is remarkable that the name *Nippon* occurs, in the form of *Al-Nāṣūn*, in the *Ikhwān-al-Safá*, supposed to date from the 10th century. (See *J. A. S. B.* XVII. Pt. I. 502.)

[I shall merely mention the strange theory of Mr. George Collingridge that *Zipangu* is Java and not Japan in his paper on *The Early Cartography of Japan*. (*Geog. Jour.* May, 1894, pp. 403-409.) Mr. F. G. Kramp (*Japan or Java?*), in the *Tijdschrift v. het K. Nederl. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 1894, and Mr. H. Yule Oldham (*Geog. Jour.*, September, 1894, pp. 276-279), have fully replied to this paper.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The causes briefly mentioned in the text maintained the abundance and low price of gold in Japan till the recent opening of the trade. (See Bk. II. ch. I. note 5.) Edrisi had heard that gold in the isles of Sila (or Japan) was so abundant that dog-collars were made of it.

NOTE 3.—This was doubtless an old “yarn,” repeated from generation to generation. We find in a Chinese work quoted by Amyot: “The palace of the king (of Japan) is remarkable for its singular construction. It is a vast edifice, of extraordinary height; it has nine stories, and presents on all sides an exterior shining

with the purest gold." (*Mém. conc. les Chinois*, XIV. 55.) See also a like story in Kaempfer. (*H. du Japon*, I. 139.)

NOTE 4.—Kaempfer speaks of pearls being found in considerable numbers, chiefly about Satsuma, and in the Gulf of Omura, in Kiusiu. From what Alcock



Ancient Japanese Archer. (From a Native Drawing.)

says they do not seem now to be abundant. (*ib.* I. 95; *Alcock*, I. 200.) No precious stones are mentioned by Kaempfer.

Rose-tinted pearls are frequent among the Scotch pearls, and, according to Mr. King, those of this tint are of late the most highly esteemed in Paris. Such pearls were perhaps also most highly esteemed in old India; for red pearls (*Lohitamukti*) form one of the seven precious objects which it was incumbent to use in the adornment of Buddhistic reliquaries, and to distribute at the building of a Dagoba. (*Nat. Hist. of Prec. Stones, etc.*, 263; *Koeppen*, I. 541.)

CHAPTER III.

WHAT FURTHER CAME OF THE GREAT KAAH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST
CHIPANGU.

You see those who were left upon the Island, some 30,000 souls, as I have said, did hold themselves for dead men, for they saw no possible means of escape. And when the King of the Great Island got news how the one part of the expedition had saved themselves upon that Isle, and the other part was scattered and fled, he was right glad thereat, and he gathered together all the ships of his territory and proceeded with them, the sea now being calm, to the little Isle, and landed his troops all round it. And when the Tartars saw them thus arrive, and the whole force landed, without any guard having been left on board the ships (the act of men very little acquainted with such work), they had the sagacity to feign flight. [Now the Island was very high in the middle, and whilst the enemy were hastening after them by one road they fetched a compass by another and] in this way managed to reach the enemy's ships and to get aboard of them. This they did easily enough, for they encountered no opposition.

Once they were on board they got under weigh immediately for the great Island, and landed there, carrying with them the standards and banners of the King of the Island; and in this wise they advanced to the capital. The garrison of the city, suspecting nothing wrong, when they saw their own banners advancing supposed that it was their own host returning, and so gave them admittance. The Tartars as soon as they had got in seized all the bulwarks and drove out all who were in the place except the pretty women, and these

they kept for themselves. In this way the Great Kaan's people got possession of the city.

When the King of the great Island and his army perceived that both fleet and city were lost, they were greatly cast down; howbeit, they got away to the great Island on board some of the ships which had not been carried off. And the King then gathered all his host to the siege of the city, and invested it so straitly that no one could go in or come out. Those who were within held the place for seven months, and strove by all means to send word to the Great Kaan; but it was all in vain, they never could get the intelligence carried to him. So when they saw they could hold out no longer they gave themselves up, on condition that their lives should be spared, but still that they should never quit the Island. And this befel in the year of our Lord 1279.¹ The Great Kaan ordered the Baron who had fled so disgracefully to lose his head. And afterwards he caused the other also, who had been left on the Island, to be put to death, for he had never behaved as a good soldier ought to do.²

But I must tell you a wonderful thing that I had forgotten, which happened on this expedition.

You see, at the beginning of the affair, when the Kaan's people had landed on the great Island and occupied the open country as I told you, they stormed a tower belonging to some of the islanders who refused to surrender, and they cut off the heads of all the garrison except eight; on these eight they found it impossible to inflict any wound! Now this was by virtue of certain stones which they had in their arms inserted between the skin and the flesh, with such skill as not to show at all externally. And the charm and virtue of these stones was such that those who wore them could never perish by steel. So when the Barons learned this they ordered

the men to be beaten to death with clubs. And after their death the stones were extracted from the bodies of all, and were greatly prized.³

Now the story of the discomfiture of the Great Kaan's folk came to pass as I have told you. But let us have done with that matter, and return to our subject.

NOTE I.—Kúblái had long hankered after the conquest of Japan, or had at least, after his fashion, desired to obtain an acknowledgment of supremacy from the Japanese sovereign. He had taken steps in this view as early as 1266, but entirely without success. The fullest accessible particulars respecting his efforts are contained in the Japanese Annals translated by Titsing; and these are in complete accordance with the Chinese histories as given by Gaubil, De Mailla, and in Pauthier's extracts, so far as these three latter enter into particulars. But it seems clear from the comparison that the Japanese chronicler had the Chinese Annals in his hands.

In 1268, 1269, 1270, and 1271, Kúblái's efforts were repeated to little purpose, and, provoked at this, in 1274, he sent a fleet of 300 vessels with 15,000 men against Japan. This was defeated near the Island of Tsushima with heavy loss.

Nevertheless Kúblái seems in the following years to have renewed his attempts at negotiation. The Japanese patience was exhausted, and, in 1280, they put one of his ambassadors to death.

"As soon as the Moko (Mongols) heard of this, they assembled a considerable army to conquer Japan. When informed of their preparations, the Dairi sent ambassadors to Ize and other temples to invoke the gods. Fosiono Toki Mune, who resided at Kama Kura, ordered troops to assemble at Tsukuzi (*Tsikouzen* of Alcock's Map), and sent . . . numerous detachments to Miyako to guard the Dairi and the Togou (Heir Apparent) against all danger. . . . In the first moon (of 1281) the Mongols named Asikan (Ngo Tsa-han*), Fan-bunko (Fan Wen-hu), Kinto (Hintu), and Kosakio (Hung Cha-khieu), Generals of their army, which consisted of 100,000 men, and was embarked on numerous ships of war. Asikan fell ill on the passage, and this made the second General (Fan Wen-hu) undecided as to his course.

"*7th Month.* The entire fleet arrived at the Island of Firando (P'ing-hu), and passed thence to Goriosan (Ulungshan). The troops of Tsukuzi were under arms.

1st of 3rd Month. A frightful storm arose; the Mongol ships foundered or were sorely shattered. The General (Fan Wen-hu) fled with the other Generals on the vessels that had least suffered; nobody has ever heard what became of them. The army of 100,000 men, which had landed below Goriosan, wandered about for three days without provisions; and the soldiers began to plan the building of vessels in which they might escape to China.

"*7th day.* The Japanese army invested and attacked them with great vigour. The Mongols were totally defeated. 30,000 of them were made prisoners and conducted to Fakata (the *Fokouoka* of Alcock's Map, but *Fakatta* in Kaempfer's), and there put to death. Grace was extended to only (three men), who were sent to China with the intelligence of the fate of the army. The destruction of so numerous a fleet was considered the most evident proof of the protection of the gods." (*Titsingh*, pp. 264-265.) At p. 259 of the same work Klaproth gives another account from the Japanese Encyclopædia; the difference is not material.

* These names in parentheses are the Chinese forms; the others, the Japanese modes of reading them.

The Chinese Annals, in De Mailla, state that the Japanese spared 10,000 or 12,000 of the Southern Chinese, whom they retained as slaves. Gaubil says that 30,000 Mongols were put to death, whilst 70,000 Coreans and Chinese were made slaves.

Kúblái was loth to put up with this huge discomfiture, and in 1283 he made preparations for another expedition; but the project excited strong discontent; so strong that some Buddhist monks whom he sent before to collect information, were



Japanese in fight with Chinese. (After Siebold, from an ancient Japanese drawing.)

“Or ensint abint ceste estoire de la desconfiture de les gens dou Grant Kaan.”

thrown overboard by the Chinese sailors; and he gave it up. (*De Mailla*, IX. 409; 418, 428; *Gaubil*, 195; *Deguignes*, III. 177.)

The Abacan of Polo is probably the Asikan of the Japanese, whom Gaubil calls *Argan*. *Vonsainchin* is perhaps *Fan Wen-hu* with the Chinese title of *Tsiang-Kiun* or General (elsewhere represented in Polo by *Sangon*),—*FAN TSIANG-KIUN*.

We see that, as usual, whilst Marco's account in some of the main features concurs with that of the histories, he gives a good many additional particulars, some

of which, such as the ill-will between the Generals, are no doubt genuine. But of the story of the capture of the Japanese capital by the shipwrecked army we know not what to make; we can't accept it certainly.

[The *Korea Review* publishes a *History of Korea* based upon Korean and Chinese sources, from which we gather some interesting facts regarding the relations of China, Korea, and Japan at the time of Kúblái: "In 1265, the seed was sown that led to the attempted invasion of Japan by the Mongols. A Koryū citizen, Cho I., found his way to Peking, and there, having gained the ear of the emperor, told him that the Mongol powers ought to secure the vassalage of Japan. The emperor listened favourably and determined to make advances in that direction. He therefore appointed Heuk Chūk and Eun Hong as envoys to Japan, and ordered them to go by way of Koryū and take with them to Japan a Koryū envoy as well. Arriving in Koryū they delivered this message to the king, and two officials, Son Kun-bi and Kim Ch'an, were appointed to accompany them to Japan. They proceeded by the way of Kōje Harbor in Kyōng-sang Province, but were driven back by a fierce storm, and the king sent the Mongol envoys back to Peking. The Emperor was ill satisfied with the outcome of the adventure, and sent Heuk Chūk with a letter to the king, ordering him to forward the Mongol envoy to Japan. The message which he was to deliver to the ruler of Japan said, 'The Mongol power is kindly disposed towards you and desires to open friendly intercourse with you. She does not desire your submission, but if you accept her patronage, the great Mongol empire will cover the earth.' The king forwarded the message with the envoys to Japan, and informed the emperor of the fact. . . . The Mongol and Koryū envoys, upon reaching the Japanese capital, were treated with marked disrespect. . . . They remained five months, . . . and at last they were dismissed without receiving any answer either to the emperor or to the king." (II. pp. 37, 38.)

Such was the beginning of the difficulties with Japan; this is the end of them: "The following year, 1283, changed the emperor's purpose. He had time to hear the whole story of the sufferings of his army in the last invasion; the impossibility of squeezing anything more out of Koryū, and the delicate condition of home affairs, united in causing him to give up the project of conquering Japan, and he countermanded the order for the building of boats and the storing of grain." (I. p. 82.)

Japan was then, for more than a century (A.D. 1205-1333), governed really in the name of the descendants of Yoritomo, who proved unworthy of their great ancestor "by the so-called 'Regents' of the Hōjō family, while their liege lords, the Shōguns, though keeping a nominal court at Kamakura, were for all that period little better than empty names. So completely were the Hōjōs masters of the whole country, that they actually had their deputy governors at Kyōtō and in Kyūshū in the south-west, and thought nothing of banishing Mikados to distant islands. Their rule was made memorable by the repulse of the Mongol fleet sent by Kúblái Khan with the purpose of adding Japan to his gigantic dominions. This was at the end of the 13th century, since which time Japan has never been attacked from without." (*B. II. Chamberlain, Things Japanese*, 3rd ed., 1898, pp. 208-209.)

The sovereigns (*Mikado, Tennō*) of Japan during this period were: *Kameyama-Tennō* (1260; abdicated 1274; repulse of the Mongols); *Go-Uda-Tennō* (1275; abdicated 1287); *Fushimi-Tennō* (1288; abdicated 1298); and *Go-Fushimi Tennō*. The *shikken* (prime ministers) were Hōjō *Tokiyori* (1246); Hōjō *Tokimune* (1261); Hōjō *Sadatoki* (1284). In 1266 Prince *Kore-yasu*, and in 1289 *Hiisa-akira*, were appointed *shōgun*.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Ram.* says he was sent to a certain island called Zorza (*Chorcha?*), where men who have failed in duty are put to death in this manner: They wrap the arms of the victim in the hide of a newly flayed buffalo, and sew it tight. As this dries it compresses him so terribly that he cannot move, and so, finding no help, his life ends in misery. The same kind of torture is reported of different countries in

the East: e.g. see *Makrizi*, Pt. III. p. 108, and Pottinger, as quoted by Marsden *in loco*. It also appears among the tortures of a Buddhist hell as represented in a temple at Canton. (*Oliphant's Narrative*, I. 168.)

NOTE 3.—Like devices to procure invulnerability are common in the Indo-Chinese countries. The Burmese sometimes insert pellets of gold under the skin with this view. At a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1868, gold and silver coins were shown, which had been extracted from under the skin of a Burmese convict who had been executed at the Andaman Islands. Friar Odoric speaks of the practice in one of the Indian Islands (apparently Borneo); and the stones possessing such virtue were, according to him, found in the bamboo, presumably the siliceous concretions called *Tabashir*. Conti also describes the practice in Java of inserting such amulets under the skin. The Malays of Sumatra, too, have great faith in the efficacy of certain "stones, which they pretend are extracted from reptiles, birds, animals, etc., in preventing them from being wounded." (See *Mission to Ava*, p. 208; *Cathay*, 94; *Conti*, p. 32; *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.* 1868, p. 116; *Anderson's Mission to Sumatra*, p. 323.)

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE FASHION OF THE IDOLS.

Now you must know that the Idols of Cathay, and of Manzi, and of this Island, are all of the same class. And in this Island as well as elsewhere, there be some of the Idols that have the head of an ox, some that have the head of a pig, some of a dog, some of a sheep, and some of divers other kinds. And some of them have four heads, whilst some have three, one growing out of either shoulder. There are also some that have four hands, some ten, some a thousand! And they do put more faith in those Idols that have a thousand hands than in any of the others.¹ And when any Christian asks them why they make their Idols in so many different guises, and not all alike, they reply that just so their forefathers were wont to have them made, and just so they will leave them to their children, and these to the after generations. And so they will be handed down for ever. And you must understand that the deeds

ascribed to these Idols are such a parcel of devilries as it is best not to tell. So let us have done with the Idols, and speak of other things.

But I must tell you one thing still concerning that Island (and 'tis the same with the other Indian Islands), that if the natives take prisoner an enemy who cannot pay a ransom, he who hath the prisoner summons all his friends and relations, and they put the prisoner to death, and then they cook him and eat him, and they say there is no meat in the world so good!—But now we *will* have done with that Island and speak of something else.

You must know the Sea in which lie the Islands of those parts is called the SEA OF CHIN, which is as much as to say "The Sea over against Manzi." For, in the language of those Isles, when they say *Chin*, 'tis Manzi they mean. And I tell you with regard to that Eastern Sea of Chin, according to what is said by the experienced pilots and mariners of those parts, there be 7459 Islands in the waters frequented by the said mariners; and that is how they know the fact, for their whole life is spent in navigating that sea. And there is not one of those Islands but produces valuable and odorous woods like the lignaloe, aye and better too; and they produce also a great variety of spices. For example in those Islands grows pepper as white as snow, as well as the black in great quantities. In fact the riches of those Islands is something wonderful, whether in gold or precious stones, or in all manner of spicery; but they lie so far off from the main land that it is hard to get to them. And when the ships of Zayton and Kinsay do voyage thither they make vast profits by their venture.²

It takes them a whole year for the voyage, going in winter and returning in summer. For in that Sea there are but two winds that blow, the one that carries them

outward and the other that brings them homeward ; and the one of these winds blows all the winter, and the other all the summer. And you must know these regions are so far from India that it takes a long time also for the voyage thence.

Though that Sea is called the Sea of Chin, as I have told you, yet it is part of the Ocean Sea all the same. But just as in these parts people talk of the Sea of England and the Sea of Rochelle, so in those countries they speak of the Sea of Chin and the Sea of India, and so on, though they all are but parts of the Ocean.³

Now let us have done with that region which is very inaccessible and out of the way. Moreover, Messer Marco Polo never was there. And let me tell you the Great Kaan has nothing to do with them, nor do they render him any tribute or service.

So let us go back to Zayton and take up the order of our book from that point.⁴

NOTE 1.—“Several of the (Chinese) gods have horns on the forehead, or wear animals' heads ; some have three eyes. . . . Some are represented in the Indian manner with a multiplicity of arms. We saw at Yang-cheu fu a goddess with thirty arms.” (*Deguignes*, I. 364-366.)

The reference to any particular form of idolatry here is vague. But in Tibetan Buddhism, with which Marco was familiar, all these extravagances are prominent, though repugnant to the more orthodox Buddhism of the South.

When the Dalai Lama came to visit the Altun Khan, to secure the reconversion of the Mongols in 1577, he appeared as a manifest embodiment of the Bodhisatva Avalokiteçvara, with *four hands*, of which two were always folded across the breast ! The same Bodhisatva is sometimes represented with eleven heads. Manjushri manifests himself in a golden body with 1000 hands and 1000 *Pâtras* or vessels, in each of which were 1000 figures of Sakya visible, etc. (*Koeppen*, II. 137 ; *Vassilyev*, 200.)

NOTE 2.—Polo seems in this passage to be speaking of the more easterly Islands of the Archipelago, such as the Philippines, the Moluccas, etc., but with vague ideas of their position.

NOTE 3.—In this passage alone Polo makes use of the now familiar name of CHINA. “*Chin*,” as he says, “in the language of those Isles means *Manzi*.” In fact, though the form *Chin* is more correctly Persian, we do get the exact form *China* from “the language of those Isles,” *i.e.* from the *Malay*. *China* is also used in Japanese.

What he says about the Ocean and the various names of its parts is nearly a version of a passage in the geographical Poem of Dionysius, ending :—

Ὅπως Ὀκεανὸς περιέδρομε γαίαν ἅπασαν
 Τοῖος ἔων καὶ τοῖα μετ' ἀνδράσιν οὐνόμαθ' ἔλκων (42-3).

So also Abulfeda : " This is the sea which flows from the Ocean Sea. . . . This sea takes the names of the countries it washes. Its eastern extremity is called the Sea of Chin . . . the part west of this is called the Sea of India . . . then comes the Sea of Fárs, the Sea of Berbera, and lastly the Sea of Kolzum " (Red Sea).

NOTE 4.—The Ramusian here inserts a short chapter, shown by the awkward way in which it comes in to be a very manifest interpolation, though possibly still an interpolation by the Traveller's hand :—

" Leaving the port of Zayton you sail westward and something south-westward for 1500 miles, passing a gulf called CHEINAN, having a length of two months' sail towards the north. Along the whole of its south-east side it borders on the province of Manzi, and on the other side with Anin and Coloman, and many other provinces formerly spoken of. Within this Gulf there are innumerable Islands, almost all well-peopled ; and in these is found a great quantity of gold-dust, which is collected from the sea where the rivers discharge. There is copper also, and other things ; and the people drive a trade with each other in the things that are peculiar to their respective Islands. They have also a traffic with the people of the mainland, selling them gold and copper and other things ; and purchasing in turn what they stand in need of. In the greater part of these Islands plenty of corn grows. This gulf is so great, and inhabited by so many people, that it seems like a world in itself."

This passage is translated by Marsden with much forcing, so as to describe the China Sea, embracing the Philippine Islands, etc. ; but, as a matter of fact, it seems clearly to indicate the writer's conception as of a great gulf running up into the continent between Southern China and Tong-king for a length equal to two months' journey.

The name of the gulf, Cheinan, *i.e.* *Heinan*, may either be that of the Island so called, or, as I rather incline to suppose, 'An-nan, *i.e.* Tong-king. But even by Camoens, writing at Macao in 1559-1560, the Gulf of Hainan is styled an unknown sea (though this perhaps is only appropriate to the prophetic speaker) :—

" Vês, corre a costa, que Champa se chama,
Cuja mata he do pao cheiroso ornada :
Vês, Cauchichina está de escura fama,
E de Ainão vê a incognita enseada " (X. 129).

And in Sir Robert Dudley's *Arcano del Mare* (Firenze, 1647), we find a great bottle-necked gulf, of some $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ in length, running up to the north from Tong-king, very much as I have represented the Gulf of Cheinan in the attempt to realise Polo's Own Geography. (See map in Introductory Essay.)

CHAPTER V.

OF THE GREAT COUNTRY CALLED CHAMBA.

YOU must know that on leaving the port of Zayton you sail west-south-west for 1500 miles, and then you come to a country called CHAMBA,¹ a very rich region, having a king of its own. The people are Idolaters and pay a

yearly tribute to the Great Kaan, which consists of elephants and nothing but elephants. And I will tell you how they came to pay this tribute.

It happened in the year of Christ 1278 that the Great Kaan sent a Baron of his called, Sagatu with a great force of horse and foot against this King of Chamba, and this Baron opened the war on a great scale against the King and his country.

Now the King [whose name was Accambale] was a very aged man, nor had he such a force as the Baron had. And when he saw what havoc the Baron was making with his kingdom he was grieved to the heart. So he bade messengers get ready and despatched them to the Great Kaan. And they said to the Kaan: "Our Lord the King of Chamba salutes you as his liege-lord, and would have you to know that he is stricken in years and long hath held his realm in peace. And now he sends you word by us that he is willing to be your liege-man, and will send you every year a tribute of as many elephants as you please. And he prays you in all gentleness and humility that you would send word to your Baron to desist from harrying his kingdom and to quit his territories. These shall henceforth be at your absolute disposal, and the King shall hold them of you."

When the Great Kaan had heard the King's ambassage he was moved with pity, and sent word to that Baron of his to quit that kingdom with his army, and to carry his arms to the conquest of some other country; and as soon as this command reached them they obeyed it. Thus it was then that this King became vassal of the Great Kaan, and paid him every year a tribute of 20 of the greatest and finest elephants that were to be found in the country.

But now we will leave that matter, and tell you other particulars about the King of Chamba.

You must know that in that kingdom no woman is allowed to marry until the King shall have seen her; if the woman pleases him then he takes her to wife; if she does not, he gives her a dowry to get her a husband withal. In the year of Christ 1285, Messer Marco Polo was in that country, and at that time the King had, between sons and daughters, 326 children, of whom at least 150 were men fit to carry arms.²

There are very great numbers of elephants in this kingdom, and they have linaloes in great abundance. They have also extensive forests of the wood called *Bonús*, which is jet-black, and of which chessmen and pen-cases are made. But there is nought more to tell, so let us proceed.³

NOTE 1.— The name CHAMPA is of Indian origin, like the adjoining Kamboja and many other names in Indo-China, and was probably taken from that of an ancient Hindu city and state on the Ganges, near modern Bhágalpúr. Hiuen Tsang, in the 7th century, makes mention of the Indo-Chinese state as Maháchampā. (*Pél. Boudd.*, III. 83.)

The title of Champa down to the 15th century seems to have been applied by Western Asiatics to a kingdom which embraced the whole coast between Tong-king and Kamboja, including all that is now called Cochin China outside of Tong-king. It was termed by the Chinese *Chen-Ching*. In 1471 the King of Tong-king, Lê Thanh-tong, conquered the country, and the genuine people of Champa were reduced to a small number occupying the mountains of the province of Binh Thuan at the extreme south-east of the Coch. Chinese territory. To this part of the coast the name Champa is often applied in maps. (See *J. A. sér. II. tom. xi. p. 31*, and *J. des Savans*, 1822, p. 71.) The people of Champa in this restricted sense are said to exhibit Malay affinities, and they profess Mahomedanism. [‘The Mussulmans of Binh-Thuan call themselves *Bani* or *Orang Bani*, ‘men mussulmans,’ probably from the Arabic *beni* ‘the sons,’ to distinguish them from the Chams *Djat* ‘of race,’ which they name also *Kaphir* or *Akaphir*, from the Arabic word *kafer* ‘pagans.’ These names are used in *Binh-Thuan* to make a distinction, but *Banis* and *Kaphirs* alike are all Chams. . . . In Cambodia all Chams are Mussulmans.” (*E. Aymonier, Les Tchames*, p. 26.) The religion of the pagan Chams of Binh-Thuan is degenerate Brahmanism with three chief gods, Po-Nagar, Po-Romé, and Po-Klong-Garaï. (*Ibid.*, p. 35.)—H. C.] The books of their former religion they say (according to Dr. Bastian) that they received from Ceylon, but they were converted to Islamism by no less a person than ‘Ali himself. The Tong-king people received their Buddhism from China, and this tradition puts Champa as the extreme flood-mark of that great tide of Buddhist proselytism, which went forth from Ceylon to the Indo-Chinese regions in an early century of our era, and which is generally connected with the name of Buddaghosha.

The prominent position of Champa on the route to China made its ports places of call for many ages, and in the earliest record of the Arab navigation to China we find the country noticed under the identical name (allowing for the deficiencies of the

Arabic Alphabet) of *Şanf* or *Chanf*. Indeed it is highly probable that the *Záβα* or *Záβαι* of Ptolemy's itinerary of the sea-route to the *Sinae* represents this same name.

[“It is true,” Sir Henry Yule wrote since (1882), “that Champa, as known in later days, lay to the east of the Mekong delta, whilst Zabai of the Greeks lay to the west of that and of the *μέγα ακροήριον*—the Great Cape, or C. Cambodia of our maps. Crawford (*Desc. Ind. Arch.* p. 80) seems to say that the Malays include under the name *Champa* the whole of what we call Kamboja. This may possibly be a slip. But it is certain, as we shall see presently, that the Arab *Şanf*—which is unquestionably Champa—also lay west of the Cape, *i.e.* within the Gulf of Siam. The fact is that the Indo-Chinese kingdoms have gone through unceasing and enormous vicissitudes, and in early days Champa must have been extensive and powerful, for in the travels of Hiuen Tsang (about A.D. 629) it is called *Mahā-Champa*. And my late friend Lieutenant Garnier, who gave great attention to these questions, has deduced from such data as exist in Chinese Annals and elsewhere, that the ancient kingdom which the Chinese describe under the name of *Fu-nan*, as extending over the whole peninsula east of the Gulf of Siam, was a kingdom of the *Tsiam* or Champa race. The locality of the ancient port of Zabai or Champa is probably to be sought on the west coast of Kamboja, near the Campot, or the Kang-kaiof of our maps. On this coast also was the *Κομάρ* and *Καμάραχ* of Ibn Batuta and other Arab writers, the great source of aloes-wood, the country then of the *Khmer* or Kambojan People.” (*Notes on the Oldest Records of the Sea-Route to China from Western Asia, Proc. R. G. S.* 1882, pp. 656-657.)

M. Barth says that this identification would agree well with the testimony of his inscription XVIII. B., which comes from Angkor and for which *Campā* is a part of the *Dakshināpatha*, of the southern country. But the capital of this rival State of Kamboja would thus be very near the Tréang province where inscriptions have been found with the names of *Bhavavarman* and of *Īcānavarman*. It is true that in 627, the King of Kamboja, according to the Chinese Annals (*Nouv. Mém. As. I.* p. 84), had subjugated the kingdom of Fu-nan identified by Yule and Garnier with *Campā*. Abel Rémusat (*Nouv. Mém. As. I.* pp. 75 and 77) identifies it with Tong-king and Stan. Julien (*J. As.* 4^e Sér. X. p. 97) with Siam. (*Inscrip. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, 1885, pp. 69-70, note.)

Sir Henry Yule writes (*l.c.* p. 657): “We have said that the Arab *Şanf*, as well as the Greek *Zabai*, lay west of Cape Cambodia. This is proved by the statement that the Arabs on their voyage to China made a ten days' run from *Şanf* to Pulo Condor.” But Abulfeda (transl. by Guyard, II. ii. p. 127) distinctly says that the Komār Peninsula (Khmer) is situated *west* of the Şanf Peninsula; between Şanf and Komār there is not a day's journey by sea.

We have, however, another difficulty to overcome.

I agree with Sir Henry Yule and Marsden that in ch. vii. *infra*, p. 276, the text must be read, “When you leave *Chamba*,” instead of “When you leave *Java*.” Coming from Zayton and sailing 1500 miles, Polo arrives at Chamba; from Chamba, sailing 700 miles he arrives at the islands of Sondur and Condur, identified by Yule with Sundar Fúlát (Pulo Condore); from Sundar Fúlát, after 500 miles more, he finds the country called Locac; then he goes to Pentam (Bintang, 500 miles), Malaiur, and Java the Less (Sumatra). Ibn Khordādhbeh's itinerary agrees pretty well with Marco Polo's, as Professor De Goeje remarks to me: “Starting from Mâit (Bintang), and leaving on the left Tiyuma (Timoan), in five days' journey, one goes to Kimèr (Kmer, Cambodia), and after three days more, following the coast, arrives to Sanf; then to Lukyn, the first point of call in China, 100 parasangs by land or by sea; from Lukyn it takes four days by sea and twenty by land to go to Kanfu.” [Canton, see note, *supra* p. 199.] (See *De Goeje's Ibn Khordādhbeh*, p. 48 *et seq.*) But we come now to the difficulty. Professor De Goeje writes to me: “It is strange that in the *Relation des Voyages* of Reinaud, p. 20 of the text, reproduced by Ibn al Fakih, p. 12 *seq.*, Sundar Fúlát (Pulo Condore) is placed between Şanf and the China Sea (*Sandjy*); it takes ten days to go from Şanf to Sundar Fúlát, and then a month (seven days of which between

mountains called the Gates of China.) In the *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde* (pp. 85-86) we read: 'When arrived between Şanf and the China coast, in the neighbourhood of Sundar Fúlát, an island situated at the entrance of the Sea of Sandjy, which is the Sea of China. . . .' It would appear from these two passages that Şanf is to be looked for in the Malay Peninsula. This Şanf is different from the Şanf of Ibn Khordádhbeh and of Abulfeda." (*Guyard's transl.* II. ii. 127.)

It does not strike me from these passages that Şanf must be looked for in the Malay Peninsula. Indeed Professor G. Schlegel, in a paper published in the *T'oung Pao*, vol. x., seems to prove that Shay-po (Djava), represented by Chinese characters, which are the transcription of the Sanskrit name of the China Rose (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*), Djavâ or Djapâ, is not the great island of Java, but, according to Chinese texts, a state of the Malay Peninsula; but he does not seem to me to prove that Shay-po is Champa, as he believes he has done.

However, Professor De Goeje adds in his letter, and I quite agree with the celebrated Arabic scholar of Leyden, that he does not very much like the theory of two Şanf, and that he is inclined to believe that the sea captain of the *Marvels of India* placed Sundar Fúlát a little too much to the north, and that the narrative of the *Relation des Voyages* is inexact.

To conclude: the history of the relations between Annam (Tong-king) and her southern neighbour, the kingdom of Champa, the itineraries of Marco Polo and Ibn Khordádhbeh as well as the position given to Şanf by Abulfeda, justify me, I think, in placing Champa in that part of the central and southern indo-Chinese coast which the French to-day call Annam (Cochinchine and Basse-Cochinchine), the Binh-Tuan province showing more particularly what remains of the ancient kingdom.

Since I wrote the above, I have received No. I of vol. ii. of the *Bul. de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, which contains a note on *Canf et Campâ*, by M. A. Barth. The reasons given in a note addressed to him by Professor De Goeje and the work of Ibn Khordádhbeh have led M. A. Barth to my own conclusion, viz. that the coast of Champa was situated where inscriptions have been found on the Annamite coast.—H. C.]

The Sagatu of Marco appears in the Chinese history as *Sotu*, the military governor of the Canton districts, which he had been active in reducing.

In 1278 Sotu sent an envoy to Chen-ching to claim the king's submission, which was rendered, and for some years he sent his tribute to Kúblái. But when the Kaan proceeded to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom by sending a Resident and Chinese officials, the king's son (1282) resolutely opposed these proceedings, and threw the Chinese officials into prison. The Kaan, in great wrath at this insult, (coming also so soon after his discomfiture in Japan), ordered Sotu and others to Chen-ching to take vengeance. The prince in the following year made a pretence of submission, and the army (if indeed it had been sent) seems to have been withdrawn. The prince, however, renewed his attack on the Chinese establishments, and put 100 of their officials to death. Sotu then despatched a new force, but it was quite unsuccessful, and had to retire. In 1284 the king sent an embassy, including his grandson, to beg for pardon and reconciliation. Kúblái, however, refused to receive them, and ordered his son Tughan to advance through Tong-king, an enterprise which led to a still more disastrous war with that country, in which the Mongols had much the worst of it. We are not told more.

Here we have the difficulties usual with Polo's historical anecdotes. Certain names and circumstances are distinctly recognisable in the Chinese Annals; others are difficult to reconcile with these. The embassy of 1284 seems the most likely to be the one spoken of by Polo, though the Chinese history does not give it the favourable result which he ascribes to it. The date in the text we see to be wrong, and as usual it varies in different MSS. I suspect the original date was MCCLXXXIII.

One of the Chinese notices gives one of the king's names as *Sinhopala*, and no doubt this is Ramusio's *Accambale* (Açambale); an indication at once of the authentic character of that interpolation, and of the identity of Champa and Chen-ching.

[We learn from an inscription that in 1265 the King of Champa was Jaya-Sinhavarman II., who was named Indravarman in 1277, and whom the Chinese called *Che li Tseyá Sinhó phala Maha thiwa* (Çri Jaya Sinha varmna maha deva). He was the king at the time of Polo's voyage. (*A. Bergaigne, Ancien royaume de Campā*, pp. 39-40; *E. Aymonier, les Tchames et leurs religions*, p. 14.)—H. C.]

There are notices of the events in De Mailla (IX. 420-422) and Gaubil (194), but Pauthier's extracts which we have made use of are much fuller.

Elephants have generally formed a chief part of the presents or tribute sent periodically by the various Indo-Chinese states to the Court of China.

[In a Chinese work published in the 14th century, by an Annamite, under the title of *Ngan-nan chi lio*, and translated into French by M. Sainson (1896), we read (p. 397): "Elephants are found only in Lin-y; this is the country which became Champa. It is the habit to have burdens carried by elephants; this country is to-day the Pu-cheng province." M. Sainson adds in a note that Pu-cheng, in Annamite *Bó chánh quān*, is to-day Quang-binh, and that, in this country, was placed the first capital (Dong-hoi) of the future kingdom of Champa thrown later down to the south.—H. C.]

[The Chams, according to their tradition, had three capitals: the most ancient, *Shri-Banauy*, probably the actual Quang-Binh province; *Bal-Hangov*, near Hué; and *Bal-Angoué*, in the Binh-Dinh province. In the 4th century, the kingdom of *Lin-y* or *Lâm-áp* is mentioned in the Chinese Annals.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The date of Marco's visit to Champa varies in the MSS.: Pauthier has 1280, as has also Ramusio; the G. T. has 1285; the Geographic Latin 1288. I incline to adopt the last. For we know that about 1290, Mark returned to Court from a mission to the Indian Seas, which might have included this visit to Champa.

The large family of the king was one of the stock marvels. Odoric says: "ZAMPA is a very fine country, having great store of victuals and all good things. The king of the country, it was said when I was there [*circa* 1323], had, what with sons and with daughters, a good two hundred children; for he hath many wives and other women whom he keepeth. This king hath also 14,000 tame elephants. . . . And other folk keep elephants there just as commonly as we keep oxen here" (pp. 95-96). The latter point illustrates what Polo says of elephants, and is scarcely an exaggeration in regard to all the southern Indo-Chinese States. (See note to Odoric u. s.)

NOTE 3.—Champa Proper and the adjoining territories have been from time immemorial the chief seat of the production of lign-aloes or eagle-wood. Both names are misleading, for the thing has nought to do either with aloes or eagles; though good Bishop Pallegoix derives the latter name from the wood being speckled like an eagle's plumage. It is in fact through *Aquila*, *Agila*, from *Aguru*, one of the Sanskrit names of the article, whilst that is possibly from the Malay *Kayu* (wood)-*gahru*, though the course of the etymology is more likely to be the other way; and *Αλδη* is perhaps a corruption of the term which the Arabs apply to it, viz. *Al'Ud*, "The Wood."

[It is probable that the first Portuguese who had to do with eagle-wood called it by its Arabic name, *aghāluhy*, or malayālam, *agila*; whence *páo de aguila* "aguila wood." It was translated into Latin as *lignum aquilae*, and after into modern languages, as *bois d'aigle*, *eagle-wood*, *adlerholz*, etc. (*A. Cabaton, les Chams*, p. 50.) Mr. Groeneveldt (*Notes*, pp. 141-142) writes: "*Lignum aloes* is the wood of the *Aquilaria agallocha*, and is chiefly known as *sinking incense*. The *Pen-ts'au Kang-mu* describes it as follows: '*Sinking incense*, also called *honey incense*. It comes from the heart and the knots of a tree and sinks in water, from which peculiarity the name *sinking incense* is derived. . . . In the Description of Annam we find it called *honey incense*, because it smells like honey.' The same work, as well as the *Nan-fang Ts'au-mu Chuang*, further informs us that this incense was obtained in all countries south of China, by felling the old trees and leaving them to decay,

when, after some time, only the heart, the knots, and some other hard parts remained. The product was known under different names, according to its quality or shape, and in addition to the names given above, we find *fowl bones*, *horse-hoofs*, and *green cinnamon*; these latter names, however, are seldom used."—H. C.]

The fine eagle-wood of Champa is the result of disease in a leguminous tree, *Aloexylon Agallochum*; whilst an inferior kind, though of the same aromatic properties, is derived from a tree of an entirely different order, *Aquilaria Agallocha*, and is found as far north as Silhet.

The *Bonus* of the G. T. here is another example of Marco's use, probably unconscious, of an Oriental word. It is Persian *Abnūs*, Ebony, which has passed almost unaltered into the Spanish *Abenuz*. We find *Ibenus* also in a French inventory (*Douet d'Arcq*, p. 134), but the *Bonūs* seems to indicate that the word as used by the Traveller was strange to Rusticiano. The word which he uses for pen-cases too, *Calamanz*, is more suggestive of the Persian *Ḳalamdān* than of the Italian *Calamajo*.

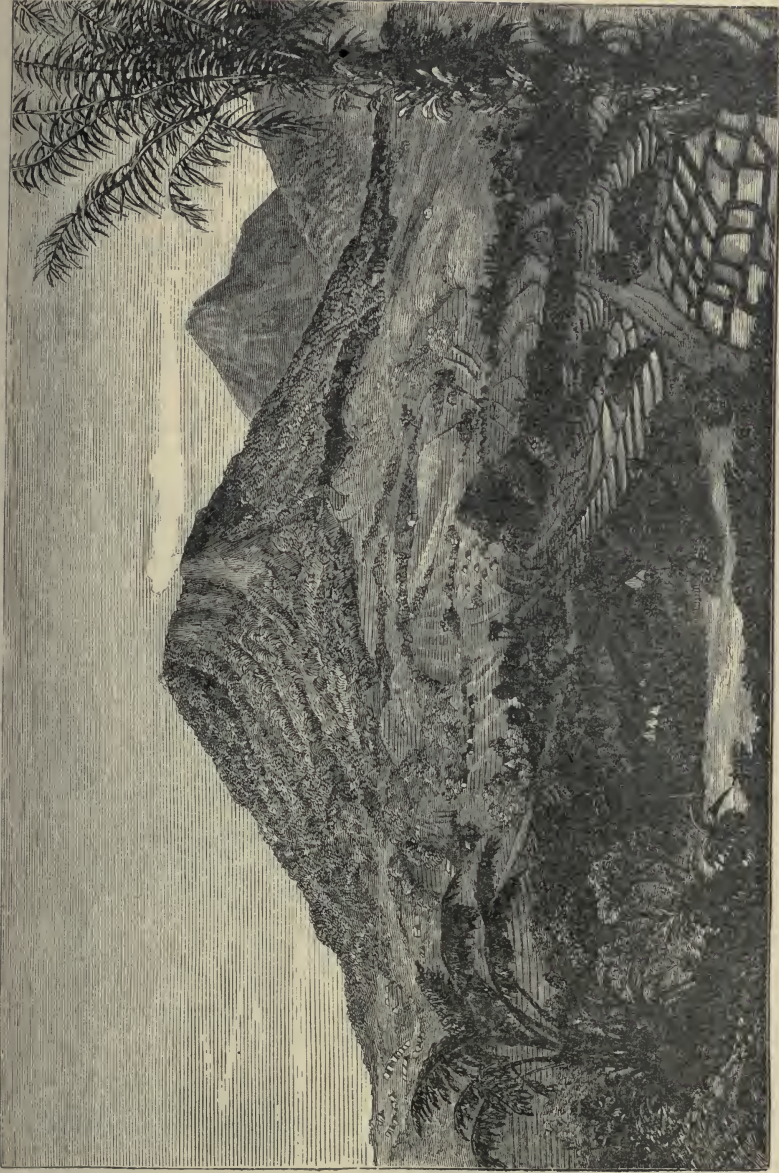
"Ebony is very common in this country (Champa), but the wood which is the most precious, and which is sufficiently abundant, is called 'Eagle-wood,' of which the first quality sells for its weight in gold; the native name is *Kīnam*." (*Bishop Louis* in *J. A. S. B.* VI. 742; *Dr. Birdwood*, in the *Bible Educator*, I. 243; *Crawford's Dict.*)

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE GREAT ISLAND OF JAVA.

WHEN you sail from Chamba, 1500 miles in a course between south and south-east, you come to a great Island called Java. And the experienced mariners of those Islands who know the matter well, say that it is the greatest Island in the world, and has a compass of more than 3000 miles. It is subject to a great King and tributary to no one else in the world. The people are Idolaters. The Island is of surpassing wealth, producing black pepper, nutmegs, spikenard, galingale, cubebs, cloves, and all other kinds of spices.

This Island is also frequented by a vast amount of shipping, and by merchants who buy and sell costly goods from which they reap great profit. Indeed the treasure of this Island is so great as to be past telling. And I can assure you the Great Kaan never could get possession of this Island, on account of its great distance,

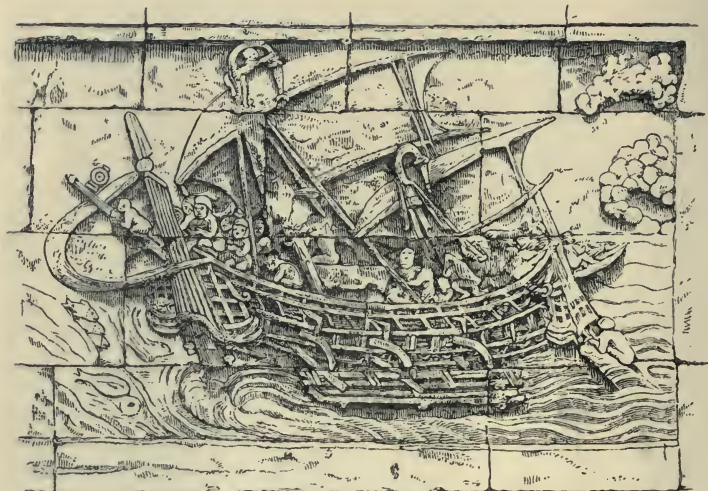


View in the Interior of Java.
"Une grandissime Isle qe est appellee Java . . . Ceste Isle est de mont grant richesse."

and the great expense of an expedition thither. The merchants of Zayton and Manzi draw annually great returns from this country.¹

NOTE 1.—Here Marco speaks of that Pearl of Islands, Java. The chapter is a digression from the course of his voyage towards India, but possibly he may have touched at the island on his previous expedition, alluded to in note 2, ch. v. Not more, for the account is vague, and where particulars are given not accurate. Java does not *produce* nutmegs or cloves, though doubtless it was a great mart for these and all the products of the Archipelago. And if by *treasure* he means gold, as indeed Ramusio reads, no gold is found in Java. Barbosa, however, has the same story of the great amount of gold drawn from Java; and De Barros says that Sunda, *i.e.* Western Java, which the Portuguese regarded as a distinct island, produced inferior gold of 7 carats, but that pepper was the staple, of which the annual supply was more than 30,000 cwt. (*Ram.* I. 318-319; *De Barros*, Dec. IV. liv. i. cap. 12.)

The circuit ascribed to Java in Pauthier's Text is 5000 miles. Even the 3000 which we take from the Geog. Text is about double the truth; but it is exactly the



Ship of the Middle Ages in the Java Seas. (From Bas-relief at Boro Bodor.)

“En ceste Isle vient grant quantité de nés, e de mercanz qe hi acatent de maintes mercandies et hi font grant gaigne.”

same that Odoric and Conti assign. No doubt it was a tradition among the Arab seamen. They never visited the south coast, and probably had extravagant ideas of its extension in that direction, as the Portuguese had for long. Even at the end of the 16th century Linschoten says: “Its breadth is as yet unknown; some conceiving it to be a part of the Terra Australis extending from opposite the Cape of Good Hope. *However it is commonly held to be an island*” (ch. xx.). And in the old map republished in the Lisbon De Barros of 1777, the south side of Java is marked “Parte incognita de Java,” and is without a single name, whilst a narrow strait runs right across the island (the supposed division of Sunda from Java Proper).

The history of Java previous to the rise of the Empire of Majapahit, in the age immediately following our Traveller's voyage, is very obscure. But there is some evidence of the existence of a powerful dynasty in the island about this time; and in an inscription of ascertained date (A.D. 1294) the King Uttungadeva claims to have subjected *five kings*, and to be sovereign of the whole Island of Java (*Jawa-dwipa*; see Lassen, IV. 482). It is true that, as our Traveller says, Kúblái had not yet attempted the subjugation of Java, but he did make the attempt almost immediately after the departure of the Venetians. It was the result of one of his unlucky embassies to claim the homage of distant states, and turned out as badly as the attempts against Champa and Japan. His ambassador, a Chinese called Meng-K'i, was sent back with his face branded like a thief's. A great armament was assembled in the ports of Fo-kien to avenge this insult; it started about January, 1293, but did not effect a landing till autumn. After some temporary success the force was constrained to re-embark with a loss of 3000 men. The death of Kúblái prevented any renewal of the attempt; and it is mentioned that his successor gave orders for the re-opening of the Indian trade which the Java war had interrupted. (See *Gaubil*, pp. 217 *seqq.*, 224.) To this failure Odoric, who visited Java about 1323, alludes: "Now the Great Kaan of Cathay many a time engaged in war with this king; but the king always vanquished and got the better of him." Odoric speaks in high terms of the richness and population of Java, calling it "the second best of all Islands that exist," and describing a gorgeous palace in terms similar to those in which Polo speaks of the Palace of Chipangu. (*Cathay*, p. 87 *seqq.*)

[We read in the *Yuen-shi* (Bk. 210), translated by Mr. Groeneveldt, that "Java is situated beyond the sea and further away than Champa; when one embarks at Ts'wan-chau and goes southward, he first comes to Champa and afterwards to this country." It appears that when his envoy Mêng-K'i had been branded on the face, Kúblái, in 1292, appointed Shih-pi, a native of Po-yeh, district Li-chau, Pao-ting fu, Chih-li province, commander of the expedition to Java, whilst Ike-Mese, a Uighúr, and Kau-Hsing, a man from Ts'ai-chau (Ho-nan), were appointed to assist him. Mr. Groeneveldt has translated the accounts of these three officers. In the *Ming-shi* (Bk. 324) we read: "Java is situated at the south-west of Champa. In the time of the Emperor Kúblái of the Yuen Dynasty, Mêng-K'i was sent there as an envoy and had his face cut, on which Kúblái sent a large army which subdued the country and then came back." (*L.c.* p. 34.) The prince guilty of this insult was the King of Tumapel "in the eastern part of the island Java, whose country was called Java par excellence by the Chinese, because it was in this part of the island they chiefly traded." (*L.c.* p. 32.)—H. C.]

The curious figure of a vessel which we give here is taken from the vast series of mediæval sculptures which adorn the great Buddhist pyramid in the centre of Java, known as Boro Bodor, one of the most remarkable architectural monuments in the world, but the history of which is all in darkness. The ship, with its outrigger and apparently canvas sails, is not Chinese, but it undoubtedly pictures vessels which frequented the ports of Java in the early part of the 14th century,* possibly one of those from Ceylon or Southern India.

* 1344 is the date to which a Javanese traditional verse ascribes the edifice. (*Crawford's Desc. Dictionary.*)

CHAPTER VII.

WHEREIN THE ISLES OF SONDUR AND CONDUR ARE SPOKEN OF;
AND THE KINGDOM OF LOCAC.

WHEN you leave Chamba¹ and sail for 700 miles on a course between south and south-west, you arrive at two Islands, a greater and a less. The one is called SONDUR and the other CONDUR.² As there is nothing about them worth mentioning, let us go on five hundred miles beyond Sondur, and then we find another country which is called LOCAC. It is a good country and a rich; [it is on the mainland]; and it has a king of its own. The people are Idolaters and have a peculiar language, and pay tribute to nobody, for their country is so situated that no one can enter it to do them ill. Indeed if it were possible to get at it, the Great Kaan would soon bring them under subjection to him.

In this country the brazil which we make use of grows in great plenty; and they also have gold in incredible quantity. They have elephants likewise, and much game. In this kingdom too are gathered all the porcelain shells which are used for small change in all those regions, as I have told you before.

There is nothing else to mention except that this is a very wild region, visited by few people; nor does the king desire that any strangers should frequent the country, and so find out about his treasure and other resources.³ We will now proceed, and tell you of something else.

NOTE I.—All the MSS. and texts I believe without exception read “*when you leave Java,*” etc. But, as Marsden has indicated, the point of departure is really *Champa*, the introduction of Java being a digression; and the retention of the latter name here would throw us irretrievably into the Southern Ocean. Certain old geographers, we may observe, did follow that indication, and the results were curious enough, as we shall notice in next note but one. Marsden’s observations are

so just that I have followed Pauthier in substituting Champa for Java in the text.

NOTE 2.—There is no reason to doubt that these islands are the group now known as that of PULO CONDORÉ, in old times an important landmark, and occasional point of call, on the route to China. The group is termed *Sundar Fúldt* (*Fúldt* representing the Malay *Pulo* or Island, in the plural) in the Arab *Relations* of the 9th century, the last point of departure on the voyage to China, from which it was a month distant. This old record gives us the name *Sondor*; in modern times we have it as *Kondór*; Polo combines both names. [“These may also be the ‘Satyrs’ Islands’ of Ptolemy, or they may be his *Sindai*; for he has a *Sinda* city on the coast close to this position, though his *Sindai* islands are dropt far away. But it would not be difficult to show that Ptolemy’s islands have been located almost at random, or as from a pepper castor.” (*Yule, Oldest Records*, p. 657.)] The group consists of a larger island about 12 miles long, two of 2 or 3 miles, and some half-dozen others of insignificant dimensions. The large one is now specially called Pulo Condore. It has a fair harbour, fresh water, and wood in abundance. Dampier visited the group and recommended its occupation. The E. I. Company did establish a post there in 1702, but it came to a speedy end in the massacre of the Europeans by their Macassar garrison. About the year 1720 some attempt to found a settlement there was also made by the French, who gave the island the name of *Isle d’Orléans*. The celebrated Père Gaubil spent eight months on the island and wrote an interesting letter about it (February, 1722; see also *Lettres Edifiantes*, Rec. xvi.). When the group was visited by Mr. John Crawford on his mission to Cochin China the inhabitants numbered about 800, of Cochin Chinese descent. The group is now held by the French under Saigon. The chief island is known to the Chinese as the mountain of Kunlun. There is another cluster of rocks in the same sea, called the Seven Cheu, and respecting these two groups Chinese sailors have a kind of *Incidit-in-Scyllan* saw:—

“Shang p’a Tsi-chéu, hia-pa Kun-lun,
Chen mi t’uo shih, jin chuen mo tsun.” *

Meaning:—

“With Kunlun to starboard, and larboard the Cheu,
Keep conning your compass, whatever you do,
Or to Davy Jones’ Locker go vessel and crew.”

(*Ritter*, IV. 1017; *Reinaud*, I. 18; *A. Hamilton*, II. 402; *Mém. conc. les Chinois*, XIV. 53.)

NOTE 3.—Pauthier reads the name of the kingdom *Soucat*, but I adhere to the readings of the G. T., *Lochac* and *Locac*, which are supported by Ramusio. Pauthier’s C and the Bern MS. have *le chac* and *le that*, which indicate the same reading.

Distance and other particulars point, as Hugh Murray discerns, to the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, or (as I conceive) to the territory now called Siam, including the said coast, as subject or tributary from time immemorial.

The kingdom of Siam is known to the Chinese by the name of *Sien-Lo*. The Supplement to Ma Twan-lin’s Encyclopædia describes *Sien-Lo* as on the sea-board to the extreme south of *Chen-ching*. “It originally consisted of two kingdoms, *Sien* and *Lo-hoh*. The *Sien* people are the remains of a tribe which in the year (A.D. 1341) began to come down upon the *Lo-hoh*, and united with the latter into one nation. . . . The land of the *Lo-hoh* consists of extended plains, but not much agriculture is done.” †

* [From the *Hsing-ch’a Shêng-lan*, by Fei Hsin.]

† The extract of which this is the substance I owe to the kindness of Professor J. Summers, formerly of King’s College.

In this *Lo* or LO-HOH, which apparently formed the lower part of what is now Siam, previous to the middle of the 14th century, I believe that we have our Traveller's *Locac*. The latter half of the name may be either the second syllable of Lo-Hoh, for Polo's *c* often represents *h*; or it may be the Chinese *Kwō* or *Kwé*, "kingdom," in the Canton and Fo-kien pronunciation (*i.e.* the pronunciation of Polo's mariners) *kōk*; *Lo-kōk*, "the kingdom of Lo." *Sien-Lo-KOK* is the exact form of the Chinese name of Siam which is used by Bastian.

What was this kingdom of Lo which occupied the northern shores of the Gulf of Siam? Chinese scholars generally say that *Sien-Lo* means Siam and *Laos*; but this I cannot accept, if Laos is to bear its ordinary geographical sense, *i.e.* of a country bordering Siam on the *north-east and north*. Still there seems a probability that the usual interpretation may be correct, when properly explained.

[Regarding the identification of *Locac* with Siam, Mr. G. Phillips writes (*Jour. China B.R.A.S.*, XXI, 1886, p. 34, note): "I can only fully endorse what Col. Yule says upon this subject, and add a few extracts of my own taken from the article on Siam given in the *Wu-pé-ché*. It would appear that previously to 1341 a country called Lohoh (in Amoy pronunciation Lohok) existed, as Yule says, in what is now called Lower Siam, and at that date became incorporated with Sien. In the 4th year of Hung-wu, 1372, it sent tribute to China, under the name of Sien Lohok. The country was first called Sien Lo in the first year of Yung Lo, 1403. In the T'ang Dynasty it appears to have been known as *Lo-yueh*, pronounced *Lo-gueh* at that period. This *Lo-yueh* would seem to have been situated on the Eastern side of Malay Peninsula, and to have extended to the entrance to the Straits of Singapore, in what is now known as Johore."—H. C.]

In 1864, Dr. Bastian communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal the translation of a long and interesting inscription, brought [in 1834] from Sukkothai to Bangkok by the late King of Siam [Mongkut, then crown prince], and dated in a year 1214, which in the era of Salivahana (as it is almost certainly, see *Garnier*, cited below) will be A.D. 1292-1293, almost exactly coincident with Polo's voyage. The author of this inscription was a Prince of *Thai* (or Siamese) race, styled Phra Râma Kamhêng ("The Valiant") [son of Sri Indratiya], who reigned in Sukkothai, whilst his dominions extended from Vieng-chan on the Mekong River (lat. 18°), to Pechabur, and Sri-Thammarat (*i.e.* Ligôr, in lat. 8° 18'), on the coast of the Gulf of Siam. [This inscription gives three dates—1205, 1209, and 1214 s'aka = A.D. 1283, 1287 and 1292. One passage says: "Formerly the Thais had no writing; it is in 1205 s'aka, year of the goat = A.D. 1283, that King Râma Kamhêng sent for a teacher who invented the Thai writing. It is to him that we are indebted for it to-day." (Cf. *Fournereau*, *Siam ancien*, p. 225; *Schmitt*, *Exc. et Recon.*, 1885; *Aymonier*, *Cambodge*, II. p. 72.)—H. C.] The conquests of this prince are stated to have extended eastward to the "Royal Lake," apparently the Great Lake of Kamboja; and we may conclude with certainty that he was the leader of the Siamese, who had invaded Kamboja shortly before it was visited (in 1296) by that envoy of Kúblái's successor, whose valuable account of the country has been translated by Rémusat.* Now this prince Râma Kamhêng of Sukkothai was probably (as Lieutenant Garnier supposes) of the *Thai-nyai*, Great Thai, or Laotian branch of the race. Hence the application of the name *Lo-kok* to his kingdom can be accounted for.

It was another branch of the Thai, known as *Thai-noi*, or Little Thai, which in 1351, under another Phra Rama, founded Ayuthia and the Siamese monarchy, which still exists.

The explanation now given seems more satisfactory than the suggestions formerly made of the connection of the name *Locac*, either with Lophâburi (or *Lavô*, *Louwo*), a very ancient capital near Ayuthia, or with *Lawôk*, *i.e.* Kamboja. Kamboja had at

* I am happy to express my obligation to the remarks of my lamented friend Lieutenant Garnier, for light on this subject, which has led to an entire reform in the present note. (See his excellent Historical Essay, forming ch. v. of the great "*Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*," pp. 136-137.)

an earlier date possessed the lower valley of the Menam, but, we see, did so no longer.*

The name *Lawek* or *Lovek* is applied by writers of the 16th and 17th centuries to the capital of what is still Kamboja, the ruins of which exist near Udong. *Laweik* is mentioned along with the other Siamese or Laotian countries of Yuthia, Tennesserim, Sukkothai, Pichalok, Lagong, Lanchang (or Luang Prabang), Zimmé (or Kiang-mai), and Kiang-Tung, in the vast list of states claimed by the Burmese Chronicle as tributary to Pagán before its fall. We find in the *Atn-i-Akbari* a kind of aloe-wood called *Lawáki*, no doubt because it came from this region.

The G. T. indeed makes the course from Sondur to Locac *sceloc* or S.E.; but Pauthier's text seems purposely to correct this, calling it, "*v. c. milles oultre Sandur.*" This would bring us to the Peninsula somewhere about what is now the Siamese province of Ligor,† and this is the only position accurately consistent with the next indication of the route, viz. a run of 500 miles *south* to the Straits of Singapore. Let us keep in mind also Ramusio's specific statement that Locac was on *terra firma*.

As regards the products named: (1) gold is mined in the northern part of the Peninsula and is a staple export of Kalantan, Tringano, and Pahang, further down. Barbosa says gold was so abundant in Malacca that it was reckoned by *Bahars* of 4 cwt. Though Mr. Logan has estimated the present produce of the whole Peninsula at only 20,000 ounces, Hamilton, at the beginning of last century, says Pahang alone in some years exported above 8 cwt. (2) Brazil-wood, now generally known by the Malay term *Sappan*, is abundant on the coast. Ritter speaks of three small towns on it as entirely surrounded by trees of this kind. And higher up, in the latitude of Tavoy, the forests of sappan-wood find a prominent place in some maps of Siam. In mediæval intercourse between the courts of Siam and China we find Brazil-wood to form the bulk of the Siamese present. ["Ma Huan fully bears out Polo's statement in this matter, for he says: This Brazil (of which Marco speaks) is as plentiful as firewood. On Chêng-ho's chart Brazil and other fragrant woods are marked as products of Siam. Polo's statement of the use of porcelain shells as small change is also corroborated by Ma Huan." (*G. Phillips, Jour. China B.R.A.S.*, XXI., 1886, p. 37.)—H. C.] (3) Elephants are abundant. (4) Cowries, according to Marsden and Crawford, are found in those seas largely only on the Sulu Islands; but Bishop Pallegoix says distinctly that they are found *in abundance* on the sand-banks of the Gulf of Siam. And I see Dr. Fryer, in 1673, says that cowries were brought to Surat "from Siam and the Philippine Islands."

For some centuries after this time Siam was generally known to traders by the Persian name of *Shahr-i-nao*, or New City. This seems to be the name generally applied to it in the *Shijarat Malayu* (or Malay Chronicle), and it is used also by Abdurrazzák. It appears among the early navigators of the 16th century, as Da Gama, Varthema, Giovanni d'Empoli and Mendez Pinto, in the shape of *Sornau*, *Xarnau*. Whether this name was applied to the new city of Ayuthia, or was a translation of that of the older *Lophāburi* (which appears to be the Sansk. or Pali *Nava pura* = New-City) I do not know.

[Reinaud (*Int. Abulfeda*, p. CDXVI.) writes that, according to the Christian monk of Nadjran, who crossed the Malayan Seas, about the year 980, at this time, the King of Lukyn had just invaded the kingdom of Šanf and taken possession of it. According

* The *Kakula* of Ibn Batuta was probably on the coast of Locac. The *Kamārah Komar* of the same traveller and other Arab writers, I have elsewhere suggested to be *Khmer*, or Kamboja Proper. (See *I. B. IV.* 240; *Cathay*, 469, 519.) *Kakula* and *Kamarah* were both in "*Mul-Java*"; and the king of this undetermined country, whom Wassáf states to have submitted to Kúblái in 1291, was called *Sri Rama*. It is possible that this was Phra Rama of Sukkothai. (See *Cathay*, 519; *Elliot*, III. 27.)

† Mr. G. Phillips supposes the name Locac to be Ligor, or rather Lakhon, as the Siamese call it. But it seems to me pretty clear from what has been said that Lo-kok, though including Ligor, is a different name from Lakhon. The latter is a corruption of the Sanskrit, *Nagara*, "city."

to Ibn Khordâdbeh (*De Goeje*, p. 49) Lukyn is the first port of China, 100 parasangs distant from Şanf by land or sea; Chinese stone, Chinese silk, porcelain of excellent quality, and rice are to be found at Lukyn.—H. C.]

(*Bastian*, I. 357, III. 433, and in *J. A. S. B.* XXXIV. Pt. I. p. 27 *seqq.*; *Ramus*. I. 318; *Amyot*, XIV. 266, 269; *Pallegoix*, I. 196; *Bowring*, I. 41, 72; *Phayre* in *J. A. S. B.* XXXVII. Pt. I. p. 102; *Atn Akb.* 80; *Mouhot*, I. 70; *Roe and Fryer*, reprint, 1873, p. 271.)

Some geographers of the 16th century, following the old editions which carried the travellers south-east or south-west of Java to the land of *Boeach* (for *Locac*), introduced in their maps a continent in that situation. (See *e.g.* the map of the world by P. Plancius in *Linschoten*.) And this has sometimes been adduced to prove an early knowledge of Australia. Mr. Major has treated this question ably in his interesting essay on the early notices of Australia.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE ISLAND CALLED PENTAM, AND THE CITY MALAIUR

WHEN you leave *Locac* and sail for 500 miles towards the south, you come to an island called *PENTAM*, a very wild place. All the wood that grows thereon consists of odoriferous trees.¹ There is no more to say about it; so let us sail about sixty miles further between those two Islands. Throughout this distance there is but four paces' depth of water, so that great ships in passing this channel have to lift their rudders, for they draw nearly as much water as that.²

And when you have gone these 60 miles, and again about 30 more, you come to an Island which forms a Kingdom, and is called *MALAIUR*. The people have a King of their own, and a peculiar language. The city is a fine and noble one, and there is great trade carried on there. All kinds of spicery are to be found there, and all other necessaries of life.³

NOTE I.—*Pentam*, or as in *Ram. Pentan*, is no doubt the *Bintang* of our maps, more properly *BENTĀN*, a considerable Island at the eastern extremity of the Straits of Malacca. It appears in the list, published by *Dulaurier* from a Javanese Inscription, of the kingdoms conquered in the 15th century by the sovereigns reigning at *Majapahit* in Java. (*J. A. sér.* IV. tom. xiii. 532.) *Bintang* was for a long time after the Portuguese

conquest of Malacca the chief residence of the Malay Sultans who had been expelled by that conquest, and it still nominally belongs to the Sultan of Johore, the descendant of those princes, though in fact ruled by the Dutch, whose port of Rhio stands on a small island close to its western shore. It is the *Binão* of the Portuguese whereof Camoens speaks as the persistent enemy of Malacca (X. 57).

[Cf. *Professor Schlegel's Geog. Notes*, VI. *Ma-it*; regarding the odoriferous trees, Professor Schlegel remarks (p. 20) that they were probably santal trees.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—There is a good deal of confusion in the text of this chapter. Here we have a passage spoken of between “those two Islands,” when only one island seems to have been mentioned. But I imagine the other “island” in the traveller’s mind to be the continuation of the same Locac, *i.e.* the Malay Peninsula (included by him under that name), which he has coasted for 500 miles. This is confirmed by Ramusio, and the old Latin editions (as Müller’s): “between the kingdom of Locac and the Island of Pentan.” The passage in question is the Strait of Singapore, or as the old navigators called it, the Straits of Gobernador, having the mainland of the Peninsula and the Island of Singapore, on the one side, and the Islands of Bintang and Batang on the other. The length of the strait is roughly 60 geographical miles, or a little more; and I see in a route given in the *Lettres Édifiantes* (II. p. 118) that the length of navigation is so stated: “Le détroit de Gobernador a vingt lieues de long, et est for difficile quand on n’y a jamais passé.”

The Venetian *passo* was 5 feet. Marco here alludes to the well-known practice with the Chinese junks of raising the rudder, for which they have a special arrangement, which is indicated in the cut at p. 248.

NOTE 3.—There is a difficulty here about the indications, carrying us, as they do, first 60 miles through the Strait, and then 30 miles further to the Island Kingdom and city of Malaiur. There is also a singular variation in the readings as to this city and island. The G. T. has “*Une isle qe est roiaume, et s’apelle Malanir e l’isle Pentam.*” The Crusca has the same, only reading *Malavir*. Pauthier: “*Une isle qui est royaume, et a nom Maliur.*” The Geog. Latin: “*Ibi invenitur una insula in qua est unus rex quem vocant Lamovich. Civitas et insula vocantur Pontavich.*” Ram.: “*Chiamasi la città Malaiur, e cosi l’isola Malaiur.*”

All this is very perplexed, and it is difficult to trace what may have been the true readings. The 30 miles beyond the straits, whether we give the direction *south-east* as in G. T. or no, will not carry us to the vicinity of any place known to have been the site of an important city. As the point of departure in the next chapter is from *Pentam* and not from Malaiur, the introduction of the latter is perhaps a digression from the route, on information derived either from hearsay or from a former voyage. But there is not information enough to decide what place is meant by Malaiur. Probabilities seem to me to be divided between *Palembang*, and its colony *Singhapura*. *Palembang*, according to the Commentaries of Albuquerque, was called by the Javanese MALAYO. The List of Sumatran Kingdoms in De Barros makes TANA-MALAYU the next to *Palembang*. On the whole, I incline to this interpretation.

[In *Valentyn* (V. 1, *Beschryvinge van Malakka*, p. 317) we find it stated that the Malay people just dwelt on the River *Malayu* in the Kingdom of *Palembang*, and were called from the River *Orang Malayu*.—*MS. Note*.—H. Y.]

[Professor Schlegel in his *Geog. Notes*, IV., tries to prove by Chinese authorities that Malaiur and Tana-Malayu are two quite distinct countries, and he says that Malaiur may have been situated on the coast opposite Singapore, perhaps a little more to the S.W. where now lies Malacca, and that Tana-Malayu may be placed in Asahan, upon the east coast of Sumatra.—H. C.]

Singhapura was founded by an emigration from *Palembang*, itself a Javanese colony. It became the site of a flourishing kingdom, and was then, according to the tradition recorded by De Barros, the most important centre of population in those regions, “whither used to gather all the navigators of the Eastern Seas, from both

East and West; to this great city of Singapura all flocked as to a general market." (Dec. II. 6, 1.) This suits the description in our text well; but as Singhapura was in sight of any ship passing through the straits, mistake could hardly occur as to its position, even if it had not been visited.

I omit *Malacca* entirely from consideration, because the evidence appears to me conclusive against the existence of Malacca at this time.

The Malay Chronology, as published by Valentyn, ascribes the foundation of that city to a king called Iskandar Shah, placing it in A.D. 1252, fixes the reign of Mahomed Shah, the third King of Malacca and first Mussulman King, as extending from 1276 to 1333 (not stating *when* his conversion took place), and gives 8 kings in all between the foundation of the city and its capture by the Portuguese in 1511, a space, according to those data, of 259 years. As Sri Iskandar Shah, the founder, had reigned 3 years in Singhapura *before* founding Malacca, and Mahomed Shah, the loser, reigned 2 years in Johore *after* the loss of his capital, we have 264 years to divide among 8 kings, giving 33 years to each reign. This certainly indicates that the period requires considerable curtailment.

Again, both De Barros and the Commentaries of Albuquerque ascribe the foundation of Malacca to a Javanese fugitive from Palembang called Paramisura, and Albuquerque makes Iskandar Shah (*Xaquem darxa*) the son of Paramisura, and the first convert to Mahomedanism. Four other kings reign in succession after him, the last of the four being Mahomed Shah, expelled in 1511.

[Godinho de Eredia says expressly (Cap. i. *Do Citio Malaca*, p. 4) that Malacca was founded by *Pernicuri*, *primeiro monarcha de Malayos*, in the year 1411, in the Pontificate of John XXIV., and in the reign of Don Juan II. of Castille and Dom Juan I. of Portugal.]

The historian De Couto, whilst giving the same number of reigns from the conversion to the capture, places the former event about 1384. And the Commentaries of Albuquerque allow no more than some ninety years from the foundation of Malacca to his capture of the city.

There is another approximate check to the chronology afforded by a Chinese record in the XIVth volume of Amyot's collection. This informs us that Malacca first acknowledged itself as tributary to the Empire in 1405, the king being *Sili-ju-eul-sula* (?). In 1411 the King of Malacca himself, now called *Peilimisula* (Paramisura), came in person to the court of China to render homage. And in 1414 the Queen-Mother of Malacca came to court, bringing her son's tribute.

Now this notable fact of the visit of a King of Malacca to the court of China, and his acknowledgment of the Emperor's supremacy, is also recorded in the Commentaries of Albuquerque. This work, it is true, attributes the visit, not to Paramisura, the founder of Malacca, but to his son and successor Iskandar Shah. This may be a question of a *title* only, perhaps borne by both; but we seem entitled to conclude with confidence that Malacca was founded by a prince whose son was reigning, and visited the court of China in 1411. And the real chronology will be about midway between the estimates of De Couto and of Albuquerque. Hence Malacca did not exist for a century, more or less, after Polo's voyage.

[Mr. C. O. Blagden, in a paper on the Mediæval Chronology of Malacca (*Actes du X^e Cong. Int. Orient. Paris*, 1897), writes (p. 249) that "if Malacca had been in the middle of the 14th century anything like the great emporium of trade which it certainly was in the 15th, Ibn Batuta would scarcely have failed to speak of it." The foundation of Malacca by Sri Iskandar Shah in 1252, according to the *Sejarah Malayu* "must be put at least 125 years later, and the establishment of the Muhammadan religion there would then precede by only a few years the end of the 14th century, instead of taking place about the end of the 13th, as is generally supposed" (p. 251). (Cf. *G. Schlegel, Geog. Notes*, XV.)—H. C.]

Mr. Logan supposes that the form *Malayu-r* may indicate that the Malay language of the 13th century "had not yet replaced the strong naso-guttural terminals by pure vowels." We find the same form in a contemporary Chinese

notice. This records that in the 2nd year of the Yuen, tribute was sent from Siam to the Emperor. "The Siamese had long been at war with the *Maliyi* or MALIURH, but both nations laid aside their feud and submitted to China." (*Valentyn*, V. p. 352; *Crawford's Desc. Dict.* art. *Malacca*; *Lassen*, IV. 541 seqq.; *Journ. Ind. Archip.* V. 572, II. 608-609; *De Barros*, Dec. II. l. vi. c. 1; *Comentarios do grande Afonso d'Albuquerque*, Pt. III. cap. xvii.; *Couto*, Dec. IV. liv. ii.; *Wade in Bowring's Kingdom and People of Siam*, I. 72.)

[From I-tsing we learn that going from China to India, the traveller visits the country of *Shih-li-fuh-shi* (*Çribhoja* or simply *Fuh-shi*=Bhōja), then *Mo-lou-yu*, which seems to Professor Chavannes to correspond to the *Malaiur* of Marco Polo and to the modern Palembang, and which in the 10th century formed a part of Çribhōdja identified by Professor Chavannes with Zbedj. (*I-tsing*, p. 36.) The Rev. S. Beal has some remarks on this question in the *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 251, and he says that he thinks "there are reasons for placing this country [Çribhōja], or island, on the East coast of Sumatra, and near Palembang, or, on the Palembang River." Mr. Groeneveldt (*L'oung Pao*, VII. abst. p. 10) gives some extracts from Chinese authors, and then writes: "We have therefore to find now a place for the Molayu of I-tsing, the Malaiur of Marco Polo, the Malayo of Albuquerque, and the Tana-Malayu of De Barros, all which may be taken to mean the same place. I-tsing tells us that it took fifteen days to go from Bhōja to Molayu and fifteen days again to go from there to Kieh-ch'a. The latter place, suggesting a native name Kada, must have been situated in the north-west of Sumatra, somewhere near the present Atjeh, for going from there west, one arrived in thirty days at Magapatana, near Ceylon, whilst a northern course brought one in ten days to the Nicobar Islands. Molayu should thus lie half-way between Bhōja and Kieh-ch'a, but this indication must not be taken too literally where it is given for a sailing vessel, and there is also the statement of De Barros, which does not allow us to go too far away from Palembang, as he mentions Tana-Malayu next to that place. We have therefore to choose between the next three larger rivers: those of Jambi, Indragiri, and Kampar, and there is an indication in favour of the last one, not very strong, it is true, but still not to be neglected. I-tsing tells us: "Le roi me donna des secours grâce auxquels je parvins au pays de *Mo-lou-yu*; j'y séjournai derechef pendant deux mois. Je changeai de direction pour aller dans le pays de *Kie-tcha*." The change of direction during a voyage along the east coast of Sumatra from Palembang to Atjeh is nowhere very perceptible, because the course is throughout more or less north-west, still one may speak of a change of direction at the mouth of the River Kampar, about the entrance of the Strait of Malacca, whence the track begins to run more west, whilst it is more north before. The country of Kampar is of little importance now, but it is not improbable that there has been a Hindoo settlement, as the ruins of religious monuments decidedly Buddhist are still existing on the upper course of the river, the only ones indeed on this side of the island, it being a still unexplained fact that the Hindoos in Java have built on a very large scale, and those of Sumatra hardly anything at all."—Mr. Takakusu (*A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. xli.) proposes to place Shih-li-fuh-shi at Palembang and Mo-lou-yu farther on the northern coast of Sumatra.—(Cf. *G. Schlegel, Geog. Notes*, XVI.; *P. Pelliot, Bul. Ecole Franç. Ext. Orient*, II. pp. 94-96.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF JAVA THE LESS. THE KINGDOMS OF
FERLEC AND BASMA.

WHEN you leave the Island of Pentam and sail about 100 miles, you reach the Island of JAVA THE LESS. For all its name 'tis none so small but that it has a compass of two thousand miles or more. Now I will tell you all about this Island.¹

You see there are upon it eight kingdoms and eight crowned kings. The people are all Idolaters, and every kingdom has a language of its own. The Island hath great abundance of treasure, with costly spices, lign-aloes and spikenard and many others that never come into our parts.²

Now I am going to tell you all about these eight kingdoms, or at least the greater part of them. But let me premise one marvellous thing, and that is the fact that this Island lies so far to the south that the North Star, little or much, is never to be seen!

Now let us resume our subject, and first I will tell you of the kingdom of FERLEC.

This kingdom, you must know, is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the Law of Mahommet—I mean the townspeople only, for the hill-people live for all the world like beasts, and eat human flesh, as well as all other kinds of flesh, clean or unclean. And they worship this, that, and the other thing; for in fact the first thing that they see on rising in the morning, that they do worship for the rest of the day.³

Having told you of the kingdom of Ferlec, I will now tell of another which is called BASMA.

When you quit the kingdom of Ferlec you enter upon that of Basma. This also is an independent kingdom, and the people have a language of their own ; but they are just like beasts without laws or religion. They call themselves subjects of the Great Kaan, but they pay him no tribute ; indeed they are so far away that his men could not go thither. Still all these Islanders declare themselves to be his subjects, and sometimes they send him curiosities as presents.⁴ There are wild elephants in the country, and numerous unicorns, which are very nearly as big. They have hair like that of a buffalo, feet like those of an elephant, and a horn in the middle of the forehead, which is black and very thick. They do no mischief, however, with the horn, but with the tongue alone ; for this is covered all over with long and strong prickles [and when savage with any one they crush him under their knees and then rasp him with their tongue]. The head resembles that of a wild boar, and they carry it ever bent towards the ground. They delight much to abide in mire and mud. 'Tis a passing ugly beast to look upon, and is not in the least like that which our stories tell of as being caught in the lap of a virgin ; in fact, 'tis altogether different from what we fancied.⁵ There are also monkeys here in great numbers and of sundry kinds ; and goshawks as black as crows. These are very large birds and capital for fowling.⁶

I may tell you moreover that when people bring home pygmies which they allege to come from India, 'tis all a lie and a cheat. For those little men, as they call them, are manufactured on this Island, and I will tell you how. You see there is on the Island a kind of monkey which is very small, and has a face just like a man's. They take these, and pluck out all the hair except the hair of the beard and on the breast, and then they dry

them and stuff them and daub them with saffron and other things until they look like men. But you see it is all a cheat; for nowhere in India nor anywhere else in the world were there ever men seen so small as these pretended pygmies.

Now I will say no more of the kingdom of Basma, but tell you of the others in succession.

NOTE I.—Java the Less is the Island of SUMATRA. Here there is no exaggeration in the dimension assigned to its circuit, which is about 2300 miles. The old Arabs of the 9th century give it a circuit of 800 parasangs, or say 2800 miles, and Barbosa reports the estimate of the Mahomedan seamen as 2100 miles. Compare the more reasonable accuracy of these estimates of Sumatra, which the navigators knew in its entire compass, with the wild estimates of Java Proper, of which they knew but the northern coast.

Polo by no means stands alone in giving the name of Java to the island now called Sumatra. The terms *Jawa*, *Jawi*, were applied by the Arabs to the islands and productions of the Archipelago generally (e.g., *Lubán Jawí*, "Java frankincense," whence by corruption *Benzoin*), but also specifically to Sumatra. Thus Sumatra is the *Jáwah* both of Abulfeda and of Ibn Batuta, the latter of whom spent some time on the island, both in going to China and on his return. The Java also of the Catalan Map appears to be Sumatra. *Javaku* again is the name applied in the Singalese chronicles to the Malays in general. *Jáu* and *Dawa* are the names still applied by the Battaks and the people of Nias respectively to the Malays, showing probably that these were looked on as Javanese by those tribes who did not partake of the civilisation diffused from Java. In Siamese also the Malay language is called *Chawa*; and even on the Malay peninsula, the traditional slang for a half-breed born from a Kling (or Coromandel) father and a Malay mother is *Jáwi Pákan*, "a Jawi (i.e. Malay) of the market." De Barros says that all the people of Sumatra called themselves by the common name of *Jawijs*. (Dec. III. liv. v. cap. 1.)

There is some reason to believe that the application of the name Java to Sumatra is of very old date. For the oldest inscription of ascertained date in the Archipelago which has yet been read, a Sanskrit one from Pagaroyang, the capital of the ancient Malay state of Menang-kabau in the heart of Sumatra, bearing a date equivalent to A.D. 656, entitles the monarch whom it commemorates, Adityadharmá by name, the king of "the First Java" (or rather Yava). This Mr. Friedrich interprets to mean Sumatra. It is by no means impossible that the *Iabadiu*, or *Yáadvípa* of Ptolemy may be Sumatra rather than Java.

An accomplished Dutch Orientalist suggests that the Arabs originally applied the terms Great Java and Little Java to Java and Sumatra respectively, not because of their imagined relation in size, but as indicating the former to be Java *Proper*. Thus also, he says, there is a *Great Acheh* (Achin) which does not imply that the place so called is greater than the well-known state of Achin (of which it is in fact a part), but because it is Acheh *Proper*. A like feeling may have suggested the Great Bulgaria, Great Hungary, Great Turkey of the mediæval travellers. These were, or were supposed to be, the original seats of the Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Turks. The *Great Horde* of the Kirghiz Kazaks is, as regards numbers, not the greatest, but the smallest of the three. But the others look upon it as the most ancient. The Burmese are alleged to call the *Rakhain* or people of Arakan *Mranma Gyi* or Great Burmese, and to consider their dialect the most ancient form of the language. And,

in like manner, we may perhaps account for the term of *Little Thai*, formerly applied to the Siamese in distinction from the *Great Thai*, their kinsmen of Laos.

In after-days, when the name of Sumatra for the Great Island had established itself, the traditional term "Little Java" sought other applications. Barbosa seems to apply it to *Simbawa*; Pigafetta and Cavendish apply it to *Bali*, and in this way Raffles says it was still used in his own day. Geographers were sometimes puzzled about it. Magini says Java Minor is almost *incognita*.

(*Turnour's Epitome*, p. 45; *Van der Tuuk, Bladwijzer tot de drie Stukken van het Bataksche Leesboek*, p. 43, etc.; *Friedrich in Bat. Transactions*, XXVI.; *Levcchine, Les Kirghiz Kazaks*, 300, 301.)

NOTE 2.—As regards the *treasure*, Sumatra was long famous for its produce of gold. The export is estimated in Crawford's History at 35,530 ounces; but no doubt it was much more when the native states were in a condition of greater wealth and civilisation, as they undoubtedly were some centuries ago. Valentyn says that in some years Achin had exported 80 bahars, equivalent to 32,000 or 36,000 lbs. avoirdupois (!). Of the other products named, lign-aloes or eagle-wood is a product of Sumatra, and is or was very abundant in Campar on the eastern coast. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says this article was usually brought to India from *Achin* and Tenasserim. Both this and *spikenard* are mentioned by Polo's contemporary, Kazwini, among the products of Java (probably Sumatra), viz., *Java lign-aloes* (*al-'Ud al-Jawi*), camphor *spikenard* (*Sumbul*), etc. *Nárdwastu* is the name of a grass with fragrant roots much used as a perfume in the Archipelago, and I see this is rendered *spikenard* in a translation from the Malay Annals in the *Journal of the Archipelago*.

With regard to the kingdoms of the island which Marco proceeds to describe, it is well to premise that all the six which he specifies are to be looked for towards the north end of the island, viz., in regular succession up the northern part of the east coast, along the north coast, and down the northern part of the west coast. This will be made tolerably clear in the details, and Marco himself intimates at the end of the next chapter that the six kingdoms he describes were all at *this side* or end of the island: "*Or vos avon contée de cesti roïames que sunt de ceste partie de scete ysle, et des autres roïames de l'autre partie ne voz conteron-noz rien.*" Most commentators have made confusion by scattering them up and down, nearly all round the coast of Sumatra. The best remarks on the subject I have met with are by Mr. Logan in his *Journal of the Ind. Arch.* II. 610.

The "kingdoms" were certainly many more than eight throughout the island. At a later day De Barros enumerates 29 on the coast alone. Crawford reckons 15 different nations and languages on Sumatra and its dependent isles, of which 11 belong to the great island itself.

(*Hist. of Ind. Arch.* III. 482; *Valentyn*, V. (Sumatra), p. 5; *Desc. Dict.* p. 7, 417; *Gildemeister*, p. 193; *Crawf. Malay Dict.* 119; *J. Ind. Arch.* V. 313.)

NOTE 3.—The kingdom of PARLÁK is mentioned in the *Shijarat Malayu* or Malay Chronicle, and also in a Malay History of the Kings of Pasei, of which an abstract is given by Dulaurier, in connection with the other states of which we shall speak presently. It is also mentioned (*Barlak*), as a city of the Archipelago, by Rashiduddin. Of its extent we have no knowledge, but the position (probably of its northern extremity) is preserved in the native name, *Tanjong* (*i.e.* Cape Parlák of the N.E. horn of Sumatra, called by European seamen "Diamond Point," whilst the river and town of *Perla*, about 32 miles south of that point, indicate, I have little doubt, the site of the old capital.* Indeed in Malombra's Ptolemy (Venice, 1574), I find the next city of Sumatra beyond *Pacen* marked as *Pulaca*.

* See *Anderson's Mission to East Coast of Sumatra*, pp. 229, 233, and map. The *Ferlec* of Polo was identified by Valentyn. (*Sumatra*, in vol. v. p. 21.) Marsden remarks that a terminal *k* is in Sumatra always softened or omitted in pronunciation. (*H. of Sum.* 1st. ed. p. 163.) Thus we have *Perlak*, and *Perla*, as we have *Battak* and *Batta*.

The form *Ferlec* shows that Polo got it from the Arabs, who having no *p* often replace that letter by *f*. It is notable that the Malay alphabet, which is that of the Arabic with necessary modifications, represents the sound *p* not by the Persian *pe* (پ), but by the Arabic *fe* (ف), with three dots instead of one (ڤ).

A Malay chronicle of Achin dates the accession of the first Mahomedan king of that state, the nearest point of Sumatra to India and Arabia, in the year answering to A. D. 1205, and this is the earliest conversion among the Malays on record. It is doubtful, indeed, whether there *were* Kings of Achin in 1205, or for centuries after (unless indeed *Lambri* is to be regarded as Achin), but the introduction of Islam may be confidently assigned to that age.

The notice of the Hill-people, who lived like beasts and ate human flesh, presumably attaches to the Battas or Bataks, occupying high table-lands in the interior of Sumatra. They do not now extend north beyond lat. 3°. The interior of Northern Sumatra seems to remain a *terra incognita*, and even with the coast we are far less familiar than our ancestors were 250 years ago. The Battas are remarkable among cannibal nations as having attained or retained some degree of civilisation, and as being possessed of an alphabet and documents. Their anthropophagy is now professedly practised according to precise laws, and only in prescribed cases. Thus: (1) A commoner seducing a Raja's wife must be eaten; (2) Enemies taken in battle *outside their village* must be eaten *alive*; those taken in storming a village may be spared; (3) Traitors and spies have the same doom, but may ransom themselves for 60 dollars a-head. There is nothing more horrible or extraordinary in all the stories of mediæval travellers than the *facts* of this institution. (See *Junghuhn, Die Battaländer*, II. 158.) And it is evident that human flesh is also at times kept in the houses for food. Junghuhn, who could not abide Englishmen but was a great admirer of the Battas, tells how after a perilous and hungry flight he arrived in a friendly village, and the food that was offered by his hosts was the flesh of two prisoners who had been slaughtered the day before (I. 249). Anderson was also told of one of the most powerful Batta chiefs who would eat only such food, and took care to be supplied with it (225).

The story of the Battas is that in old times their communities lived in peace and knew no such custom; but a Devil, *Nanalain*, came bringing strife, and introduced this man-eating, at a period which they spoke of (in 1840) as "three men's lives ago," or about 210 years previous to that date. Junghuhn, with some enlargement of the time, is disposed to accept their story of the practice being comparatively modern. This cannot be, for their hideous custom is alluded to by a long chain of early authorities. Ptolemy's anthropophagi may perhaps be referred to the smaller islands. But the Arab *Relations* of the 9th century speak of man-eaters in Al-Ramni, undoubtedly Sumatra. Then comes our traveller, followed by Odoric, and in the early part of the 15th century by Conti, who names the *Batech* cannibals. Barbosa describes them without naming them; Galvano (p. 108) speaks of them by name; as does De Barros. (Dec. III. liv. viii. cap. 1.)

The practice of worshipping the first thing seen in the morning is related of a variety of nations. Pigafetta tells it of the people of Gilolo, and Varthema in his account of Java (which I fear is fiction) ascribes it to some people of that island. Richard Eden tells it of the Laplanders. (*Notes on Russia*, Hak. Soc. II. 224.)

NOTE 4.—*Basma*, as Valentyn indicated, seems to be the PASEI of the Malays, which the Arabs probably called *Basan* or the like, for the Portuguese wrote it PACEM. [Mr. J. T. Thomson writes (*Proc. R. G. S.* XX. p. 221) that of its actual position there can be no doubt, it being the Passier of modern charts.—H. C.] Pasei is mentioned in the Malay Chronicle as founded by Malik-al-Şálih, the first Mussulman sovereign of Samudra, the next of Marco's kingdoms. He assigned one of these states to each of his two sons, Malik al-Dháhir and Malik al-Mansúr; the former of whom was reigning at Samudra, and apparently over the whole coast, when Ibn

Batuta was there (about 1346-47). There is also a Malay History of the Kings of Pasei to which reference has already been made.

Somewhat later Pasei was a great and famous city: Majapahit, Malacca, and Pasei being reckoned the three great cities of the Archipelago. The stimulus of conversion to Islam had not taken effect on those Sumatran states at the time of Polo's voyage, but it did so soon afterwards, and, low as they have now fallen, their power at one time was no delusion. Achin, which rose to be the chief of them, in 1615 could send against Portuguese Malacca an expedition of more than 500 sail, 100 of which were galleys larger than any then constructed in Europe, and carried from 600 to 800 men each.

[Dr. Schlegel writes to me that according to the Malay Dictionary of Von de Wall and Van der Tuuk, ii. 414-415 Polo's *Basman* is the Arab pronunciation of *Pasēman*, the modern Ophir in West Sumatra; *Gūnung Pasēman* is Mount Ophir.—H. C.]



The three Asiatic Rhinoceroses; (upper) Indicus, (middle) Sondaicus, (lower) Sumatranus.*

NOTE 5.—The elephant seems to abound in the forest-tracts throughout the whole length of Sumatra, and the species is now determined to be a distinct one (*E. Sumatranus*) from that of continental India and identical with that of Ceylon.† The Sumatran elephant in former days as caught and tamed extensively. Ibn Batuta speaks of 100 elephants in the train of Al Dháhir, the King of Sumatra Proper, and in the 17th century Beaulieu says the King of Achin had always 900. Giov.

* Since this engraving was made a fourth species has been established, *Rhin. lasyotis*, found near Chittagong.

† The elephant of India has 6 true ribs and 13 false ribs; that of Sumatra and Ceylon has 6 true and 14 false.

d'Empoli also mentions them at Pedir in the beginning of the 16th century; and see *Pasei Chronicle* quoted in *J. As. sér. IV. tom. ix. pp. 258-259*. This speaks of elephants as used in war by the people of Pasesi, and of elephant-hunts as a royal diversion. The *locus* of that best of elephant stories, the elephant's revenge on the tailor, was at Achin.

As Polo's account of the rhinoceros is evidently from nature, it is notable that he should not only *call* it unicorn, but speak so precisely of its one horn, for the characteristic, if not the only, species on the island, is a two-horned one (*Rh. Sumatranus*),* and his mention of the buffalo-like hair applies only to this one. This species exists also on the Indo-Chinese continent and, it is believed, in Borneo. I have seen it in the Arakan forests as high as 19° 20'; one was taken not long since near Chittagong; and Mr. Blyth tells me a stray one has been seen in Assam or its borders.

[Ibn Khordâdbeh says (*De Goeje's Transl. p. 47*) that rhinoceros is to be found in Kâmeroun (Assam), which borders on China. It has a horn, a cubit long, and two palms thick; when the horn is split, inside is found on the black ground the white figure of a man, a quadruped, a fish, a peacock or some other bird.—H. C.]

[John Evelyn mentions among the curiosities kept in the Treasury at St. Denis: "A faire unicorn's horn, sent by a K. of Persia, about 7 foote long." *Diary, 1643, 12th Nov.*—H. C.]

What the Traveller says of the animals' love of mire and mud is well illustrated by the manner in which the *Semangs* or Negritoes of the Malay Peninsula are said to destroy him: "This animal . . . is found frequently in marshy places, with its whole body immersed in the mud, and part of the head only visible. . . . Upon the dry weather setting in . . . the mud becomes hard and crusted, and the rhinoceros cannot effect his escape without considerable difficulty and exertion. The *Semangs* prepare themselves with large quantities of combustible materials, with which they quietly approach the animal, who is aroused from his reverie by an immense fire over him, which being kept well supplied by the *Semangs* with fresh fuel, soon completes his destruction, and renders him in a fit state to make a meal of." (*J. Ind. Arch. IV. 426.*)† There is a great difference in aspect between the one-horned species (*Rh. Sondaicus* and *Rh. Indicus*) and the two-horned. The Malays express what that difference is admirably, in calling the last *Bâdak-Karbûd*, "the Buffalo-Rhinoceros," and the *Sondaicus* *Bâdak-Gâjah*, "the Elephant-Rhinoceros."

The belief in the formidable nature of the tongue of the rhinoceros is very old and wide-spread, though I can find no foundation for it but the rough *appearance* of the organ. ["His tongue also is somewhat of a rarity, for, if he can get any of his antagonists down, he will lick them so clean, that he leaves neither skin nor flesh to cover his bones." (*A. Hamilton, ed. 1727, II. 24. M.S. Note of Yule.*) Compare what is said of the tongue of the Yak, I. p. 277.—H. C.] The Chinese have the belief, and the Jesuit Lecomte attests it from professed observation of the animal in confinement. (*Chin. Repos. VII. 137; Lecomte, II. 406.*) [In a Chinese work quoted by Mr. Groeneveldt (*T'oung Pao, VII. No. 2, abst. p. 19*) we read that "the rhinoceros has thorns on its tongue and always eats the thorns of plants and trees, but never grasses or leaves."—H. C.]

The legend to which Marco alludes, about the Unicorn allowing itself to be ensnared by a maiden (and of which Marsden has made an odd perversion in his translation, whilst indicating the true meaning in his note), is also an old and general one. It will be found, for example, in Brunetto Latini, in the *Image du Monde*, in the *Mirabilia* of Jordanus,‡ and in the verses of Tzetzes. The latter represents *Monoceros* as attracted not by the maiden's charms but by her perfumery. So he is

* Marsden, however, does say that a one-horned species (*Rh. sondaicus*?) is also found on Sumatra (3rd ed. of his *II. of Sumatra*, p. 116).

† An American writer professes to have discovered in Missouri the fossil remains of a bogged mastodon, which had been killed precisely in this way by human contemporaries. (See *Lubbock, Fresh Times*, 2d ed. 279.)

‡ *Tresor*, p. 253; *N. and E.*, V. 263; *Jordanus*, p. 43.

inveigled and blindfolded by a stout young knave, disguised as a maiden and drenched with scent :—

“’Tis then the huntsmen hasten up, abandoning their ambush ;
Clean from his head they chop his horn, prized antidote to poison ;
And let the docked and luckless beast escape into the jungles.”

—V. 399, *seqq.*

In the cut which we give of this from a mediæval source the horn of the unicorn is evidently the tusk of a *narwhal*. This confusion arose very early, as may be seen from its occurrence in Aelian, who says that the horn of the unicorn or *Kartazōnon* (the Arab *Karkaddan* or Rhinoceros) was not straight but twisted (*ελιγμούς έχον τινάς*, Hist. An. xvi. 20). The mistake may also be traced in the illustrations to Cosmas Indicopleustes from his own drawings, and it long endured, as may be seen in Jerome Cardan's description of a unicorn's horn which he saw suspended in the church of St. Denis ; as well as in a circumstance related by P. della Valle (II. 491 ; and Cardan, *de Varietate*, c. xvii.). Indeed the supporter of the Royal arms retains the narwhal horn. To this popular error is no doubt due the reading in Pauthier's text, which makes the horn *white* instead of black.



Monoceros and the Maiden.*

We may quote the following quaint version of the fable from the *Bestiary* of Philip de Thau, published by Mr. Wright (*Popular Treatises on Science*, etc. p. 81) :

“ Monoceros est Beste, un corne ad en la teste,
Purceo ad si a nun, de buc ad façon ;
Par Pucele est prise ; or vez en quel guise.
Quant hom le volt cacer et prendre et enginner,
Si vent hom al forest ù sis riparis est ;
Là met une Pucele hors de sein sa mamele,
Et par odurement Monoceros la sent ;
Dunc vent à la Pucele, et si baiset la mamele,
En sein devant se dort, issi vent à sa mort
Li hom suivent atant ki l'ocit en dormant
U trestout vif le prent, si fais puis sun talent.
Grant chose signifie.”

And so goes on to moralise the fable.

NOTE 6.—In the *J. Indian Archip.* V. 285, there is mention of the *Falco Malaiensis*, black, with a double white-and-brown spotted tail, said to belong to the ospreys, “but does not disdain to take birds and other game.”

* Another mediæval illustration of the subject is given in *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 499, from the binding of a book. It is allegorical, and the Maiden is there the Virgin Mary.

CHAPTER X.

THE KINGDOMS OF SAMARA AND DAGROIAN.

So you must know that when you leave the kingdom of Basma you come to another kingdom called Samara, on the same Island.¹ And in that kingdom Messer Marco Polo was detained five months by the weather, which would not allow of his going on. And I tell you that here again neither the Pole-star nor the stars of the Maestro² were to be seen, much or little. The people here are wild Idolaters; they have a king who is great and rich; but they also call themselves subjects of the Great Kaan. When Messer Mark was detained on this Island five months by contrary winds, [he landed with about 2000 men in his company; they dug large ditches on the landward side to encompass the party, resting at either end on the sea-haven, and within these ditches they made bulwarks or stockades of timber] for fear of those brutes of man-eaters; [for there is great store of wood there; and the Islanders having confidence in the party supplied them with victuals and other things needful.] There is abundance of fish to be had, the best in the world. The people have no wheat, but live on rice. Nor have they any wine except such as I shall now describe.

You must know that they derive it from a certain kind of tree that they have. When they want wine they cut a branch of this, and attach a great pot to the stem of the tree at the place where the branch was cut; in a day and a night they will find the pot filled. This wine is excellent drink, and is got both white and red. [It is of such surpassing virtue that it cures dropsy and tisick and spleen.] The trees resemble small date-palms; . . .

and when cutting a branch no longer gives a flow of wine, they water the root of the tree, and before long the branches again begin to give out wine as before.³ They have also great quantities of Indian nuts [as big as a man's head], which are good to eat when fresh; [being sweet and savoury, and white as milk. The inside of the meat of the nut is filled with a liquor like clear fresh water, but better to the taste, and more delicate than wine or any other drink that ever existed.]

Now that we have done telling you about this kingdom, let us quit it, and we will tell you of Dagroian.

When you leave the kingdom of Samara you come to another which is called DAGROIAN. It is an independent kingdom, and has a language of its own. The people are very wild, but they call themselves the subjects of the Great Kaan. I will tell you a wicked custom of theirs.⁴

When one of them is ill they send for their sorcerers, and put the question to them, whether the sick man shall recover of his sickness or no. If they say that he will recover, then they let him alone till he gets better. But if the sorcerers foretell that the sick man is to die, the friends send for certain judges of theirs to put to death him who has thus been condemned by the sorcerers to die. These men come, and lay so many clothes upon the sick man's mouth that they suffocate him. And when he is dead they have him cooked, and gather together all the dead man's kin, and eat him. And I assure you they do suck the very bones till not a particle of marrow remains in them; for they say that if any nourishment remained in the bones this would breed worms, and then the worms would die for want of food, and the death of those worms would be laid to the charge of the deceased man's soul. And so they eat him up stump and rump. And when they have thus eaten him they collect his bones and put them in fine chests, and carry them away, and

place them in caverns among the mountains where no beast nor other creature can get at them. And you must know also that if they take prisoner a man of another country, and he cannot pay a ransom in coin, they kill him and eat him straightway. It is a very evil custom and a parlous.⁵

Now that I have told you about this kingdom let us leave it, and I will tell you of Lambri.

NOTE 1.—I have little doubt that in Marco's dictation the name was really *Samatra*, and it is possible that we have a trace of this in the *Samarcha* (for *Samartha*) of the Crusca MS.

The *Shijarat Malayu* has a legend, with a fictitious etymology, of the foundation of the city and kingdom of *Samudra*, or SUMATRA, by Marah Silu, a fisherman near Pasangan, who had acquired great wealth, as wealth is got in fairy tales. The name is probably the Sanskrit *Samudra*, "the sea." Possibly it may have been imitated from Dwára Samudra, at that time a great state and city of Southern India. [We read in the Malay Annals, *Salalat al Salatín*, translated by Mr. J. T. Thomson (*Proc. R. G. S. XX. p. 216*): "Mara Silu ascended the eminence, when he saw an ant as big as a cat; so he caught it, and ate it, and on the place he erected his residence, which he named Samandara, which means Big Ant (*Semut besar* in Malay)."—H. C.] Marah Silu having become King of Samudra was converted to Islam, and took the name of Malik-al-Şalih. He married the daughter of the King of *Parlak*, by whom he had two sons; and to have a principality for each he founded the city and kingdom of *Pasei*. Thus we have Marco's three first kingdoms, Ferlec, Basma, and Samara, connected together in a satisfactory manner in the Malayan story. It goes on to relate the history of the two sons Al-Dháhir and Al-Mansúr. Another version is given in the history of *Pasei* already alluded to, with such differences as might be expected when the oral traditions of several centuries came to be written down.

Ibn Batuta, about 1346, on his way to China, spent fifteen days at the court of Samudra, which he calls *Sämáthrah* or *Sämüthrah*. The king whom he found there reigning was the Sultan Al-Malik Al-Dháhir, a most zealous Mussulman, surrounded by doctors of theology, and greatly addicted to religious discussions, as well as a great warrior and a powerful prince. The city was 4 miles from its port, which the traveller calls *Särha*; he describes the capital as a large and fine town, surrounded with an enceinte and bastions of timber. The court displayed all the state of Mahomedan royalty, and the Sultan's dominions extended for many days along the coast. In accordance with Ibn Batuta's picture, the Malay Chronicle represents the court of *Pasei* (which we have seen to be intimately connected with Samudra) as a great focus of theological studies about this time.

There can be little doubt that Ibn Batuta's Malik Al-Dháhir is the prince of the Malay Chronicle the son of the first Mahomedan king. We find in 1292 that Marco says nothing of Mahomedanism; the people are still wild idolaters; but the king is already a rich and powerful prince. This may have been Malik Al-Şalih before his conversion; but it may be doubted if the Malay story be correct in representing him as the *founder* of the city. Nor is this apparently so represented in the Book of the Kings of *Pasei*.

Before Ibn Batuta's time, Sumatra or Samudra appears in the travels of Fr. Odoric. After speaking of *Lamori* (to which we shall come presently), he says:

"In the same island, towards the south, is another kingdom, by name SUMOLTRA, in which is a singular generation of people, for they brand themselves on the face with a hot iron in some twelve places," etc. This looks as if the conversion to Islam was still (*circa* 1323) very incomplete. Rashiduddin also speaks of *Sūmūtra* as lying beyond Lamuri. (*Elliot*, I. p. 70.)

The power attained by the dynasty of Malik Al-Ṣālih, and the number of Mahomedans attracted to his court, probably led in the course of the 14th century to the extension of the name of Sumatra to the whole island. For when visited early in the next century by Nicolo Conti, we are told that he "went to a fine city of the island of Taprobana, which island is called by the natives *Shamuthera*." Strange to say, he speaks of the natives as all idolaters. Fra Mauro, who got much from Conti, gives us *Isola Siamotra* over *Taprobana*; and it shows at once his own judgment and want of confidence in it, when he notes elsewhere that "Ptolemy, professing to describe Taprobana, has really only described Saylan."

We have no means of settling the exact position of the city of Sumatra, though possibly an enquiry among the natives of that coast might still determine the point. Marsden and Logan indicate Samarlanga, but I should look for it nearer Pasei. As pointed out by Mr. Braddell in the *J. Ind. Arch.*, Malay tradition represents the site of Pasei as selected on a hunting expedition from Samudra, which seems to imply tolerable proximity. And at the marriage of the Princess of Parlak to Malik Al-Ṣālih, we are told that the latter went to receive her on landing at Jambu Ayer (near Diamond Point), and thence conducted her to the city of Samudra. I should seek Samudra near the head of the estuary-like Gulf of Pasei, called in the charts *Telo* (or Talak) *Samawe*; a place very likely to have been sought as a shelter to the Great Kaan's fleet during the south-west monsoon. Fine timber, of great size, grows close to the shore of this bay,* and would furnish material for Marco's stockades.

When the Portuguese first reached those regions Pedir was the leading state upon the coast, and certainly no state called Sumatra continued to exist. Whether the city continued to exist even in decay is not easy to discern. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says that the best civet is that which is brought from the seaport town of Sumatra, in the territory of Achin, and is called *Sumatra Zabdd*; but this may have been based on old information. Valentyn seems to recognise the existence of a place of note called *Samadra* or *Samotlara*, though it is not entered on his map. A famous mystic theologian who flourished under the great King of Achin, Iskandar Muda, and died in 1630, bore the name of Shamsuddin *Shamatrani*, which seems to point to the city of Sumatra as his birthplace.† The most distinct mention that I know of the city so called, in the Portuguese period, occurs in the *soi-disant* "Voyage which Juan Serano made when he fled from Malacca," in 1512, published by Lord Stanley of Alderley, at the end of his translation of Barbosa. This man speaks of the "island of Samatra" as named from "a city of this northern part." And on leaving Pedir, having gone down the northern coast, he says, "I drew towards the south and south-east direction, and reached to another country and city which is called Samatra," and so on. Now this describes the position in which the city of Sumatra should have been if it existed. But all the rest of the tract is mere plunder from Varthema.‡

There is, however, a like intimation in a curious letter respecting the Portuguese discoveries, written from Lisbon in 1515, by a German, Valentine Moravia, who was probably the same Valentyn Fernandez, the German, who published the Portuguese edition of Marco Polo at Lisbon in 1502, and who shows an extremely accurate conception of Indian geography. He says: "La maxima insula la quale è chiamata da Marcho Polo Veneto Iava Minor, et al presente si chiama Sumotra, da un *emporie di dicta insula*" (printed by *De Gubernatis, Viagg. Ita. etc.*, p. 170).

Several considerations point to the probability that the states of Pasei and

* Marsden, 1st ed. p. 291.

† Veth's *Achin*, 1873, p. 37.

‡ It might be supposed that Varthema had stolen from Serano; but the book of the former was published in 1510.

Sumatra had become united, and that the town of Sumatra may have been represented by the Pacem of the Portuguese.* I have to thank Mr. G. Phillips for the copy of a small Chinese chart showing the northern coast of the island, which he states to be from "one of about the 13th century." I much doubt the date, but the map is valuable as showing the town of Sumatra (*Sumantala*). This seems to be placed in the Gulf of Pasesi, and very near where Pasesi itself still exists. An extract of a "Chinese account of about A.D. 1413" accompanied the map. This states that the town was situated some distance up a river, so as to be reached in two tides. There was a village at the mouth of the river called *Talumangkin*.†

[Mr. E. H. Parker writes (*China Review*, XXIV, p. 102): "Colonel Yule's remarks about Pasesi are borne out by Chinese History (Ming, 325, 20, 24), which states that in 1521 Pieh-tu-lu (Pestrello [for Perestrello?]) having failed in China 'went for' *Pa-si*. Again 'from Pa-si, Malacca, to Luzon, they swept the seas, and all the other nations were afraid of them.'"—H. C.]

Among the Indian states which were prevailed on to send tribute (or presents) to Kúblái in 1286, we find *Sumutala*. The chief of this state is called in the Chinese record *Tu-han-pa-ti*, which seems to be just the Malay words *Tuan Pati*, "Lord Ruler." No doubt this was the rising state of Sumatra, of which we have been speaking; for it will be observed that Marco says the people of that state called themselves the Kaan's subjects. Rashiduddin makes the same statement regarding the people of Java (*i.e.* the island of Sumatra), and even of Nicobar: "They are all subject to the Kaan." It is curious to find just the same kind of statements about the princes of the Malay Islands acknowledging themselves subjects of Charles V., in the report of the surviving commander of Magellan's ship to that emperor (printed by Baldelli-Boni, I. lxvii.). Pauthier has curious Chinese extracts containing a notable passage respecting the disappearance of Sumatra Proper from history: "In the years *Wen-chi* (1573-1615), the Kingdom of Sumatra divided in two, and the new state took the name of *Achi* (Achin). After that Sumatra was no more heard of." (*Gaubil*, 205; *De Mailla*, IX., 429; *Elliot*, I. 71; *Pauthier*, pp. 605 and 567.)

NOTE 2.—"Vos di que la Tramontaine ne part. Et encore vos di que l'estoilles dou Meistre ne aparent ne pou ne grant" (G. T.). The *Tramontaine* is the Pole star:—

"De nostre Père l'Apostoille
Volsisse qu'il semblast l'estoille
Qui ne se muet . . .
Par cele estoile vont et viennent
Et lor sen et lor voie tiennent
Il l'apelent la tres montaigne."

—*La Bible Guiot de Provins in Barbazan*, by Méon, II. 377.

The *Meistre* is explained by Pauthier to be Arcturus; but this makes Polo's error greater than it is. Brunetto Latini says: "Devers la tramontane en a il i. autre (vent) plus debonaire, qui a non *Chorus*. Cestui apellent li marinier MAISTRE por vij. estoilles qui sont en celui meisme lev," etc. (*Li Tresors*, p. 122). *Magister* or *Magistra* in mediæval Latin, *La Maistre* in old French, signifies "the beam of a plough." Possibly this accounts for the application of *Maistre* to the Great Bear, or *Plough*. But on the other hand the pilot's art is called in old French *maistrance*. Hence this constellation may have had the name as the pilot's guide,—like our *Lode-*

* Castanheda speaks of Pacem as the best port of the Island: "standing on the bank of a river on marshy ground about a league inland; and at the mouth of the river there are some houses of timber where a customs collector was stationed to exact duties at the anchorage from the ships which touched there." (Bk. II. ch. iii.) This agrees with Ibn Batuta's account of Sumatra, 4 miles from its port. [A village named *Samudra* discovered in our days near Pasesi is perhaps a remnant of the kingdom of Samara. (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 234.)—H. C.]

† If Mr. Phillips had given particulars about his map and quotations, as to date, author, etc., it would have given them more value. He leaves this vague.

star. The name was probably given to the N.W. point under a latitude in which the Great Bear sets in that quarter. In this way many of the points of the old Arabian *Rose des Vents* were named from the rising or setting of certain constellations. (See *Reinaud's Abulfeda*, Introd. pp. cxcix.-cci.)

NOTE 3.—The tree here intended, and which gives the chief supply of toddy and sugar in the Malay Islands, is the *Areng Saccharifera* (from the Javanese name), called by the Malays *Gomuti*, and by the Portuguese *Saguer*. It has some resemblance to the date-palm, to which Polo compares it, but it is a much coarser and wilder-looking tree, with a general raggedness, "*incompta et adspectu tristis*," as Rumphius describes it. It is notable for the number of plants that find a footing in the joints of its stem. On one tree in Java I have counted thirteen species of such parasites, nearly all ferns. The tree appears in the foreground of the cut at p. 273.

Crawford thus describes its treatment in obtaining toddy: "One of the *spathae*, or shoots of fructification, is, on the first appearance of the fruit, beaten for three successive days with a small stick, with the view of determining the sap to the wounded part. The shoot is then cut off, a little way from the root, and the liquor which pours out is received in pots. . . . The *Gomuti* palm is fit to yield toddy at 9 or 10 years old, and continues to yield it for 2 years at the average rate of 3 quarts a day." (*Hist. of Ind. Arch.* I. 398.)

The words omitted in translation are unintelligible to me: "*et sunt quatre raimes trois cel en.*" (G. T.)

["Polo's description of the wine-pots of Samara hung on the trees 'like date-palms,' agrees precisely with the Chinese account of the *shu theu tsiu* made from 'coir trees like cocoa-nut palms' manufactured by the Burmese. Therefore it seems more likely that Samara is Siam (still pronounced *Shumuro* in Japan, and *Siamlo* in Hakka), than Sumatra." (*Parker, China Review*, XIV. p. 359.) I think it useless to discuss this theory.—H. C.]

NOTE 4.—No one has been able to identify this state. Its position, however, must have been near PEDIR, and perhaps it was practically the same. Pedir was the most flourishing of those Sumatran states at the appearance of the Portuguese.

Rashiduddin names among the towns of the Archipelago *Dalmian*, which may perhaps be a corrupt transcript of Dagroian.

Mr. Phillips's Chinese extracts, already cited (p. 296), state that west of Sumatra (proper) were two small kingdoms, the first *Nakú-urh*, the second *Liti*. *Nakú-urh*, which seems to be the *Ting'-ho'-rh* of Pauthier's extracts, which sent tribute to the Kaan, and may probably be Dagroian as Mr. Phillips supposes, was also called the *Kingdom of Tattooed Folk*.

[Mr G. Phillips wrote since (*J.R.A.S.*, July 1895, p. 528): "Dragoian has puzzled many commentators, but on (a) Chinese chart . . . there is a country called *Ta-hua-mien*, which in the Amoy dialect is pronounced *Dakolien*, in which it is very easy to recognise the Dragoian, or Dagoyam, of Marco Polo." In his paper of *The Seaports of India and Ceylon* (*Jour. China B.R.A.S.*, xx. 1885, p. 221), Mr. Phillips, referring to his Chinese Map, already said: *Ta-hsiao-hua-mien*, in the Amoy dialect *Toa-sio-hoe* (or *Kó-bin*, "The Kingdom of the Greater and Lesser Tattooed Faces." The *Toa-Ko-bin*, the greater tattooed-face people, most probably represents the Dagroian, or Dagoyum, of Marco Polo. This country was called *Na-ku-érh*, and Ma Huan says, "the King of *Na-ku-érh* is also called the King of the Tattooed Faces."—H. C.]

Tattooing is ascribed by Friar Odoric to the people of *Sumoltra*. (*Cathay*, p. 86.) *Liti* is evidently the *Lidé* of De Barros, which by his list lay immediately east of Pedir. This would place *Nakú-urh* about Samarlangka. Beyond *Liti* was *Lanmoli* (i.e. Lambri). [See G. Schlegel, *Geog. Notes*, XVI. Li-tai, Nakur.—H. C.]

There is, or was fifty years ago, a small port between Ayer Labu and Samarlangka, called *Daridn-Gadé* (*Great Darian?*). This is the nearest approach to Dagroian that I have met with. (*N. Ann. des V.*, tom. xviii. p. 16.)

NOTE 5.—Gasparo Balbi (1579-1587) heard the like story of the Battas under Achin. True or false, the charge against them has come down to our times. The like is told by Herodotus of the Paddaci in India, of the Massagetæ, and of the Issedonians; by Strabo of the Caspians and of the Derbices; by the Chinese of one of the wild tribes of Kwei-chau; and was told to Wallace of some of the Aru Island tribes near New Guinea, and to Bickmore of a tribe on the south coast of Floris, called *Rakka* (probably a form of Hindu *Rákshasa*, or ogre-goblin). Similar charges are made against sundry tribes of the New World, from Brazil to Vancouver Island. Odoric tells precisely Marco's story of a certain island called Dondin. And in "King Alisaunder," the custom is related of a people of India, called most inappropriately *Orphani*:—

"Another Folk woneth there beside;
Orphani he hatteth wide.
 When her eldrynges beth elde,
 And ne mowen hemselves welde
 Hy hem sleeth, and bidelve
 And," etc., etc. —Weber, I. p. 206.

Benedetto Bordone, in his *Isolario* (1521 and 1547), makes the same charge against the *Irish*, but I am glad to say that this seems only copied from Strabo. Such stories are still rife in the East, like those of men with tails. I have myself heard the tale told, nearly as Raffles tells it of the Battas, of some of the wild tribes adjoining Arakan. (*Balbi*, f. 130; *Raffles*, Mem. p. 427; *Wallace*, *Malay Archip.* 281; *Bickmore's Travels*, p. 111; *Cathay*, pp. 25, 100).

The latest and most authentic statement of the kind refers to a small tribe called *Birhōrs*, existing in the wildest parts of Chota Nagpūr and Jashpūr, west of Bengal, and is given by an accomplished Indian ethnologist, Colonel Dalton. "They were wretched-looking objects . . . assuring me that they had themselves given up the practice, they admitted that their fathers were in the habit of disposing of their dead in the manner indicated, viz., by feasting on the bodies; but they declared that they never shortened life to provide such feast, and shrunk with horror at the idea of any bodies but those of their own blood relations being served up at them!" (*J. A. S. B.* XXXIV. Pt. II. 18.) The same practice has been attributed recently, but only on hearsay, to a tribe of N. Guinea called *Tarungares*.

The Battas now bury their dead, after keeping the body a considerable time. But the people of Nias and the Batu Islands, whom Junghuhn considers to be of common origin with the Battas, do not bury, but expose the bodies in coffins upon rocks by the sea. And the small and very peculiar people of the Paggi Islands expose their dead on bamboo platforms in the forest. It is quite probable that such customs existed in the north of Sumatra also; indeed they may still exist, for the interior seems unknown. We do hear of pagan hill-people inland from Pedir who make descents upon the coast. (*Junghuhn* II. 140; *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal*, etc., 2d year, No. 4; *Nouv. Ann. des. V.* XVIII.)

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE KINGDOMS OF LAMBRI AND FANSUR.

WHEN you leave that kingdom you come to another which is called LAMBRI.¹ The people are Idolaters, and call themselves the subjects of the Great Kaan. They have plenty of Camphor and of all sorts of other spices. They also have brazil in great quantities. This they sow, and when it is grown to the size of a small shoot they take it up and transplant it; then they let it grow for three years, after which they tear it up by the root. You must know that Messer Marco Polo aforesaid brought some seed of the brazil, such as they sow, to Venice with him, and had it sown there; but never a thing came up. And I fancy it was because the climate was too cold.

Now you must know that in this kingdom of Lambri there are men with tails; these tails are of a palm in length, and have no hair on them. These people live in the mountains and are a kind of wild men. Their tails are about the thickness of a dog's.² There are also plenty of unicorns in that country, and abundance of game in birds and beasts.

Now then I have told you about the kingdom of Lambri.

You then come to another kingdom which is called FANSUR. The people are Idolaters, and also call themselves subjects of the Great Kaan; and understand, they are still on the same Island that I have been telling you of. In this kingdom of Fansur grows the best Camphor in the world called *Canfora Fansuri*. It is so fine that it sells for its weight in fine gold.³

The people have no wheat, but have rice which they eat with milk and flesh. They also have wine from trees such as I told you of. And I will tell you another great marvel. They have a kind of trees that produce flour, and excellent flour it is for food. These trees are very tall and thick, but have a very thin bark, and inside the bark they are crammed with flour. And I tell you that Messer Marco Polo, who witnessed all this, related how he and his party did sundry times partake of this flour made into bread, and found it excellent.⁴

There is now no more to relate. For out of those eight kingdoms we have told you about six that lie at this side of the Island. I shall tell you nothing about the other two kingdoms that are at the other side of the Island, for the said Messer Marco Polo never was there. Howbeit we have told you about the greater part of this Island of the Lesser Java: so now we will quit it, and I will tell you of a very small Island that is called GAUENISPOLA.⁵

NOTE 1.—The name of Lambri is not now traceable on our maps, nor on any list of the ports of Sumatra that I have met with; but in old times the name occurs frequently under one form or another, and its position can be assigned generally to the north part of the west coast, commencing from the neighbourhood of Achin Head.

De Barros, detailing the twenty-nine kingdoms which divided the coast of Sumatra, at the beginning of the Portuguese conquests, begins with *Daya*, and then passes round by the north. He names as next in order LAMBRIJ, and then *Achem*. This would make Lambri lie between Daya and Achin, for which there is but little room. And there is an apparent inconsistency; for in coming round again from the south, his 28th kingdom is *Quinchel* (*Singkel* of our modern maps), the 29th *Mançopa*, "which falls upon *Lambrij*, which adjoins Daya, the first that we named." Most of the data about Lambri render it very difficult to distinguish it from Achin.

The name of Lambri occurs in the Malay Chronicle, in the account of the first Mahomedan mission to convert the Island. We shall quote the passage in a following note.

The position of Lambri would render it one of the first points of Sumatra made by navigators from Arabia and India; and this seems at one time to have caused the name to be applied to the whole Island. Thus Rashiduddin speaks of the very large Island LÁMÚRI lying beyond Ceylon, and adjoining the country of *Sumatra*; Odoric also goes from India across the Ocean to a certain country called LAMORI, where he began to lose sight of the North Star. He also speaks of the camphor, gold, and lign-aloes which it produced, and proceeds thence to *Sumoltra* in the

same Island.* It is probable that the *verzino* or brazil-wood of *Ameri* (L'Ameri, *i.e.* Lambri?) which appears in the mercantile details of Pegolotti was from this part of Sumatra. It is probable also that the country called *Nanwuli*, which the Chinese Annals report, with *Sumuntula* and others, to have sent tribute to the Great Kaan in 1286, was this same Lambri which Polo tells us called itself subject to the Kaan.

In the time of the Sung Dynasty ships from T'swan-chau (or Zayton) bound for *Tashi*, or Arabia, used to sail in forty days to a place called *Lanli-poi* (probably this is also Lambri, *Lambri-puri*?). There they passed the winter, *i.e.* the south-west monsoon, just as Marco Polo's party did at Sumatra, and sailing again when the wind became fair, they reached Arabia in sixty days. (*Bretschneider*, p. 16.)

[The theory of Sir H. Yule is confirmed by Chinese authors quoted by Mr. Groeneveldt (*Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, pp. 98-100): "The country of Lambri is situated due west of Sumatra, at a distance of three days sailing with a fair wind; it lies near the sea and has a population of only about a thousand families. . . . On the east the country is bordered by Litai, on the west and the north by the sea, and on the south by high mountains, at the south of which is the sea again. . . . At the north-west of this country, in the sea, at a distance of half a day, is a flat mountain, called the Hat-island; the sea at the west of it is the great ocean, and is called the Ocean of Lambri. Ships coming from the west all take this island as a landmark." Mr. Groeneveldt adds: "Lambri [according to his extracts from Chinese authors] must have been situated on the north-western corner of the island of Sumatra, on or near the spot of the present Achin: we see that it was bounded by the sea on the north and the west, and that the Indian Ocean was called after this insignificant place, because it was considered to begin there. Moreover, the small island at half a day's distance, called Hat-island, perfectly agrees with the small islands Bras or Nasi, lying off Achin, and of which the former, with its newly-erected lighthouse, is a landmark for modern navigation, just what it is said in our text to have been for the natives then. We venture to think that the much discussed situation of Marco Polo's Lambri is definitely settled herewith." The Chinese author writes: "The mountains [of Lambri] produce the fragrant wood called *Hsiang-chên Hsiang*." Mr. Groeneveldt remarks (*l.c.* p. 143) that this "is the name of a fragrant wood, much used as incense, but which we have not been able to determine. Dr. Williams says it comes from Sumatra, where it is called laka-wood, and is the product of a tree to which the name of *Tanarius major* is given by him. For different reasons, we think this identification subject to doubt."

Captain M. J. C. Lucardie mentions a village called Lamreh, situated at Atjeh, near Tungkup, in the xxvi. Mukim, which might be a remnant of the country of Lâmeri. (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 235.)—H. C.]

(*De Barros*, Dec. III. Bk. V. ch. i.; *Elliot*, I. 70; *Cathay*, 84, *seqq.*; *Pegol.* p. 361; *Pauthier*, p. 605.)

NOTE 2.—Stories of tailed or hairy men are common in the Archipelago, as in many other regions. Kazwini tells of the hairy little men that are found in Râmni (Sumatra) with a language like birds' chirping. Marsden was told of hairy people called *Orang Gugu* in the interior of the Island, who differed little, except in the use of speech, from the Orang utang. Since his time a French writer, giving the same name and same description, declares that he saw "a group" of these hairy people on the coast of Andragiri, and was told by them that they inhabited the interior of Menangkabau and formed a small tribe. It is rather remarkable that this writer makes no allusion to Marsden though his account is so nearly identical (*L'Océanie in L'Univers Pittoresque*, I. 24.) [One of the stories of the *Merveilles de l'Inde* (p. 125) is that there are anthropophagi with tails at Lulu bilenk between Fansur and

* I formerly supposed *Al-Ramni*, the oldest Arabic name of Sumatra, to be a corruption of Lambri; but this is more probably of Hindu origin. One of the *Dvîpas* of the ocean mentioned in the Puranas is called *Râmantîyaka*, "delightfulness." (*Williams's Skt. Dict.*)

Lâmeri.—II. C.] Mr. Anderson says there are “a few wild people in the Siak country, very little removed in point of civilisation above their companions the monkeys,” but he says nothing of hairiness nor tails. For the earliest version of the tail story we must go back to Ptolemy and the Isles of the Satyrs in this quarter; or rather to Ctesias who tells of tailed men on an Island in the Indian Sea. Jordanus also has the story of the hairy men. Galvano heard that there were on the Island certain people called *Daraque Dara* (?), which had tails like unto sheep. And the King of Tidore told him of another such tribe on the Isle of Batochina. Mr. St. John in Borneo met with a trader who had seen and *felt* the tails of such a race inhabiting the north-east coast of that Island. The appendage was 4 inches long and very stiff; so the people all used perforated seats. This Borneo story has lately been brought forward in Calcutta, and stoutly maintained, on native evidence, by an English merchant. The Chinese also have their tailed men in the mountains above Canton. In Africa there have been many such stories, of some of which an account will be found in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géog. sér. IV. tom. iii. p. 31*. It was a story among mediæval Mahomedans that the members of the Imperial House of Trebizond were endowed with short tails, whilst mediæval Continentals had like stories about Englishmen, as Matthew Paris relates. Thus we find in the Romance of Cœur de Lion, Richard’s messengers addressed by the “Emperor of Cyprus” :—

“Out, *Taylards*, of my palyis !
Now go, and say your *tayled* King
That I owe him nothing.”

—Weber, II. 83.

The Princes of Purbandar, in the Peninsula of Guzerat, claim descent from the monkey-god Hanumān, and allege in justification a spinal elongation which gets them the name of *Pūnchāriah*, “*Taylards*.”

(*Ethel’s Kazwini*, p. 221; *Anderson*, p. 210; *St. John, Forests of the Far East*, I. 40; *Galvano*, Hak. Soc. 108, 120; *Gildemeister*, 194; *Allen’s Indian Mail*, July 28, 1869; *Mid. Kingd.* I. 293; *N. et Ext.* XIII. i. 380; *Mat. Paris* under A.D. 1250; *Tod’s Rajasthan*, I. 114.)

NOTE 3.—The Camphor called *Fansūrī* is celebrated by Arab writers at least as old as the 9th century, e.g., by the author of the first part of the *Relations*, by Mas’udi in the next century, also by Avicenna, by Abulfeda, by Kazwini, and by Abul Fazl, etc. In the second and third the name is miswritten *Kānsūr*, and by the last *Kāisūrī*, but there can be no doubt of the correction required. (*Reinaud*, I. 7; *Mas.* I. 338; *Liber Canonis*, Ven. 1544, I. 116; *Büsching*, IV. 277; *Gildem.* p. 209; *Ain-i-Akb.* p. 78.) In Serapion we find the same camphor described as that of *Pansor*; and when, leaving Arab authorities and the earlier Middle Ages we come to Garcias, he speaks of the same article under the name of camphor of *Barros*. And this is the name—*Kāpūr Bārūs*—derived from the port which has been the chief shipping-place of Sumatran camphor for at least three centuries, by which the native camphor is still known in Eastern trade, as distinguished from the *Kāpūr Chinā* or *Kāpūr-Japūn*, as the Malays term the article derived in those countries by distillation from the *Laurus Camphora*. The earliest western mention of camphor is in the same prescription by the physician Aëtius (circa A.D. 540) that contains one of the earliest mentions of musk. (*Supra*, I. p. 279.) The prescription ends: “and if you have a supply of camphor add two ounces of that.” (*Aetii Medici Graeci Tetrabiblos*, etc., Froben, 1549, p. 910.)

It is highly probable that *Fansūr* and *Barūs* may be not only the same locality but mere variations of the same name.* The place is called in the *Shijarat Malayu*,

* Van der Tuuk says positively, I find: “Fantsur was the ancient name of Bārus.” (*J. R. A. S.* n.s. II. 232.) [Professor Schlegel writes also (*Geog. Notes*, XVI. p. 9): “At all events, *Fansur* or *Pantsur* can be naught but Baros.”—H.C.]

Pasuri, a name which the Arabs certainly made into *Fansuri* in one direction, and which might easily in another, by a very common kind of Oriental metathesis, pass into *Barusi*. The legend in the Shijarat Malayu relates to the first Mahomedan mission for the conversion of Sumatra, sent by the Sherif of Mecca *via* India. After sailing from Malabar the first place the party arrived at was PASURI, the people of which embraced Islam. They then proceeded to LAMBRI, which also accepted the Faith. Then they sailed on till they reached *Haru* (see on my map *Aru* on the East Coast), which did likewise. At this last place they enquired for SAMUDRA, which seems to have been the special object of their mission, and found that they had passed it. Accordingly they retraced their course to PERLAK, and after converting that place went on to SAMUDRA, where they converted Mara Silu the King. (See note 1, ch. x. above.) This passage is of extreme interest as naming *four* out of Marco's six kingdoms, and in positions quite accordant with his indications. As noticed by Mr. Braddell, from whose abstract I take the passage, the circumstance of the party having passed Samudra unwittingly is especially consistent with the site we have assigned to it near the head of the Bay of Pasesi, as a glance at the map will show.

Valentyn observes: "*Fansur* can be nought else than the famous *Pantsur*, no longer known indeed by that name, but a kingdom which we become acquainted with through *Hamza Pantsuri*, a celebrated Poet, and native of this *Pantsur*. It lay in the north angle of the Island, and a little west of Achin: it formerly was rife with trade and population, but would have been utterly lost in oblivion had not *Hamza Pantsuri* made us again acquainted with it." Nothing indeed could well be "a little west of Achin"; this is doubtless a slip for—"a little down the west coast from Achin." *Hamza Fantsuri*, as he is termed by Professor Veth, who also identifies *Fantsur* with *Bárús*, was a poet of the first half of the 17th century, who in his verses popularised the mystical theology of Shamsuddin Shamatrani (*supra*, p. 291), strongly tinged with pantheism. The works of both were solemnly burnt before the great mosque of Achin about 1640. (*J. Ind. Arch.* V. 312 *seqq*; *Valentyn*, Sumatra, in Vol. V., p. 21; *Veth, Atchin*, Leiden, 1873, p. 38.)

Mas'udi says that the Fan-sur Camphor was found most plentifully in years rife with storms and earthquakes. Ibn Batuta gives a jumbled and highly incorrect account of the product, but one circumstance that he mentions is possibly founded on a real superstition, viz., that no camphor was formed unless some animal had been sacrificed at the root of the tree, and the best quality only then when a human victim had been offered. Nicolo Conti has a similar statement: "The Camphor is found inside the tree, and if they do not sacrifice to the gods before they cut the bark, it disappears and is no more seen." Beccari, in our day, mentions special ceremonies used by the Kayans of Borneo, before they commence the search. These superstitions hinge on the great uncertainty of finding camphor in any given tree, after the laborious process of cutting it down and splitting it, an uncertainty which also largely accounts for the high price. By far the best of the old accounts of the product is that quoted by Kazwini from Mahomed Ben Zakaria Al-Rázi: "Among the number of marvellous things in this Island" (*Zánuj* for *Zábaj*, *i.e.* Java or Sumatra) "is the Camphor Tree, which is of vast size, insomuch that its shade will cover a hundred persons and more. They bore into the highest part of the tree and thence flows out the camphor-water, enough to fill many pitchers. Then they open the tree lower down about the middle, and extract the camphor in lumps." [This very account is to be found in Ibn Khordádhbeh. (*De Goeje's transl.* p. 45.)—H. C.] Compare this passage, which we may notice has been borrowed bodily by Sindbad of the Sea, with what is probably the best modern account, Junghuhn's: "Among the forest trees (of Tapanuli adjoining Barus) the Camphor Tree (*Dryobalanops Camphora*) attracts beyond all the traveller's observation, by its straight columnar and colossal grey trunk, and its mighty crown of foliage, rising high above the canopy of the forest. It exceeds in dimensions the *Rasamala*,* the loftiest tree of Java, and is probably the greatest tree

* *Liquidambar Altingiana*.

of the Archipelago, if not of the world,* reaching a height of 200 feet. One of the middling size which I had cut down measured at the base, where the camphor leaks out, $7\frac{1}{2}$ Paris feet in diameter (about 8 feet English); its trunk rose to 100 feet, with an upper diameter of 5 feet, before dividing, and the height of the whole tree to the crown was 150 feet. The precious consolidated camphor is found in small quantities, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. to 1 lb. in a single tree, in fissure-like hollows in the stem. Yet many are cut down in vain, or split up the side without finding camphor. The camphor oil is prepared by the natives by bruising and boiling the twigs." The oil, however, appears also to be found in the tree, as Crawford and Collingwood mention, corroborating the ancient Arab.

It is well known that the Chinese attach an extravagantly superior value to the Malay camphor, and probably its value in Marco's day was higher than it is now, but still its estimate as worth its weight in gold looks like hyperbole. Forrest, a century ago, says Barus Camphor was in the Chinese market worth nearly its weight in *silver*, and this is true still. The price is commonly estimated at 100 times that of the Chinese camphor. The whole quantity exported from the Barus territory goes to China. De Vriese reckons the average annual export from Sumatra between 1839 and 1844 at less than 400 kilogrammes. The following table shows the wholesale rates in the Chinese market as given by Rondot in 1848 :—

Qualities of Camphor.	Per picul of 133 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
Ordinary China, 1st quality	20 dollars.
„ „ 2nd „	14 „
Formosa	25 „
Japan	30 „
China <i>ngai</i> (ext. from an <i>Artemisia</i>)	250 „
Barus, 1st quality	2000 „
„ 2nd „	1000 „

The Chinese call the Sumatran (or Borneo) Camphor *Ping-pien* "Iceflake flakes," and *Lung-nau* "Dragon's Brains." [Regarding Barus Camphor, Mr. Groeneveldt writes (*Notes*, p. 142): "This substance is generally called *dragon's brain perfume*, or *icicles*. The former name has probably been invented by the first dealers in the article, who wanted to impress their countrymen with a great idea of its value and rarity. In the trade three different qualities are distinguished: the first is called *prune-blossoms*, being the larger pieces; the second is *rice-camphor*, so called because the particles are not larger than a rice-kernel, and the last quality is *golden dregs*, in the shape of powder. These names are still now used by the Chinese traders on the west coast of Sumatra. The *Pên-t'sau Kang-mu* further informs us that the Camphor Barus is found in the trunk of a tree in a solid shape, whilst from the roots an oil is obtained called *Po-lut* (Pa-lut) *incense*, or *Polut balm*. The name of *Polut* is said to be derived from the country where it is found (Barcs.)"—H. C.] It is just to remark, however, that in the *Atn Akbari* we find the price of the Sumatran Camphor, known to the Hindus as *Bhim Seni*, varying from 3 rupees as high as 2 mohurs (or 20 rupees) for a rupee's weight, which latter price would be twice the weight in gold. Abul Fazl says the worst camphor went by the name of *Bâltis*. I should suspect some mistake, as we know from Garcias that the fine camphor was already known as *Barus*. (*Ain-i-Akb.* 75-79.)

(*Mas'udi*, I. 338; *I. B.* IV. 241; *J. A.* sér. IV. tom. viii. 216; *Lane's Arab. Nights* (1859), III. 21; *Battaländer*, I. 107; *Crawf. Hist.* III. 218, and *Desc. Dict.* 81; *Hedde et Rondot, Com. de la Chine*, 36-37; *Chin. Comm. Guide*; *Dr. F. A. Flückiger, Zur Geschichte des Camphers*, in *Schweiz. Wochenschr. für Pharmacie*, Sept., Oct., 1867.)

NOTE 4.—An interesting notice of the Sago-tree, of which Odoric also gives an account. Ramusio is, however, here fuller and more accurate: "Removing the first

* The Californian and Australian giants of 400 feet were not then known.

bark, which is but thin, you come on the wood of the tree which forms a thickness all round of some three fingers, but all inside this is a pith of flour, like that of the *Carvalho* (?). The trees are so big that it will take two men to span them. They put this flour into tubs of water, and beat it up with a stick, and then the bran and other impurities come to the top, whilst the pure flour sinks to the bottom. The water is then thrown away, and the cleaned flour that remains is taken and made into *pasta* in strips and other forms. These Messer Marco often partook of, and brought some with him to Venice. It resembles barley bread and tastes much the same. The wood of this tree is like iron, for if thrown into the water it goes straight to the bottom. It can be split straight from end to end like a cane. When the flour has been removed the wood remains, as has been said, three inches thick. Of this the people make short lances, not long ones, because they are so heavy that no one could carry or handle them if long. One end is sharpened and charred in the fire, and when thus prepared they will pierce any armour, and much better than iron would do." Marsden points out that this heavy lance-wood is not that of the true Sago-palm, but of the *Nibong* or *Caryota urens*; which does indeed give some amount of sago.

[“When sago is to be made, a full-grown tree is selected just before it is going to flower. It is cut down close to the ground, the leaves and leaf-stalks cleared away, and a broad strip of the bark taken off the upper side of the trunk. This exposes the pithy matter, which is of a rusty colour near the bottom of the tree, but higher up pure white, about as hard as a dry apple, but with woody fibres running through it about a quarter of an inch apart. This pith is cut or broken down into a coarse powder, by means of a tool constructed for the purpose. . . . Water is poured on the mass of pith, which is kneaded and pressed against the strainer till the starch is all dissolved and has passed through, when the fibrous refuse is thrown away, and a fresh basketful put in its place. The water charged with sago starch passes on to a trough, with a depression in the centre, where the sediment is deposited, the surplus water trickling off by a shallow outlet. When the trough is nearly full, the mass of starch, which has a slight reddish tinge, is made into cylinders of about thirty pounds’ weight, and neatly covered with sago leaves, and in this state is sold as raw sago. Boiled with water this forms a thick glutinous mass, with a rather astringent taste, and is eaten with salt, limes, and chilies. Sago-bread is made in large quantities, by baking it into cakes in a small clay oven containing six or eight slits side by side, each about three-quarters of an inch wide, and six or eight inches square. The raw sago is broken up, dried in the sun, powdered, and finely sifted. The oven is heated over a clear fire of embers, and is lightly filled with the sago powder. The openings are then covered with a flat piece of sago bark, and in about five minutes the cakes are turned out sufficiently baked. The hot cakes are very nice with butter, and when made with the addition of a little sugar and grated cocoa-nut are quite a delicacy. They are soft, and something like corn-flour cakes, but have a slight characteristic flavour which is lost in the refined sago we use in this country. When not wanted for immediate use, they are dried for several days in the sun, and tied up in bundles of twenty. They will then keep for years; they are very hard, and very rough and dry. . . .” (*A. R. Wallace’s Malay Archipelago*, 1869, II. pp. 118-121.)—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—In quitting the subject of these Sumatran Kingdoms it may appear to some readers that our explanations compress them too much, especially as Polo seems to allow only two kingdoms for the rest of the Island. In this he was doubtless wrong, and we may the less scruple to say so as he had *not* visited that other portion of the Island. We may note that in the space to which we assign the *six* kingdoms which Polo visited, De Barros assigns *twelve*, viz.: Bara (corresponding generally to *Ferlec*), Pacem (*Basma*), Pirada, Lide, Pedir, Biar, Achin, *Lambri*, Daya, Mancopa, Quinchel, Barros (*Fansur*). (*Dec. III. v. 1.*)

[Regarding these Sumatran kingdoms, Mr. Thomson (*Proc. R. G. S. XX. p. 223*) writes that Malaiur “is no other than Singapore . . . the ancient capital

of the Malays or Malaiurs of old voyagers, existent in the times of Marco Polo [who] mentions no kingdom or city in Java Minor till he arrives at the kingdom of Felech or Perlak. And this is just as might be expected, as the channel in the Straits of Malacca leads on the north-eastern side out of sight of Sumatra; and the course, after clearing the shoals near Selangore, being direct towards Diamond Point, near which . . . the tower of Perlak is situated. Thus we see that the Venetian traveller describes the first city or kingdom in the great island that he arrived at. . . . [After Basman and Samara] Polo mentions Dragoian . . . from the context, and following Marco Polo's course, we would place it west from his last city or Kingdom Samara; and we make no doubt, if the name is not much corrupted, it may yet be identified in one of the villages of the coast at this present time. . . . By the Malay annalist, Lambri was west of Samara; consecutively it was also westerly from Samara by Marco Polo's enumeration. Fanfur . . . is the last kingdom named by Marco Polo [coming from the east], and the first by the Malay annalist [coming from the west]; and as it is known to modern geographers, this corroboration doubly settles the identity and position of all. Thus all the six cities or kingdoms mentioned by Marco Polo were situated on the north coast of Sumatra, now commonly known as the Pedir coast." I have given the conclusion arrived at by Mr. J. T. Thomson in his paper, *Marco Polo's Six Kingdoms or Cities in Java Minor, identified in translations from the ancient Malay Annals*, which appeared in the *Proc. R. G. S.* XX. pp. 215-224, after the second edition of this Book was published and Sir H. Yule added the following note (*Proc., l.c.*, p. 224): "Mr. Thomson, as he mentions, has not seen my edition of *Marco Polo*, nor, apparently, a paper on the subject of these kingdoms by the late Mr. J. R. Logan, in his *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, to which reference is made in the notes to *Marco Polo*. In the said paper and notes the quotations and conclusions of Mr. Thomson have been anticipated; and *Fansir* also, which he leaves undetermined, identified."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XII.

CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF NECUVERAN.

WHEN you leave the Island of Java (the less) and the kingdom of Lambri, you sail north about 150 miles, and then you come to two Islands, one of which is called NECUVERAN. In this Island they have no king nor chief, but live like beasts. And I tell you they go all naked, both men and women, and do not use the slightest covering of any kind. They are Idolaters. Their woods are all of noble and valuable kinds of trees; such as Red Sanders and Indian-nut and Cloves and Brazil and sundry other good spices.¹

There is nothing else worth relating; so we will go on, and I will tell you of an Island called Angamanain.

NOTE I.—The end of the last chapter and the commencement of this I have taken from the G. Text. There has been some confusion in the notes of the original dictation which that represents, and corrections have made it worse. Thus Pauthier's text runs: "I will tell you of two small Islands, one called Gauenispolá and the other Necouran," and then: "You sail north about 150 miles and find two Islands, one called Necouran and the other Gauenispolá." Ramusio does not mention Gauenispolá, but says in the former passage: "I will tell you of a small Island called Nocueran"—and then: "You find two islands, one called Nocueran and the other Angaman."

Knowing the position of Gauenispolá there is no difficulty in seeing how the passage should be explained. Something has interrupted the dictation after the last chapter. Polo asks Rusticiano, "Where were we?" "Leaving the Great Island." Polo forgets the "very small Island called Gauenispolá," and passes to the north, where he has to tell us of two islands, "one called Necuveran and the other Angamanain." So, I do not doubt, the passage should run.

Let us observe that his point of departure in sailing north to the Nicobar Islands was the *Kingdom of Lambri*. This seems to indicate that Lambri included Achin Head or came very near it, an indication which we shall presently see confirmed.

As regards Gauenispolá, of which he promised to tell us and forgot his promise, its name has disappeared from our modern maps, but it is easily traced in the maps of the 16th and 17th centuries, and in the books of navigators of that time. The latest in which I have observed it is the *Neptune Oriental*, Paris 1775, which calls it *Pulo Gommés*. The name is there applied to a small island off Achin Head, outside of which lie the somewhat larger Islands of Pulo Nankai (or Nási) and Pulo Brás, whilst Pulo Wai lies further east.* I imagine, however, that the name was by the older navigators applied to the larger Island of Pulo Bras, or to the whole group. Thus Alexander Hamilton, who calls it *Gomus* and *Pulo Gomuis*, says that "from the Island of Gomus and Pulo Wey . . . the southernmost of the Nicobars may be seen." Dampier most precisely applies the name of Pulo Gomez to the larger island which modern charts call Pulo Bras. So also Beaulieu couples the islands of "Gomispolá and Pulo Way" in front of the roadstead of Achin. De Barros mentions that Gaspar d'Acosta was lost on the Island of *Gomispolá*. Linschoten, describing the course from Cochín to Malacca, says: "You take your course towards the small Isles of GOMESPOLA, which are in 6°, near the corner of Achin in the Island of Sumatra." And the Turkish author of the *Mohit*, in speaking of the same navigation, says: "If you wish to reach Malacca, guard against seeing JÁMISFULAH (جامس فوله), because the mountains of LÁMRI advance into the sea, and the flood is there very strong." The editor has misunderstood the geography of this passage, which evidently means "Don't go near enough to Achin Head to see even the islands in front of it." And here we see again that Lambri is made to extend to Achin Head. The passage is illustrated by the report of the first English Voyage to the Indies. Their course was for the Nicobars, but "by the Master's fault in not duly observing the South Star, they fell to the southward of them, *within sight of the Islands of Gomes Polo*." (*Nept. Orient. Charts* 38 and 39, and pp. 126-127; *Hamilton*, II. 66 and Map; *Dampier*, ed. 1699, II. 122; *H. Gén. des Voyages*, XII. 310; *Linschoten*, Routier, p. 30; *De Barros*, Dec. III. liv. iii. cap. 3; *J. A. S. B.* VI. 807; *Astley*, I. 238.)

The two islands (or rather groups of Islands) *Necuveran* and *Angamanain* are the Nicobar and Andaman groups. A nearer trace of the form *Necuveran*, or *Necouran* as it stands in some MSS., is perhaps preserved in *Nancouri*, the existing name of one of the islands. They are perhaps the *Nalo-kilo-chéu* (*Narikela-dwoipa*) or Coco-nut Islands of which Hiuen Tsang speaks as existing some thousand *li* to the south of Ceylon. The men, he had heard, were but 3 feet high, and had the beaks of birds.

* It was a mistake to suppose the name had disappeared, for it is applied, in the form *Pulo Gaimr*, to the small island above indicated, in Colonel Versteeg's map to Veth's *Atchin* (1873). In a map chiefly borrowed from that, in *Ocean Highways*, August, 1873, I have ventured to restore the name as *Pulo Gomus*. The name is perhaps (Mal.) *Gamás*, "hard, rough."

They had no cultivation and lived on coco-nuts. The islands are also believed to be the *Lanja bálús* or *Lankha bálús* of the old Arab navigators: "These Islands support a numerous population. Both men and women go naked, only the women wear a girdle of the leaves of trees. When a ship passes near, the men come out in boats of various sizes and barter ambergris and coco-nuts for iron," a description which has applied accurately for many centuries. [Ibn Khordádhbeh says (*De Goeje's transl.*, p. 45) that the inhabitants of Nicobar (Alankabálous), an island situated at ten or fifteen days from Serendib, are naked; they live on bananas, fresh fish, and coco-nuts; the precious metal is iron in their country; they frequent foreign merchants.—H. C.] Rashiduddin writes of them nearly in the same terms under the name of *Lákváram*, but read NÁKAVÁRAM) opposite LAMURI. Odoric also has a chapter on the island of *Nicoveran*, but it is one full of fable. (*H. Tsang*, III. 114 and 517; *Relations*, p. 8; *Elliot*, I. p. 71; *Cathay*, p. 97.)

[Mr. G. Phillips writes (*J.R.A.S.*, July 1895, p. 529) that the name Tsui-lan given to the Nicobars by the Chinese is, he has but little doubt, "a corruption of Nocueran, the name given by Marco Polo to the group. The characters Tsui-lan are pronounced Ch'ui-lan in Amoy, out of which it is easy to make Cueran. The Chinese omitted the initial syllable and called them the Cueran Islands, while Marco Polo called them the Nocueran Islands."—H. C.]

[The Nicobar Islands "are generally known by the Chinese under the name of *Rákchas* or Demons who devour men, from the belief that their inhabitants were anthropophagi. In A.D. 607, the Emperor of China, Yang-ti, had sent an envoy to Siam, who also reached the country of the Rákchas. According to *Tu-yen's Tung-tien*, the Nicobars lie east [west] of Poli. Its inhabitants are very ugly, having red hair, black bodies, teeth like beasts, and claws like hawks. Sometimes they traded with *Lin-yih* (Champa), but then at night; in day-time they covered their faces." (*G. Schlegel, Geog. Notes*, I. pp. 1-2.—H. C.)

Mr. Phillips, from his anonymous Chinese author, gives a quaint legend as to the nakedness of these islanders. Sakya Muni, having arrived from Ceylon, stopped at the islands to bathe. Whilst he was in the water the natives stole his clothes, upon which the Buddha cursed them; and they have never since been able to wear any clothing without suffering for it.

[Professor Schlegel gives the same legend (*Geog. Notes*, I. p. 8) with reference to the *Andaman* Islands from the *Sing-ch'á Shêng-lan*, published in 1436 by Fei-sin; Mr. Phillips seems to have made a confusion between the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. (*Doolittle's Vocab.* II. p. 556; cf. *Schlegel, l.c.* p. 11.)—H. C.]

The chief part of the population is believed to be of race akin to the Malay, but they seem to be of more than one race, and there is great variety in dialect. There have long been reports of a black tribe with woolly hair in the unknown interior of the Great Nicobar, and my friend Colonel H. Man, when Superintendent of our Andaman Settlements, received spontaneous corroboration of this from natives of the former island, who were on a visit to Port Blair. Since this has been in type I have seen in the *F. of India* (28th July, 1874) notice of a valuable work by F. A. de Roepstorff on the dialects and manners of the Nicobarians. This notice speaks of an aboriginal race called *Shob'aengs*, "purely Mongolian," but does not mention negroes. The natives do not now go quite naked; the men wear a narrow cloth; and the women a grass girdle. They are very skilful in management of their canoes. Some years since there were frightful disclosures regarding the massacre of the crews of vessels touching at these islands, and this has led eventually to their occupation by the Indian Government. Trinkat and Nancouri are the islands which were guilty. A woman of Trinkat who could speak Malay was examined by Colonel Man, and she acknowledged having seen nineteen vessels scuttled, after their cargoes had been plundered and their crews massacred. "The natives who were captured at Trinkat," says Colonel Man in another letter, "were a most savage-looking set, with remarkably long arms, and very projecting eye-teeth."

The islands have always been famous for the quality and abundance of their

“Indian Nuts,” *i.e.* cocos. The tree of next importance to the natives is a kind of Pandanus, from the cooked fruit of which they express an edible substance called Melori, of which you may read in Dampier; they have the betel and areca; and they grow yams, but only for barter. As regards the other vegetation, mentioned by Polo, I will quote, what Colonel Man writes to me from the Andamans, which probably is in great measure applicable to the Nicobars also! “Our woods are very fine, and doubtless resemble those of the Nicobars. Sapan wood (*i.e.* Polo’s *Brazil*) is in abundance; coco-nuts, so numerous in the Nicobars, and to the north in the Cocos, are not found naturally with us, though they grow admirably when cultivated. There is said to be sandal-wood in our forests, and camphor, but I have not yet come across them. I do not believe in *cloves*, but we have lots of the wild nutmeg.”* The last, and cardamoms, are mentioned in the *Voyage of the Novara*, vol. ii., in which will be found a detail of the various European attempts to colonise the Nicobar Islands with other particulars. (See also *J. A. S. B.* XV. 344 *seqq.*) [See *Schlegel’s Geog. Notes*, XVI., *The Old States in the Island of Sumatra*.—H. C.]

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF ANGAMANAIN.

ANGAMANAIN is a very large Island. The people are without a king and are Idolaters, and no better than wild beasts. And I assure you all the men of this Island of Angamanain have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise; in fact, in the face they are all just like big mastiff dogs! They have a quantity of spices; but they are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race.¹ They live on flesh and rice and milk, and have fruits different from any of ours.

Now that I have told you about this race of people, as indeed it was highly proper to do in this our book, I will go on to tell you about an Island called Seilan, as you shall hear.

NOTE I.—Here Marco speaks of the remarkable population of the Andaman Islands—Oriental negroes in the lowest state of barbarism—who have remained in their isolated and degraded condition, so near the shores of great civilised countries,

* Kurz’s *Vegetation of the Andaman Islands* gives four *myristicæ* (nutmegs); but no sandal-wood nor camphor-laurel. Nor do I find sapan-wood, though there is another *Caesalpinia* (*C. Nuga*).

for so many ages. "Rice and milk" they have not, and their fruits are only wild ones.

[From the *Sing-ch'a Shêng-lan* quoted by Professor Schlegel (*Geog. Notes*, I. p. 8) we learn that these islanders have neither "rice or corn, but only descend into the sea and catch fish and shrimps in their nets; they also plant Banians and Cocoa-trees for their food."—H. C.]

I imagine our traveller's form *Angamanain* to be an Arabic (oblique) dual—"The two ANDAMANS," viz. The Great and The Little, the former being in truth a chain of three islands, but so close and nearly continuous as to form apparently one, and to be named as such.

[Professor Schlegel writes (*Geog. Notes*, I. p. 12): "This etymology is to be're-



A. Houssein d

The Borús. (From a Manuscript.)

jected because the old Chinese transcription gives *So*—(or *Sun*) *damán*. . . . The *Pien-i-tien* (ch. 107, I. fol. 30) gives a description of Andaman, here called *An-to-man kwóh*, quoted from the *San-tsai Tu-hwui*.—H. C.]

The origin of the name seems to be unknown. The only person to my knowledge who has given a meaning to it is Nicolo Conti, who says it means "Island of Gold"; probably a mere sailor's yarn. The name, however, is very old, and may perhaps be traced in Ptolemy; for he names an island of cannibals called that of *Good Fortune*, Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. It seems probable enough that this was Ἀγαθαίμβρος Νῆσος, or the like, "The Angdaman Island," misunderstood. His next group of Islands is the *Barussae*, which seems again to be the Lankha *Bálús* of the oldest Arab navigators, since these are certainly the Nicobars. [The name first appears distinctly in the Arab narratives of the 9th century. (*Yule, Hobson-Jobson*.)]

The description of the natives of the Andaman Islands in the early Arab *Relations* has been often quoted, but it is too like our traveller's account to be omitted: "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair, and in their eyes and countenance there is something quite frightful. . . . They go naked, and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are wind-bound, and have exhausted their provision of water, touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crew sometimes fall into the hands of the latter, and most of them are massacred" (p. 9).

The traditional charge of cannibalism against these people used to be very persistent, though it is generally rejected since our settlement upon the group in 1858. Mr. Logan supposes the report was cherished by those who frequented the islands for edible birds' nests, in order to keep the monopoly. Of their murdering the crews of wrecked vessels, like their Nicobar neighbours, I believe there is no doubt; and it has happened in our own day. Cesare Federici, in Ramusio, speaks of the terrible fate of crews wrecked on the Andamans; all such were killed and eaten by the natives, who refused all intercourse with strangers. A. Hamilton mentions a friend of his



The Cynocephali. (From the *Livre des Merveilles*.)

who was wrecked on the islands; nothing more was ever heard of the ship's company, "which gave ground to conjecture that they were all devoured by those savage cannibals."

They do not, in modern times, I believe, in their canoes, quit their own immediate coast, but Hamilton says they used, in his time, to come on forays to the Nicobar Islands; and a paper in the *Asiatic Researches* mentions a tradition to the same effect as existing on the Car Nicobar. They have retained all the aversion to intercourse anciently ascribed to them, and they still go naked as of old, the utmost exception being a leaf-apron worn by the women near the British Settlement.

The Dog-head feature is at least as old as Ctesias. The story originated, I imagine, in the disgust with which "allophylian" types of countenance are regarded, kindred to the feeling which makes the Hindus and other eastern nations represent the aborigines whom they superseded as demons. The Cubans described the Caribs to Columbus as man-eaters with dogs' muzzles; and the old Danes had tales of Cynocephali in Finland. A curious passage from the Arab geographer Ibn Said pays an ambiguous compliment to the forefathers of Moltke and Von Roon: "The *Borús*

(Prussians) are a miserable people, and still more savage than the Russians. . . . One reads in some books *that the Borús have dogs' faces ; it is a way of saying that they are very brave.*" Ibn Batuta describes an Indo-Chinese tribe on the coast of Arakan or Pegu as having dogs' mouths, but says the *women* were beautiful. Friar Jordanus had heard the same of the dog-headed islanders. And one odd form of the story, found, strange to say, both in China and diffused over Ethiopia, represents the males as *actual* dogs whilst the females are women. Oddly, too, Père Barbe tells us that a tradition of the Nicobar people themselves represent them as of canine descent, but on the female side! The like tale in early Portuguese days was told of the Peguans, viz. that they sprang from a dog and a Chinese woman. It is mentioned by Camoens (X. 122). Note, however, that in Colonel Man's notice of the wilder part of the Nicobar people the projecting canine teeth are spoken of.

Abraham Roger tells us that the Coromandel Brahmans used to say that the *Rákshasas* or Demons had their abode "on the Island of Andaman lying on the route from Pulicat to Pegu," and also that they were man-eaters. This would be very curious if it were a genuine old Brahmanical *Saga*; but I fear it may have been gathered from the Arab seamen. Still it is remarkable that a strange weird-looking island, a steep and regular volcanic cone, which rises covered with forest to a height of 2150 feet, straight out of the deep sea to the eastward of the Andaman group, bears the name of *Narkandam*, in which one cannot but recognise नरक, *Narak*, "Hell"; perhaps *Naraka-kunḍam*, "a pit of hell." Can it be that in old times, but still contemporary with Hindu navigation, this volcano was active, and that some Brahman St. Brandon recognised in it the mouth of Hell, congenial to the Rakshasas of the adjacent group?

"Si est de saint Brandon le matère furnie ;
Qui fu si près d'enfer, à nef et à galie,
Que déable d'enfer issirent, par maistrie,
Getans brandons de feu, pour lui faire hasquie."

—*Bauduin de Sebourc*, I. 123.

(*Ramusio*, III. 391; *Ham.* II. 65; *Navarrete* (Fr. Ed.), II. 101; *Cathay*, 467; *Bullet. de la Soc. de Géog.* sér. IV. tom iii. 36-37; *J. A. S. B.* u. s.; *Reinard's Abulfeda*, I. 315; *J. Ind. Arch.*, n.s., III. I. 105; *La Porte Ouverte*, p. 188.) [I shall refer to my edition of *Odoric*, 206-217, for a long notice on dog-headed barbarians; I reproduce here two of the cuts.—H. C.]

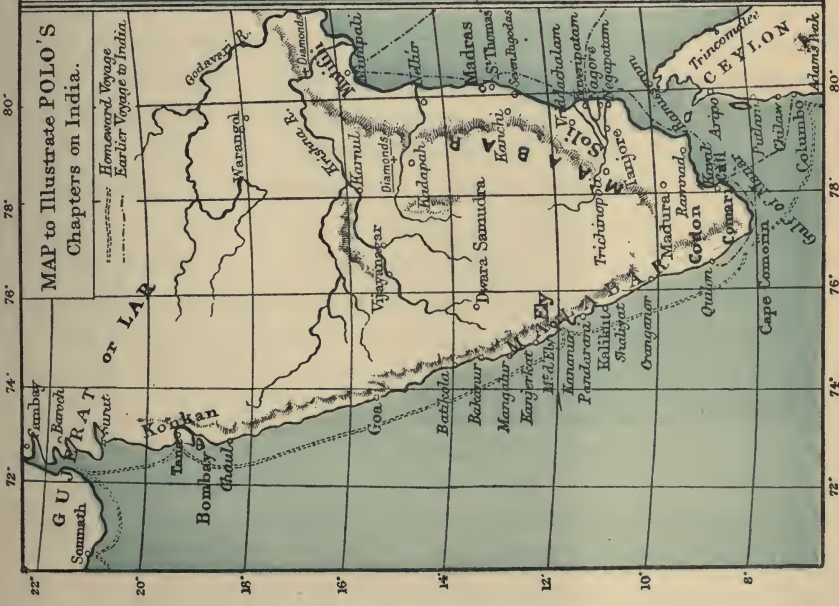
CHAPTER XIV.

CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF SEILAN.

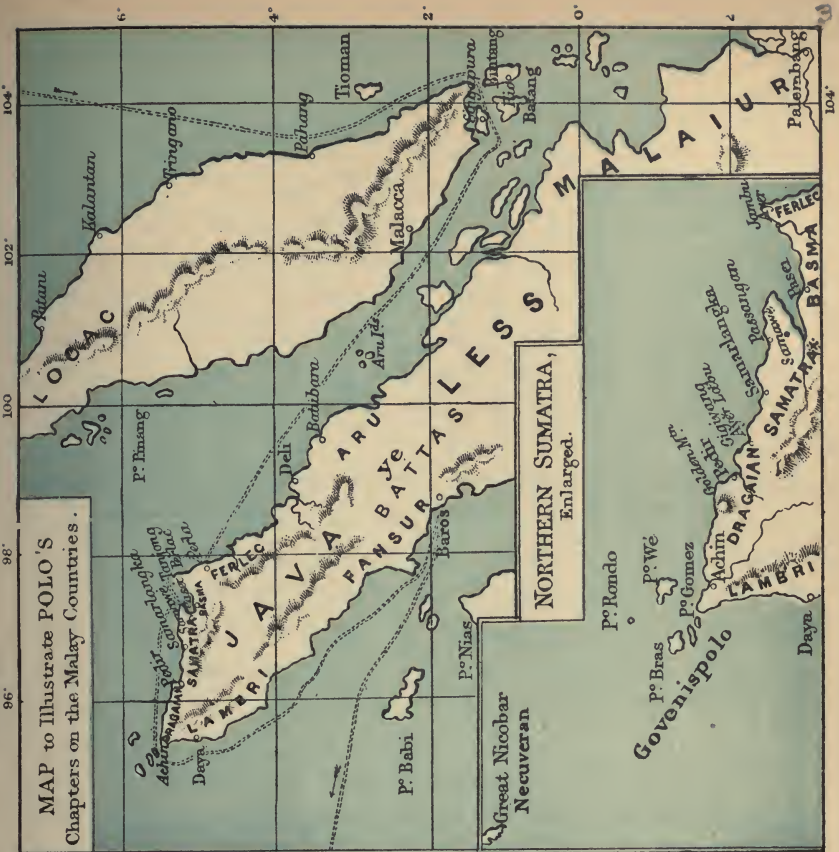
WHEN you leave the Island of Angamanain and sail about a thousand miles in a direction a little south of west, you come to the Island of SEILAN,¹ which is in good sooth the best Island of its size in the world. You must know that it has a compass of 2400 miles, but in old times it was greater still, for it then had a circuit of about 3600 miles, as you find in the charts

MAP to Illustrate POLO'S Chapters on India.

Homeward Voyage
Earlier Voyage to India.



MAP to Illustrate POLO'S Chapters on the Malay Countries.



of the mariners of those seas. But the north wind there blows with such strength that it has caused the sea to submerge a large part of the Island; and that is the reason why it is not so big now as it used to be. For you must know that, on the side where the north wind strikes, the Island is very low and flat, insomuch that in approaching on board ship from the high seas you do not see the land till you are right upon it.² Now I will tell you all about this Island.

They have a king there whom they call SENDEMAIN, and are tributary to nobody.³ The people are Idolaters, and go quite naked except that they cover the middle. They have no wheat, but have rice, and sesamum of which they make their oil. They live on flesh and milk, and have tree-wine such as I have told you of. And they have brazil-wood, much the best in the world.⁴

Now I will quit these particulars, and tell you of the most precious article that exists in the world. You must know that rubies are found in this Island and in no other country in the world but this. They find there also sapphires and topazes and amethysts, and many other stones of price. And the King of this Island possesses a ruby which is the finest and biggest in the world; I will tell you what it is like. It is about a palm in length, and as thick as a man's arm; to look at, it is the most resplendent object upon earth; it is quite free from flaw and as red as fire. Its value is so great that a price for it in money could hardly be named at all. You must know that the Great Kaan sent an embassy and begged the King as a favour greatly desired by him to sell him this ruby, offering to give for it the ransom of a city, or in fact what the King would. But the King replied that on no account whatever

would he sell it, for it had come to him from his ancestors.⁵

The people of Seilan are no soldiers, but poor cowardly creatures. And when they have need of soldiers they get Saracen troops from foreign parts.

[NOTE 1.—Mr. Geo. Phillips gives (*Seaports of India*, p. 216 *et seqq.*) the Star Chart used by Chinese Navigators on their return voyage from Ceylon to *Su-men-tā-la*.—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—Valentyn appears to be repeating a native tradition when he says: "In old times the island had, as they loosely say, a good 400 miles (*i. e.* Dutch, say 1600 miles) of compass, but at the north end the sea has from time to time carried away a large part of it." (*Ceylon*, in vol. v., p. 18.) Curious particulars touching the exaggerated ideas of the ancients, inherited by the Arabs, as to the dimensions of Ceylon, will be found in *Tennent's Ceylon*, ch. i. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang has the same tale. According to him, the circuit was 7000 *li*, or 1400 miles. We see from Marco's curious notice of the old charts (G. T. "*selonc qe se treuwe en la mapemondi des mariner de cel mer*") that travellers had begun to find that the dimensions were exaggerated. The real circuit is under 700 miles!

On the ground that all the derivations of the name SAILAN or CEYLON from the old *Sinhala*, *Serendib*, and what not, seem forced, Van der Tuuk has suggested that the name may have been originally Javanese, being formed (he says) according to the rules of that language from *Sela*, "a precious stone," so that *Pulo Selan* would be the "Island of Gems." [Professor Schlegel says (*Geog. Notes*, I. p. 19, note) that "it seems better to think of the Sanskrit *śīla*, 'a stone or rock,' or *śaila*, 'a mountain,' which agree with the Chinese interpretation."—H. C.] The Island was really called anciently *Ratnadwīpa*, "the Island of Gems" (*Mém. de H. T.*, II. 125, and *Hariwansa*, I. 403); and it is termed by an Arab Historian of the 9th century *Jazirat al Yāktūt*, "The Isle of Rubies." [The (Chinese) characters *ya-ku-pao-shih* are in some accounts of Ceylon used to express *Yāktūt*. (*Ma-Huan*, transl. by Phillips, p. 213).—H. C.] As a matter of fact, we derive originally from the Malays nearly all the forms we have adopted for names of countries reached by sea to the east of the Bay of Bengal, *e.g.* *Awa*, *Barma*, *Paigu*, *Siyam*, *China*, *Japūn*, *Kochi* (Cochin China), *Champa*, *Kamboja*, *Malūka* (properly a place in the Island of Ceram), *Sūtūk*, *Burnei*, *Tanasari*, *Martavan*, etc. That accidents in the history of marine affairs in those seas should have led to the adoption of the Malay and Javanese names in the case of Ceylon also is at least conceivable. But Dr. Caldwell has pointed out to me that the Pāli form of Sinhala was *Sihalān*, and that this must have been colloquially shortened to *Silan*, for it appears in old Tamul inscriptions as *Ilam*.^{*} Hence there is nothing really strained in the derivation of *Sailān* from Sinhala. Tennent (*Ceylon*, I. 549) and Crawford (*Malay Diet.* p. 171) ascribe the name Selan, Zeilan, to the Portuguese, but this is quite unfounded, as our author sufficiently testifies. The name *Sailān* also occurs in Rashiduddin, in Hayton, and in Jordanus (see next note). (See *Van der Tuuk*, work quoted above (p. 287), p. 118; *J. As. sér.* IV., tom. viii. 145; *J. Ind. Arch.* IV. 187; *Elliot*, I. 70.) [*Sinhala* or *Sihala*, "lions' abode," with the addition of "Island," *Sihala-dwīpa*, comes down to us in Cosmas Σιελεδίβα (*Hobson-Jobson*).]

NOTE 3.—The native king at this time was Pandita Prakrama Bahu III., who reigned from 1267 to 1301 at Dambadenia, about 40 miles north-north-east of Columbo. But the Tamuls of the continent had recently been in possession of the whole northern

* The old Tamul alphabet has no sibilant.

half of the island. The Singhalese Chronicle represents Prakrama to have recovered it from them, but they are so soon again found in full force that the completeness of this recovery may be doubted. There were also two invasions of Malays (*Javaku*) during this reign, under the lead of a chief called *Chandra Banu*. On the second occasion this invader was joined by a large Tamul reinforcement. Sir E. Tennent suggests that this Chandra Banu may be Polo's *Sende-main* or *Sendernas*, as Ramusio has it. Or he may have been the Tamul chief in the north; the first part of the name may have been either *Chandra* or *Sundara*.

NOTE 4.—Kazwini names the brazil, or sapan-wood of Ceylon. Ibn Batuta speaks of its abundance (IV. 166); and Ribeyro does the like (ed. of Colombo, 1847, p. 16); see also *Ritter*, VI. 39, 122; and *Trans. R. A. S. I.* 539.

Sir E. Tennent has observed that Ibn Batuta is the first to speak of the Ceylon cinnamon. It is, however, mentioned by Kazwini (*circa* A.D. 1275), and in a letter written from Mabar by John of Montecorvino about the very time that Marco was in these seas. (See *Ethe's Kazwini*, 229, and *Cathay*; 213.)

[Mr. G. Phillips, in the *Jour. China B. R. A. Soc.*, XX. 1885, pp. 209-226; XXI. 1886, pp. 30-42, has given, under the title of *The Seaports of India and Ceylon*, a translation of some parts of the *Ying-yai-shêng-lan*, a work of a Chinese Mahomedan, Ma-Huan, who was attached to the suite of Chêng-Ho, an envoy of the Emperor Yong-Lo (A.D. 1403-1425) to foreign countries. Mr. Phillips's translation is a continuation of the *Notes* of Mr. W. P. Groeneveldt, who leaves us at Lambri, on the coast of Sumatra. Ma-Huan takes us to the *Ts'ui-lan* Islands (Nicobars) and to *Hsi-lan-kuo* (Ceylon), whose "people," he says (p. 214), "are abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life. They go about naked, except that they wear a green handkerchief round their loins, fastened with a waist-band. Their bodies are clean-shaven, and only the hair of their heads is left. . . . They take no meal without butter and milk, if they have none and wish to eat, they do so unobserved and in private. The betel-nut is never out of their mouths. They have no wheat, but have rice, sesamum, and peas. The cocoa-nut, which they have in abundance, supplies them with oil, wine, sugar, and food." Ma-Huan arrived at Ceylon at Pieh-lo-li, on the 6th of the 11th moon (seventh year, Süan Têh, end of 1432). Cf. *Sylvain Lévi, Ceylan et la Chine, J. As.*, Mai-juin, 1900, p. 411 *seqq.*

Odoric and the Adjaïb do not mention cinnamon among the products of Ceylon; this omission was one of the arguments of Dr. Schumann (*Ergänz. No. 73 zu Petermann's Mitt.*, 1883, p. 46) against the authenticity of the Adjaïb. These arguments have been refuted in the *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 265 *seqq.*

Nicolo Conti, speaking of the "very noble island called Zeilan," says (p. 7): "Here also cinnamon grows in great abundance. It is a tree which very much resembles our thick willows, excepting that the branches do not grow upwards, but are spread out horizontally: the leaves are very like those of the laurel, but are somewhat larger. The bark of the branches is the thinnest and best, that of the trunk of the tree is thicker and inferior in flavour. The fruit resembles the berries of the laurel; an odoriferous oil is extracted from it adapted for ointments, which are much used by the Indians. When the bark is stripped off, the wood is used for fuel."—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—There seems to have been always afloat among Indian travellers, at least from the time of Cosmas (6th century), some wonderful story about the ruby or rubies of the king of Ceylon. With Cosmas, and with the Chinese Hiuen Tsang, in the following century, this precious object is fixed on the top of a pagoda, "a hyacinth, they say, of great size and brilliant ruddy colour, as big as a great pine-cone; and when 'tis seen from a distance flashing, especially if the sun's rays strike upon it, 'tis a glorious and incomparable spectacle." Our author's contemporary, Hayton, had heard of the great ruby: "The king of that Island of Celan hath the largest and finest ruby in existence. When his coronation takes place this ruby is placed in his hand, and he goes round the city on horseback holding it in his hand, and thence-

forth all recognise and obey him as their king." Odoric too speaks of the great ruby and the Kaan's endeavours to get it, though by some error the circumstance is referred to Nicoveran instead of Ceylon. Ibn Batuta saw in the possession of Arya Chakravarti, a Tamul chief ruling at Patlam, a ruby bowl as big as the palm of one's hand. Friar Jordanus speaks of two great rubies belonging to the king of SYLEN, each so large that when grasped in the hand it projected a finger's breadth at either side. The fame, at least, of these survived to the 16th century, for Andrea Corsali (1515) says: "They tell that the king of this island possesses two rubies of colour so brilliant and vivid that they look like a flame of fire."

Sir E. Tennent, on this subject, quotes from a Chinese work a statement that early in the 14th century the Emperor sent an officer to Ceylon to purchase a carbuncle of unusual lustre. This was fitted as a ball to the Emperor's cap; it was upwards of an ounce in weight and cost 100,000 strings of cash. Every time a grand levee was held at night the red lustre filled the palace, and hence it was designated "The Red Palace-Illuminator." (*J. B.* IV. 174-175; *Cathay*, p. clxxvii.; *Hayton*, ch. vi.; *Jord.* p. 30; *Ramus.* I. 180; *Ceylon*, I. 568).

["This mountain [Adam's Peak] abounds with rubies of all kinds and other precious stones. These gems are being continually washed out of the ground by heavy rains, and are sought for and found in the sand carried down the hill by the torrents. It is currently reported among the people, that these precious stones are the congealed tears of Buddha." (*Ma-Huan, transl. by Phillips*, p. 213.)

In the Chinese work *Cho keng lu*, containing notes on different matters referring to the time of the Mongol Dynasty, in ch. vii. entitled *Hwui hwui shi l'ou* ("Precious Stones of the Mohammedans") among the four kinds of red stones is mentioned the *si-la-ni* of a dark red colour; *si-la-ni*, as Dr. Bretschneider observes (*Med. Res.* I. p. 174), means probably "from Ceylon." The name for ruby in China is now-a-days *hung pao shi*, "red precious stone." (*Ibid.* p. 173.)—H. C.]

CHAPTER XV.

THE SAME CONTINUED. THE HISTORY OF SAGAMONI BORCAN AND THE BEGINNING OF IDOLATRY.

FURTHERMORE you must know that in the Island of Seilan there is an exceeding high mountain; it rises right up so steep and precipitous that no one could ascend it, were it not that they have taken and fixed to it several great and massive iron chains, so disposed that by help of these men are able to mount to the top. And I tell you they say that on this mountain is the sepulchre of Adam our first parent; at least that is what the Saracens say. But the Idolaters say that it is the sepulchre of SAGAMONI BORCAN, before whose time there

were no idols. They hold him to have been the best of men, a great saint in fact, according to their fashion, and the first in whose name idols were made.¹

He was the son, as their story goes, of a great and wealthy king. And he was of such an holy temper that he would never listen to any worldly talk, nor would he consent to be king. And when the father saw that his son would not be king, nor yet take any part in affairs, he took it sorely to heart. And first he tried to tempt him with great promises, offering to crown him king, and to surrender all authority into his hands. The son, however, would none of his offers; so the father was in great trouble, and all the more that he had no other son but him, to whom he might bequeath the kingdom at his own death. So, after taking thought on the matter, the King caused a great palace to be built, and placed his son therein, and caused him to be waited on there by a number of maidens, the most beautiful that could anywhere be found. And he ordered them to divert themselves with the prince, night and day, and to sing and dance before him, so as to draw his heart towards worldly enjoyments. But 'twas all of no avail, for none of those maidens could ever tempt the king's son to any wantonness, and he only abode the firmer in his chastity, leading a most holy life, after their manner thereof. And I assure you he was so staid a youth that he had never gone out of the palace, and thus he had never seen a dead man, nor any one who was not hale and sound; for the father never allowed any man that was aged or infirm to come into his presence. It came to pass however one day that the young gentleman took a ride, and by the roadside he beheld a dead man. The sight dismayed him greatly, as he never had seen such a sight before. Incontinently he

demanded of those who were with him what thing that was? and then they told him it was a dead man. "How, then," quoth the king's son, "do all men die?" "Yea, forsooth," said they. Whereupon the young gentleman said never a word, but rode on right pensively. And after he had ridden a good way he fell in with a very aged man who could no longer walk, and had not a tooth in his head, having lost all because of his great age. And when the king's son beheld this old man he asked what that might mean, and wherefore the man could not walk? Those who were with him replied that it was through old age the man could walk no longer, and had lost all his teeth. And so when the king's son had thus learned about the dead man and about the aged man, he turned back to his palace and said to himself that he would abide no longer in this evil world, but would go in search of Him Who dieth not, and Who had created him.²

So what did he one night but take his departure from the palace privily, and betake himself to certain lofty and pathless mountains. And there he did abide, leading a life of great hardship and sanctity, and keeping great abstinence, just as if he had been a Christian. Indeed, an he had but been so, he would have been a great saint of Our Lord Jesus Christ, so good and pure was the life he led.³ And when he died they found his body and brought it to his father. And when the father saw dead before him that son whom he loved better than himself, he was near going distraught with sorrow. And he caused an image in the similitude of his son to be wrought in gold and precious stones, and caused all his people to adore it. And they all declared him to be a god; and so they still say.⁴

They tell moreover that he hath died fourscore and four times. The first time he died as a man, and came

to life again as an ox ; and then he died as an ox and came to life again as a horse, and so on until he had died fourscore and four times ; and every time he became some kind of animal. But when he died the eighty-fourth time they say he became a god. And they do hold him for the greatest of all their gods. And they tell that the aforesaid image of him was the first idol that the Idolaters ever had ; and from that have originated all the other idols. And this befel in the Island of Seilan in India.

The Idolaters come thither on pilgrimage from very long distances and with great devotion, just as Christians go to the shrine of Messer Saint James in Gallicia. And they maintain that the monument on the mountain is that of the king's son, according to the story I have been telling you ; and that the teeth, and the hair, and the dish that are there were those of the same king's son, whose name was Sagamoni Borcan, or Sagamoni the Saint. But the Saracens also come thither on pilgrimage in great numbers, and *they* say that it is the sepulchre of Adam our first father, and that the teeth, and the hair, and the dish were those of Adam.⁵

Whose they were in truth, God knoweth ; howbeit, according to the Holy Scripture of our Church, the sepulchre of Adam is not in that part of the world.

Now it befel that the Great Kaan heard how on that mountain there was the sepulchre of our first father Adam, and that some of his hair and of his teeth, and the dish from which he used to eat, were still preserved there. So he thought he would get hold of them somehow or another, and despatched a great embassy for the purpose, in the year of Christ, 1284. The ambassadors, with a great company, travelled on by sea and by land until they arrived at the island of Seilan,

and presented themselves before the king. And they were so urgent with him that they succeeded in getting two of the grinder teeth, which were passing great and thick; and they also got some of the hair, and the dish from which that personage used to eat, which is of a very beautiful green porphyry. And when the Great Kaan's ambassadors had attained the object for which they had come they were greatly rejoiced, and returned to their lord. And when they drew near to the great city of Cambaluc, where the Great Kaan was staying, they sent him word that they had brought back that for which he had sent them. On learning this the Great Kaan was passing glad, and ordered all the ecclesiastics and others to go forth to meet these reliques, which he was led to believe were those of Adam.

And why should I make a long story of it? In sooth, the whole population of Cambaluc went forth to meet those reliques, and the ecclesiastics took them over and carried them to the Great Kaan, who received them with great joy and reverence.⁶ And they find it written in their Scriptures that the virtue of that dish is such that if food for one man be put therein it shall become enough for five men: and the Great Kaan averred that he had proved the thing and found that it was really true.⁷

So now you have heard how the Great Kaan came by those reliques; and a mighty great treasure it did cost him! The reliques being, according to the Idolaters, those of that king's son.

NOTE 1.—*Sagamoni Borcan* is, as Marsden points out, SAKYA-MUNI, or Gautama-Buddha, with the affix BURKHAN, or "Divinity," which is used by the Mongols as the synonym of *Buddha*.

"The Dewa of Samantakúta (Adam's Peak), Samana, having heard of the arrival of Budha (in Lanka or Ceylon) . . . presented a request that he would leave an impression of his foot upon the mountain of which he was guardian. . . . In the midst of the assembled Dewas, Budha, looking towards the East, made the impression of his foot, in length three inches less than the cubit of the carpenter; and the im-

pression remained as a seal to show that Lanka is the inheritance of Budha, and that his religion will here flourish." (*Hardy's Manual*, p. 212.)

[Ma-Huan says (p. 212): "On landing (at Ceylon), there is to be seen on the shining rock at the base of the cliff, an impress of a foot two or more feet in length. The legend attached to it is, that it is the imprint of Shâkyamuni's foot, made when he landed at this place, coming from the Ts'ui-lan (Nicobar) Islands. There is a little water in the hollow of the imprint of this foot, which never evaporates. People dip their hands in it and wash their faces, and rub their eyes with it, saying: 'This is Buddha's water, which will make us pure and clean.'"—H. C.]

"The veneration with which this majestic mountain has been regarded for ages, took its rise in all probability amongst the aborigines of Ceylon. . . . In a later age, . . . the hollow in the lofty rock that crowns the summit was said by the



Adam's Peak.

"Or est voir qe en ceste ysle a une montagne mout haut et si degrot de les roches qe nul hi puent monter sus se ne en ceste maniere qe je boz dirai"

Brahmans to be the footstep of Siva, by the Buddhists, of Buddha, . . . by the Gnostics of Ieu, by the Mahomedans of Adam, whilst the Portuguese authorities were divided between the conflicting claims of St. Thomas and the eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia." (*Tennent*, II. 133.)

["Near to the King's residence there is a lofty mountain reaching to the skies. On the top of this mountain there is the impress of a man's foot, which is sunk two feet deep in the rock, and is some eight or more feet long. This is said to be the impress of the foot of the ancestor of mankind, a Holy man called *A-tan*, otherwise P'an-Ku." (*Ma-Huan*, p. 213.)—H. C.]

Polo, however, says nothing of the *foot*; he speaks only of the *sepulchre* of Adam, or of Sakya-muni. I have been unable to find any modern indication of the monument that was shown by the Mahomedans as the tomb, and sometimes as the house, of Adam; but such a structure there certainly was, perhaps an ancient *K'ist-vaen*, or the like. John Marignolli, who was there about 1349, has an interesting passage on the subject: "That exceeding high mountain hath a pinnacle of surpassing height, which on account of the clouds can rarely be seen. [The summit is lost in the clouds. (*Ibn Khordâdbeh*, p. 43.)—H. C.] But God, pitying our tears, lighted it up one morning just before the sun rose, so that we beheld it glowing with the brightest flame. [They say that a flame bursts constantly, like a lightning, from the Summit of the mountain.—(*Ibn Khordâdbeh*, p. 44.)—H. C.] In the way down from this mountain there is a fine level spot, still at a great height, and there you find in order: first, the mark of Adam's foot; secondly, a certain statue of a sitting figure, with the left hand resting on the knee, and the right hand raised and extended towards the west;

lastly, there is the house (of Adam), which he made with his own hands. It is of an oblong quadrangular shape like a sepulchre, with a door in the middle, and is formed of great tabular slabs of marble, not cemented, but merely laid one upon another. (*Cathay*, 358.) A Chinese account, translated in *Amyot's Mémoires*, says that at the foot of the mountain is a Monastery of Bonzes, in which is seen the veritable body of Fo, in the attitude of a man lying on his side" (XIV. 25). [Ma-Huan says (p. 212): "Buddhist temples abound there. In one of them there is to be seen a full length recumbent figure of Shâkyamuni, still in a very good state of preservation. The dais on which the figure reposes is inlaid with all kinds of precious stones. It is made of sandal-wood and is very handsome. The temple contains a Buddha's tooth and other relics. This must certainly be the place where Shâkyamuni entered Nirvâna."—H. C.] Osorio, also, in his history of Emanuel of Portugal, says: "Not far from it (the Peak) people go to see a small temple in which are two sepulchres, which are the objects of an extraordinary degree of superstitious devotion. For they believe that in these were buried the bodies of the first man and his wife" (f. 120 v.). A German traveller (*Daniel Parthey*, Nürnberg, 1698) also speaks of the tomb of Adam and his sons on the mountain. (See *Fabricius, Cod. Pseudep. Vet. Test.* II. 31; also *Ouseley's Travels*, I. 59.)

It is a perplexing circumstance that there is a double set of indications about the footmark. The Ceylon traditions, quoted above from Hardy, call its length 3 inches less than a carpenter's cubit. Modern observers estimate it at 5 feet or $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Hardy accounts for this by supposing that the original footmark was destroyed in the end of the sixteenth century. But Ibn Batuta, in the 14th, states it at 11 spans, or more than the modern report. [Ibn Khordâdbeh at 70 cubits.—H. C.] Marignolli, on the other hand, says that he measured it and found it to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ palms, or about half a Prague ell, which corresponds in a general way with Hardy's tradition. Valentyn calls it $1\frac{1}{2}$ ell in length; Knox says 2 feet; Herman Bree (De Bry?), quoted by Fabricius, $8\frac{1}{2}$ spans; a Chinese account, quoted below, 8 feet. These discrepancies remind one of the ancient Buddhist belief regarding such footmarks, that they seemed greater or smaller in proportion to the faith of the visitor! (See *Koepfen*, I. 529, and *Beal's Fah-hian*, p. 27.)

The chains, of which Ibn Batuta gives a particular account, exist still. The highest was called (he says) the chain of the *Shahâdat*, or Credo, because the fearful abyss below made pilgrims recite the profession of belief. Ashraf, a Persian poet of the 15th century, author of an Alexandriad, ascribes these chains to the great conqueror, who devised them, with the assistance of the philosopher *Bolinas*,* in order to scale the mountain, and reach *the sepulchre of Adam*. (See *Ouseley*, I. 54 *seqq.*) There are inscriptions on some of the chains, but I find no account of them. (*Skeen's Adam's Peak*, Ceylon, 1870, p. 226.)

NOTE 2.—The general correctness with which Marco has here related the legendary history of Sakya's devotion to an ascetic life, as the preliminary to his becoming the Buddha or Divinely Perfect Being, shows what a strong impression the tale had made upon him. He is, of course, wrong in placing the scene of the history in Ceylon, though probably it was so told him, as the vulgar in all Buddhist countries do seem to localise the legends in regions known to them.

Sakya Sinha, Sakya Muni, or Gautama, originally called Siddhârta, was the son of Suddhodhana, the Kshatriya prince of Kapilavastu, a small state north of the Ganges, near the borders of Oudh. His high destiny had been foretold, as well as the objects that would move him to adopt the ascetic life. To keep these from his knowledge, his father caused three palaces to be built, within the limits of which the prince should pass the three seasons of the year, whilst guards were posted to bar the approach of the dreaded objects. But these precautions were defeated by inevitable destiny and the power of the Devas.

* *Apollonia* (of Macedonia) is made *Bolina*; so *Bolinas* = Apollonius (Tyanaeus).

When the prince was sixteen he was married to the beautiful Yasodhara, daughter of the King of Koli, and 40,000 other princesses also became the inmates of his harem.

"Whilst living in the midst of the full enjoyment of every kind of pleasure, Siddhárta one day commanded his principal charioteer to prepare his festive chariot; and in obedience to his commands four lily-white horses were yoked. The prince leaped into the chariot, and proceeded towards a garden at a little distance from the palace, attended by a great retinue. On his way he saw a decrepit old man, with broken teeth, grey locks, and a form bending towards the ground, his trembling steps supported by a staff (a Deva had taken this form). . . . The prince enquired what strange figure it was that he saw; and he was informed that it was an old man. He then asked if the man was born so, and the charioteer answered that he was not, as he was once young like themselves. 'Are there,' said the prince, 'many such beings in the world?' 'Your highness,' said the charioteer, 'there are many.' The prince again enquired, 'Shall I become thus old and decrepit?' and he was told that it was a state at which all beings must arrive."

The prince returns home and informs his father of his intention to become an ascetic, seeing how undesirable is life tending to such decay. His father conjures him to put away such thoughts, and to enjoy himself with his princesses, and he strengthens the guards about the palaces. Four months later like circumstances recur, and the prince sees a leper, and after the same interval a dead body in corruption. Lastly, he sees a religious recluse, radiant with peace and tranquillity, and resolves to delay no longer. He leaves his palace at night, after a look at his wife Yasodhara and the boy just born to him, and betakes himself to the forests of Magadha, where he passes seven years in extreme asceticism. At the end of that time he attains the Buddhahood. (See *Hardy's Manual*, p. 151 *seqq.*) The latter part of the story told by Marco, about the body of the prince being brought to his father, etc., is erroneous. Sakya was 80 years of age when he died under the *sál* trees in Kusinára.

The strange parallel between Buddhist ritual, discipline, and costume, and those which especially claim the name of CATHOLIC in the Christian Church, has been often noticed; and though the parallel has never been elaborated as it might be, some of the more salient facts are familiar to most readers. Still many may be unaware that Buddha himself, Siddhárta the son of Súddodhana, has found his way into the Roman martyrology as a Saint of the Church.

In the first edition a mere allusion was made to this singular story, for it had recently been treated by Professor Max Müller, with characteristic learning and grace. (See *Contemporary Review* for July, 1870, p. 588.) But the matter is so curious and still so little familiar that I now venture to give it at some length.

The religious romance called the History of BARLAAM and JOSAPHAT was for several centuries one of the most popular works in Christendom. It was translated into all the chief European languages, including Scandinavian and Slavonic tongues. An Icelandic version dates from the year 1204; one in the Tagal language of the Philippines was printed at Manilla in 1712.* The episodes and apologues with which the story abounds have furnished materials to poets and story-tellers in various ages and of very diverse characters; e.g. to Giovanni Boccaccio, John Gower, and to the compiler of the *Gesta Romanorum*, to Shakspeare, and to the late W. Adams, author of the *King's Messengers*. The basis of this romance is the story of Siddhárta.

The story of Barlaam and Josaphat first appears among the works (in Greek) of St. John of Damascus, a theologian of the early part of the 8th century, who, before he devoted himself to divinity had held high office at the Court of the Khalif Abu Jáfar Almansúr. The outline of the story is as follows:—

St. Thomas had converted the people of India to the truth; and after the eremitic life originated in Egypt many in India adopted it. But a potent pagan King arose,

* In 1870 I saw in the Library at Monte Cassino a long French poem on the story, in a MS. of our traveller's age. This is perhaps one referred to by Migne, as cited in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XV. 434. [It "has been published in the Spanish dialect used in the Philippine Islands" (*Rhys Davids, Jataka Tales*, p. xxxvii.) In a MS. note, Yule says: "Is not this a mistake?"—H. C.]

by name ABENNER, who persecuted the Christians and especially the ascetics. After this King had long been childless, a son, greatly desired, is born to him, a boy of matchless beauty. The King greatly rejoices, gives the child the name of JOSAPHAT, and summons the astrologers to predict his destiny. They foretell for the prince glory and prosperity beyond all his predecessors in the kingdom. One sage, most learned of all, assents to this, but declares that the scene of these glories will not be the paternal realm, and that the child will adopt the faith that his father persecutes.

This prediction greatly troubled King Abenner. In a secluded city he caused a splendid palace to be erected, within which his son was to abide, attended only by tutors and servants in the flower of youth and health. No one from without was to have access to the prince; and he was to witness none of the afflictions of humanity, poverty, disease, old age, or death, but only what was pleasant, so that he should have no inducement to think of the future life; nor was he ever to hear a word of CHRIST or His religion. And, hearing that some monks still survived in India, the King in his wrath ordered that any such, who should be found after three days, should be burnt alive.

The Prince grows up in seclusion, acquires all manner of learning, and exhibits singular endowments of wisdom and acuteness. At last he urges his father to allow him to pass the limits of the palace, and this the King reluctantly permits, after taking all precautions to arrange diverting spectacles, and to keep all painful objects at a distance. Or let us proceed in the Old English of the Golden Legend.* "Whan his fader herde this he was full of sorowe, and anone he let do make redy horses and ioyfull felawshyp to accompany him, in suche wyse that nothyng dyshonest sholde happen to hym. And on a tyme thus as the Kynges sone wente he mette a mesell and a blynde man, and whā he sawe them he was abashed and enquyred what them eyed. And his seruautes sayd: These ben passions that comen to men. And he demaunded yf the passyons came to all men. And they sayd nay. Thā sayd he, ben they knowne whiche men shall suffre. . . . And they answered, Who is he that may knowe ye aduentures of men. And he began to be moche angysshous for ye incustomable thyng hereof. And another tyme he found a man moche aged, whiche had his chere frouced, his tethe fallen, and he was all croked for age. . . . And thā he demaunded what sholde be ye ende. And they sayd deth. . . . And this yonge man remembered ofte in his herte these thynges, and was in grete dyscorte, but he shewed hỹ moche glad tofore his fader, and he desyred moche to be enformed and taught in these thỹges." [Fol. ccc. lii.]

At this time BARLAAM, a monk of great sanctity and knowledge in divine things, who dwelt in the wilderness of Sennaritis, having received a divine warning, travels to India in the disguise of a merchant, and gains access to Prince Josaphat, to whom he unfolds the Christian doctrine and the blessedness of the monastic life. Suspicion is raised against Barlaam, and he departs. But all efforts to shake the Prince's convictions are vain. As a last resource the King sends for a magician called Theudas, who removes the Prince's attendants and substitutes seductive girls, but all their blandishments are resisted through prayer. The King abandons these attempts and associates his son with himself in the government. The Prince uses his power to promote religion, and everything prospers in his hand. Finally King Abenner is drawn to the truth, and after some years of penitence dies. Josaphat then surrenders the kingdom to a friend called Barachias, and proceeds into the wilderness, where he wanders for two years seeking Barlaam, and much buffeted by the demons. "And whan Balaam had accōplysshed his dayes, he rested in peas about ye yere of Our Lorde. cccc. & lxxx. Josaphat lefte his realme the. xxv. yere of his age, and ledde the lyfe of an heremyte. xxxv. yere, and than rested in peas full of vertues, and was buryed by the body of Balaam." [Fol. ccc. lvi.] The King Barachias afterwards arrives and transfers the bodies solemnly to India.

This is but the skeleton of the story, but the episodes and apologues which round

* Imprinted at London in Flete Strete at the sygne of the Sonne, by Wynkyn de Worde (1527).

its dimensions, and give it its mediæval popularity, do not concern our subject. In this skeleton the story of Siddhârta, *mutatis mutandis*, is obvious.

The story was first popular in the Greek Church, and was embodied in the lives of the saints, as recoked by Simeon the Metaphrast, an author whose period is disputed, but was in any case not later than 1150. A Cretan monk called Agapios made selections from the work of Simeon which were published in Romaic at Venice in 1541 under the name of the *Paradise*, and in which the first section consists of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat. This has been frequently reprinted as a popular book of devotion. A copy before me is printed at Venice in 1865.*

From the Greek Church the history of the two saints passed to the Latin, and they found a place in the Roman martyrology under the 27th November. When this first happened I have not been able to ascertain. Their history occupies a large space in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, written in the 13th century, and is set forth, as we have seen, in the Golden Legend of nearly the same age. They are recognised by Baronius, and are to be found at p. 348 of "The Roman Martyrology set forth by command of Pope Gregory XIII., and revised by the authority of Pope Urban VIII., translated out of Latin into English by G. K. of the Society of Jesus . . . and now re-edited . . . by W. N. Skelly, Esq. London, T. Richardson & Son." (Printed at Derby, 1847.) Here in Palermo is a church bearing the dedication *Divo Iosaphat*.

Professor Müller attributes the first recognition of the identity of the two stories to M. Laboulaye in 1859. But in fact I find that the historian de Couto had made the discovery long before.† He says, speaking of *Budão* (Buddha), and after relating his history :

"To this name the Gentiles throughout all India have dedicated great and superb pagodas. With reference to this story we have been diligent in enquiring if the ancient Gentiles of those parts had in their writings any knowledge of St. Josaphat who was converted by Barlam, who in his Legend is represented as the son of a great King of India, and who had just the same up-bringing, with all the same particulars, that we have recounted of the life of the Budão. . . . And as a thing seems much to the purpose, which was told us by a very old man of the Salsette territory in Baçaim, about Josaphat, I think it well to cite it : As I was travelling in the Isle of Salsette, and went to see that rare and admirable Pagoda (which we call the Canará Pagoda ‡) made in a mountain, with many halls cut out of one solid rock . . . and enquiring from this old man about the work, and what he thought as to who had made it, he told us that without doubt the work was made by order of the father of St. Josaphat to bring him up therein in seclusion, as the story tells. And as it informs us that he was the son of a great King in India, it may well be, as we have just said, that *he* was the Budão, of whom they relate such marvels." (Dec. V. liv. vi. cap. 2.)

Dominie Valentyn, not being well read in the Golden Legend, remarks on the subject of Buddha : "There be some who hold this Budhum for a fugitive Syrian Jew, or for an Israelite, others who hold him for a Disciple of the Apostle Thomas ; but how in that case he could have been born 622 years before Christ I leave them to explain. Diego de Couto stands by the belief that he was certainly *Joshua*, which is still more absurd !" (V. deel, p. 374.)

[Since the days of Couto, who considered the Buddhist legend but an imitation of the Christian legend, the identity of the stories was recognised (as mentioned *supra*) by M. Edouard Laboulaye, in the *Journal des Débats* of the 26th of July, 1859. About the same time, Professor F. Liebrecht of Liège, in *Eberl's Jahrbuch für Romanische*

* The first Life is thus entitled: Βίος καὶ Πολιτεία τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ Ἰωασφῶντος Ἰωάσαφ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰνδίας. Professor Müller says all the Greek copies have *Iosaph*. I have access to no copy in the ancient Greek.

† Also *Migne's Dict. Légendes*, quoting a letter of C. L. Struve, Director of Königsberg Gymnasium, to the *Journal Général de l'Inst. Publ.*, says that "an earlier story is entirely reproduced in the Barlaam," but without saving what story.

‡ The well-known Kájhari Caves. (See *Handbook for India*, p. 306.)

und Englische Literatur, II. p. 314 *seqq.*, comparing the Book of Barlaam and Joasaph with the work of Barthélemy St. Hilaire on Buddha, arrived at the same conclusion.

In 1880, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids has devoted some pages (xxxvi.-xli.) in his *Buddhist Birth Stories; or, Jataka Tales, to The Barlaam and Josaphat Literature*, and we note from them that: "Pope Sixtus the Fifth (1585-1590) authorised a particular Martyrologium, drawn up by Cardinal Baronius, to be used throughout the Western Church." In that work are included not only the saints first canonised at Rome, but all those who, having been already canonised elsewhere, were then acknowledged by the Pope and the College of Rites to be saints of the Catholic Church of Christ. Among such, under the date of the 27th of November, are included "The holy Saints Barlaam and Josaphat, of India, on the borders of Persia, whose wonderful acts Saint John of Damascus has described. Where and when they were first canonised, I have been unable, in spite of much investigation, to ascertain. Petrus de Natalibus, who was Bishop of Equilium, the modern Jesolo, near Venice, from 1370 to 1400, wrote a Martyrology called *Catalogus Sanctorum*; and in it, among the 'Saints,' he inserts both Barlaam and Josaphat, giving also a short account of them derived from the old Latin translation of St. John of Damascus. It is from this work that Baronius, the compiler of the authorised Martyrology now in use, took over the names of these two saints, Barlaam and Josaphat. But, so far as I have been able to ascertain, they do not occur in any martyrologies or lists of saints of the Western Church older than that of Petrus de Natalibus. In the corresponding manual of worship still used in the Greek Church, however, we find, under 26th August, the name 'of the holy Iosaph, son of Abener, King of India.' Barlaam is not mentioned, and is not therefore recognised as a saint in the Greek Church. No history is added to the simple statement I have quoted; and I do not know on what authority it rests. But there is no doubt that it is in the East, and probably among the records of the ancient church of Syria, that a final solution of this question should be sought. Some of the more learned of the numerous writers who translated or composed new works on the basis of the story of Josaphat, have pointed out in their notes that he had been canonised; and the hero of the romance is usually called St. Josaphat in the titles of these works, as will be seen from the Table of the Josaphat literature below. But Professor Liebrecht, when identifying Josaphat with the Buddha, took no notice of this; and it was Professor Max Müller, who has done so much to infuse the glow of life into the dry bones of Oriental scholarship, who first pointed out the strange fact—almost incredible, were it not for the completeness of the proof—that Gotama the Buddha, under the name of St. Josaphat, is now officially recognised and honoured and worshipped throughout the whole of Catholic Christendom as a Christian saint!" Professor T. W. Rhys Davids gives further a Bibliography, pp. xcvi.-xcvii.

M. H. Zotenberg wrote a learned memoir (*N. et Ext.* XXVIII. Pt. I.) in 1886 to prove that the Greek Text is not a translation but the original of the Legend. There are many MSS. of the Greek Text of the Book of Barlaam and Josaphat in Paris, Vienna, Munich, etc., including ten MSS. kept in various libraries at Oxford. New researches made by Professor E. Kuhn, of Munich (*Barlaam und Josaph. Eine Bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie*, 1893), seem to prove that during the 6th century, in that part of the Sassanian Empire bordering on India, in fact Afghanistan, Buddhism and Christianity were gaining ground at the expense of the Zoroastrian faith, and that some Buddhist wrote in Pehlevi a *Book of Yûdâsaf* (Bodhisatva); a Christian, finding pleasant the legend, made an adaptation of it from his own point of view, introducing the character of the monk Balauhar (Barlaam) to teach his religion to Yûdâsaf, who could not, in his Christian disguise, arrive at the truth by himself like a Bodhisatva. This Pehlevi version of the newly-formed Christian legend was translated into Syriac, and from Syriac was drawn a Georgian version, and, in the first half of the 7th century, the Greek Text of John, a monk of the convent of St. Saba, near Jerusalem, by some turned into St. John of Damascus, who added to the story

some long theological discussions. From this Greek, it was translated into all the known languages of Europe, while the Pehlevi version being rendered into Arabic, was adapted by the Mussulmans and the Jews to their own creeds. (*II. Zotenberg, Mém. sur le texte et les versions orientales du Livre de Barlaam et Josaphat, Not. et Ext. XXVIII. Pt. I. pp. 1-166; G. Paris, Saint Josaphat in Rev. de Paris, 1^{er} Juin, 1895, and Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen Age, pp. 181-214.*)

Mr. Joseph Jacobs published in London, 1896, a valuable little book, *Barlaam and Josaphat, English Lives of Buddha*, in which he comes to this conclusion (p. xli.): "I regard the literary history of the Barlaam literature as completely parallel with that of the Fables of Bidpai. Originally Buddhistic books, both lost their specifically Buddhistic traits before they left India, and made their appeal, by their parables, more than by their doctrines. Both were translated into Pehlevi in



Sakya Muni as a Saint of the Roman Martyrology.

“*Ulle des Kunigs Sun in dem aufsziechen am ersten sahe in dem Uleg eynen blinden und eyn aufsmörckigen und eyn alten krummen Man.*” *

the reign of Chosroes, and from that watershed floated off into the literatures of all the great creeds. In Christianity alone, characteristically enough, one of them, the Barlaam book, was surcharged with dogma, and turned to polemical uses, with the curious result that Buddha became one of the champions of the Church. To divest the Barlaam-Buddha of this character, and see him in his original form, we must take a further journey and seek him in his home beyond the Himalayas.”

Professor Gaston Paris, in answer to Mr. Jacobs, writes (*Poèmes et Lég. du Moyen Age, p. 213*): “Mr. Jacobs thinks that the Book of Balauhar and Yûdasaf was not originally Christian, and could have existed such as it is now in Buddhistic India, but it is hardly likely, as Buddha did not require the help of a teacher to find truth, and his followers would not have invented the person of Balauhar-Barlaam; on the other hand, the introduction of the Evangelical Parable of *The Sower*, which exists in

* The quotation and the cut are from an old German version of Barlaam and Josaphat printed by Zainer at Augsburg, circa 1477. (B. M., Grenv. Lib., No. 11,766.)

the original of all the versions of our Book, shows that this original was a Christian adaptation of the Legend of Buddha. Mr. Jacobs seeks vainly to lessen the force of this proof in showing that this Parable has parallels in Buddhistic literature."—II. C.]

NOTE 3.—Marco is not the only eminent person who has expressed this view of Sakyamuni's life in such words. Professor Max Müller (*u.s.*) says: "And whatever we may think of the sanctity of saints, let those who doubt the right of Buddha to a place among them, read the story of his life as it is told in the Buddhistic canon. If he lived the life which is there described, few saints have a better claim to the title than Buddha; and no one either in the Greek or the Roman Church need be ashamed of having paid to his memory the honour that was intended for St. Josaphat, the prince, the hermit, and the saint."

NOTE 4.—This is curiously like a passage in the *Wisdom of Solomon*: "Neque enim erant (idola) ab initio, neque erunt in perpetuum . . . acerbo enim luctu dolens pater cito sibi rapti filii fecit imaginem: et illum qui tunc quasi homo mortuus fuerat nunc tamquam deum colere cepit, et constituit inter servos suos sacra et sacrificia" (xiv. 13-15). Gower alludes to the same story; I know not whence taken:—

"Of *Cirophanes*, seith the booke,
That he for sorow, whiche he toke
Of that he sigh his sonne dede,
Of comfort knewe none other rede,
But lete do make in remembrance
A faire image of his semblance,
And set it in the market place:
Whiche openly to fore his face
Stood every day, to done hym ease;
And thei that than wolden please
The Fader, shuld it obeye,
Whan that thei comen thilke weye."—*Confessio Amantis*. *

NOTE 5.—Adam's Peak has for ages been a place of pilgrimage to Buddhists, Hindus, and Mahomedans, and appears still to be so. Ibn Batuta says the Mussulman pilgrimage was instituted in the 10th century. The book on the history of the Mussulmans in Malabar, called *Tohfat-ul-Majâhidin* (p. 48), ascribes their first settlement in that country to a party of pilgrims returning from Adam's Peak. Marignolli, on his visit to the mountain, mentions "another pilgrim, a Saracen of Spain; for many go on pilgrimage to Adam."

The identification of Adam with objects of Indian worship occurs in various forms. Tod tells how an old Rajput Chief, as they stood before a famous temple of Mahádeo near Udupúr, invited him to enter and worship "Father Adam." Another traveller relates how Brahmans of Bagesar on the Sarjú identified Mahadeo and Parvati with Adam and Eve. A Malay MS., treating of the *origines* of Java, represents Brahma, Mahadeo, and Vishnu to be descendants of Adam through Seth. And in a Malay paraphrase of the Ramáyana, *Nabi Adam* takes the place of Vishnu. (*Tod*. I. 96; *J. A. S. B.* XVI. 233; *J. R. A. S. N.S.* II. 102; *J. Asiat.* IV. s. VII. 438.)

NOTE 6.—The *Pâtra*, or alms-pot, was the most valued legacy of Buddha. It had served the three previous Buddhas of this world-period, and was destined to serve the future one, Maitreya. The Great Açoka sent it to Ceylon. Thence it was carried off by a Tamul chief in the 1st century, A.D., but brought back we know not how, and is still shown in the Malagawa Vihara at Kandy. As usual in such cases, there were rival reliques, for Fa-hian found the alms-pot preserved at Pesháwar.

* Ed. 1554, fol. xci. v. So also I find in *A. Tostati Hisp. Comment. in primam ptem. Exodi*, Ven. 1695, p. 295-296: "Idola autem sculpta in Aegypto primo inventa sunt per *Syrophenem* primum Idolotrarum; ante hoc enim pura elementa ut dii colebantur." I cannot trace the tale,

Hüen Tsang says in his time it was no longer there, but in Persia. And indeed the *Pâtra* from Peshâwar, according to a remarkable note by Sir Henry Rawlinson, is still preserved at Kandahâr, under the name of *Kashkul* (or the Pegging-pot), and retains among the Mussulman Dervishes the sanctity and miraculous repute which it bore among the Buddhist *Bhikshus*. Sir Henry conjectures that the deportation of this vessel, the palladium of the true *Gandhâra* (Peshâwar), was accompanied by a popular emigration, and thus accounts for the transfer of that name also to the chief city of Arachosia. (*Koeppen*, I. 526; *Fah-hian*, p. 36; *H. Tsang*, II. 106; *J. R. A. S.* XI. 127.)

Sir E. Tennent, through Mr. Wylie (to whom this book owes so much), obtained the following curious Chinese extract referring to Ceylon (written 1350): "In front of the image of Buddha there is a sacred bowl, which is neither made of jade nor copper, nor iron; it is of a purple colour, and glossy, and when struck it sounds like glass. At the commencement of the Yuen Dynasty (*i.e.* under Kúblái) three separate envoys were sent to obtain it." Sanang Setzen also corroborates Marco's statement: "Thus did the Khaghan (Kúblái) cause the sun of religion to rise over the dark land of the Mongols; he also procured from India images and reliques of Buddha; among others the *Pâtra* of Buddha, which was presented to him by the four kings (of the cardinal points), and also the *chandana chu*" (a miraculous sandal-wood image). (*Tennent*, I. 622; *Schmidt*, p. 119.)

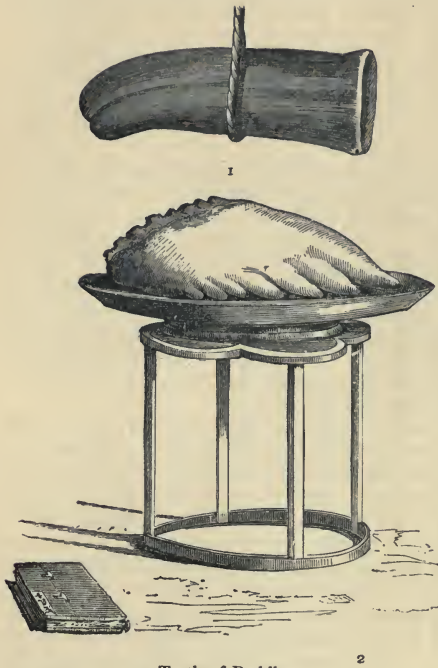
The text also says that several *teeth* of Buddha were preserved in Ceylon, and that the Kaan's embassy obtained two molars. Doubtless the envoys were imposed on; no solitary case in the amazing history of that relique, for *the Dalada*, or tooth relique, seems in all historic times to have been unique. This, "the left canine tooth" of the Buddha, is related to have been preserved for 800 years at Dantapura ("Odontopolis"), in Kalinga, generally supposed to be the modern Pûri or Jagannâth. Here the Brahmans once captured it and carried it off to Palibothra, where they tried in vain to destroy it. Its miraculous resistance converted the king, who sent it back to Kalinga. About A.D. 311 the daughter of King Guhašiva fled with it to Ceylon. In the beginning of the 14th century it was captured by the Tamuls and carried to the Pandya country on the continent, but recovered some years later by King Parakrama III., who went in person to treat for it. In 1560 the Portuguese got possession of it and took it to Goa. The King of Pegu, who then reigned, probably the most powerful and wealthy monarch who has ever ruled in Further India, made unlimited offers in exchange for the tooth; but the archbishop prevented the viceroy from yielding to these temptations, and it was solemnly pounded to atoms by the prelate, then cast into a charcoal fire, and finally its ashes thrown into the river of Goa.

The King of Pegu was, however, informed by a crafty minister of the King of Ceylon that only a sham tooth had been destroyed by the Portuguese, and that the real relique was still safe. This he obtained by extraordinary presents, and the account of its reception at Pegu, as quoted by Tennent from De Couto, is a curious parallel to Marco's narrative of the Great Kaan's reception of the Ceylon reliques at Cambaluc. The extraordinary object still so solemnly preserved at Kandy is another forgery, set up about the same time. So the immediate result of the viceroy's virtue was that two reliques were worshipped instead of one!

The possession of the tooth has always been a great object of desire to Buddhist sovereigns. In the 11th century King Anarauhta, of Burmah, sent a mission to Ceylon to endeavour to procure it, but he could obtain only a "miraculous emanation" of the relique. A tower to contain the sacred tooth was (1855), however, one of the buildings in the palace court of Amarapura. A few years ago the King of Burma repeated the mission of his remote predecessor, but obtained only a *model*, and this has been deposited within the walls of the palace at Mandalé, the new capital. (*Turnour* in *J. A. S. B.* VI. 856 *seqq.*; *Koeppen*, I. 521; *Tennent*, I. 388, II. 198 *seqq.*; *MS. Note by Sir A. Phayre*; *Mission to Ava*, 136.)

Of the four eye-teeth of Sakya, one, it is related, passed to the heaven of Indra;

the second to the capital of Gandhára ; the third to Kalinga ; the fourth to the snake-gods. The Gandhára tooth was perhaps, like the alms-bowl, carried off by a Sassanid invasion, and may be identical with that tooth of Fo, which the Chinese annals state to have been brought to China in A. D. 530 by a Persian embassy. A tooth of Buddha is now shown in a monastery at Fuchau ; but whether this be either the Sassanian present, or that got from Ceylon by Kúblái, is unknown. Other teeth of Buddha were shown in Hiuen Tsang's time at Balkh, at Nagarahára (or Jalálábád), in Kashmir, and at Kanauj. (*Koeppen*, u. s. ; *Fortune*, II. 108 ; *H. Tsang*, II. 31, 80, 263.)



Teeth of Buddha.

1. At Kandy, after Tennent. 2. At Fu-chau, from Fortune.

The modern Mussulman story at Kandahar is that the alms-pot will contain any quantity of liquor without overflowing.

This *Pátra* is the Holy Grail of Buddhism. Mystical powers of nourishment are ascribed also to the Grail in the European legends. German scholars have traced in the romances of the Grail remarkable indications of Oriental origin. It is not impossible that the alms-pot of Buddha was the prime source of them. Read the prophetic history of the *Pátra* as Fa-hian heard it in India (p. 161) ; its mysterious wanderings over Asia till it is taken up into the heaven *Tushita*, where Maitreya the Future Buddha dwells. When it has disappeared from earth the Law gradually perishes, and violence and wickedness more and more prevail :

— “ What is it ?

The phantom of a cup that comes and goes ?

* * * * * If a man

Could touch or see it, he was heal'd at once,

By faith, of all his ills. But then the times

Grew to such evil that the holy cup

Was caught away to Heaven, and disappear'd.”

— *Tennyson's Holy Grail.*

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCERNING THE GREAT PROVINCE OF MAABAR, WHICH IS CALLED INDIA THE GREATER, AND IS ON THE MAINLAND.

WHEN you leave the Island of Seilan and sail westward about 60 miles, you come to the great province of MAABAR which is styled INDIA THE GREATER ; it is best of all the Indies and is on the mainland.

You must know that in this province there are five kings, who are own brothers. I will tell you about each in turn. The Province is the finest and noblest in the world.

At this end of the Province reigns one of those five Royal Brothers, who is a crowned King, and his name is SONDER BANDI DAVAR. In his kingdom they find very fine and great pearls ; and I will tell you how they are got.¹

You must know that the sea here forms a gulf between the Island of Seilan and the mainland. And all round this gulf the water has a depth of no more than 10 or 12 fathoms, and in some places no more than two fathoms. The pearl-fishers take their vessels, great and small, and proceed into this gulf, where they stop from the beginning of April till the middle of May. They go first to a place called BETTELAR, and (then) go 60 miles into the gulf. Here they cast anchor and shift from their large vessels into small boats. You must know that the many merchants who go divide into various companies, and each of these must engage a number of men on wages, hiring them for April and half of May. Of all the produce they have first to pay the King, as his royalty, the tenth part. And they must also pay those men who charm the great fishes, to prevent them from

injuring the divers whilst engaged in seeking pearls under water, one twentieth part of all that they take. These fish-charmers are termed *Abraiaman*; and their charm holds good for that day only, for at night they dissolve the charm so that the fishes can work mischief at their will. These Abraiaman know also how to charm beasts and birds and every living thing. When the men have got into the small boats they jump into the water and dive to the bottom, which may be at a depth of from 4 to 12 fathoms, and there they remain as long as they are able. And there they find the shells that contain the pearls [and these they put into a net bag tied round the waist, and mount up to the surface with them, and then dive anew. When they can't hold their breath any longer they come up again, and after a little down they go once more, and so they go on all day].² The shells are in fashion like oysters or sea-hoods. And in these shells are found pearls, great and small, of every kind, sticking in the flesh of the shell-fish.

In this manner pearls are fished in great quantities, for thence in fact come the pearls which are spread all over the world. And I can tell you the King of that State hath a very great receipt and treasure from his dues upon those pearls.

As soon as the middle of May is past, no more of those pearl-shells are found there. It is true, however, that a long way from that spot, some 300 miles distant, they are also found; but that is in September and the first half of October.

NOTE I.—MAABAR (*Ma'bār*) was the name given by the Mahomedans at this time (13th and 14th centuries) to a tract corresponding in a general way to what we call the Coromandel Coast. The word in Arabic signifies the Passage or Ferry, and may have referred either to the communication with Ceylon, or, as is more probable, to its being in that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf.* The name does not appear in Edrisi, nor, I believe, in any of the older geo-

* So the Barbary coast from Tunis westward was called by the Arabs *Bār-ul-'Adwah*, "Terra Transitus," because thence they used to pass into Spain. (*J. As.* for Jan. 1846, p. 228.)

graphers, and the earliest use of it that I am aware of is in Abdallatif's account of Egypt, a work written about 1203-1204. (*De Sacy, Rel. de l'Égypte*, p. 31.) Abulfeda distinctly names Cape Comorin as the point where Malabar ended and Ma'bar began, and other authority to be quoted presently informs us that it extended to *Niltwar*, i.e. Nellore.

There are difficulties as to the particular locality of the port or city which Polo visited in the territory of the Prince whom he calls Sondar Bandi Davar; and there are like doubts as to the identification, from the dark and scanty Tamul records, of the Prince himself, and the family to which he belonged; though he is mentioned by more than one foreign writer besides Polo.

Thus Wassáf: "Ma'bar extends in length from Kaulam to Niláwar, nearly 300 parasangs along the sea-coast; and in the language of that country the king is called Devar, which signifies, 'The Lord of Empire.' The curiosities of Chín and Máchín, and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships which they call *Junks*, sailing like mountains with the wings of the wind on the surface of the water, are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from 'Irak and Khurásán as far as Rúm and Europe, are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind.

"A few years since the DEVAR was SUNDAR PANDI, who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country. The eminent prince, the Margrave (*Marzbán*) of Hind, Taki-uddin Abdu-r Rahmán, a son of Muhammad-ut-Tíbf, whose virtues and accomplishments have for a long time been the theme of praise and admiration among the chief inhabitants of that beautiful country, was the Devar's deputy, minister, and adviser, and was a man of sound judgment. Fattan, Malífattan, and Káil* were made over to his possession. . . . In the months of the year 692 H. (A.D. 1293) the above-mentioned Devar, the ruler of Ma'bar, died and left behind him much wealth and treasure. It is related by Malik-ul-Islám Jamáluddín, that out of that treasure 7000 oxen laden with precious stones and pure gold and silver fell to the share of the brother who succeeded him. Malik-i 'Azam Taki-uddin continued prime minister as before, and in fact ruler of that kingdom, and his glory and magnificence were raised a thousand times higher."†

Seventeen years later (1310) Wassáf introduces another king of Ma'bar called *Kalesa Devar*, who had ruled for forty years in prosperity, and had accumulated in the treasury of Shahr-Mandi (i.e., as Dr. Caldwell informs me MADURA, entitled by the Mahomedan invaders Shahr-Pandi, and still occasionally mispronounced *Shahr-Mandí*) 1200 crores (!) in gold. He had two sons, SUNDAR BANDI by a lawful wife, and Pirabandi (Vira Pandi?) illegitimate. He designated the latter as his successor. Sundar Bandi, enraged at this, slew his father and took forcible possession of Shahr-Mandi and its treasures. Pirabandi succeeded in driving him out; Sundar Bandi went to Aláuddin, Sultan of Delhi, and sought help. The Sultan eventually sent his general Hazárdinári (*alias* Malik Káfúr) to conquer Ma'bar.

* Wassáf has *Fitan*, *Mali Fitan*, *Kábil*, and meant the names so, as he shows by silly puns. For my justification in presuming to correct the names, I must refer to an article, in the *J. R. As. Soc.*, N.S. IV, p. 347, on Rashiduddin's Geography.

† The same information is given in almost the same terms by Rashiduddin. (See *Elliot*, I, 69.) But he (at least in Elliot's translation) makes *Shaikh Jumaluddin* the successor of the Devar, instead of merely the narrator of the circumstances. This is evidently a mistake, probably of transcription, and Wassáf gives us the true version.

The members of the Arab family bearing the surname of At-Thaibi (or Thibi) appear to have been powerful on the coasts of the Indian Sea at this time. (1) The Malik-ul-Islám Jamáluddin Ibrahim At Thaibi was Farmer-General of Fars, besides being quasi-independent Prince of Kais and other Islands in the Persian Gulf, and at the time of his death (1306) governor of Shiraz. He had the horse trade with India greatly in his hands, as is mentioned in a note (7) on next chapter. (2) The son of Jamáluddin, Fakhruddin Ahmed, goes ambassador to the Great Kaan in 1297, and dies near the coast of Ma'bar on his way back in 1305. A Fakhruddin Ahmed *Ben Ibrahim* at-Thaibi also appears in Hammer's extracts as ruler of Hormuz about the time of Polo's return. (See *ante*, vol. I, p. 121); and though he is there represented as opposed by Shaikh Jumaluddin (perhaps through one of Hammer's too frequent confusions), one should suppose that he must be the son just mentioned. (3) Takiuddin Abdurrahmán, the Wazir and Marzbán in Ma'bar; followed successively in that position by his son Surajuddin, and his grandson Nizamuddin. (*Ilchan*. II. 49-50, 197-198, 205-206; *Elliot*, III. 32, 34-35, 45-47.)

In the third volume of Elliot we find some of the same main facts, with some differences and greater detail, as recounted by Amír Khusrú. Bir Pandiya and Sundara Pandiya are the *Rais* of Ma'bar, and are at war with one another, when the army of Alaúddin, after reducing Bilál Deo of Dwára Samudra, descends upon Ma'bar in the beginning of 1311 (p. 87 *seqq.*).

We see here two rulers in Ma'bar, within less than twenty years, bearing the name of Sundara Pandi. And, strange to say, more than a century before, during the continental wars of Parákráma Bahu I., the most martial of Singhalese kings (A.D. 1153-1186), we find *another Kulasalakera* (= *Kalesa* of Wassáf), King of Madura, with *another Vira Pandi* for son, and *another Sundara Pandi Rája*, figuring in the history of the *Pandionis Regio*. But let no one rashly imagine that there is a confusion in the chronology here. The Hindu Chronology of the continental states is dark and confused enough, but not that of Ceylon, which in this, as in sundry other respects, comes under Indo-Chinese rather than Indian analogies. (See *Turnour's Ceylonese Epítome*, pp. 41-43; and *J. A. S. B.* XLI. Pt. I. p. 197 *seqq.*)

In a note with which Dr. Caldwell favoured me some time before the first publication of this work, he considers that the Sundar Bandi of Polo and the Persian Historians is undoubtedly to be identified with that Sundara Pandi Devar, who is in the Tamul Catalogues the last king of the ancient Pandya line, and who was (says Dr. Caldwell), "succeeded by Mahomedans, by a new line of Pandyas, by the Náyak Kings, by the Nabobs of Arcot, and finally by the English. He became for a time a Jaina, but was reconverted to the worship of Siva, when his name was changed from *Kun* or *Kubja*, 'Crook-backed,' to *Sundara*, 'Beautiful,' in accordance with a change which then took place, the Saivas say, in his personal appearance. Probably his name, from the beginning, was Sundara. . . . In the inscriptions belonging to the period of his reign he is invariably represented, not as a joint king or viceroy, but as an absolute monarch ruling over an extensive tract of country, including the Chola country or Tanjore, and Conjeveram, and as the only possessor for the time being of the title *Pandi Devar*. It is clear from the agreement of Rashiduddin with Marco Polo that Sundara Pandi's power was shared in some way with his brothers, but it seems certain also from the inscription that there was a sense in which he alone was king."

I do not give the whole of Dr. Caldwell's remarks on this subject, because, the 3rd volume of Elliot not being then published, he had not before him the whole of the information from the Mussulman historians, which shows so clearly that *two* princes bearing the name of Sundara Pandi are mentioned by them, and because I cannot see my way to adopt his view, great as is the weight due to his opinion on any such question.

Extraordinary darkness hangs over the chronology of the the South Indian kingdoms, as we may judge from the fact that Dr. Caldwell would have thus placed at the end of the 13th century, on the evidence of Polo and Rashiduddin, the reign of the last of the genuine Pandya kings, whom other calculations place earlier even by centuries. Thus, to omit views more extravagant, Mr. Nelson, the learned official historian of Madura, supposes it on the whole most probable that *Kun Pandya alias Sundara*, reigned in the latter half of the 11th century. "The Sri Tala Book, which appears to have been written about 60 years ago, and was probably compiled from brief Tamil chronicles then in existence, states that the Pandya race became extinct upon the death of Kín Pandya; and the children of concubines and of younger brothers who (had) lived in former ages, fought against one another, split up the country into factions, and got themselves crowned, and ruled one in one place, another in another. But none of these families succeeded in getting possession of Madura, the capital, which consequently fell into decay. And further on it tells us, rather inconsistently, that up to A.D. 1324 the kings 'who ruled the Madura country, were part of the time Pandyas, at other times foreigners.'" And a variety of traditions referred to by Mr. Nelson appears to interpose such a period of unsettlement and shifting and divided sovereignty, extending over a considerable time, between the

end of the genuine Pandya Dynasty and the Mahomedan invasion; whilst lists of numerous princes who reigned in this period have been handed down. Now we have just seen that the Mahomedan invasion took place in 1311, and we must throw aside the traditions and the lists altogether if we suppose that the Sundara Pandi of 1292 was the last prince of the Old Line. Indeed, though the indication is faint, the manner in which Wassáf speaks of Polo's Sundara and his brothers as having established themselves in different territories, and as in constant war with each other, is suggestive of the state of unsettlement which the Sri Tala and the traditions describe.

There is a difficulty in co-ordinating these four or five brothers at constant war, whom Polo found in possession of different provinces of Ma'bar about 1290, with the Devar Kalesa, of whom Wassáf speaks as slain in 1310 after a prosperous reign of forty years. Possibly the brothers were adventurers who had divided the coast districts, whilst Kalesa still reigned with a more legitimate claim at Shahr-Mandi or Madura. And it is worthy of notice that the Ceylon Annals call the Pandi king whose army carried off the sacred tooth in 1303 *Kulasaikera*, a name which we may easily believe to represent Wassáf's Kalesa. (*Nelson's Madura*, 55, 67, 71-74; *Turnour's Epitome*, p. 47.)

As regards the position of the port of Ma'bar visited, but not named, by Marco Polo, and at or near which his Sundara Pandi seems to have resided, I am inclined to look for it rather in Tanjore than on the Gulf of Manar, south of the Rameshwaram shallows. The difficulties in this view are the indication of its being "60 miles west of Ceylon," and the special mention of the Pearl Fishery in connection with it. We cannot, however, lay much stress upon Polo's orientation. When his general direction is from east to west, every new place reached is for him *west* of that last visited; whilst the Kaveri Delta is as near the north point of Ceylon as Ramnad is to Aripo. The pearl difficulty may be solved by the probability that the dominion of Sonder Bandi *extended* to the coast of the Gulf of Manar.

On the other hand Polo, below (ch. xx.), calls the province of Sundara Pandi *Soli*, which we can scarcely doubt to be *Chola* or *Soladesam*, i.e. Tanjore. He calls it also "the best and noblest Province of India," a description which even with his limited knowledge of India he would scarcely apply to the coast of Ramnad, but which might be justifiably applied to the well-watered plains of Tanjore, even when as yet Arthur Cotton was not. Let it be noticed too that Polo in speaking (ch. xix.) of Mutfili (or Telingana) specifies its distance from Ma'bar as if he had made the run by sea from one to the other; but afterwards when he proceeds to speak of *Cail*, which stands on the Gulf of Manar, he does not specify its position or distance in regard to Sundara Pandi's territory; an omission which he would not have been likely to make had *both* lain on the Gulf of Manar.

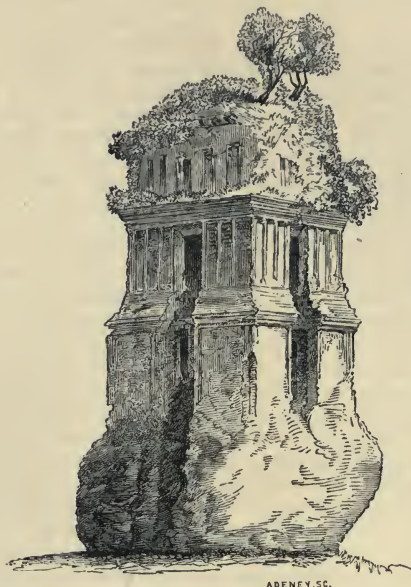
Abulfeda tells us that the capital of the Prince of Ma'bar, who was the great horse-importer, was called *Biyardáwal*,* a name which now appears in the extracts from Amír Khusru (*Elliot*, III. 90-91) as *Birdhúl*, the capital of Bir Pandi mentioned above, whilst Madura was the residence of his brother, the later Sundara Pandi. And from the indications in those extracts it can be gathered, I think, that Birdhúl was not far from the Kaveri (called Kánobari), not far from the sea, and five or six days' march from Madura. These indications point to Tanjore, Kombakonam, or some other city in or near the Kaveri Delta.† I should suppose that this Birdhúl was the capital of Polo's Sundara Pandi, and that the port visited was Kaveripattanam. This was a great sea-port at one of the mouths of the Kaveri, which is said to have been destroyed by an inundation about the year 1300. According to Mr. Burnell it was

* ^{بیرداول}
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† My learned friend Mr. A. Burnell suggests that Birdhúl must have been Vriddachalam, *Virdachellam* of the maps, which is in South Arcot, about 50 miles north of Tanjore. There are old and well-known temples there, and relics of fortifications. It is a rather famous place of pilgrimage.

the "*Pattanam* 'par excellence' of the Coromandel Coast, and the great port of the Chola kingdom."*

Some corroboration of the supposition that the Tanjore ports were those frequented by Chinese trade may be found in the fact that a remarkable Pagoda of uncemented brickwork, about a mile to the north-west of Negapatam, popularly bears (or bore) the name of *the Chinese Pagoda*. I do not mean to imply that the building was



Chinese Pagoda (so called) at Negapatam. (From a sketch taken in 1846 by Sir Walter Elliot.)

Chinese, but that the application of that name to a ruin of strange character pointed to some tradition of Chinese visitors.† Sir Walter Elliot, to whom I am indebted for the sketch of it given here, states that this building differed essentially from any type of Hindu architecture with which he was acquainted, but being without inscription or sculpture it was impossible to assign to it any authentic origin. Negapatam was, however, celebrated as a seat of *Buddhist* worship, and this may have been a remnant of their work. In 1846 it consisted of three stories divided by cornices of stepped brickwork. The interior was open to the top, and showed the marks of a floor about 20 feet from the ground. Its general appearance is shown by the cut. This interesting building was reported in 1859 to be in too dilapidated a state for repair, and now exists no longer. Sir W. Elliot also tells me that collectors em-

* It was also perhaps the Fattan of the Mahomedan writers; but in that case its destruction must have been after Ibn Batuta's time (say middle of 14th century).

† I leave this passage as it stood in the first edition. It is a mistake, but this mistake led to the engraving of Sir W. Elliot's sketch (perhaps unique) of a very interesting building which has disappeared. Dr. Caldwell writes: "The native name was 'the *Jaina Tower*,' turned by the English into *China* and *Chinese*. This I was told in Negapatam 30 years ago, but to make sure of the matter I have now written to Negapatam, and obtained from the Munsiff of the place confirmation of what I had heard long ago. It bore also the name of the *Tower of the Malla*.' The Chalukya Malla kings were at one time Jainas. The 'Seven Pagodas' near Madras bear their name, *Ma-Mallei* pûram, and their power may at one time have extended as far south as Negapatam." I have no doubt Dr. Caldwell is right in substance, but the name *Caina Pagoda* at Negapatam is at least as old as Baldaeus (1672, p. 149), and the ascription to the Chinese is in Valentyn (1726, tom. v. p. 6). It is, I find, in the Atlas of India, "Jayne Pagoda."

ployed by him picked up in the sand, at several stations on this coast, numerous Byzantine and Chinese as well as Hindu coins.* The brickwork of the pagoda, as described by him, very fine and closely fitted but without cement, corresponds to that of the Burmese and Ceylonese mediæval Buddhist buildings. The *architecture* has a slight resemblance to that of Pollanarua in Ceylon (see *Fergusson*, II. p. 512). (*Abulf.* in *Gildemeister*, p. 185; *Nelson*, Pt. II. p. 27 *seqq.*; *Taylor's Catalogue Raisonné*, III. 386-389.)

Ma'bar is mentioned (*Mâ-pa-'rh*) in the Chinese Annals as one of the foreign kingdoms which sent tribute to Kúblái in 1286 (*supra*, p. 296); and Pauthier has given some very curious and novel extracts from Chinese sources regarding the diplomatic intercourse with Ma'bar in 1280 and the following years. Among other points these mention the "five brothers who were Sultans" (*Suantan*), an envoy *Chamalating* (Jumaluddin) who had been sent from Ma'bar to the Mongol Court, etc. (See pp. 603 *seqq.*)

NOTE 2. — Marco's account of the pearl-fishery is still substantially correct. *Bettelar*, the rendezvous of the fishery, was, I imagine, PATLAM on the coast of Ceylon, called by Ibn Batuta *Batthála*. Though the centre of the pearl-fishery is now at Aripo and Kondachi further north, its site has varied sometimes as low as Chilaw, the name of which is a corruption of that given by the Tamuls, *Salábham*, which means "the Diving," *i.e.* the Pearl-fishery. Tennent gives the meaning erroneously as "the Sea of Gain." I owe the correction to Dr. Caldwell. (*Ceylon*, I. 440; *Pridham*, 409; *Ibn Bat.* IV. 166; *Ribeyro*, ed. Columbo, 1847, App. p. 196.)

[Ma Huan (*J. North China B. R. A. S.* XX. p. 213) says that "the King (of Ceylon) has had an [artificial] pearl pond dug, into which every two or three years he orders pearl oysters to be thrown, and he appoints men to keep watch over it. Those who fish for these oysters, and take them to the authorities for the King's use, sometimes steal and fraudulently sell them."—H. C.]

The shark-charmers do not now seem to have any claim to be called Abraiaman or Brahmans, but they may have been so in former days. At the diamond mines of the northern Circars Brahmans are employed in the analogous office of propitiating the tutelary genii. The shark-charmers are called in Tamul *Kadal-Kaṭṭi*, "Sea-binders," and in Hindustani *Hai-banda* or "Shark-binders." At Aripo they belong to one family, supposed to have the monopoly of the charm. The chief operator is (or was, not many years ago) paid by Government, and he also received ten oysters from each boat daily during the fishery. Tennent, on his visit, found the incumbent of the office to be a Roman Catholic Christian, but that did not seem to affect the exercise or the validity of his functions. It is remarkable that when Tennent wrote, not more than one authenticated accident from sharks had taken place, during the whole period of the British occupation.

The time of the fishery is a little earlier than Marco mentions, *viz.* in March and April, just between the cessation of the north-east and commencement of the south-west monsoon. His statement of the depth is quite correct; the diving is carried on in water of 4 to 10 fathoms deep, and never in a greater depth than 13.

I do not know the site of the other fishery to which he alludes as practised in September and October; but the time implies shelter from the south-west Monsoon, and it was probably on the east side of the island, where in 1750 there was a fishery, at Trincomalee. (*Stewart in Trans. R. A. S.* III. 456 *seqq.*; *Pridham*, u. s.; *Tennent*, II. 564-565; *Ribeyro*, as above, App. p. 196.)

* Colonel Mackenzie also mentions Chinese coins as found on this coast. (*J. R. A. S. I.* 352-353.)

CHAPTER XVII.

CONTINUES TO SPEAK OF THE PROVINCE OF MAABAR.

YOU must know that in all this Province of Maabar there is never a Tailor to cut a coat or stitch it, seeing that everybody goes naked! For decency only do they wear a scrap of cloth; and so 'tis with men and women, with rich and poor, aye, and with the King himself, except what I am going to mention.¹

It is a fact that the King goes as bare as the rest, only round his loins he has a piece of fine cloth, and round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones,—rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and the like, insomuch that this collar is of great value.² He wears also hanging in front of his chest from the neck downwards, a fine silk thread strung with 104 large pearls and rubies of great price. The reason why he wears this cord with the 104 great pearls and rubies, is (according to what they tell) that every day, morning and evening, he has to say 104 prayers to his idols. Such is their religion and their custom. And thus did all the Kings his ancestors before him, and they bequeathed the string of pearls to him that he should do the like. [The prayer that they say daily consists of these words, *Pacauta! Pacauta! Pacauta!* And this they repeat 104 times.³

The King aforesaid also wears on his arms three golden bracelets thickly set with pearls of great value, and anklets also of like kind he wears on his legs, and rings on his toes likewise. So let me tell you what this King wears, between gold and gems and pearls, is worth more than a city's ransom. And 'tis no wonder; for he hath great store of such gear; and besides they are

found in his kingdom. Moreover nobody is permitted to take out of the kingdom a pearl weighing more than half a *saggio*, unless he manages to do it secretly.⁴ This order has been given because the King desires to reserve all such to himself; and so in fact the quantity he has is something almost incredible. Moreover several times every year he sends his proclamation through the realm that if any one who possesses a pearl or stone of great value will bring it to him, he will pay for it twice as much as it cost. Everybody is glad to do this, and thus the King gets all into his own hands, giving every man his price.

Furthermore, this King hath some five hundred wives, for whenever he hears of a beautiful damsel he takes her to wife. Indeed he did a very sorry deed as I shall tell you. For seeing that his brother had a handsome wife, he took her by force and kept her for himself. His brother, being a discreet man, took the thing quietly and made no noise about it. The King hath many children.

And there are about the King a number of Barons in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom; they are called the King's Trusty Lieges. And you must know that when the King dies, and they put him on the fire to burn him, these Lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body, and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him. For they say they have been his comrades in this world, and that they ought also to keep him company in the other world.⁵

When the King dies none of his children dares to touch his treasure. For they say, "as our father did gather together all this treasure, so we ought to accumulate as much in our turn." And in this way it

comes to pass that there is an immensity of treasure accumulated in this kingdom.⁶

Here are no horses bred ; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses ; I will tell you how. You must know that the merchants of KIS and HORMES, DOFAR and SOER and ADEN collect great numbers of destriers and other horses, and these they bring to the territories of this King and of his four brothers, who are kings likewise as I told you. For a horse will fetch among them 500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver, and vast numbers are sold there every year. Indeed this King wants to buy more than 2000 horses every year, and so do his four brothers who are kings likewise. The reason why they want so many horses every year is that by the end of the year there shall not be one hundred of them remaining, for they all die off. And this arises from mismanagement, for those people do not know in the least how to treat a horse ; and besides they have no farriers. The horse-merchants not only never bring any farriers with them, but also prevent any farrier from going thither, lest that should in any degree baulk the sale of horses, which brings them in every year such vast gains. They bring these horses by sea aboard ship.⁷

They have in this country the custom which I am going to relate. When a man is doomed to die for any crime, he may declare that he will put himself to death in honour of such or such an idol ; and the government then grants him permission to do so. His kinsfolk and friends then set him up on a cart, and provide him with twelve knives, and proceed to conduct him all about the city, proclaiming aloud : " This valiant man is going to slay himself for the love of (such an idol)." And when they be come to the place of execution he takes a knife and sticks it through his arm, and cries : " I slay myself

for the love of (such a god)!" Then he takes another knife and sticks it through his other arm, and takes a third knife and runs it into his belly, and so on until he kills himself outright. And when he is dead his kinsfolk take the body and burn it with a joyful celebration.⁸ Many of the women also, when their husbands die and are placed on the pile to be burnt, do burn themselves along with the bodies. And such women as do this have great praise from all.⁹

The people are Idolaters, and many of them worship the ox, because (say they) it is a creature of such excellence. They would not eat beef for anything in the world, nor would they on any account kill an ox. But there is another class of people who are called *Govy*, and these are very glad to eat beef, though they dare not kill the animal. Howbeit if an ox dies, naturally or otherwise, then they eat him.¹⁰

And let me tell you, the people of this country have a custom of rubbing their houses all over with cowdung.¹¹ Moreover all of them, great and small, King and Barons included, do sit upon the ground only, and the reason they give is that this is the most honourable way to sit, because we all spring from the Earth and to the Earth we must return; so no one can pay the Earth too much honour, and no one ought to despise it.

And about that race of *Govis*, I should tell you that nothing on earth would induce them to enter the place where Messer St. Thomas is—I mean where his body lies, which is in a certain city of the province of Maabar. Indeed, were even 20 or 30 men to lay hold of one of these *Govis* and to try to hold him in the place where the Body of the Blessed Apostle of Jesus Christ lies buried, they could not do it! Such is the influence of the Saint; for it was by people of this generation that he was slain, as you shall presently hear.¹²

No wheat grows in this province, but rice only.

And another strange thing to be told is that there is no possibility of breeding horses in this country, as hath often been proved by trial. For even when a great blood-mare here has been covered by a great blood-horse, the produce is nothing but a wretched wry-legged weed, not fit to ride.¹³

The people of the country go to battle all naked, with only a lance and a shield; and they are most wretched soldiers. They will kill neither beast nor bird, nor anything that hath life; and for such animal food as they eat, they make the Saracens, or others who are not of their own religion, play the butcher.

It is their practice that every one, male and female, do wash the whole body twice every day; and those who do not wash are looked on much as we look on the Patarins. [You must know also that in eating they use the right hand only, and would on no account touch their food with the left hand. All cleanly and becoming uses are ministered to by the right hand, whilst the left is reserved for uncleanly and disagreeable necessities, such as cleansing the secret parts of the body and the like. So also they drink only from drinking vessels, and every man hath his own; nor will any one drink from another's vessel. And when they drink they do not put the vessel to the lips, but hold it aloft and let the drink spout into the mouth. No one would on any account touch the vessel with his mouth, nor give a stranger drink with it. But if the stranger have no vessel of his own they will pour the drink into his hands and he may thus drink from his hands as from a cup.]

They are very strict in executing justice upon criminals, and as strict in abstaining from wine. Indeed they have made a rule that wine-drinkers and seafaring men are never to be accepted as sureties. For they say

that to be a seafaring man is all the same as to be an utter desperado, and that his testimony is good for nothing.* Howbeit they look on lechery as no sin.

[They have the following rule about debts. If a debtor shall have been several times asked by his creditor for payment, and shall have put him off from day to day with promises, then if the creditor can once meet the debtor and succeed in drawing a circle round him, the latter must not pass out of this circle until he shall have satisfied the claim, or given security for its discharge. If he in any other case presume to pass the circle he is punished with death as a transgressor against right and justice. And the said Messer Marco, when in this kingdom on his return home, did himself witness a case of this. It was the King, who owed a foreign merchant a certain sum of money, and though the claim had often been presented, he always put it off with promises. Now, one day when the King was riding through the city, the merchant found his opportunity, and drew a circle round both King and horse. The King, on seeing this, halted, and would ride no further; nor did he stir from the spot until the merchant was satisfied. And when the bystanders saw this they marvelled greatly, saying that the King was a most just King indeed, having thus submitted to justice.¹⁴]

You must know that the heat here is sometimes so great that 'tis something wonderful. And rain falls only for three months in the year, viz. in June, July, and August. Indeed but for the rain that falls in these three months, refreshing the earth and cooling the air, the drought would be so great that no one could exist.¹⁵

They have many experts in an art which they call Physiognomy, by which they discern a man's character and qualities at once. They also know the import

* "*Audax omnia perpeti,*" etc.

of meeting with any particular bird or beast ; for such omens are regarded by them more than by any people in the world. Thus if a man is going along the road and hears some one sneeze, if he deems it (say) a good token for himself he goes on, but if otherwise he stops a bit, or peradventure turns back altogether from his journey.¹⁶

As soon as a child is born they write down his nativity, that is to say the day and hour, the month, and the moon's age. This custom they observe because every single thing they do is done with reference to astrology, and by advice of diviners skilled in Sorcery and Magic and Geomancy, and such like diabolical arts ; and some of them are also acquainted with Astrology.

[All parents who have male children, as soon as these have attained the age of 13, dismiss them from their home, and do not allow them further maintenance in the family. For they say that the boys are then of an age to get their living by trade ; so off they pack them with some twenty or four-and-twenty groats, or at least with money equivalent to that. And these urchins are running about all day from pillar to post, buying and selling. At the time of the pearl-fishery they run to the beach and purchase, from the fishers or others, five or six pearls, according to their ability, and take these to the merchants, who are keeping indoors for fear of the sun, and say to them : " These cost me such a price ; now give me what profit you please on them." So the merchant gives something over the cost price for their profit. They do in the same way with many other articles, so that they become trained to be very dexterous and keen traders. And every day they take their food to their mothers to be cooked and served, but do not eat a scrap at the expense of their fathers.]

In this kingdom and all over India the birds and

beasts are entirely different from ours, all but one bird which is exactly like ours, and that is the Quail. But everything else is totally different. For example they have bats,—I mean those birds that fly by night and have no feathers of any kind; well, their birds of this kind are as big as a goshawk! Their goshawks again are as black as crows, a good deal bigger than ours, and very swift and sure.

. Another strange thing is that they feed their horses with boiled rice and boiled meat, and various other kinds of cooked food. That is the reason why all the horses die off.¹⁷

They have certain abbeys in which are gods and goddesses to whom many young girls are consecrated; their fathers and mothers presenting them to that idol for which they entertain the greatest devotion. And when the [monks] of a convent* desire to make a feast to their god, they send for all those consecrated damsels and make them sing and dance before the idol with great festivity. They also bring meats to feed their idol withal; that is to say, the damsels prepare dishes of meat and other good things and put the food before the idol, and leave it there a good while, and then the damsels all go to their dancing and singing and festivity for about as long as a great Baron might require to eat his dinner. By that time they say the spirit of the idols has consumed the substance of the food, so they remove the viands to be eaten by themselves with great jollity. This is performed by these damsels several times every year until they are married.¹⁸

[The reason assigned for summoning the damsels to these feasts is, as the monks say, that the god is vexed and angry with the goddess, and will hold no com-

* The G.T. has *nuns*, "*Li nosnain do mostier*." But in Ramusio it is *monks*, which is more probable, and I have adopted it.

munication with her ; and they say that if peace be not established between them things will go from bad to worse, and they never will bestow their grace and benediction. So they make those girls come in the way described, to dance and sing, all but naked, before the god and the goddess. And those people believe that the god often solaces himself with the society of the goddess.

The men of this country have their beds made of very light canework, so arranged that, when they have got in and are going to sleep, they are drawn up by cords nearly to the ceiling and fixed there for the night. This is done to get out of the way of tarantulas which give terrible bites, as well as of fleas and such vermin, and at the same time to get as much air as possible in the great heat which prevails in that region. Not that everybody does this, but only the nobles and great folks, for the others sleep on the streets.^{19]}

Now I have told you about this kingdom of the province of Maabar, and I must pass on to the other kingdoms of the same province, for I have much to tell of their peculiarities.

NOTE 1.—The non-existence of tailors is not a mere figure of speech. Sundry learned pundits have been of opinion that the ancient Hindu knew no needle-made clothing, and Colonel Meadows Taylor has alleged that they had not even a word for the tailor's craft in their language. These opinions have been patriotically refuted by Bábú Rájendralál Mitra. (*Proc. Ass. Soc. B.* 1871, p. 100.)

Ibn Batuta describes the King of Calicut, the great "Zamorin," coming down to the beach to see the wreck of certain Junks ;—"his clothing consisted of a great piece of white stuff rolled about him from the navel to the knees, and a little scrap of a turban on his head ; his feet were bare, and a young slave carried an umbrella over him." (IV. 97.)

NOTE 2.—The necklace taken from the neck of the Hindu King Jaipál, captured by Mahmúd in A.D. 1001, was composed of large pearls, rubies, etc., and was valued at 200,000 *dinars*, or a good deal more than 100,000*l.* (*Elliot*, II. 26.) Compare Correa's account of the King of Calicut, in *Stanley's V. da Gama*, 194.

NOTE 3.—The word is printed in Ramusio *Pacauca*, but no doubt *Pacauta* is the true reading. Dr. Caldwell has favoured me with a note on this : "The word . . . was probably *Bagavá* or *Pagavá*, the Tamil form of the vocative of *Bhagavata*, 'Lord,' pronounced in the Tamil manner. This word is frequently repeated by Hindus of all sects in the utterance of their sacred formulæ, especially by Vaishnava

devotees, some of whom go about repeating this one word alone. When I mentioned Marco Polo's word to two learned Hindus at different times, they said, 'No doubt he meant *Bagava*.* The Saiva Rosary contains 32 beads; the doubled form of the same, sometimes used, contains 64; the Vaishnava Rosary contains 108. Possibly the latter may have been meant by Marco." [Captain Gill (*River of Golden Sand*, II. p. 341) at Yung-Ch'ang, speaking of the beads of a necklace, writes: "One hundred and eight is the regulation number, no one venturing to wear a necklace, with one bead more or less."]

Ward says: "The Hindus believe the repetition of the name of God is an act of adoration. . . . *Jāpā* (as this act is called) makes an essential part of the daily worship. . . . The worshipper, taking a string of beads, repeats the name of his guardian deity, or that of any other god, counting by his beads 10, 28, 108, 208, adding to every 108 not less than 100 more." (Madras ed. 1863, pp. 217-218.)

No doubt the number in the text should have been 108, which is apparently a mystic number among both Brahmans and Buddhists. Thus at Gautama's birth 108 Brahmans were summoned to foretell his destiny; round the great White Pagoda at Peking are 108 pillars for illumination; 108 is the number of volumes constituting the Tibetan scripture called *Kahgyur*; the merit of copying this work is enhanced by the quality of the ink used, thus a copy in red is 108 times more meritorious than one in black, one in silver 108² times, one in gold, 108³ times; according to the Malabar Chronicle Parasurama established in that country 108 Iswars, 108 places of worship, and 108 Durga images; there are said to be 108 shrines of especial sanctity in India; there are 108 *Upanishads* (a certain class of mystical Brahmanical sacred literature); 108 rupees is frequently a sum devoted to alms; the rules of the Chinese Triad Society assign 108 blows as the punishment for certain offences;—108, according to Athenæus, were the suitors of Penelope! I find a Tibetan tract quoted (by *Koeppen*, II. 284) as entitled, "The Entire Victor over all the 104 Devils," and this is the only example I have met with of 104 as a mystic number.

NOTE 4.—The *Saggio*, here as elsewhere, probably stands for the *Miṣṣād*.

NOTE 5.—This is stated also by Abu Zaid, in the beginning of the 10th century. And Reinaud in his note refers to Mas'udi, who has a like passage in which he gives a name to these companions exactly corresponding to Polo's *Floils* or Trusty Lieges: "When a King in India dies, many persons voluntarily burn themselves with him. These are called *Baldnjariyah* (sing. *Baldnjar*), as if you should say 'Faithful Friends' of the deceased, whose life was life to them, and whose death was death to them." (*Anc. Rel.* I. 121 and note; *Mas.* II. 85.)

On the murder of Ajit Singh of Marwar, by two of his sons, there were 84 *satis*, and "so much was he beloved," says Tod, "that even men devoted themselves on his pyre" (I. 744). The same thing occurred at the death of the Sikh Gúrú Hargovind in 1645. (*H. of Sikhs*, p. 62.)

Barbosa briefly notices an institution like that described by Polo, in reference to the King of Narsinga, *i.e.* Vijayanagar. (*Ram.* I. f. 302.) Another form of the same bond seems to be that mentioned by other travellers as prevalent in Malabar, where certain of the Nairs bore the name of *Amuki*, and were bound not only to defend the King's life with their own, but, if he fell, to sacrifice themselves by dashing among the enemy and slaying until slain. Even Christian churches in Malabar had such hereditary *Amuki*. (See *P. Vinc. Maria*, Bk. IV. ch. vii., and *Cesare Federici* in *Ram.* III. 390, also *Faria y Sousa*, by Stevens, I. 348.) There can be little doubt that this is the Malay *Amuk*, which would therefore appear to be of Indian origin, both in name and practice. I see that De Gubernatis, without noticing the Malay phrase, traces the term applied to the Malabar champions to the Sanskrit *Amokhya*, "indissoluble," and *Amukta*, "not free, bound." (*Picc. Encic. Ind.* I. 88.) The same practice, by which the followers of a defeated prince devote themselves in *amuk* (*vulgo* running

* M. Pauthier has suggested the same explanation in his notes.

a-muck),* is called in the island of Bali *Bela*, a term applied also to one kind of female Sati, probably from *S. Bali*, "a sacrifice." (See *Friedrich in Batavian Trans.* XXIII.) In the first syllable of the *Baltnjar* of Mas'udi we have probably the same word. A similar institution is mentioned by Caesar among the Sotiates, a tribe of Aquitania. The *Fleilz* of the chief were 600 in number and were called *Soldurii*; they shared all his good things in life, and were bound to share with him in death also. Such also was a custom among the Spanish Iberians, and the name of these *Amuki* signified "sprinkled for sacrifice." Other generals, says Plutarch, might find a few such among their personal staff and dependents, but Sertorius was followed by many myriads who had thus devoted themselves. Procopius relates of the White Huns that the richer among them used to entertain a circle of friends, some score or more, as perpetual guests and partners of their wealth. But, when the chief died, the whole company were expected to go down alive into the tomb with him. The King of the Russians, in the tenth century, according to Ibn Fozlán, was attended by 400 followers bound by like vows. And according to some writers the same practice was common in Japan, where the friends and vassals who were under the vow committed *hara kiri* at the death of their patron. The *Likamankwas* of the Abyssinian kings, who in battle wear the same dress with their master to mislead the enemy—"Six Richmonds in the field"—form apparently a kindred institution. (*Bell. Gall.* iii. c. 22; *Plutarch. in Vit. Sertorii*; *Procop. De B. Pers.* I. 3; *Ibn Fozlan by Fraehn*, p. 22; *Sonnerat*, I. 97.)

NOTE 6.—However frequent may have been wars between adjoining states, the south of the peninsula appears to have been for ages free from foreign invasion until the Delhi expeditions, which occurred a few years later than our traveller's visit; and there are many testimonies to the enormous accumulations of treasure. Gold, according to the *Mas'lak-al-Absár*, had been flowing into India for 3000 years, and had never been exported. Firishta speaks of the enormous spoils carried off by Malik Káfúr, every soldier's share amounting to 25 lbs. of gold! Some years later Mahomed Tughlak loads 200 elephants and several thousand bullocks with the precious spoil of a single temple. We have quoted a like statement from Wassáf as to the wealth found in the treasury of this very Sundara Pandi Dewar, but the same author goes far beyond this when he tells that Kales Dewar, Raja of Ma'bar about 1309, had accumulated 1200 crores of gold, *i.e.* 12,000 millions of dinars, enough to girdle the earth with a four-fold belt of bezants! (*N. and E.* XIII. 218, 220-221, *Brigg's Firishta*, I. 373-374; *Hammer's Ilkhans*, II. 205.)

NOTE 7.—Of the ports mentioned as exporting horses to India we have already made acquaintance with KAIS and HORMUZ; of DOFAR and ADEN we shall hear further on; *Soer* is SOHÁR, the former capital of Oman, and still a place of some little trade. Edrisi calls it "one of the oldest cities of Oman, and of the richest. Anciently it was frequented by merchants from all parts of the world; and voyages to China used to be made from it." (I. 152.)

Rashiduddin and Wassáf have identical statements about the horse trade, and so similar to Polo's in this chapter that one almost suspects that he must have been their authority. Wassáf says: "It was a matter of agreement that Malik-ul-Islám Jamáluddin and the merchants should embark every year from the island of KAIS and land at MA'BAR 1400 horses of his own breed. . . . It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia, such as Kátif, Lahsá, Bahrein, Hurmuz, and Kalhátú. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars of red gold, on this condition, that if any horses should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury. It is related by authentic writers that in the reign of Atábek Abu Bakr of (Fars), 10,000 horses were annually exported from these places to Ma'bar, Kambáyat, and other ports in their

* Running *a-muck* in the genuine Malay fashion is not unknown among the Rajpúts; see two notable instances in *Tod*, II. 45 and 315. [See *Hobson-Jobson*.]

neighbourhood, and the sum total of their value amounted to 2,200,000 dinars. . . . They bind them for 40 days in a stable with ropes and pegs, in order that they may get fat; and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons. . . . In a short time, the most strong, swift, fresh, and active horses become weak, slow, useless, and stupid. In short, they all become wretched and good for nothing. . . . There is, therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually." Amr Khusru mentions among Malik Kafur's plunder in Ma'bar, 5000 Arab and Syrian horses. (*Elliot*, III. 34, 93.)

The price mentioned by Polo appears to be intended for 500 dinars, which in the then existing relations of the precious metals in Asia would be worth just about 100 marks of silver. Wassaf's price, 220 dinars of red gold, seems very inconsistent with this, but is not so materially, for it would appear that the *dinar of red gold* (so called) was worth *two dinars*.*

I noted an early use of the term *Arab chargers* in the famous Bodleian copy of the Alexander Romance (1338):

"Alexand' descent du destrier Arrabis."

NOTE 8.—I have not found other mention of a condemned criminal being allowed thus to sacrifice himself; but such suicides in performance of religious vows have occurred in almost all parts of India in all ages. Friar Jordanus, after giving a similar account to that in the text of the parade of the victim, represents him as *cutting off his own head* before the idol, with a peculiar two-handled knife "like those used in currying leather." And strange as this sounds it is undoubtedly true. Ibn Batuta witnessed the suicidal feat at the Court of the Pagan King of Mul-Java (somewhere on the coast of the Gulf of Siam), and Mr. Ward, without any knowledge of these authorities, had heard that an instrument for this purpose was formerly preserved at Kshfra, a village of Bengal near Nadiya. The thing was called *Karavat*; it was a crescent-shaped knife, with chains attached to it forming stirrups, so adjusted that when the fanatic placed the edge to the back of his neck and his feet in the stirrups, by giving the latter a violent jerk his head was cut off. Padre Tieffentaller mentions a like instrument at Prág (or Allahabad). Durgavati, a famous Queen on the Nerbada, who fell in battle with the troops of Akbar, is asserted in a family inscription to have "severed her own head with a scimitar she held in her hand." According to a wild legend told at Ujjain, the great king Vikramajit was in the habit of cutting off his own head *daily*, as an offering to Devi. On the last performance the head failed to re-attach itself as usual; and it is now preserved, petrified, in the temple of Harsuddi at that place.

I never heard of anybody in Europe performing this extraordinary feat except Sir Jonah Barrington's Irish mower, who made a dig at a salmon with the butt of his scythe-handle and dropt his own head in the pool! (*Jord.* 33; *J. B.* IV. 246; *Ward*, Madras ed. 249-250; *J. A. S. B.* XVII. 833; *Rás Mála*, II. 387.)

NOTE 9.—Satis were very numerous in parts of S. India. In 1815 there were one hundred in Tanjore alone. (*Ritter*, VI. 303; *J. Cathay*, p. 80.)

NOTE 10.—"The people in this part of the country (Southern Mysore) consider the ox as a living god, who gives them bread; and in every village there are one or two bulls to whom weekly or monthly worship is performed." (*F. Buchanan*, II. 174.) "The low-caste Hindus, called *Gavi* by Marco Polo, were probably the caste now called *Paraiyar* (by the English, *Pariahs*). The people of this caste do not venture to kill the cow, but when they find the carcase of a cow which has died from disease, or

* See *Journ. Asiat.* sér. VI. tom. xi. pp. 505 and 512. May not the *dinar* of red gold have been the gold *mohr* of those days, popularly known as the *red tanga*, which Ibn Batuta repeatedly tells us was equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ dinars of the west. 220 red tangas would be equivalent to 550 western dinars, or *saggi*, of Polo. (*Elliot*, II. 332, III. 582.)

any other cause, they cook and eat it. The name *Paraiyar*, which means 'Drummers,' does not appear to be ancient."* (*Note by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell.*)

In the history of Sind called *Chach Namah*, the Hindus revile the Mahomedan invaders as *Chandds* and cow-eaters. (*Elliot*, I. 172, 193). The low castes are often styled from their unrestricted diet, e.g. *Haldl-Khor* (P. "to whom all food is lawful"), *Sab-khawd* (H. "omnivorous").

Bábú Rájendralál Mitra has published a learned article on *Beef in ancient India*, showing that the ancient Brahmans were far from entertaining the modern horror of cow-killing. We may cite two of his numerous illustrations. *Goghna*, "a guest," signifies literally "a cow-killer," i.e. he for whom a cow is killed. And one of the sacrifices prescribed in the *Sútras* bears the name of *Súla-gava* "spit-cow," i.e. roast-beef. (*J. A. S. B.* XLI. Pt. I. p. 174 *seqq.*)

NOTE 11.—The word in the G. T. is *losci dou buef*, which Pauthier's text has converted into *suif de buef*—in reference to Hindus, a preposterous statement. Yet the very old Latin of the Soc. Géog. also has *pinguedinem*, and in a parallel passage about the Jogis (*infra*, ch. xx.), Ramusio's text describes them as daubing themselves with powder of ox-bones (*Fossa*). Apparently *losci* was not understood (It. *uscito*).

NOTE 12.—Later travellers describe the descendants of St. Thomas's murderers as marked by having one leg of immense size, i.e. by *elephantiasis*. The disease was therefore called by the Portuguese *Pejo de Santo Toma*.

NOTE 13.—Mr. Nelson says of the Madura country: "The horse is a miserable, weedy, and vicious pony; having but one good quality, endurance. The breed is not indigenous, but the result of constant importations and a very limited amount of breeding." (*The Madura Country*, Pt. II. p. 94.) The ill success in breeding horses was exaggerated to impossibility, and made to extend to all India. Thus a Persian historian, speaking of an elephant that was born in the stables of Khosru Parviz, observes that "never till then had a she-elephant borne young in Irán, any more than a lioness in Rúm, a tabby cat in China (!), or a mare in India." (*J. A. S. sér.* III. tom. iii. p. 127.)

[Major-General Crawford T. Chamberlain, C.S.I., in a report on Stud Matters in India, 27th June 1874, writes: "I ask how it is possible that horses could be bred at a moderate cost in the Central Division, when everything was against success. I account for the narrow-chested, congenitally unfit and malformed stock, also for the creaking joints, knuckle over fittocks, elbows in, toes out, seedy toe, bad action, weedy frames, and other degeneracy: 1st, to a damp climate, altogether inimical to horses; 2nd, to the operations being intrusted to a race of people inhabiting a country where horses are not indigenous, and who therefore have no taste for them . . . ; 5th, treatment of mares. To the impure air in confined, non-ventilated hovels, etc.; 6th, improper food; 7th, to a chronic system of tall rearing and forcing." (*MS. Note.*—H. Y.)]

NOTE 14.—This custom is described in much the same way by the Arabo-Persian Zakariah Kazwini, by Ludovico Varthema, and by Alexander Hamilton. Kazwini ascribes it to Ceylon. "If a debtor does not pay, the King sends to him a person who draws a line round him, wheresoever he chance to be; and beyond that circle he dares not to move until he shall have paid what he owes, or come to an agreement with his creditor. For if he should pass the circle the King fines him three times the amount of his debt; one-third of this fine goes to the creditor and two-thirds to the King." Père Bouchet describes the strict regard paid to the arrest, but does not notice the symbolic circle. (*Gildem.* 197; *Varthema*, 147; *Ham.* I. 318; *Lett. Edif.* XIV. 370.)

"The custom undoubtedly prevailed in this part of India at a former time. It is

* I observe, however, that Sir Walter Elliot thinks it possible that the *Paraya* which appears on the oldest of Indian inscriptions as the name of a nation, coupled with Chola and Kerala (Coromandel and Malabar), is that of the modern descent tribe. (*J. Ethn. Soc.* n. s. I. 103.)

said that it still survives amongst the poorer classes in out-of-the-way parts of the country, but it is kept up by schoolboys in a serio-comic spirit as vigorously as ever. Marco does not mention a very essential part of the ceremony. The person who draws a circle round another imprecates upon him the name of a particular divinity, whose curse is to fall upon him if he breaks through the circle without satisfying the claim." (*MS. Note by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell.*)

NOTE 15.—The statement about the only rains falling in June, July, and August is perplexing. "It is entirely inapplicable to every part of the Coromandel coast, to which alone the name Ma'bar seems to have been given, but it is quite true of the western coast generally." (*Rev. Dr. C.*) One can only suppose that Polo inadvertently applied to Maabar that which he knew to be true of the regions both west of it and east of it. The Coromandel coast derives its chief supply of rain from the north-east monsoon, beginning in October, whereas both eastern and western India have theirs from the south-west monsoon, between June and September.

NOTE 16.—Abraham Roger says of the Hindus of the Coromandel coast: "They judge of lucky hours and moments also by trivial accidents, to which they pay great heed. Thus 'tis held to be a good omen to everybody when the bird *Garuda* (which is a red hawk with a white ring round its neck) or the bird *Pala* flies across the road in front of the person from right to left; but as regards other birds they have just the opposite notion. . . . If they are in a house anywhere, and have moved to go, and then any one should sneeze, they will go in again, regarding it as an ill omen," etc. (*Abr. Roger*, pp. 75-76.)

NOTE 17.—Quoth Wassáf: "It is a strange thing that when these horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley, they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter, and boiled cow's milk to drink:—

"Who gives sugar to an owl or a crow?
Or who feeds a parrot with a carcass?
A crow should be fed with carrion,
And a parrot with candy and sugar.
Who loads jewels on the back of an ass?
Or who would approve of giving dressed almonds to a cow?"

—*Elliot*, III. 33.

"Horses," says Athanasius Nikitin, "are fed on peas; also on *Kicheri*, boiled with sugar and oil; early in the morning they get *shishenivo*." This last word is a mystery. (*India in the XVIIth Century*, p. 10.)

"Rice is frequently given by natives to their horses to fatten them, and a sheep's head occasionally to strengthen them." (*Note by Dr. Caldwell.*)

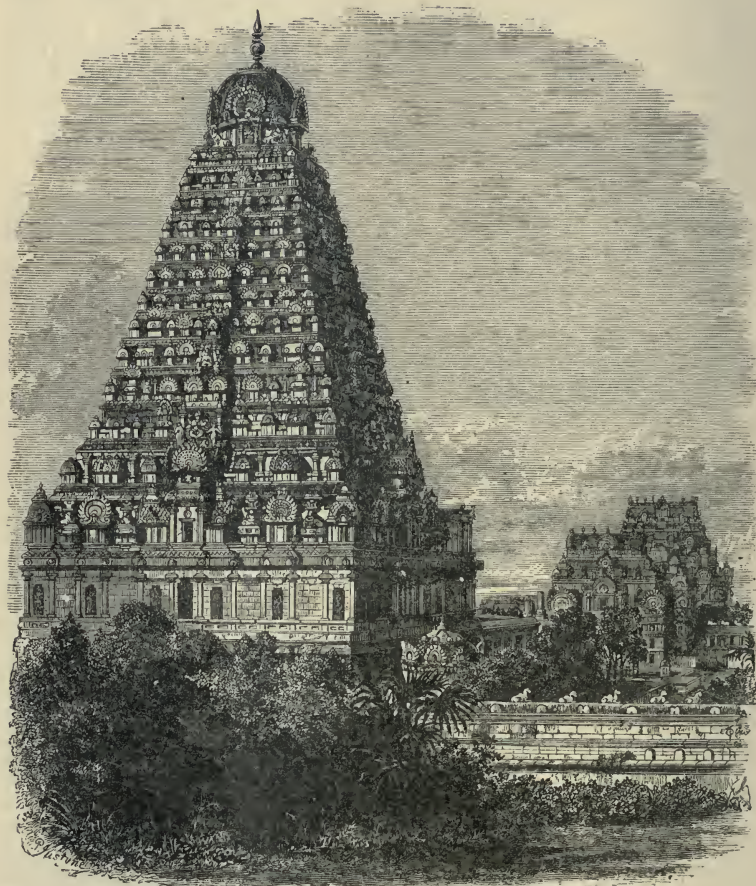
The sheep's head is peculiar to the Deccan, but *ghee* (boiled butter) is given by natives to their horses, I believe, all over India. Even in the stables of Akbar an imperial horse drew daily 2 lbs. of flour, 1½ lb. of sugar, and in winter ½ lb. of *ghee*! (*Ain Akb.* 134.)

It is told of Sir John Malcolm that at an English table where he was present, a brother officer from India had ventured to speak of the sheep's head custom to an unbelieving audience. He appealed to Sir John, who only shook his head deprecatingly. After dinner the unfortunate story-teller remonstrated, but Sir John's answer was only, "My dear fellow, they took you for one Munchausen; they would merely have taken me for another!"

NOTE 18.—The nature of the institution of the Temple dancing-girls seems to have been scarcely understood by the Traveller. The like existed at ancient Corinth under the name of *ιερόδουλοι*, which is nearly a translation of the Hindi name of the girls, *Deva-dási*. (*Strabo*, VIII. 6, § 20.) "Each (Dási) is married to an idol when

quite young. The female children are generally brought up to the trade of the mothers. It is customary with a few castes to present their superfluous daughters to the Pagodas." (*Nelson's Madura Country*, Pt. II. 79.) A full account of this matter appears to have been read by Dr. Shortt of Madras before the Anthropological Society. But I have only seen a newspaper notice of it.

NOTE 19.—The first part of this paragraph is rendered by Marsden: "The natives make use of a kind of bedstead or cot of very light canework, so ingeniously contrived that when they repose on them, and are inclined to sleep, *they can draw close the curtains about them by pulling a string.*" This is not translation. An approximate illustration of the real statement is found in Pyrard de Laval, who says (of the Maldive Islanders): "Their beds are hung up by four cords to a bar supported by two pillars. . . The beds of the king, the grandees, and rich folk are made thus that they may be swung and rocked with facility." (*Charlon*, IV. 277.) In the *Rds Mda* swinging cots are several times alluded to. (I. 173, 247, 423.) In one case the bed is mentioned as suspended to the ceiling by chains.



Pagoda at Tanjore.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DISCOURING OF THE PLACE WHERE LIETH THE BODY OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE ; AND OF THE MIRACLES THEREOF.

THE Body of Messer St. Thomas the Apostle lies in this province of Maabar at a certain little town having no great population · 'tis a place where few traders go,



Ancient Cross with Pehlevi Inscription on St. Thomas's Mount, near Madras. (From Photograph.)

because there is very little merchandize to be got there, and it is a place not very accessible.¹ Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage. For the Saracens also do hold the Saint in great reverence, and say that he was one of their own Saracens and a great prophet, giving him the title of *Avarian*, which is as much as to say "Holy Man."² The

Christians who go thither in pilgrimage take of the earth from the place where the Saint was killed, and give a portion thereof to any one who is sick of a quartan or a tertian fever; and by the power of God and of St. Thomas the sick man is incontinently cured.³ The earth, I should tell you, is red. A very fine miracle occurred there in the year of Christ, 1288, as I will now relate.

A certain Baron of that country, having great store of a certain kind of corn that is called *rice*, had filled up with it all the houses that belonged to the church, and stood round about it. The Christian people in charge of the church were much distressed by his having thus stuffed their houses with his rice; the pilgrims too had nowhere to lay their heads; and they often begged the pagan Baron to remove his grain, but he would do nothing of the kind. So one night the Saint himself appeared with a fork in his hand, which he set at the Baron's throat, saying: "If thou void not my houses, that my pilgrims may have room, thou shalt die an evil death," and therewithal the Saint pressed him so hard with the fork that he thought himself a dead man. And when morning came he caused all the houses to be voided of his rice, and told everybody what had befallen him at the Saint's hands. So the Christians were greatly rejoiced at this grand miracle, and rendered thanks to God and to the blessed St. Thomas. Other great miracles do often come to pass there, such as the healing of those who are sick or deformed, or the like, especially such as be Christians.

[The Christians who have charge of the church have a great number of the Indian Nut trees, whereby they get their living; and they pay to one of those brother Kings six groats for each tree every month.*]

Now, I will tell you the manner in which the Christian

* Should be "year" no doubt.

brethren who keep the church relate the story of the Saint's death.

They tell that the Saint was in the wood outside his hermitage saying his prayers; and round about him were many peacocks, for these are more plentiful in that country than anywhere else. And one of the Idolaters of that country being of the lineage of those called *Govi* that I told you of, having gone with his bow and arrows to shoot peafowl, not seeing the Saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks; and this arrow struck the holy man in the right side, insomuch that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to his Creator. Before he came to that place where he thus died he had been in Nubia, where he converted much people to the faith of Jesus Christ.⁴

The children that are born here are black enough, but the blacker they be the more they are thought of; wherefore from the day of their birth their parents do rub them every week with oil of sesamé, so that they become as black as devils. Moreover, they make their gods black and their devils white, and the images of their saints they do paint black all over.⁵

They have such faith in the ox, and hold it for a thing so holy, that when they go to the wars they take of the hair of the wild-ox, whereof I have elsewhere spoken, and wear it tied to the necks of their horses; or, if serving on foot, they hang this hair to their shields, or attach it to their own hair. And so this hair bears a high price, since without it nobody goes to the wars in any good heart. For they believe that any one who has it shall come scatheless out of battle.⁶

NOTE 1.—The little town where the body of St. Thomas lay was MAILAPÚR, the name of which is still applied to a suburb of Madras about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Fort St. George.

NOTE 2.—The title of *Avarian*, given to St. Thomas by the Saracens, is
VOL. . II. Z 2

judiciously explained by Joseph Scaliger to be the Arabic *Ḥawāriy* (pl. *Ḥawāriyūn*), "An Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ." Scaliger somewhat hypercritically for the occasion finds fault with Marco for saying the word means "a holy man." (*De Emendatione Temporum*, Lib. VII., Geneva, 1629, p. 680.)

NOTE 3.—The use of the earth from the tomb of St. Thomas for miraculous cures is mentioned also by John Marignolli, who was there about 1348-1349. Assemani gives a special formula of the Nestorians for use in the application of this dust, which was administered to the sick in place of the unction of the Catholics. It ends with the words: "*Signatur et sanctificatur hic Hanana (pulvis) cum hac Taibutha (gratiā) Sancti Thomae Apostoli in sanitatem et medelam corporis et animae, in nomen P. et F. et S.S.*" (III. Pt. 2, 278.) The Abyssinians make a similar use of the earth from the tomb of their national Saint Tekla Haimanot. (*J. R. G. S. X.* 483.) And the Shihahs, on solemn occasions, partake of water in which has been mingled the dust of Kerbela.

Fa-hian tells that the people of Magadha did the like, for the cure of headache, with earth from the place where lay the body of Kasyapa, a former Buddha. (*Beal*, p. 133.)



The Little Mount of St. Thomas, near Madras.

NOTE 4.—Vague as is Polo's indication of the position of the Shrine of St. Thomas, it is the first geographical identification of it that I know of, save one. At the very time of Polo's homeward voyage, John of Monte Corvino on his way to China spent thirteen months in Maabar, and in a letter thence in 1292-1293 he speaks of the church of St. Thomas there, having buried in it the companion of his travels, Friar Nicholas of Pistoia.

But the tradition of Thomas's preaching in India is very old, so old that it probably is, in its simple form, true. St. Jerome accepts it, speaking of the Divine Word as being everywhere present in His fulness: "*cum Thomā in India, cum Petro Romae, cum Paulo in Illyrico,*" etc. (*Scti. Hieron. Epistolae*, LIX., *ad Marcellam.*) So dispassionate a scholar as Professor H. H. Wilson speaks of the preaching and martyrdom of St. Thomas in S. India as "occurrences very far from invalidated by any arguments yet adduced against the truth of the tradition." I do not know if the date is ascertainable of the very remarkable legend of St. Thomas in

the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, but it is presumably very old, though subsequent to the translation of the relics (real or supposed) to Edessa, in the year 394, which is alluded to in the story. And it is worthy of note that this legend places the martyrdom and original burial-place of the Saint upon a mount. Gregory of Tours (A.D. 544-595) relates that "in that place in India where the body of Thomas lay before it was transported to Edessa, there is a monastery and a temple of great size and excellent structure and ornament. In it God shows a wonderful miracle; for the lamp that stands alight before the place of sepulture keeps burning perpetually, night and day, by divine influence, for neither oil nor wick are ever renewed by human hands;" and this Gregory learned from one Theodorus, who had visited the spot.

The apocryphal history of St. Thomas relates that while the Lord was still upon earth a certain King of India, whose name was Gondaphorus, sent to the west a certain merchant called Abban to seek a skilful architect to build him a palace, and the Lord sold Thomas to him as a slave of His own who was expert in such work. Thomas eventually converts King Gondaphorus, and proceeds to another country of India ruled by King *Meodeus*, where he is put to death by lances. M. Reinaud first, I believe, pointed out the remarkable fact that the name of the King Gondaphorus of the legend is the same with that of a King who has become known from the Indo-Scythian coins, *Gondophares*, *Yndoferres*, or *Gondaferris*. This gives great interest to a votive inscription found near Pesháwar, and now in the Lahore Museum, which appears to bear the name of the same King. This Professor Dowson has partially read: "In the 26th year of the great King Guna . . . pharasa, on the seventh day of the month Vaisákha." . . . General Cunningham has read the date with more claim to precision: "In the 26th year of King Guduphara, in the Samvat year 103, in the month of Vaisákha, the 4th day." . . . But Professor Dowson now comes much closer to General Cunningham, and reads: "26th year of the King, the year 100 of Samvat, 3rd day of Vaisákha." (See *Rep. of R. As. Soc.*, 18th January, 1875.) In ordinary application of *Samvat* (to era of Vikramaditya) A.S. 100 = A.D. 43; but the era meant here is as yet doubtful. Lassen put Yndoferres about 90 B.C., as Cunningham did formerly about 26 B.C. The chronology is very doubtful, but the evidence does not appear to be strong against the synchronism of the King and the legend. (See *Prinsep's Essays*, II. 176, 177; and Mr. Thomas's remarks at p. 214; *Trübner's Record*, 30th June, 187; Cunningham's *Desc. List of Buddhist Sculptures in Lahore Central Museum*; *Reinaud, Inde*, p. 95.)

Here then may be a faint trace of a true apostolic history. But in the 16th and 17th centuries Roman Catholic ecclesiastical story-tellers seem to have striven in rivalry who should most recklessly expand the travels of St. Thomas. According to an abstract given by P. Vincenzo Maria, his preaching began in Mesopotamia, and extended through Bactria, etc., to China, "the States of the Great Mogul" (!) and Siam; he then revisited his first converts, and passed into Germany, thence to Brazil, "as relates P. Emanuel Nobriga," and from that to Ethiopia. After thus carrying light to the four quarters of the World, the indefatigable Traveller and Missionary retook his way to India, converting Socotra as he passed, and then preached in Malabar, and on the Coremandel Coast, where he died, as already stated.

Some parts of this strange rhapsody, besides the Indian mission, were no doubt of old date; for the Chaldaean breviary of the Malabar Church in its office of St. Thomas contains such passages as this: "By St. Thomas were the Chinese and the Ethiopians converted to the Truth;" and in an Anthem: "The Hindus, the Chinese, the Persians, and all the people of the Isles of the Sea, they who dwell in Syria and Armenia, in Javan and Romania, call Thomas to remembrance, and adore Thy Name, O Thou our Redeemer!"

The Roman Martyrology calls the city of Martyrdom *Calamina*, but there is (I think) a fair presumption that the spot alluded to by Gregory of Tours was Mailapúr, and that the Shrine visited by King Alfred's envoy, Sighelm, may have been the same.

Marco, as we see, speaks of certain houses belonging to the church, and of certain Christians who kept it. Odoric, some thirty years later, found beside the church, "some 15 houses of Nestorians," but the Church itself filled with idols. Conti, in the following century, speaks of the church in which St. Thomas lay buried, as large and beautiful, and says there were 1000 Nestorians in the city. Joseph of Cranganore, the Malabar Christian who came to Europe in 1501, speaks like our traveller of the worship paid to the Saint, even by the heathen, and compares the church to that of St. John and St. Paul at Venice. Certain Syrian bishops sent to India in 1504, whose report is given by Assemani, heard that the church had *begun* to be occupied by some Christian people. But Barbosa, a few years later, found it half in ruins and in the charge of a Mahomedan Fakir, who kept a lamp burning.

There are two St. Thomas's Mounts in the same vicinity, the Great and the Little Mount. A church was built upon the former by the Portuguese and some sanctity attributed to it, especially in connection with the cross mentioned below, but I believe there is no doubt that the *Little Mount* was the site of the ancient church.

The Portuguese ignored the ancient translation of the Saint's remains to Edessa, and in 1522, under the Viceroyalty of Duarte Menezes, a commission was sent to Mailapúr, or San Tomé as they called it, to search for the body. The narrative states circumstantially that the Apostle's bones were found, besides those of the king whom he had converted, etc. The supposed relics were transferred to Goa, where they are still preserved in the Church of St. Thomas in that city. The question appears to have become a party one among Romanists in India, in connection with other differences, and I see that the authorities now ruling the Catholics at Madras are strong in disparagement of the special sanctity of the localities, and of the whole story connecting St. Thomas with Mailapúr. (*Greg. Turon. Lib. Mirac.* I. p. 85; *Tr. R. A. S.* I. 761; *Assemani*, III. Pt. II. pp. 32, 450; *Novus Orbis* (ed. 1555), p. 210; *Maffei*, Bk. VIII.; *Cathay*, pp. 81, 197, 374-377, etc.)

The account of the Saint's death was no doubt that current among the native Christians, for it is told in much the same way by Marignolli and by Barbosa, and was related also in the same manner by one Diogo Fernandes, who gave evidence before the commission of Duarte Menezes, and who claimed to have been the first Portuguese visitor of the site. (See *De Couto*, Dec. V. Liv. vi. cap. 2, and Dec. VII. Liv. x. cap. 5.)

As Diogo de Couto relates the story of the localities, in the shape which



it had taken by the middle of the 16th century, both Little and Great Mounts were the sites of Oratories which the Apostle had frequented; during prayer on the Little Mount he was attacked and wounded, but fled to the Great Mount, where he expired. In repairing a hermitage which here existed, in 1547, the workmen came upon a stone slab with a cross and inscription carved upon it. The story speedily developed itself that this was the cross which had been embraced by the dying Apostle, and its miraculous virtues soon obtained great fame. It was eventually set up over an altar in the Church of the Madonna, which was afterwards erected on the Great Mount, and there it still exists. A Brahman impostor professed to give an interpretation of the inscription as relating to the death

of St. Thomas, etc., and this was long accepted. The cross seemed to have been long forgotten, when lately Mr. Burnell turned his attention to these and other like relics in Southern India. He has shown the inscription to be *Pehlvi*, and probably of the 7th or 8th century. Mr. Fergusson considers the architectural character to be of the 9th. The interpretations of the Inscription as yet given are tentative and somewhat discrepant. Thus Mr. Burnell reads: "In punishment (?) by the cross (was) the suffering to this (one): (He) who is the true Christ and God above, and Guide for ever pure." Professor Haug: "Whoever believes in the Messiah, and in God above, and also in the Holy Ghost, is in the grace of Him who bore the pain of the Cross." Mr. Thomas reads the central part, between two small crosses, "⊕ In the Name of Messiah ⊕." See *Kircher, China Illustrata*, p. 55 *seqq.*; *De Couto*, u. s. (both of these have inaccurate representations of the cross); *Academy*, vol. v. (1874), p. 145, etc.; and Mr. Burnell's pamphlet "*On some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India*." To his kindness I am indebted for the illustration (p. 351).

["E na quelle parte da tranqueira alem, do ryo de Malaca, em hum citio de Raya Mudiliar, que depois possuyo Dona Helena Vessiva, entre os Mangueiras cavando ao fundo quasi 2 braças, descobrirão hua ⊕ floreada de cobre pouco carcomido, da forma como de cavaleyro de Calatrava de 3 palmos de largo, e comprido sobre hua pedra de marmor, quadrada de largura e comprimento da ditta ⊕, entra huas ruynas de hua caza sotterranea de tijolos como Ermida, e parece ser a ⊕ de algum christão de Meliapor, que veo em companhia de mercadores de Choromandel a Malaca." (*Godinho de Eredia*, fol. 15.)—*MS. Note.*—H. Y.]

The etymology of the name *Mayildppur*, popular among the native Christians, is "Peacock-Town," and the peafowl are prominent in the old legend of St. Thomas. Polo gives it no name; Marignolli (*circa* 1350) calls it *Mirapolis*, the Catalan Map (1375) *Mirapor*; Conti (*circa* 1440) *Malepor*; Joseph of Cranganore (1500) *Milapar* (or *Milapor*); De Barros and Couto, *Meliapor*. Mr. Burnell thinks it was probably *Malai-ppuram*, "Mount-Town"; and the same as the Malifatan of the Mahomedan writers; the last point needs further enquiry.

NOTE 5.—Dr. Caldwell, speaking of the devil-worship of the Shanars of Tinnevely (an important part of Ma'bar), says: "Where they erect an image in imitation of their Brahman neighbours, the devil is generally of Brahmanical lineage. Such images generally accord with those monstrous figures with which all over India orthodox Hindus depict the enemies of their gods, or the terrific forms of Siva or Durga. They are generally made of earthenware, and painted white to look horrible in Hindu eyes." (*The Tinnevely Shanars*, Madras, 1849, p. 18.)

NOTE 6.—The use of the Yak's tail as a military ornament had nothing to do with the sanctity of the Brahmani ox, but is one of the Pan-Asiatic usages, of which there are so many. A vivid account of the extravagant profusion with which swaggering heroes in South India used those ornaments will be found in *P. della Valle*, II. 662.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF MUTFILI.

WHEN you leave Maabar and go about 1,000 miles in a northerly direction you come to the kingdom of MUTFILI. This was formerly under the rule of a King, and since his

death, some forty years past, it has been under his Queen, a lady of much discretion, who for the great love she bore him never would marry another husband. And I can assure you that during all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as ever her husband did, or better; and as she was a lover of justice, of equity, and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was Lady or Lord of theirs before. The people are Idolaters, and are tributary to nobody. They live on flesh, and rice, and milk.¹

It is in this kingdom that diamonds are got; and I will tell you how. There are certain lofty mountains in those parts; and when the winter rains fall, which are very heavy, the waters come roaring down the mountains in great torrents. When the rains are over, and the waters from the mountains have ceased to flow, they search the beds of the torrents and find plenty of diamonds. In summer also there are plenty to be found in the mountains, but the heat of the sun is so great that it is scarcely possible to go thither, nor is there then a drop of water to be found. Moreover in those mountains great serpents are rife to a marvellous degree, besides other vermin, and this owing to the great heat. The serpents are also the most venomous in existence, inso-much that any one going to that region runs fearful peril; for many have been destroyed by these evil reptiles.

Now among these mountains there are certain great and deep valleys, to the bottom of which there is no access. Wherefore the men who go in search of the diamonds take with them pieces of flesh, as lean as they can get, and these they cast into the bottom of a valley. Now there are numbers of white eagles that haunt those mountains and feed upon the serpents. When the eagles see the meat thrown down they pounce upon it and carry it up to some rocky hill-top where they begin to rend it.

But there are men on the watch, and as soon as they see that the eagles have settled they raise a loud shouting to drive them away. And when the eagles are thus frightened away the men recover the pieces of meat, and find them full of diamonds which have stuck to the meat down in the bottom. For the abundance of diamonds down there in the depths of the valleys is astonishing, but nobody can get down; and if one could, it would be only to be incontinently devoured by the serpents which are so rife there.

There is also another way of getting the diamonds. The people go to the nests of those white eagles, of which there are many, and in their droppings they find plenty of diamonds which the birds have swallowed in devouring the meat that was cast into the valleys. And, when the eagles themselves are taken, diamonds are found in their stomachs.

So now I have told you three different ways in which these stones are found. No other country but this kingdom of Mutfili produces them, but there they are found both abundantly and of large size. Those that are brought to our part of the world are only the refuse, as it were, of the finer and larger stones. For the flower of the diamonds and other large gems, as well as the largest pearls, are all carried to the Great Kaan and other Kings and Princes of those regions; in truth they possess all the great treasures of the world.²

In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams, and those of highest price; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web! There is no King nor Queen in the world but might be glad to wear them.³ The people have also the largest sheep in the world, and great abundance of all the necessaries of life.

There is now no more to say; so I will next tell you about a province called Lar from which the Abraiaman come.

NOTE 1.—There is no doubt that the kingdom here spoken of is that of TELINGANA (*Tiling* of the Mahomedan writers), then ruled by the Kákateya or Ganapati dynasty reigning at Warangol, north-east of Hyderabad. But Marco seems to give the kingdom the name of that place in it which was visited by himself or his informants. MUTFILI is, with the usual Arab modification (*e.g.* Perlec, Ferlec—Pattan, Fattan), a port called MOTUPALLÉ, in the Gantúr district of the Madras Presidency, about 170 miles north of Fort St. George. Though it has dropt out of most of our modern maps it still exists, and a notice of it is to be found in W. Hamilton, and in Milburne. The former says: “*Mutapali*, a town situated near the S. extremity of the northern Circars. A considerable coasting trade is carried on from hence in the craft navigated by natives,” which can come in closer to shore than at other ports on that coast.—[*Cf. Hunter, Gaz. India, Motupalli*, “now only an obscure fishing village.”—It is marked in *Constable's Hand Atlas of India*.—H. C.]

The proper territory of the Kingdom of Warangol lay inland, but the last reigning prince before Polo's visit to India, by name Kakateya Pratapa Ganapati Rudra Deva, had made extensive conquests on the coast, including Nellore, and thence northward to the frontier of Orissa. This prince left no male issue, and his widow, RUDRAMA DEVI, daughter of the Raja of Devagiri, assumed the government and continued to hold it for twenty-eight, or, as another record states, for thirty-eight years, till the son of her daughter had attained majority. This was in 1292, or by the other account 1295, when she transferred the royal authority to this grandson Pratapa Vira Rudra Deva, the “Luddur Deo” of Firishta, and the last Ganapati of any political moment. He was taken prisoner by the Delhi forces about 1323. We have evidently in Rudrama Devi the just and beloved Queen of our Traveller, who thus enables us to attach colour and character to what was an empty name in a dynastic list. (Compare *Wilson's Mackenzie*, I. cxxx.; *Taylor's Or. Hist. MSS.* I. 18; *Do.'s Catalogue Raisonné*, III. 483.)

Mutfili appears in the *Carta Catalana* as *Butiflis*, and is there by some mistake made the site of St. Thomas's Shrine. The distance from Maabar is in Ramusio only 500 miles—a preferable reading.

NOTE 2.—Some of the Diamond Mines once so famous under the name of Golconda are in the alluvium of the Kistna River, some distance above the Delta, and others in the vicinity of Kaḍapa and Karnúl, both localities being in the territory of the kingdom we have been speaking of.

The strange legend related here is very ancient and widely diffused. Its earliest known occurrence is in the Treatise of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, concerning the twelve Jewels in the *Rationale* or Breastplate of the Hebrew High Priest, a work written before the end of the 4th century, wherein the tale is told of the *Jacinth*. It is distinctly referred to by Edrisi, who assigns its locality to the land of the *Kirkhír* (probably Khirghiz) in Upper Asia. It appears in Kazwini's *Wonders of Creation*, and is assigned by him to the Valley of the Moon among the mountains of Serendib. Sindbad the Sailor relates the story, as is well known, and his version is the closest of all to our author's. [So *Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 128-129.—H. C.] It is found in the Chinese Narrative of the Campaigns of Hulaku, translated by both Rémusat and Pauthier. [We read in the *Si Shi Ki*, of Ch'ang Te, Chinese Envoy to Hulaku (1259), translated by Dr. Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* I. p. 151): “The *kin-kang tsuan* (diamonds) come from *Yin-du* (Hindustan). The people take flesh and throw it into the great valleys (of the mountains). Then birds come and eat this flesh, after which diamonds are found in their excrements.”—H. C.] It is told in two different versions, once of the Diamond, and again of the Jacinth of Serendib, in the work on precious stones by Ahmed Taifáshi. It is one of the many stories in the scrap-book of Tzetzes. Nicolo Conti relates it of a mountain called Albenigaras, fifteen days' journey in a northerly Direction from Vijayanagar; and it is told again, apparently after Conti, by Julius Caesar Scaliger. It is related of diamonds and Balasses in the old Genoese MS., called that of Usodimare. A feeble form of the

tale is quoted contemptuously by Garcias from one Francisco de Tamarra. And Haxthausen found it as a popular legend in Armenia. (*S. Epiph. de XIII. Gemmis*, etc., Romae, 1743; *Jaubert, Edrisi*, I. 500; *J. A. S. B. XIII.* 657; *Lane's Ar. Nights*, ed. 1859, III. 88; *Rém. Nouv. Mém. Asiat.* I. 183; *Raineri, Fior di Pensieri di Ahmed Teifascite*, pp. 13 and 30; *Tzetzes, Chil.* XI. 376; *India in XVth Cent.* pp. 29-30; *J. C. Scal. de Subtilitate*, CXIII. No. 3; *An. des Voyages*, VIII. 195; *Garcias*, p. 71; *Transcaucasia*, p. 360; *J. A. S. B. I.* 354.)

The story has a considerable resemblance to that which Herodotus tells of the way in which cinnamon was got by the Arabs (III. 111). No doubt the two are ramifications of the same legend.

NOTE 3.—Here *buckram* is clearly applied to fine cotton stuffs. The districts about Masulipatam were long famous both for muslins and for coloured chintzes. The fine muslins of *Masalia* are mentioned in the Periplus. Indeed even in the time of Sakyā Muni Kalinga was already famous for diaphanous muslins, as may be seen in a story related in the Buddhist Annals. (*J. A. S. B. VI.* 1086.)

CHAPTER XX.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF LAR WHENCE THE BRAHMINS COME.

LAR is a Province lying towards the west when you quit the place where the Body of St. Thomas lies; and all the *Abraiaman* in the world come from that province.¹

You must know that these *Abraiaman* are the best merchants in the world, and the most truthful, for they would not tell a lie for anything on earth. [If a foreign merchant who does not know the ways of the country applies to them and entrusts his goods to them, they will take charge of these, and sell them in the most loyal manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to bestow.] They eat no flesh, and drink no wine, and live a life of great chastity, having intercourse with no women except with their wives; nor would they on any account take what belongs to another; so their law commands. And they are all distinguished by wearing a thread of cotton over one shoulder and tied under the other arm, so that it crosses the breast and the back.

They have a rich and powerful King who is eager to purchase precious stones and large pearls; and he sends these Abraïaman merchants into the kingdom of Maabar called SOLI, which is the best and noblest Province of India, and where the best pearls are found, to fetch him as many of these as they can get, and he pays them double the cost price for all. So in this way he has a vast treasure of such valuables.²

These Abraïaman are Idolaters; and they pay greater heed to signs and omens than any people that exists. I will mention as an example one of their customs. To every day of the week they assign an augury of this sort. Suppose that there is some purchase in hand, he who proposes to buy, when he gets up in the morning takes note of his own shadow in the sun, which he says ought to be on that day of such and such a length; and if his shadow be of the proper length for the day he completes his purchase; if not, he will on no account do so, but waits till his shadow corresponds with that prescribed. For there is a length established for the shadow for every individual day of the week; and the merchant will complete no business unless he finds his shadow of the length set down for that particular day. [Also to each day in the week they assign one unlucky hour, which they term *Choiach*. For example, on Monday the hour of Half-tierce, on Tuesday that of Tierce, on Wednesday Nones, and so on.³]

Again, if one of them is in the house, and is meditating a purchase, should he see a tarantula (such as are very common in that country) on the wall, provided it advances from a quarter that he deems lucky, he will complete his purchase at once; but if it comes from a quarter that he considers unlucky he will not do so on any inducement. Moreover, if in going out, he hears any one sneeze, if it seems to him a good omen he will go on, but if the reverse

he will sit down on the spot where he is, as long as he thinks that he ought to tarry before going on again. Or, if in travelling along the road he sees a swallow fly by, should its direction be lucky he will proceed, but if not he will turn back again ; in fact they are worse (in these whims) than so many Patarins!⁴

These Abraiaman are very long-lived, owing to their extreme abstinence in eating. And they never allow themselves to be let blood in any part of the body. They have capital teeth, which is owing to a certain herb they chew, which greatly improves their appearance, and is also very good for the health.

There is another class of people called *Chughi*, who are indeed properly Abraiaman, but they form a religious order devoted to the Idols. They are extremely long-lived, every man of them living to 150 or 200 years. They eat very little, but what they do eat is good ; rice and milk chiefly. And these people make use of a very strange beverage ; for they make a potion of sulphur and quicksilver mixt together and this they drink twice every month. This, they say, gives them long life ; and it is a potion they are used to take from their childhood.⁵

There are certain members of this Order who lead the most ascetic life in the world, going stark naked ; and these worship the Ox. Most of them have a small ox of brass or pewter or gold which they wear tied over the forehead. Moreover they take cow-dung and burn it, and make a powder thereof ; and make an ointment of it, and daub themselves withal, doing this with as great devotion as Christians do show in using Holy Water. [Also if they meet any one who treats them well, they daub a little of this powder on the middle of his forehead.⁶

They eat not from bowls or trenchers, but put their victuals on leaves of the Apple of Paradise and other big leaves ; these, however, they use dry, never green. For

they say the green leaves have a soul in them, and so it would be a sin. And they would rather die than do what they deem their Law pronounces to be sin. If any one asks how it comes that they are not ashamed to go stark naked as they do, they say, "We go naked because naked we came into the world, and we desire to have nothing about us that is of this world. Moreover, we have no sin of the flesh to be conscious of, and therefore we are not ashamed of our nakedness, any more than you are to show your hand or your face. You who are conscious of the sins of the flesh do well to have shame, and to cover your nakedness."

They would not kill an animal on any account, not even a fly, or a flea, or a louse,⁷ or anything in fact that has life; for they say these have all souls, and it would be sin to do so. They eat no vegetable in a green state, only such as are dry. And they sleep on the ground stark naked, without a scrap of clothing on them or under them, so that it is a marvel they don't all die, in place of living so long as I have told you. They fast every day in the year, and drink nought but water. And when a novice has to be received among them they keep him awhile in their convent, and make him follow their rule of life. And then, when they desire to put him to the test, they send for some of those girls who are devoted to the Idols, and make them try the continence of the novice with their blandishments. If he remains indifferent they retain him, but if he shows any emotion they expel him from their society. For they say they will have no man of loose desires among them.

They are such cruel and perfidious Idolaters that it is very devilry! They say that they burn the bodies of the dead, because if they were not burnt worms would be bred which would eat the body; and when no more food remained for them these worms would die, and the

soul belonging to that body would bear the sin and the punishment of their death. And that is why they burn their dead!

Now I have told you about a great part of the people of the great Province of Maabar and their customs; but I have still other things to tell of this same Province of Maabar, so I will speak of a city thereof which is called Cail.

NOTE 1.—The form of the word *Abraiaman*, *-main* or *-min*, by which Marco here and previously denotes the Brahmans, probably represents an incorrect Arabic plural, such as *Abráhamín*; the correct Arabic form is *Baráhimah*.

What is said here of the Brahmans coming from "*Lar*, a province west of St. Thomas's," of their having a special King, etc., is all very obscure, and that I suspect through erroneous notions.

LAR-DESA, "The Country of Lár," properly *Lár-desá*, was an early name for the territory of Guzerat and the northern Konkan, embracing *Sainur* (the modern Chaul, as I believe), Tana, and Baroch. It appears in Ptolemy in the form *Laríke*. The sea to the west of that coast was in the early Mahomedan times called the Sea of Lár, and the language spoken on its shores is called by Mas'udi *Lári*. Abulfeda's authority, Ibn Said, speaks of Lár and Guzerat as identical. That position would certainly be very ill described as lying west of Madras. The kingdom most nearly answering to that description in Polo's age would be that of the Bellál Rajas of Dwara Samudra, which corresponded in a general way to modern Mysore. (*Mas'udi*, I. 330, 381; II. 85; *Gildem.* 185; *Elliot*, I. 66.)

That Polo's ideas on this subject were incorrect seems clear from his conception of the Brahmans as a class of *merchants*. Occasionally they may have acted as such, and especially as agents; but the only case I can find of Brahmans as a class adopting trade is that of the Konkani Brahmans, and they are said to have taken this step when expelled from Goa, which was their chief seat, by the Portuguese. Marsden supposes that there has been confusion between Brahmans and Banyans; and, as Guzerat or Lár was the country from which the latter chiefly came, there is much probability in this.

The high virtues ascribed to the Brahmans and Indian merchants were perhaps in part matter of tradition, come down from the stories of Palladius and the like; but the eulogy is so constant among mediæval travellers that it must have had a solid foundation. In fact it would not be difficult to trace a chain of similar testimony from ancient times down to our own. Arrian says no Indian was ever accused of falsehood. Hiuen Tsang ascribes to the people of India eminent uprightness, honesty, and disinterestedness. Friar Jordanus (*circa* 1330) says the people of Lesser India (Sind and Western India) were true in speech and eminent in justice; and we may also refer to the high character given to the Hindus by Abul Fazl. After 150 years of European trade indeed we find a sad deterioration. Padre Vincenzo (1672) speaks of fraud as greatly prevalent among the Hindu traders. It was then commonly said at Surat that it took three Jews to make a Chinaman, and three Chinamen to make a Banyan. Yet Pallas, in the last century, noticing the Banyan colony at Astrakhan, says its members were notable for an upright dealing that made them greatly preferable to Armenians. And that wise and admirable public servant, the late Sir William Sleeman, in our own time, has said that he knew no class of men in the world more strictly honourable than the mercantile classes of India.

We know too well that there is a very different aspect of the matter. All extensive intercourse between two races far asunder in habits and ideas, seems to be demoralising in some degrees to both parties, especially to the weaker. But can we say that deterioration has been all on one side? In these days of lying labels and plastered shirting does the character of English trade and English goods stand as high in Asia as it did half a century ago! (*Pbl. Boudd.* II. 83; *Jordanus*, p. 22; *Ayeen Akb.* III. 8; *P. Vincenzo*, p. 114; *Pallas, Beyträge*, III. 85; *Rambles and Recns.* II. 143.)

NOTE 2.—The kingdom of Maabar called *Soli* is CHOLA or SOLADESAM, of which Kanchi (Conjeveram) was the ancient capital.* In the Ceylon Annals the continental invaders are frequently termed *Solli*. The high terms of praise applied to it as “the best and noblest province of India,” seem to point to the well-watered fertility of Tanjore; but what is said of the pearls would extend the territory included to the shores of the Gulf of Manár.

NOTE 3.—Abraham Roger gives from the Calendar of the Coromandel Brahmans the character, lucky or unlucky, of every hour of every day of the week; and there is also a chapter on the subject in *Sonnerat* (I. 304 *seqq.*). For a happy explanation of the term *Choiach* I am indebted to Dr. Caldwell: “This apparently difficult word can be identified much more easily than most others. Hindu astrologers teach that there is an unlucky hour every day in the month, *i.e.* during the period of the moon’s abode in every *nakshatra*, or lunar mansion, throughout the lunation. This inauspicious period is called *Tyájya*, ‘rejected.’ Its mean length is one hour and thirty-six minutes, European time. The precise moment when this period commences differs in each *nakshatra*, or (which comes to the same thing) in every day in the lunar month. It sometimes occurs in the daytime and sometimes at night;—see *Colonel Warren’s Kala Sankatila*, Madras, 1825, p. 388. The Tamil pronunciation of the word is *tyácham*, and when the nominative case-termination of the word is rejected, as all the Tamil case-terminations were by the Mahomedans, who were probably Marco Polo’s informants, it becomes *tyách*, to which form of the word Marco’s *Choiach* is as near as could be expected.” (*MS. Note.*)†

The phrases used in the passage from Ramusio to express the time of day are taken from the canonical hours of prayer. The following passage from *Robert de Borron’s Romance of Merlin* illustrates these terms: *Gauvain* “quand il se levoit le matin, avoit la force al millor chevalier del monde; et quant vint à heure de prime si li doubloit, et à heure de tierce aussi; et quant il vint à eure de midi si revenoit à sa première force ou il avoit esté le matin; et quant vint à eure de nonne et à toutes les seures de la nuit estoit-il toudis en sa première force.” (Quoted in introd. to *Messir Gauvain*, etc., edited by C. Hippeau, Paris, 1862, pp. xii.-xiii.) The term *Half-Tierce* is frequent in mediæval Italian, *e.g.* in Dante:—

“Lèvati su, disse’l Maestro, in piede:
La via è lunga, e’l cammino è malvagio:
E già il Sole a mezza terza riede.” (*Inf.* xxxiv.)

Half-prime we have in Chaucer:—

“Say forth thy tale and tary not the time
Lo Depëford, and it is half way prime.”
—(*Reeve’s Prologue.*)

Definitions of these terms as given by Sir H. Nicolas and Mr. Thomas Wright (*Chron. of Hist.* p. 195, and *Marco Polo*, p. 392) do not agree with those of Italian authorities; perhaps in the north they were applied with variation. Dante dwells on

* From Sola was formed apparently *Sola-mandala* or *Chola-mandala*, which the Portuguese made into *Choromandel* and the Dutch into *Coromandel*.

† I may add that possibly the real reading may have been *thoiach*.

the matter in two passages of his *Convito* (Tratt. III. cap. 6, and Tratt. IV. cap. 23); and the following diagram elucidates the terms in accordance with his words, and with other Italian authority, oral and literary :—

"Jam Lucis orto Sidere."	Prima.	Merza-Terza.	Terza.	Sesta.	Nona.	Merza-Nona.	Vespro.	Merza-Vespro.	Compieta.	"72 Lucis ante terminum."		
†	*	*	†	*	†	*	†	*	*	†		
12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ecclesiastical Hours.												
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6
A. M.				Civil Hours.				P. M.				

NOTE 4.—Valentyn mentions among what the Coromandel Hindus reckon unlucky encounters which will induce a man to turn back on the road : an empty can, buffaloes, donkeys, a dog or he-goat *without* food in his mouth, a monkey, a loose hart, a goldsmith, a carpenter, a barber, a tailor, a cotton-cleaner, a smith, a widow, a corpse, a person coming from a funeral without having washed or changed, men carrying butter, oil, sweet milk, molasses, acids, iron, or weapons of war. Lucky objects to meet are an elephant, a camel, a laden cart, an unladen horse, a cow or bullock laden with water (if unladen 'tis an ill omen), a dog or he-goat *with* food in the mouth, a cat on the right hand, one carrying meat, curds, or sugar, etc., etc. (p. 91). (See also *Sommerat*, I. 73.)

NOTE 5.—*Chughi* of course stands for JOGI, used loosely for any Hindu ascetic. Arghun Khan of Persia (see Prologue, ch. xvii.), who was much given to alchemy and secret science, had asked of the Indian Bakhshis how they prolonged their lives to such an extent. They assured him that a mixture of sulphur and mercury was the Elixir of Longevity. Arghun accordingly took this precious potion for eight months;—and died shortly after ! (See *Hammer, Ilkhans*, I. 391–393, and *Q. R.* p. 194.) Bernier mentions wandering Jogis who had the art of preparing mercury so admirably that one or two grains taken every morning restored the body to perfect health (II. 130). The *Mercurius Vitae* of Paracelsus, which, according to him, renewed youth, was composed chiefly of mercury and antimony. (*Opera*, II. 20.) Sulphur and mercury, combined under different conditions and proportions, were regarded by the Alchemists both of East and West as the origin of all the metals. Quicksilver was called the mother of the metals, and sulphur the father. (See *Vincent. Bellow. Spec. Natur.* VII. c. 60, 62, and *Bl. Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 40.)

[We read in Ma Huan's account of Cochin (*J. R. A. S.* April, 1806, p. 343) : "Here also is another class of men, called Chokis (Yogi), who lead austere lives like the Taoists of China, but who, however, are married. These men from the time they are born do not have their heads shaved or combed, but plait their hair into several tails, which hang over their shoulders; they wear no clothes, but round their waists they fasten a strip of rattan, over which they hang a piece of white calico; they carry a conch-shell, which they blow as they go along the road; they are accompanied by their wives, who simply wear a small bit of cotton cloth round their loins. Alms of rice and money are given to them by the people whose houses they visit."

(See *F. Bernier, Voy.*, ed. 1699, II., *Des Gentils de l'Hindoustan*, pp. 97, seqq.)

We read in the *Nine Heavens* of Amr Khusrú (*Elliot*, III. p. 563) : "A jogi who could restrain his breath in this way (diminishing the daily number of their expirations of breath) lived in an idol to an age of more than three hundred and fifty years."

"I have read in a book that certain chiefs of Turkistán sent ambassadors with

letters to the Kings of India on the following mission, viz. : that they, the chiefs, had been informed that in India drugs were procurable which possessed the property of prolonging human life, by the use of which the King of India attained to a very great age . . . and the chiefs of Turkistán begged that some of this medicine might be sent to them, and also information as to the method by which the Ráis preserved their health so long." (*Elliot*, II. p. 174.)—H. C.]

"The worship of the ox is still common enough, but I can find no trace of the use of the effigy worn on the forehead. The two Tam Pundits whom I consulted, said that there was no trace of the custom in Tamil literature, but they added that the usage was so truly Hindu in character, and was so particularly described, that they had no doubt it prevailed in the time of the person who described it." (*MS. Note by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell.*)

I may add that the *Jangams*, a Linga-worshipping sect of Southern India, wear a copper or silver *linga* either round the neck or on the forehead. The name of Jangam means "movable," and refers to their wearing and worshipping the portable symbol instead of the fixed one like the proper Saivas. (*Wilson, Mack. Coll.* II. 3; *J. R. A. S. N.S. V.* 142 *seqq.*)

NOTE 6.—In G. T. *proques*, which the Glossary to that edition absurdly renders *porc*; it is some form apparently of *pidocchio*.

NOTE 7.—It would seem that there is no eccentricity of man in any part of the world for which a close parallel shall not be found in some other part. Such strange probation as is here spoken of, appears to have had too close a parallel in the old Celtic Church, and perhaps even, at an earlier date, in the Churches of Africa. (See *Todd's Life of St. Patrick*, p. 91, note and references, and *Saturday Review* of 13th July, 1867, p. 65.) The latter describes a system absolutely like that in the text, but does not quote authorities.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAIL.

CAIL is a great and noble city, and belongs to ASHAR, the eldest of the five brother Kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as from Hormos and from Kis and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail.¹

The King possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great

equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city.²

This King has some 300 wives; for in those parts the man who has most wives is most thought of.

As I told you before, there are in this great province of Maabar five crowned Kings, who are all own brothers born of one father and of one mother, and this king is one of them. Their mother is still living. And when they disagree and go forth to war against one another, their mother throws herself between them to prevent their fighting. And should they persist in desiring to fight, she will take a knife and threaten that if they will do so she will cut off the paps that suckled them and rip open the womb that bare them, and so perish before their eyes. In this way hath she full many a time brought them to desist. But when she dies it will most assuredly happen that they will fall out and destroy one another.³

[All the people of this city, as well as of the rest of India, have a custom of perpetually keeping in the mouth a certain leaf called *Tembul*, to gratify a certain habit and desire they have, continually chewing it and spitting out the saliva that it excites. The Lords and gentlefolks and the King have these leaves prepared with camphor and other aromatic spices, and also mixt with quicklime. And this practice was said to be very good for the health.⁴ If any one desires to offer a gross insult to another, when he meets him he spits this leaf or its juice in his face. The other immediately runs before the King, relates the insult that has been offered him, and demands leave to fight the offender. The King supplies the arms, which are sword and target, and all the people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed. They must not use the point of the sword, for this the King forbids.]⁵

NOTE I.—KAIL, now forgotten, was long a famous port on the coast of what is now the Tinnevely District of the Madras Presidency. It is mentioned as a port of Ma'bar by our author's contemporary Rashiduddin, though the name has been perverted by careless transcription into *Bával* and *Kábal*. (See *Elliot*, I. pp. 69, 72.) It is also mistranscribed as *Kábil* in Quatremère's publication of Abdurrazák, who mentions it as "a place situated opposite the island of Serendib, otherwise called Ceylon," and as being the extremity of what he was led to regard as Malabar (p. 19). It is mentioned as *Cahila*, the site of the pearl-fishery, by Nicolo Conti (p. 7). The *Roteiro* of Vasco da Gama notes it as *Caell*, a state having a Mussulman King and a Christian (for which read *Káfir*) people. Here were many pearls. Giovanni d'Empoli notices it (*Gael*) also for the pearl-fishery, as do Varthema and Barbosa. From the latter we learn that it was still a considerable seaport, having rich Mahomedan merchants, and was visited by many ships from Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal. In the time of the last writers it belonged to the King of Kaulam, who generally resided at Kail:

The real site of this once celebrated port has, I believe, till now never been identified in any published work. I had supposed the still existing Káyalpattanam to have been in all probability the place, and I am again indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Caldwell for conclusive and most interesting information on this subject. He writes:

"There are no relics of ancient greatness in Káyalpattanam, and no traditions of foreign trade, and it is admitted by its inhabitants to be a place of recent origin, which came into existence after the abandonment of the true Káyal. They state also that the name of Káyalpattanam has only recently been given to it, as a reminiscence of the older city, and that its original name was Sónagarpattanam.* There is another small port in the same neighbourhood, a little to the north of Káyalpattanam, called Pinna Cael in the maps, properly Punnei-Káyal, from *Punnei*, the Indian Laurel; but this is also a place of recent origin, and many of the inhabitants of this place, as of Káyalpattanam, state that their ancestors came originally from Káyal, subsequently to the removal of the Portuguese from that place to Tuticorin.

"The Cail of Marco Polo, commonly called in the neighbourhood *Old Káyal*, and erroneously named *Koil* in the Ordnance Map of India, is situated on the Tâmrarni River, about a mile and a half from its mouth. The Tamil word *káyal* means 'a backwater, a lagoon,' and the map shows the existence of a large number of these *káyals* or backwaters near the mouth of the river. Many of these kayals have now dried up more or less completely, and in several of them salt-pans have been established. The name of Káyal was naturally given to a town erected on the margin of a *káyal*; and this circumstance occasioned also the adoption of the name of Punnei Káyal, and served to give currency to the name of Káyalpattanam assumed by Sónagarpattanam, both those places being in the vicinity of kayals.

"KAYAL stood originally on or near the sea-beach, but it is now about a mile and a half inland, the sand carried down by the river having silted up the ancient harbour, and formed a waste sandy tract between the sea and the town. It has now shrunk into a petty village, inhabited partly by Mahomedáns and partly by Roman Catholic fishermen of the Parava caste, with a still smaller hamlet adjoining inhabited by Brahmans and Vellalars; but unlikely as the place may now seem to have been identical with 'the great and noble city' described by Marco Polo, its identity is established by the relics of its ancient greatness which it still retains. Ruins of old fortifications, temples, storehouses, wells and tanks, are found everywhere along the coast for two or three miles north of the village of Kayal, and a mile and a half inland; the whole plain is covered with broken tiles and remnants of pottery, chiefly of China

* "Sónagar or Jónagar is a Tamil corruption of *Yavanar*, the Yavanas, the name by which the Arabs were known, and is the name most commonly used in the Tamil country to designate the mixed race descended from Arab colonists, who are called *Mábillas* on the Malabar coast, and *Lubbies* in the neighbourhood of Madras." (Dr. C.'s note.)

manufacture, and several mounds are apparent, in which, besides the shells of the pearl-oyster and broken pottery, mineral drugs (cinnabar, brimstone, etc.), such as are sold in the bazaars of sea-port towns, and a few ancient coins have been found. I send you herewith an interesting coin discovered in one of those mounds by Mr. R. Puckle, collector of Tinnevely.*

"The people of the place have forgotten the existence of any trade between Kayal and China, though the China pottery that lies all about testifies to its existence at some former period; but they retain a distinct tradition of its trade with the Arabian and Persian coasts, as vouched for by Marco Polo, that trade having in some degree survived to comparatively recent times. . . . Captain Phipps, the Master Attendant at Tuticorin, says: 'The roadstead of Old Cael (Káyal) is still used by native craft when upon the coast and meeting with south winds, from which it is sheltered. The depth of water is 16 to 14 feet; I fancy years ago it was deeper. . . . There is a surf on the bar at the entrance (of the river), but boats go through it at all times.'

* * * *

"I am tempted to carry this long account of Kayal a little further, so as to bring to light the *Kolkhoi* [κόλχοι ἐμπόριον] of the Greek merchants, the situation of the older city being nearly identical with that of the more modern one. *Kolkhoi*, described by Ptolemy and the author of the Periplus as an emporium of the pearl-trade, as situated on the sea-coast to the east of Cape Comorin, and as giving its name to the Kolkhic Gulf or Gulf of Manaar, has been identified by Lassen with Keelkarei; but this identification is merely conjectural, founded on nothing better than a slight apparent resemblance in the names. Lassen could not have failed to identify *Kolkhoi* with KORKAI, the mother-city of Kayal, if he had been acquainted with its existence and claims. Korkai, properly KOLKAI (the *l* being changed into *r* by a modern refinement—it is still called *Kolka* in Malayalam), holds an important place in Tamil traditions, being regarded as the birthplace of the Pandyan Dynasty, the place where the princes of that race ruled previously to their removal to Madura. One of the titles of the Pandyan Kings is 'Ruler of Korkai.' Korkai is situated two or three miles inland from Kayal, higher up the river. It is not marked in the Ordnance Map of India, but a village in the immediate neighbourhood of it, called *Máramangalam*, 'the Good-fortune of the Pandyas,' will be found in the map. This place, together with several others in the neighbourhood, on both sides of the river, is proved by inscriptions and relics to have been formerly included in Korkai, and the whole intervening space between Korkai and Kayal exhibits traces of ancient dwellings. The people of Kayal maintain that their city was originally so large as to include Korkai, but there is much more probability in the tradition of the people of Korkai, which is to the effect that Korkai itself was originally a sea-port; that as the sea retired it became less and less suitable for trade, that Kayal rose as Korkai fell, and that at length, as the sea continued to retire, Kayal also was abandoned. They add that the trade for which the place was famous in ancient times was the trade in pearls." In an article in the *Madras Journal* (VII, 379) it is stated that at the great Siva Pagoda at Tinnevely the earth used ceremonially at the annual festival is brought from Korkai, but no position is indicated.

NOTE 2.—Dr. Caldwell again brings his invaluable aid:—

"Marco Polo represents Kayal as being governed by a king whom he calls *Asciar* (a name which you suppose to be intended to be pronounced *Ashar*), and says that this king of Kayal was the elder brother of Sonderbandi, the king of that part of the district of Maabar where he landed. There is a distinct tradition, not only amongst the people now inhabiting Kayal, but in the district of Tinnevely generally, that

* I am sorry to say that the coin never reached its destination. In the latter part of 1872 a quantity of treasure was found near Káyal by the labourers on irrigation works. Much of it was dispersed without coming under intelligent eyes, and most of the coins recovered were Arabic. One, however, is stated to have been a coin of "Joanna of Castille, A. D. 1236." (*Allen's India Mail*, 5th January, 1874.) There is no such queen. Qu. Joanna I. of Navarre (1274-1276)? or Joanna II. of Navarre (1328-1336)?

Kayal, during the period of its greatness, was ruled by a king. This king is sometimes spoken of as one of 'the Five Kings' who reigned in various parts of Tinnevely, but whether he was independent of the King of Madura, or only a viceroy, the people cannot now say. . . . The tradition of the people of Kayal is that . . . *Sûr-Raja* was the name of the last king of the place. They state that this last king was a Mahommedan, . . . but though *Sûr-Raja* does not sound like the name of a Mahommedan prince, they all agree in asserting that this was his name. . . . Can this *Sûr* be the person whom Marco calls *Asciar*? Probably not, as *Asciar* seems to have been a Hindu by religion. I have discovered what appears to be a more probable identification in the name of a prince mentioned in an inscription on the walls of a temple at Sri-Vaikuntham, a town on the Tamraparni R., about 20 miles from Kayal. In the inscription in question a donation to the temple is recorded as having been given in the time of '*Asaḍia-deva called also Surya-deva.*' This name '*Asaḍia*' is neither Sanskrit nor Tamil; and as the hard *ḍ* is often changed into *r*, Marco's *Ashar* may have been an attempt to render this *Asaḍ*. If this *Asaḍia* or *Surya-deva* were really Sundara-pandi-deva's brother, he must have ruled over a narrow range of country, probably over Kayal alone, whilst his more eminent brother was alive; for there is an inscription on the walls of a temple at Sindamangalam, a place only a few miles from Kayal, which records a donation made to the place 'in the reign of Sundara-pandi-deva.'*"

NOTE 3.—["O aljofar, e perolas, que me manda que lha enuie, nom as posso auer, que as ha em Ceylão e Caille, que são as fontes dellas: compralashia do meu sangue, a do meu dinheiro, que o tenho porque vós me daes." (Letter of the Viceroy Dom Francisco to the King, Anno de 1508." (*G. Correa, Lendas da India*, I. pp. 908-909.)—*Note by Yule.*]

NOTE 4.—*Tembul* is the Persian name for the betel-leaf or *pán*, from the Sanskrit *Tāmbūla*. The latter is also used in Tamul, though *Vettilei* is the proper Tamul word, whence *Betel* (*Dr. Caldwell*). Marsden supposes the mention of camphor among the ingredients with which the *pán* is prepared to be a mistake, and suggests as a possible origin of the error that *kápúr* in the Malay language means not only camphor but quicklime. This is curious, but in addition to the fact that the lime is mentioned in the text, there seems ample evidence that his doubt about camphor is unfounded.

Garcia de Orta says distinctly: "In chewing *betre* . . . they mix areca with it and a little lime. . . . Some add *Licio* (*i.e.* catechu), but the rich and *grandees* add some Borneo camphor, and some also lign-aloes, musk, and ambergris" (31 v. and 32). Abdurrazzák also says: "The manner of eating it is as follows: They bruise a portion of *faufel* (areca), otherwise called *sipari*, and put it in the mouth. Moistening a leaf of the betel, together with a grain of lime, they rub the one upon the other, roll them together, and then place them in the mouth. They thus take as many as four leaves of betel at a time and chew them. Sometimes they add camphor to it" (p. 32). And Abúl Fazl: "They also put some betel-nut and *kath* (catechu) on one leaf, and some lime-paste on another, and roll them up; this is called a *berah*. Some put camphor and musk into it, and tie both leaves with a silk thread," etc. (See *Blochmann's Transl.* p. 73.) Finally one of the Chinese notices of Kamboja, translated by Abel Rémusat, says: "When a guest comes it is usual to present him with areca, camphor, and other aromatics." (*Nouv. Mém.* I. 84.)

NOTE 5.—This is the only passage of Ramusio's version, so far as I know, that

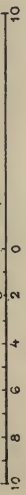
* See above, p. 334, as to Dr. Caldwell's view of Polo's *Sonderbandi*. May not *Ashar* very well represent *Aśhādha*, "invincible," among the applications of which Williams gives "N. of a prince" I observe also that *Aśchar* (Sansk. *Aśchariṃya* "marvellous") is the name of one of the objects of worship in the dark *Sakti* system, once apparently potent in S. India. (See *Taylor's Catalogue Raisonné*, II. 414, 423, 426, 443, and remark p. xlix.)

["Ils disent donc que Dieu qu'ils appellent *Achar*, c'est-à-dire, immobile ou immuable." (*F. Bernier, Voy.*, ed. 1699, II. p. 134.)—*MS. Note.*—H. Y.]

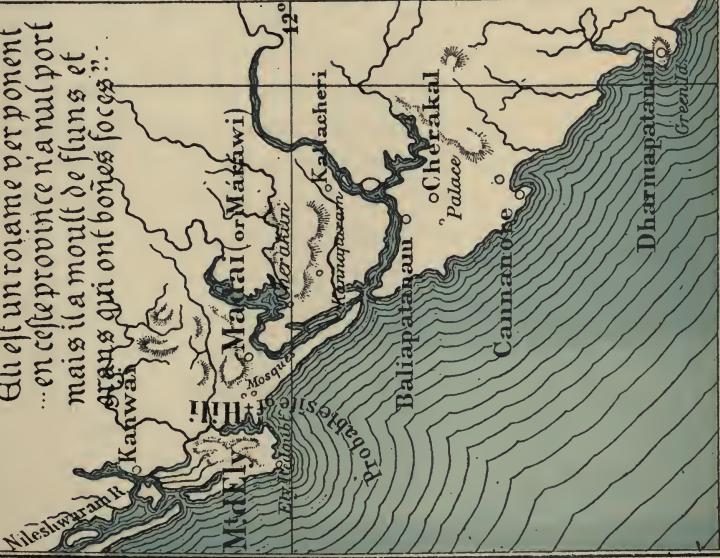
Map showing the position of the Kingdom of

ELY in MALABAR

English Miles.



"Ely est un royaume ver ponent
... en ceste province n'a nul port
mais il a moult de fluns et
grans qui ont boñes soces"

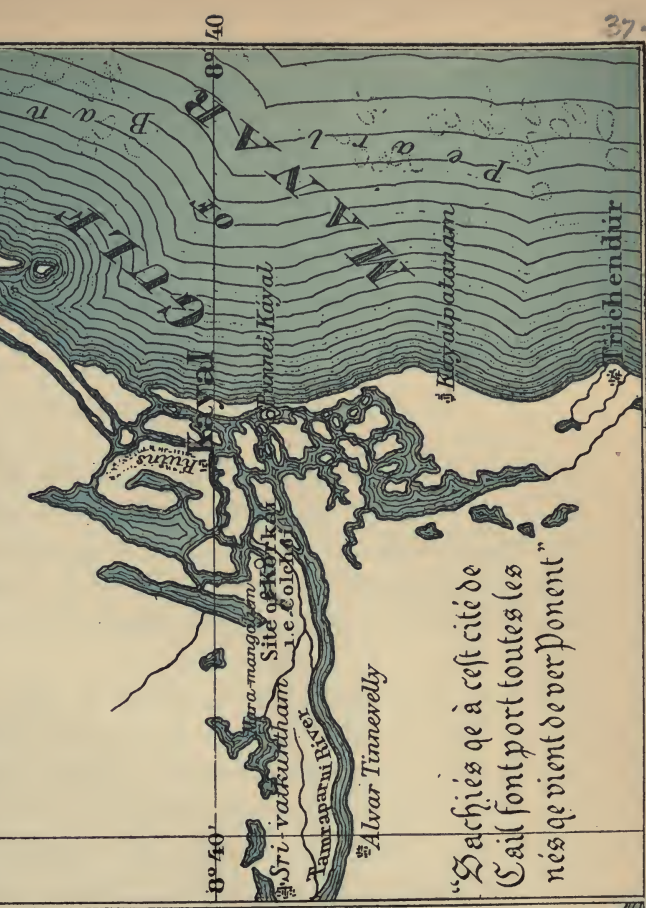


Sketch showing the position of

KAYAL

IN TINNEVELLY.

English Miles.



"Sachies qe à cest cite de
Sail font toutes les
nès qe vient de ver Ponent"

suggests interpolation from a recent author, as distinguished from mere editorial modification. There is in Barbosa a description of the *duello* as practised in Canara, which is rather too like this one.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE KINGDOM OF COILUM.

WHEN you quit Maabar and go 500 miles towards the south-west you come to the kingdom of COILUM. The people are Idolaters, but there are also some Christians and some Jews. The natives have a language of their own, and a King of their own, and are tributary to no one.¹

A great deal of brazil is got here which is called *brazil Coilumin* from the country which produces it; 'tis of very fine quality.² Good ginger also grows here, and it is known by the same name of *Coilumin* after the country.³ Pepper too grows in great abundance throughout this country, and I will tell you how. You must know that the pepper-trees are (not wild but) cultivated, being regularly planted and watered; and the pepper is gathered in the months of May, June, and July. They have also abundance of very fine indigo. This is made of a certain herb which is gathered, and [after the roots have been removed] is put into great vessels upon which they pour water and then leave it till the whole of the plant is decomposed. They then put this liquid in the sun, which is tremendously hot there, so that it boils and coagulates, and becomes such as we see it. [They then divide it into pieces of four ounces each, and in that form it is exported to our parts.]⁴ And I assure you that the heat of the sun is so great there that it is scarcely to be endured; in fact if you put an egg into

one of the rivers it will be boiled, before you have had time to go any distance, by the mere heat of the sun!

The merchants from Manzi, and from Arabia, and from the Levant come thither with their ships and their merchandise and make great profits both by what they import and by what they export.

There are in this country many and divers beasts quite different from those of other parts of the world. Thus there are lions black all over, with no mixture of any other colour; and there are parrots of many sorts, for some are white as snow with red beak and feet, and some are red, and some are blue, forming the most charming sight in the world; there are green ones too. There are also some parrots of exceeding small size, beautiful creatures.⁵ They have also very beautiful peacocks, larger than ours, and different; and they have cocks and hens quite different from ours; and what more shall I say? In short, everything they have is different from ours, and finer and better. Neither is their fruit like ours, nor their beasts, nor their birds; and this difference all comes of the excessive heat.

Corn they have none but rice. So also their wine they make from [palm-] sugar; capital drink it is, and very speedily it makes a man drunk. All other necessities of man's life they have in great plenty and cheapness. They have very good astrologers and physicians. Man and woman, they are all black, and go naked, all save a fine cloth worn about the middle. They look not on any sin of the flesh as a sin. They marry their cousins german, and a man takes his brother's wife after the brother's death; and all the people of India have this custom.⁶

There is no more to tell you there; so we will proceed, and I will tell you of another country called Comari.

NOTE I.—Futile doubts were raised by Baldelli Boni and Hugh Murray as to the position of COILUM, because of Marco's mentioning it before Comari or Cape Comorin; and they have insisted on finding a Coilum to the east of that promontory. There is, however, in reality, no room for any question on this subject. For ages Coilum, Kaulam, or, as we now write it, Quilon, and properly Kollam, was one of the greatest ports of trade with Western Asia.* The earliest mention of it that I can indicate is in a letter written by the Nestorian Patriarch, Jesujabus of Adiabene, who died A.D. 660, to Simon Metropolitan of Fars, blaming his neglect of duty, through which he says, not only is India, "which extends from the coast of the Kingdom of Fars to COLON, a distance of 1200 parasangs, deprived of a regular ministry, but Fars itself is lying in darkness." (*Assem.* III. pt. ii. 437.) The same place appears in the earlier part of the Arab *Relations* (A.D. 851) as *Kaulam-Malé*, the port of India made by vessels from Maskat, and already frequented by great Chinese Junks.

Abulfeda defines the position of Kaulam as at the extreme end of *Balad-ul-Falfal*, i.e. the Pepper country or Malabar, as you go eastward, standing on an inlet of the sea, in a sandy plain, adorned with many gardens. The brazil-tree grew there, and the Mahomedans had a fine mosque and square. Ibn Batuta also notices the fine mosque, and says the city was one of the finest in Malabar, with splendid markets and rich merchants, and was the chief resort of the Chinese traders in India. Odoric describes it as "at the extremity of the Pepper Forest towards the south," and astonishing in the abundance of its merchandise. Friar Jordanus of Séverac was there as a missionary some time previous to 1328, in which year he was at home; [on the 21st of August, 1329, he] was nominated Bishop of the See of Kaulam, Latinised as *Columbum* or *Columbus* [created by John XXII. on the 9th of August of the same year—H. C.]. Twenty years later John Marignolli visited "the very noble city of Columbum, where the whole world's pepper is produced," and found there a Latin church of St. George, probably founded by Jordanus.† Kaulam or Coilon continued to be an important place to the beginning of the 16th century, when Varthema speaks of it as a fine port, and Barbosa as "a very great city," with a very good haven, and with many great merchants, Moors and Gentoos, whose ships traded to all the Eastern ports as far as Bengal, Pegu, and the Archipelago. But after this its decay must have been rapid, and in the following century it had sunk into entire insignificance. Throughout the Middle Ages it appears to have been one of the chief seats of the St. Thomas

* The etymology of the name seems to be doubtful. Dr. Caldwell tells me it is an error to connect it (as in the first edition) with the word for a Tank, which is *Kulan*. The apparent meaning of *Kollam* is "slaughter," but he thinks the name is best explained as "Palace" or "Royal Residence."

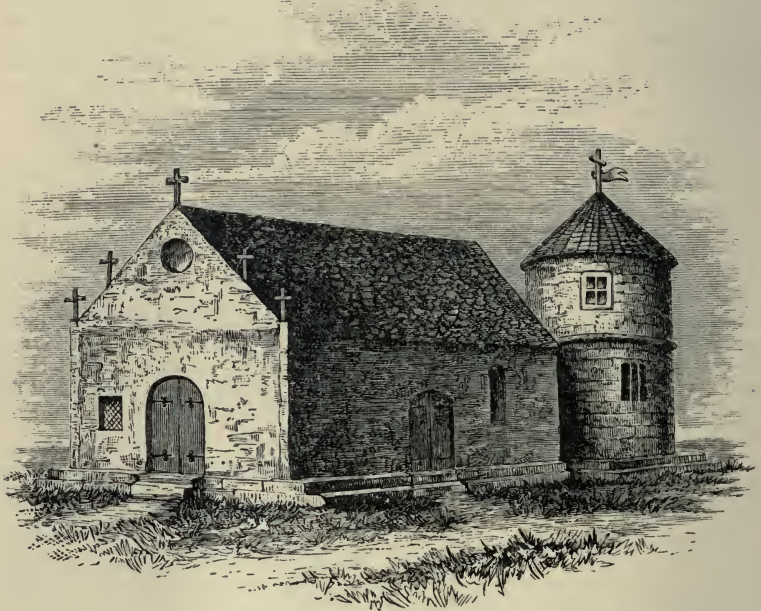
† There is still a *Syrian* church of St. George at Quilon, and a mosque of some importance;—the representatives at least of those noted above, though no actual trace of antiquity of any kind remains at the place. A vague tradition of extensive trade with China yet survives. The form *Columbum* is accounted for by an inscription, published by the Prince of Travancore (*Ind. Antiq.* II. 360), which shows that the city was called in Sanskrit *Kolamba*. May not the real etymology be Sansk. *Kolam*, "Black Pepper"?

On the suggestion ventured in this note Dr. Caldwell writes:
"I fancy *Kōla*, a name for pepper in Sanskrit, may be derived from the name of the country *Kōlam*, North Malabar, which is much more celebrated for its pepper than the country about Quilon. This *Kōlam*, though resembling *Kollam*, is really a separate word, and never confounded with the latter by the natives. The prince of *Kōlam* (North Malabar) is called *Kolastri* or *Kolattiri*.¹ Compare also *Kōlagiri*, the name of a hill in the Sanskrit dictionaries, called also *Kōlla giri*. The only possible derivations for the Tamil and Malayalam name of Quilon that I am acquainted with, are these: (1.) From *Kolu*, the 'Royal Presence' or presence-chamber, or hall of audience. *Kollam* might naturally be a derivative of this word; and in confirmation I find that other residences of Malabar kings were also called *Kollam*, e.g. *Kodungalur* or *Cranganore*. (2.) From *Kolu*, the same word, but with the meaning 'a height' or 'high-ground.' Hence *Kollei*, a very common word in Tamil for a 'dry grain field, a back-yard.' *Kolli* is also, in the Tamil poets, said to be the name of a hill in the Chera country, i.e. the Malabar coast. *Kōlam* in Tamil has not the meaning of pepper; it means 'beauty,' and it is said also to mean the fruit of the jujuba. (3.) It might possibly be derived from *Kol*, to slay;—*Kollam*, slaughter, or a place where some slaughter happened . . . in the absence, however, of any tradition to this effect, this derivation of the name seems improbable."

¹ See II. 307.

Christians. Indeed both it and Káyal were two out of the seven ancient churches which Indo-Syrian tradition ascribed to St. Thomas himself.*

I have been desirous to give some illustration of the churches of that interesting body, certain of which must date from a very remote period, but I have found unlooked-for difficulties in procuring such illustration. Several are given in the Life of Dr. Claudius Buchanan from his own sketches, and a few others in the Life of Bishop D. Wilson. But nearly all represent the churches as they were perverted in the 17th century and since, by a coarse imitation of a style of architecture bad enough in its genuine form. I give, after Buchanan, the old church at Parúr, not far from Cranganore, which had escaped masquerade, with one from Bishop Wilson's Life, showing the quasi-Jesuit deformation alluded to, and an interior also from the latter work, which appears to have some trace of genuine character. Parúr church is probably *Pálrú*, or *Pázhúr*, which is one of those ascribed to St. Thomas; for Dr. Buchanan



Ancient Christian Church at Parúr, on the Malabar coast. (After Claudius Buchanan.)

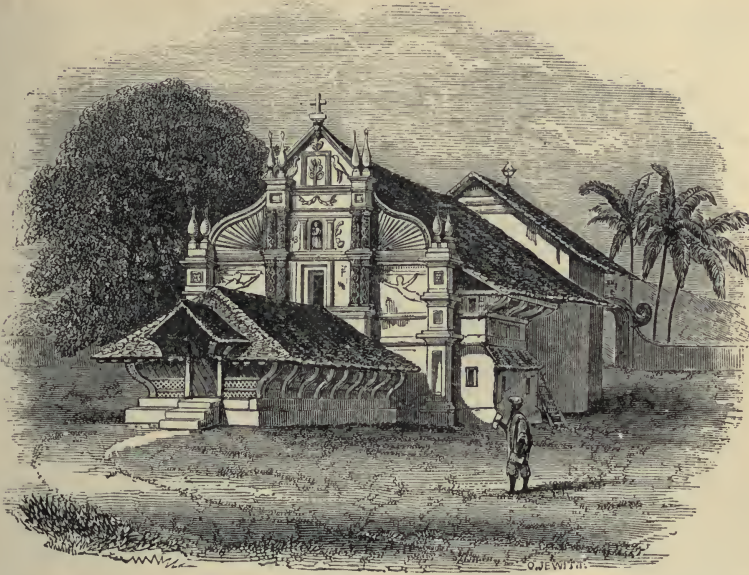
says it bears the name of the Apostle, and "is supposed to be the oldest in Malabar." (*Christ. Res.* p. 113.)

[Quilon is "one of the oldest towns on the coast, from whose re-foundation in 1019, A. D., Travancore reckons its era." (*Hunter, Gaz.*, xi., p. 339.)—H. C.]

How Polo comes to mention Coilum before Comari is a question that will be treated further on, with other misplacements of like kind that occur in succeeding chapters.

Kúblái had a good deal of diplomatic intercourse of his usual kind with Kaulam. De Mailla mentions the arrival at T'swan-chau (or Zayton) in 1282 of envoys from KIULAN, an Indian State, bringing presents of various rarities, including a black ape as big as a man. The Emperor had three times sent thither an officer called Yang

* Burnell.



Syrian Church at Caranyachirra (from "Life of Bp. D. Wilson"), showing the quasi-Jesuit façade generally adopted in modern times.



Interior of Syrian Church at Kötteiyam in Travancore. (From "Life of Bp. D. Wilson.")

Ting-pi (IX. 415). Some rather curious details of these missions are extracted by Pauthier from the Chinese Annals. The royal residence is in these called *A-pu-hota*.* The king is styled *Pinati*. I may note that Barbosa also tells us that the King of Kaulam was called Benate-deri (*devar?*). And Dr. Caldwell's kindness enables me to explain this title. *Pinati* or *Benate* represents *Venádan*, "the Lord of the Venádu," or *Venattu*, that being the name of the district to which belonged the family of the old kings of Kollam, and *Venádan* being their regular dynastic name. The Rajas of Travancore who superseded the Kings of Kollam, and inherit their titles, are still poetically styled *Venádan*. (*Pauthier*, p. 603 *seqq.*; *Ram.* I. f. 304.)

NOTE 2.—The brazil-wood of Kaulam appears in the Commercial Handbook of Pegolotti (*circa* 1340) as *Verzino Colombino*, and under the same name in that of Giov. d'Uzzano a century later. Pegolotti in one passage details kinds of brazil under the names of *Verzino salvatico*, *dimestico*, and *columbino*. In another passage, where he enters into particulars as to the respective values of different qualities, he names three kinds, as *Colomni*, *Ameri*, and *Seni*, of which the *Colomni* (or *Colombino*) was worth a sixth more than the *Ameri* and three times as much as the *Seni*. I have already conjectured that *Ameri* may stand for *Lameri* referring to Lambri in Sumatra (*supra* ch. xi., note 1); and perhaps *Seni* is *Sini* or Chinese, indicating an article brought to India by the Chinese traders, probably from Siam.

We have seen in the last note that the Kaulam brazil is spoken of by Abulfeda; and Ibn Batuta, in describing his voyage by the back waters from Calicut to Kaulam, says: "All the trees that grow by this river are either cinnamon or brazil trees. They use these for firewood, and we cooked with them throughout our journey." Friar Odoric makes the same hyperbolic statement: "Here they burn brazil-wood for fuel."

It has been supposed popularly that the brazil-wood of commerce took its name from the great country so called; but the *verzino* of the old Italian writers is only a form of the same word, and *bresil* is in fact the word used by Polo. So Chaucer:—

"Him nedeth not his colour for to dien
With *brazil*, ne with grain of Portingale."

—*The Nun's Priest's Tale.*

The *Eastern* wood in question is now known in commerce by its Malay name of *Sappan* (properly *Sapang*), which again is identical with the Tamil name *Sappangi*. This word properly means *Japan*, and seems to have been given to the wood as a supposed product of that region.† It is the wood of the *Caesalpinia Sapan*, and is known in Arabic (and in Hindustani) as *Bākām*. It is a thorny tree, indigenous in Western India from Goa to Trevandrum, and growing luxuriantly in South Malabar. It is extensively used by native dyers, chiefly for common and cheap cloths, and for fine mats. The dye is precipitated dark-brown with iron, and red with alum. It is said, in Western India, to furnish the red powder thrown about on the Hindu feast of the *Hūli*. The tree is both wild and cultivated, and is grown rather extensively by the Mahomedans of Malabar, called *Moplals* (*Mapillas*, see p. 372), whose custom it is to plant a number of seeds at the birth of a daughter. The trees require fourteen or fifteen years to come to maturity, and then become the girl's dowry.

Though to a great extent superseded by the kindred wood from Pernambuco, the sappan is still a substantial object of importation into England. That American dye-stuff which *now* bears the name of brazil-wood is believed to be the produce of at least two species of *Caesalpinia*, but the question seems to partake of the singular obscurity which hangs over the origin of so many useful drugs and dye-stuffs. The variety called *Brazilletto* is from *C. bahamensis*, a native of the Bahamas.

The name of Brazil has had a curious history. Etymologists refer it to the colour

* The translated passage about *'Apuhota* is a little obscure. The name looks like *Kapukada*, which was the site of a palace north of *Calicut* (not in Kaulam), the *Capucate* of the Portuguese.
† *Dr. Caldwell.*

of *braise* or hot coals, and its first application was to this dye-wood from the far East. Then it was applied to a newly-discovered tract of South America, perhaps because producing a kindred dye-wood in large quantities: finally the original wood is robbed of its name, which is monopolised by that imported from the new country. The Region of Brazil had been originally styled *Santa Cruz*, and De Barros attributes the change of name to the suggestion of the Evil One, "as if the name of a wood for colouring cloth were of more moment than that of the Wood which imbues the Sacraments with the tincture of Salvation."

There may perhaps be a doubt if the Land of Brazil derived its name from the dye-wood. For the Isle of Brazil, long before the discovery of America, was a name applied to an imaginary Island in the Atlantic. This island appears in the map of Andrea Bianco and in many others, down at least to Coronelli's splendid Venetian Atlas (1696); the Irish used to fancy that they could see it from the Isles of Arran; and the legend of this Island of Brazil still persisted among sailors in the last century.* The story was no doubt the same as that of the green Island, or Island of Youth, which Mr. Campbell tells us the Hebrideans see to the west of their own Islands. (See *Pop. Tales of West Highlands*, IV. 163. For previous references, *Della Decima*, III. 298, 361; IV. 60; *I. B.* IV. 99; *Cathay*, p. 77; *Note by Dr. H. Gleghorn*; *Marsh's ed. of Wedgwood's Etym. Dict.* I. 123; *Southey, H. of Brazil*, I. 22.)

NOTE 3.—This is the *Colombine* ginger which appears not unfrequently in mediæval writings. Pegolotti tells us that "ginger is of several sorts, to wit, *Belledi*, *Colombino*, and *Mecchino*. And these names are bestowed from the producing countries, at least this is the case with the *Colombino* and *Mecchino*, for the *Belledi* is produced in many districts of India. The *Colombino* grows in the Island of Colombo of India, and has a smooth, delicate, ash-coloured rind; whilst the *Mecchino* comes from the districts about Mecca and is a small kind, hard to cut," etc. (*Della Dec.* III. 359.) A century later, in G. da Uzzano, we still find the *Colombino* and *Belledi* ginger (IV. III, 210, etc.). The *Baladi* is also mentioned by Rashiduddin as an export of Guzerat, and by Barbosa and others as one of Calicut in the beginning of the 16th century. The *Mecchino* too is mentioned again in that era by a Venetian traveller as grown in the Island of Camran in the Red Sea. Both Columbine (*gigembre columbin*) and Baladi ginger (*gig. baladit*) appear among the purchases for King John of France, during his captivity in England. And we gather from his accounts that the price of the former was 13*d.* a pound, and of the latter 12*d.*, sums representing three times the amount of silver that they now indicate, with a higher value of silver also, and hence equivalent to about 4*s.* and 4*s.* 4*d.* a pound. The term *Baladi* (Ar.), Indigenous or "Country" ginger, indicated ordinary qualities of no particular repute. The word *Baladi* seems to have become naturalised in Spanish with the meaning "of small value." We have noticed on a former occasion the decay of the demand for pepper in China. Ginger affords a similar example. This spice, so highly prized and so well known throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, I have found to be quite unknown by name and qualities to servants in Palermo of more than average intelligence. (*Elliot*, I. 67; *Ramusio*, I. f. 275, v. 323; *Dozy and Engelm.* pp. 232-233; *Douet d'Arq.* p. 218; *Philobiblon Soc. Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 116.)

NOTE 4.—In Bengal Indigo factories artificial heat is employed to promote the drying of the precipitated dye; but this is not essential to the manufacture. Marco's account, though grotesque in its baldness, does describe the chief features of the manufacture of Indigo by fermentation. The branches are cut and placed stem upwards in the vat till it is three parts full; they are loaded, and then the vat is filled with water. Fermentation soon begins and goes on till in 24 hours the contents of the vat are so hot that the hand cannot be retained in it. This is what Marco ascribes

* Indeed, Humboldt speaks of Brazil Isle as appearing to the west of Ireland in a modern English map—*Purdy's*; but I do not know its date. (See *Examen*, etc., II. 244-245.)

to the sun's heat. The liquor is then drawn off to another cistern and there agitated; the indigo separates in flakes. A quantity of lime-water then is added, and the blue is allowed to subside. The clear water is drawn off; the sediment is drained, pressed, and cut into small squares, etc. (See *Madras Journal*, vol. viii. 198.)

Indigo had been introduced into Sicily by the Jews during the time of Frederick II., in the early part of Polo's century. Jews and Indigo have long vanished from Sicily. The dye is often mentioned in Pegolotti's Book; the finest quality being termed *Indaco Baccadeo*, a corruption of *Bāghddādi*. Probably it came from India by way of Baghdad. In the Barcelona Tariffs it appears as Indigo de *Bagadel*. Another quality often mentioned is Indigo *di Golfo*. (See *Capmany, Memorias*, II. App. p. 73.) In the bye-laws of the London Painters' Guild of the 13th century, quoted by Sir F. Palgrave from the *Liber Horne*, it is forbidden to paint on gold or silver except with fine (mineral) colours, "*e nient de brasil, ne de inde de Baldas, ne de nul autre mauveise couleur.*" (*The Merchant and the Friar*, p. xxiii.) There is now no indigo made or exported at Quilon, but there is still some feeble export of sappanwood, ginger, and pepper. These, and previous particulars as to the present Quilon, I owe to the kindness of Mr. Ballard, British Resident at Trevandrum.

NOTE 5.—Black Tigers and black Leopards are not very rare in Travancore (See *Welsch's Mil. Reminiscences*, II. 102.)

NOTE 6.—Probably founded on local or caste customs of marriage, several of which in South India are very peculiar; e.g., see *Nelson's Madura*, Pt. II. p. 51.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE COUNTRY CALLED COMARI

COMARI is a country belonging to India, and there you can see something of the North Star, which we had not been able to see from the Lesser Java thus far. In order to see it you must go some 30 miles out to sea, and then you see it about a cubit above the water.¹

This is a very wild country, and there are beasts of all kinds there, especially monkeys of such peculiar fashion that you would take them for men! There are also *gatpauls*² in wonderful diversity, with bears, lions, and leopards, in abundance.

NOTE 1.—*Kumāri* is in some versions of the Hindu cosmography the most southerly of the nine divisions of Jambodvīpa, the Indian world. Polo's Comari can only be the country about Cape COMORIN, the *κομάρια ἄκρον* of Ptolemy, a name derived from the Sanskrit *Kumāri*, "a Virgin," an appellation of the goddess

Durgá. The monthly bathing in her honour, spoken of by the author of the *Periplus*, is still continued, though now the pilgrims are few. Abulfeda speaks of *Rás Kumhári* as the limit between Malabar and Ma'bar. *Kumári* is the Tamil pronunciation of the Sanskrit word and probably *Comári* was Polo's pronunciation.

At the beginning of the Portuguese era in India we hear of a small Kingdom of COMORI, the prince of which had succeeded to the kingdom of Kaulam. And this, as Dr. Caldwell points out, must have been the state which is now called Travancore. Kumari has been confounded by some of the Arabian Geographers, or their modern commentators, with *Kumár*, one of the regions supplying aloes-wood, and which was apparently *Khmer* or Kamboja. (*Caldwell's Drav. Grammar*, p. 67; *Gildem.* 185; *Ram.* I. 333.)

The cut that we give is, as far as I know, the first genuine view of Cape Comorin ever published.

[Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in his *History of India*, vol. iii. (p. 386), says of this tract :

"The region derives its name from a temple which was erected there in honour of Kumárl, 'the Virgin'; the infant babe who had been exchanged for Krishna, and ascended to heaven at the approach of Kansa." And in a note :

"Colonel Yule identifies Kumárl with Durgá. This is an error. The temple of Kumárl was erected by Krishna Raja of Narsinga, a zealous patron of the Vaishnavas."

Mr. Wheeler quotes Faria y Souza, who refers the object of worship to what is meant for this story (II. 394), but I presume from Mr. Wheeler's mention of the builder of the temple, which does not occur in the Portuguese history, that he has other information. The application of the Virgin title connected with the name of the place, may probably have varied with the ages, and, as there is no time to obtain other evidence, I have removed the words which identified the *existing temple* with that of Durgá. But my authority for identifying the *object of worship*, in whose honour the pilgrims bathe monthly at Cape Comorin, with Durgá, is the excellent one of Dr. Caldwell. (See his *Dravidian Grammar* as quoted in the passage above.) Krishna Raja of whom Mr. Wheeler speaks, reigned after the Portuguese were established in India, but it is not probable that the Krishna stories of that class were even known in the Peninsula (or perhaps anywhere else) in the time of the author of the *Periplus*, 1450 years before; and 'tis as little likely that the locality owed its name to Yasoda's Infant, as that it owed it to the Madonna in St. Francis Xavier's Church that overlooks the Cape.

Fra Paolino, in his unsatisfactory way (*Viaggio*, p. 68), speaks of Cape Comorin, "which the Indians call *Canyamuri*, *Virginis Promontorium*, or simply *Comari* or *Cumari* 'a Virgin,' because they pretend that anciently the goddess *Comari* 'the Damsel,' who is the Indian Diana or Hecate, used to bathe" etc. However, we can discover from his book elsewhere (see pp. 79, 285) that by the Indian Diana he means Párvatí, *i.e.* Durgá.

Lassen at first* identified the Kumárl of the Cape with Párvatí; but afterwards connected the name with a story in the Mahábhárata about certain *Apsarases* changed into Crocodiles.† On the whole there does not seem sufficient ground to deny that Párvatí was the *original* object of worship at Kumárl, though the name may have lent itself to various legends.]

NOTE 2.—I have not been able to ascertain with any precision what animal is meant by *Gat-paul*. The term occurs again, coupled with monkeys as here, at p. 240 of the Geog. Text, where, speaking of Abyssinia, it is said: "*Il ont gat paulz et autre gat-maimon si divisez*," etc. *Gatio maimone*, for an ape of some kind, is common in old Italian, the latter part of the term, from the Pers. *Maimún*, being

* *Ind. Alt.* 1st ed. I. 158.

† *Id.* 564; and 2nd ed. I. 193.



Cape Comorin. (From a sketch by Mr. Foote, of the Geological Survey of India.)

possibly connected with our *Baboon*. And that the *Gat-paul* was also some kind of ape is confirmed by the Spanish Dictionaries. Cobarrubias gives: "*Gato-Paus*, a kind of tailed monkey. *Gato-paus*, *Gato pablo*; perhaps as they call a monkey 'Martha,' they may have called this particular monkey 'Paul,'" etc. (f. 431 v.). So also the *Diccion. de la Lengua Castellana comp. por la Real Academia* (1783) gives: "*Gato Paul*, a kind of monkey of a grey colour, black muzzle and very broad tail." In fact, the word is used by Columbus, who, in his own account of his third voyage, describes a hill on the coast of Paria as covered with a species of *Gatos Paulos*. (See *Navarrete*, Fr. ed. III. 21, also 147-148.) It also occurs in *Marmol, Desc. General de Affrica*, who says that one kind of monkeys has a black face; "*y estas comunemente se llaman en España Gatos Paulos, las quales se crian en la tierra de los Negros*" (I. f. 27). It is worth noting that the revisers of the text adopted by Pauthier have not understood the word. For they substitute for the "*Il hi a gat paul si divisez qe ce estoit merveille*" of the Geog. Text, "*et si a moult de granz paluz et moult grans pantains à merveilles*"—wonderful swamps and marshes! The Pipino Latin has adhered to the correct reading—"Ibi sunt cati qui dicuntur pauli, valde diversi ab aliis."

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF ELI.

ELI is a kingdom towards the west, about 300 miles from Comari. The people are Idolaters and have a king, and are tributary to nobody; and have a peculiar language. We will tell you particulars about their manners and their products, and you will better understand things now because we are drawing near to places that are not so outlandish.¹

There is no proper harbour in the country, but there are many great rivers with good estuaries, wide and deep.² Pepper and ginger grow there, and other spices in quantities.³ The King is rich in treasure, but not very strong in forces. The approach to his kingdom however is so strong by nature that no one can attack him, so he is afraid of nobody.

And you must know that if any ship enters their estuary and anchors there, having been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. For they say, "You were bound for somewhere else, and 'tis

God has sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods." And they think it no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over these provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship be driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which it was bound, it is sure to be plundered. But if a ship come bound originally to the place they receive it with all honour and give it due protection.⁴ The ships of Manzi and other countries that come hither in summer lay in their cargoes in 6 or 8 days and depart as fast as possible, because there is no harbour other than the river-mouth, a mere roadstead and sandbanks, so that it is perilous to tarry there. The ships of Manzi indeed are not so much afraid of these roadsteads as others are, because they have such huge wooden anchors which hold in all weather.⁵

There are many lions and other wild beasts here and plenty of game, both beast and bird.

NOTE I.—No city or district is now known by the name of ELY, but the name survives in that of Mount *Dely*, properly Monte d'ELY, the *Yeli-mala* of the Malabar people, and called also in the legends of the coast *Sapta-shaila*, or the Seven Hills. This is the only spur of the Gháts that reaches the sea within the Madras territory. It is an isolated and very conspicuous hill, or cluster of hills, forming a promontory some 16 miles north of Cananore, the first Indian land seen by Vasco da Gama, on that memorable August morning in 1498, and formerly very well known to navigators, though it has been allowed to drop out of some of our most ambitious modern maps. Abulfeda describes it as "a great mountain projecting into the sea, and descried from a great distance, called *Ras Haili*"; and it appears in Fra Mauro's map as *Cavo de Eli*.

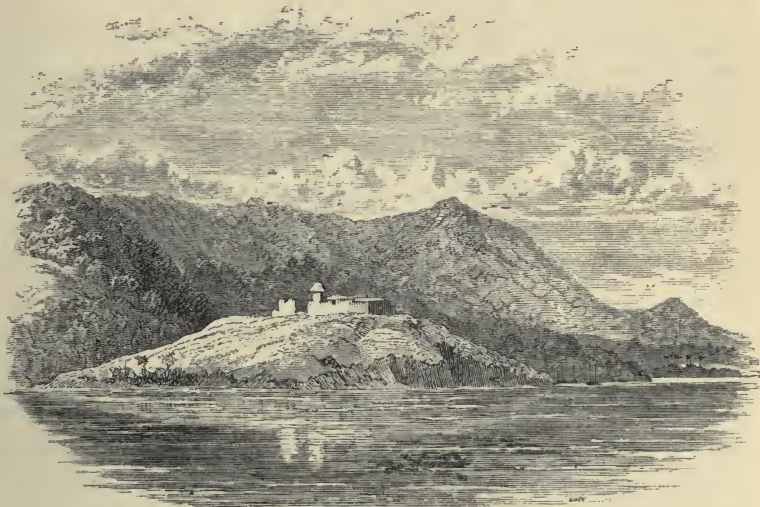
Rashiduddin mentions "the country of Hili," between *Manjarúr* (Mangalore) and Fandaraina (miswritten in Elliot's copy *Sadarsa*). Ibn Batuta speaks of Hili, which he reached on leaving Manjarúr, as "a great and well-built city, situated on a large estuary accessible to great ships. The vessels of China come hither; this, Kaulam, and Kalikut, are the only ports that they enter." From Hili he proceeds 12 miles further down the coast to *Jor-fattan*, which probably corresponds to Baliapatan. ELLY appears in the Carta Catalana, and is marked as a Christian city. Nicolo Conti is the last to speak distinctly of the city. Sailing from Cambay, in 20 days he arrived at two cities on the sea-shore, *Pacamuria* (*Fahnúr*, of Rashid and Firishta, *Baccanor* of old books, and now *Bárktúr*, the Malayálim *Vákkánúr*) and HELLI. But we read that in 1527 Simon de Melo was sent to burn ships in the River of *Marabia* and at *Monte d'Elli*.* When Da Gama on his second voyage was on his way from

* The Town of Monte d'Ely appears (*Monte Dil*) in Coronelli's Atlas (1690) from some older source. Mr. Burnell thinks Baliapatan (properly *Valarpatanam*) which is still a prosperous Máppila town, on a broad and deep river, must be Hili. I see a little difficulty in this. [Marabia at Monte Dely is often mentioned in *Correa*, as one of the ports of the Kingdom of Cananor.]

Baticala (in Canara) to Cananor, a squall having sprung his mainmast just before reaching Mt. d'Ely, "the captain-major anchored in the Bay of Marabia, because he saw there several Moorish ships, in order to get a mast from them." It seems clear that this was the bay just behind Mt. d'Ely.

Indeed the name of Marabia or *Máráwi* is still preserved in *Máddwi* or *Mádái*, corruptly termed *Maudoy* in some of our maps, a township upon the river which enters the bay about 7 or 8 miles south-east of Mt. d'Ely, and which is called by De Barros the *Rio Marabia*. Mr. Ballard informs me that he never heard of ruins of importance at Madai, but there is a place on the river just mentioned, and within the Madai township, called *Payangádi* ("Old Town"), which has the remains of an old fort of the Kolastiri (or Kolatiri) Rajas. A *palace* at Madai (perhaps this fort) is alluded to by Dr. Gundert in the *Madras Journal*, and a Buddhist Vihara is spoken of in an old Malayalim poem as having existed at the same place. The same paper speaks of "the famous emporium of Cachilpatnam near Mt. d'Ely," which may have been our city of Hili, as the cities Hili and Marawi were apparently separate though near.*

The state of *Hill-Máráwi* is also mentioned in the Arabic work on the early history



Mount d'Ely, from the Sea, in last century.

of the Mahomedans in Malabar, called *Tuhfat-al-Mujáhidin*, and translated by Rowlandson; and as the Prince is there called *Kolturee*, this would seem to identify him either in family or person with the Raja of Cananor, for that old dynasty always bore the name of *Kolatiri*.†

The Ramusian version of Barbosa is very defective here, but in Stanley's version (Hak. Sec. *East African and Malabar Coasts*, p. 149) we find the topography in a passage from a Munich MS. clear enough: "After passing this place" (the river of Nirapura or Nileshwaram) "along the coast is the mountain Dely (of Ely) on the edge of the sea; it is a round mountain, very lofty, in the midst of low land; all the

* Mr. Burnell thinks *Kachhilpatnam* must be an error (easy in Malayálim) for *Kavviiptanam*, i.e. *Kavváyi* (Kanwai in our map).

As printed by Rowlandson, the name is corrupt (like many others in the book), being given as *Hubae Murawee*. But suspecting what this pointed to, I examined the MS. in the R. A. Society's Library. The knowledge of the Arabic *character* was quite sufficient to enable me to trace the name as *هيلي ماروي*, *Hill Máráwi*. (See Rowlandson, pp. 54, 58-59, and MS. pp. 23 and 26; also

Indian Antiquary, III. p. 213.)

ships of the Moors and Gentiles that navigate in this sea of India sight this mountain when coming from without, and make their reckoning by it; . . . after this, at the foot of the mountain to the south, is a town called *Marave*, very ancient and well off, in which live Moors and Gentiles and Jews; these Jews are of the language of the country; it is a long time that they have dwelt in this place."

(*Stanley's Correa*, Hak. Soc. pp. 145, 312-313; *Gildem.* p. 185; *Elliot*, I. 68; *I. B.* IV. 81; *Conti*, p. 6; *Madras Journal*, XIII. No. 31, pp. 14, 99, 102, 104; *De Barros*, III. 9, cap. 6, and IV. 2, cap. 13; *De Couto*, IV. 5, cap. 4.)

NOTE 2.—This is from Pauthier's text, and the map with ch. xxi. illustrates the fact of the many wide rivers. The G. T. has "a good river with a very good estuary" or mouth. The latter word is in the G. T. *faces*, afterwards more correctly *foeces*, equivalent to *fauces*. We have seen that Ibn Batuta also speaks of the estuary or inlet at Hili. It may have been either that immediately east of Mount d'Ely, communicating with Kavváyí and the Nileschwaram River, or the Madai River. Neither could be entered by vessels now, but there have been great littoral changes. The land joining Mt. d'Ely to the main is mere alluvium.

NOTE 3.—Barbosa says that throughout the kingdom of Cananor the pepper was of excellent quality, though not in great quantity. There was much ginger, not first-rate, which was called *Hely* from its growing about Mount d'Ely, with cardamoms (names of which, *Elá* in Sanskrit, *Hel* in Persian, I have thought might be connected with that of the hill), mirobolans, cassia fistula, zerumbet, and zedoary. The two last items are two species of *curcuma*, formerly in much demand as aromatics; the last is, I believe, the *setewale* of Chaucer:—

"There was eke wexing many a spice,
As clowe gilofre and Licorice,
Ginger and grein de Paradis,
Canell and setewale of pris,
And many a spice delitable
To caten when men rise from table."—*R. of the Rose.*

The Hely ginger is also mentioned by Conti.

NOTE 4.—This piratical practice is noted by Abdurrazzak also: "In other parts (than Calicut) a strange practice is adopted. When a vessel sets sail for a certain point, and suddenly is driven by a decree of Divine Providence into another roadstead, the inhabitants, under the pretext that the wind has driven it thither, plunder the ship. But at Calicut every ship, whatever place it comes from, or wherever it may be bound, when it puts into this port, is treated like other vessels, and has no trouble of any kind to put up with" (p. 14). In 1673 Sivaji replied to the pleadings of an English embassy, that it was "against the Laws of Conchon" (Ptolemy's *Pirate Coast!*) "to restore any ships or goods that were driven ashore." (*Fryer*, p. 261.)

NOTE 5.—With regard to the anchors, Pauthier's text has just the opposite of the G. T. which we have preferred: "*Les nefes du Manzi portent si grans ancras de fust*, que il seuffrent moult *de grans fortunes aus plajes.*" De Mailla says the Chinese consider their ironwood anchors to be much better than those of iron, because the latter are subject to strain. (*Lett. Edif.* XIV. 10.) Capt. Owen has a good word for wooden anchors. (*Narr. of Voyages, etc.*, I. 385.)

CHAPTER XXV.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF MELIBAR.

MELIBAR is a great kingdom lying towards the west. The people are Idolaters ; they have a language of their own, and a king of their own, and pay tribute to nobody.¹

In this country you see more of the North Star, for it shows two cubits above the water. And you must know that from this kingdom of Melibar, and from another near it called Gozurat, there go forth every year more than a hundred corsair vessels on cruize. These pirates take with them their wives and children, and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleets of 20 or 30 of these pirate vessels together, and then they form what they call a sea cordon,² that is, they drop off till there is an interval of 5 or 6 miles between ship and ship, so that they cover something like an hundred miles of sea, and no merchant ship can escape them. For when any one corsair sights a vessel a signal is made by fire or smoke, and then the whole of them make for this, and seize the merchants and plunder them. After they have plundered them they let them go, saying : "Go along with you and get more gain, and that mayhap will fall to us also!" But now the merchants are aware of this, and go so well manned and armed, and with such great ships, that they don't fear the corsairs. Still mishaps do befall them at times.³

There is in this kingdom a great quantity of pepper, and ginger, and cinnamon, and turbit, and of nuts of India.⁴ They also manufacture very delicate and beautiful buckrams. The ships that come from the east

bring copper in ballast. They also bring hither cloths of silk and gold, and sendels; also gold and silver, cloves and spikenard, and other fine spices for which there is a demand here, and exchange them for the products of these countries.

Ships come hither from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi.⁵ Coarse spices are exported hence both to Manzi and to the west, and that which is carried by the merchants to Aden goes on to Alexandria, but the ships that go in the latter direction are not one to ten of those that go to the eastward; a very notable fact that I have mentioned before.

Now I have told you about the kingdom of Melibar; we shall now proceed and tell you of the kingdom of Gozurat. And you must understand that in speaking of these kingdoms we note only the capitals; there are great numbers of other cities and towns of which we shall say nothing, because it would make too long a story to speak of all.

NOTE 1.—Here is another instance of that confusion which dislocates Polo's descriptions of the Indian coast; we shall recur to it under ch. xxx.

Malabar is a name given by the Arabs, and varies in its form: Ibn Batuta and Kazwini write it *المليبار*, *al-Malibár*, Edrisi and Abulfeda *المنيبار*, *al-Manibár*, etc., and like variations occur among the old European travellers. The country so-called corresponded to the *Kerala* of the Brahmans, which in its very widest sense extended from about lat. 15° to Cape Comorin. This, too, seems to be the extension which Abulfeda gives to Malabar, viz., from Hunáwar to Kumhári; Rashiduddin includes Sindábúr, *i.e.* Goa. But at a later date a point between Mt. d'Ely and Mangalore on the north, and Kaulam on the south, were the limits usually assigned to Malabar.

NOTE 2.—“*Il font eschiel en la mer*” (G.T.). *Eschiel* is the equivalent of the Italian *schera* or *schiera*, a troop or squadron, and thence applied to order of battle, whether by land or sea.

NOTE 3.—The northern part of Malabar, Canara, and the Konkan, have been nests of pirates from the time of the ancients to a very recent date. Padre Paolino specifies the vicinity of Mt. d'Ely as a special haunt of them in his day, the latter half of last century. Somewhat further north Ibn Batuta fell into their hands, and was stripped to his drawers.

NOTE 4.—There is something to be said about these Malabar spices. The cinnamon of Malabar is what we call cassia, the *canella grossa* of Conti, the *canela brava* of the Portuguese. Notices of it will be found in *Rheede* (I. 107) and in *Garcia*

(f. 26 *seqq.*). The latter says the Ceylon cinnamon exceeded it in value as 4 : 1. Uzzano discriminates *cauella lunga*, *Salami*, and *Mabari*. The *Salami*, I have no doubt, is *Sailani*, Ceylonese; and as we do not hear of any cassia from Mabari, probably the last was *Malabar* cinnamon.

Turbit: *Radex Turpethi* is still known in pharmacy, at least in some parts of the Continent and in India, though in England obsolete. It is mentioned in the *Pharmacopœia of India* (1868) as derived from *Ipomœa Turpethum*.

But it is worthy of note that Ramusio has *cubebs* instead of *turbit*. The former does not seem now to be a product of Western India, though Garcia says that a small quantity grew there, and a Dutch report of 1675 in Valentyn also mentions it as an export of Malabar. (*V., Ceylon*, p. 243.) There is some ambiguity in statements about it, because its popular name *Kûbab-chint* seems to be also applied to the cassia bud. Cubeb pepper was much used in the Middle Ages as a spice, and imported into Europe as such. But the importation had long practically ceased, when its medical uses became known during the British occupation of Java, and the demand was renewed.

Budæus and Salmasius have identified this drug with the *κάρμακον*, which Theophrastus joins with cinnamomum and cassia as an ingredient in aromatic confections. The inducement to this identification was no doubt the singular resemblance which the word bears to the Javanese name of cubeb pepper, viz., *Kamukus*. If the foundation were a little firmer this would be curious evidence of intercourse and trade with Java in a time earlier than that of Theophrastus, viz., the 4th century B.C.

In the détail of 3 cargoes from Malabar that arrived at Lisbon in September 1504 we find the following proportions: Pepper, 10,000 *cantars*; cinnamon, 500; cloves, 450; zz. (*i.e. zenzaro*, ginger), 130; lac and brazil, 750; camphor, 7; cubebs, 191; mace, 2½; spikenard, 3; lign-aloes, 1½.

(*Buchanan's Mysore*, II. 31, III. 193, and App. p. v.; *Garcia*, Ital. version, 1576, f. 39-40; *Salmas. Exerc. Plin.* p. 923; *Bud. on Theoph.* 1004 and 1010; *Archiv. St. Ital.*, Append. II. p. 19.)

NOTE 5.—We see that Marco speaks of the merchants and ships of Manzi, or Southern China, as frequenting Kaulam, Hili, and now Malabar, of which Calicut was the chief port. This quite coincides with Ibn Batuta, who says those were the three ports of India which the Chinese junks frequented, adding Fandaraina (*i.e.* Pandarani, or Pantaláni, 16 miles north of Calicut), as a port where they used to moor for the winter when they spent that season in India. By the winter he means the rainy season, as Portuguese writers on India do by the same expression (IV. 81, 88, 96). I have been unable to find anything definite as to the date of the cessation of this Chinese navigation to Malabar, but I believe it may be placed about the beginning of the 15th century. The most distinct allusion to it that I am aware of is in the information of Joseph of Cranganore, in the *Novus Orbis* (Ed. of 1555, p. 208). He says: "These people of Cathay are men of remarkable energy, and formerly drove a first-rate trade at the city of Calicut. But the King of Calicut having treated them badly, they quitted that city, and returning shortly after inflicted no small slaughter on the people of Calicut, and after that returned no more. After that they began to frequent Mailapetam, a city subject to the king of Narsingha; a region towards the East, . . . and there they now drive their trade." There is also in Gaspar Correa's account of the Voyages of Da Gama a curious record of a tradition of the arrival in Malabar more than four centuries before of a vast merchant fleet "from the parts of Malacca, and China, and the Lequeos" (Lewchew); many from the company on board had settled in the country and left descendants. In the space of a hundred years none of these remained; but their sumptuous idol temples were still to be seen. (*Stanley's Transl., Hak. Soc.*, p. 147.)* It is prob-

* It appears from a paper in the Mackenzie MSS. that down to Colonel Mackenzie's time there was a tribe in Calicut whose ancestors were believed to have been Chinese. (See *Taylor's Catal. Raisonné*, III. 664.) And there is a notable passage in Abdurazzak which says the seafaring population of Calicut were nicknamed *Chint bachagán*, "China boys." (*India in XVth Cent.* p. 19.)

able that both these stories must be referred to those extensive expeditions to the western countries with the object of restoring Chinese influence which were despatched by the Ming Emperor Ch'êng-Tsu (or Yung-lo), about 1406, and one of which seems actually to have brought *Ceylon* under a partial subjection to China, which endured half a century. (See *Tennent*, I. 623 *seqq.*; and *Letter of P. Gaubil* in *J. A. sér. II. tom. x. pp. 327-328.*) [{"So that at this day there is great memory of them in the ilands Philippinas, and on the coast of Coromande, which is the coast against the kingdome of Norsinga towards the sea of Cengala: whereas is a towne called unto this day the soile of the Chinos, for that they did reedifie and make the same. The like notice and memory is there in the kingdom of Calicut, whereas be many trees and fruits, that the naturals of that countrie do say, were brought thither by the Chinos, when that they were lords and gouernours of that countrie." (*Mendoza, Parke's transl. p. 71.*)] De Barros says that the famous city of Diu was built by one of the Kings of Guzerat whom he calls in one place *Dariar Khan*, and in another *Peruxiah*, in memory of victory in a sea-fight with the Chinese who then frequented the Indian shores. It is difficult to identify this King, though he is represented as the father of the famous toxicophagous Sultan Mahmúd Begara (1459-1511). De Barros has many other allusions to Chinese settlements and conquests in India which it is not very easy to account for. Whatever basis of facts there is must probably refer to the expeditions of Ch'êng-Tsu, but not a little probably grew out of the confusion of *Jainas* and *Chinas* already alluded to; and to this I incline to refer Correa's "sumptuous idol-temples."

There must have been some revival of Chinese trade in the last century, if P. Paolino is correct in speaking of Chinese vessels frequenting Travancore ports for pepper. (*De Barros*, Dec. II. Liv. ii. cap. 9, and Dec. IV. Liv. v. cap. 3; *Paolino*, p. 74.)

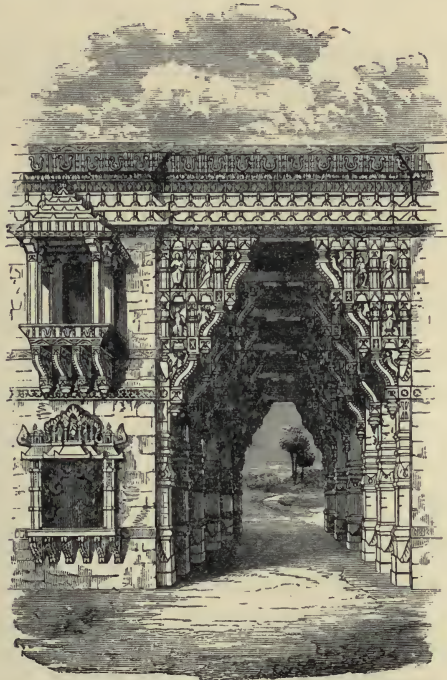
CHAPTER XXVI.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF GOZURAT.

GOZURAT is a great kingdom. The people are Idolaters and have a peculiar language, and a king of their own, and are tributary to no one. It lies towards the west, and the North Star is here still more conspicuous, showing itself at an altitude of about 6 cubits.¹

The people are the most desperate pirates in existence, and one of their atrocious practices is this. When they have taken a merchant-vessel they force the merchants to swallow a stuff called *Tamarindi* mixed in sea-water, which produces a violent purging.² This is done in case the merchants, on seeing their danger, should have swallowed their most valuable stones and pearls. And in this way the pirates secure the whole.

In this province of Gozurat there grows much pepper, and ginger, and indigo. They have also a great deal of cotton. Their cotton trees are of very great size, growing full six paces high, and attaining to an age of 20 years. It is to be observed however that, when the trees are so old as that, the cotton is not good to spin, but only to quilt or stuff beds withal. Up to the age of



Mediæval Architecture in Guzerat. (From Fergusson.)

12 years indeed the trees give good spinning cotton, but from that age to 20 years the produce is inferior.³

They dress in this country great numbers of skins of various kinds, goat-skins, ox-skins, buffalo and wild ox-skins, as well as those of unicorns and other animals. In fact so many are dressed every year as to load a number of ships for Arabia and other quarters. They also work here beautiful mats in red and blue leather,

exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts, and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver wire. These are marvellously beautiful things; they are used by the Saracens to sleep upon, and capital they are for that purpose. They also work cushions embroidered with gold, so fine that they are worth six marks of silver a piece, whilst some of those sleeping-mats are worth ten marks.⁴

NOTE 1.—Again we note the topographical confusion. Guzerat is mentioned as if it were a province adjoining Malabar, and before arriving at Tana, Cambay, and Somnath; though in fact it includes those three cities, and Cambay was then its great mart. Wassáf, Polo's contemporary, perhaps acquaintance, speaks of Gujarat which is commonly called Kambáyat. (*Elliot*, III. 31.)

NOTE 2.—[“The origin of the name [*Tamarina*] is curious. It is Ar. *tamar-ut-Hind*, ‘date of India,’ or perhaps rather, in Persian form, *tamar-i-Hindi*. It is possible that the original name may have been *thamar*, (‘fruit’) of India, rather than *tamar*, (‘date’).” (*Hobson-Jobson*.)]

NOTE 3.—The notice of pepper here is hard to explain. But Hiuen Tsang also speaks of Indian pepper and incense (see next chapter) as grown at 'Ochali which seems to be some place on the northern border of Guzerat (II. 161).

Marsden, in regard to the cotton, supposes here some confused introduction of the silk-cotton tree (*Bombax* or *Salmalia*, the Semal of Hindustan), but the description would be entirely inapplicable to that great forest tree. It is remarkable that nearly the same statement with regard to Guzerat occurs in Rashiduddin's sketch of India, as translated in Sir H. Elliot's *History of India* (ed. by Professor Dowson, I. 67): “Grapes are produced twice during the year, and the strength of the soil is such that cotton-plants grow like willows and plane-trees, and yield produce ten years running.” An author of later date, from whom extracts are given in the same work, viz., Mahommed Masúm in his *History of Sind*, describing the wonders of Síwí, says: “In Korzamin and Chhatur, which are districts of Siwi, cotton-plants grow as large as trees, insomuch that men pick the cotton mounted” (p. 237).

These would appear to have been plants of the species of true cotton called by Royle *Gossypium arboreum*, and sometimes termed *G. religiosum*, from its being often grown in South India near temples or abodes of devotees; though the latter name has been applied also to the nankeen cotton. That of which we speak is, however, according to Dr. Cleghorn, termed in Mysore *Deo kapás*, of which *G. religiosum* would be a proper translation. It is grown in various parts of India, but generally rather for ornament than use. It is stated, however, to be specially used for the manufacture of turbans, and for the Brahmanical thread, and probably afforded the groundwork of the story told by Philostratus of the *wild* cotton which was used only for the sacred vestments of the Brahmans, and refused to lend itself to other uses. One of Royle's authorities (Mr. Vaupell) mentions that it was grown near large towns of Eastern Guzerat, and its wool regarded as the finest of any, and only used in delicate muslins. Tod speaks of it in Bikanr, and this kind of cotton appears to be grown also in China, as we gather from a passage in *Amoy's Mémoires* (II. 606), which speaks of the “Cotonniers arbres, qui ne devoient être fertiles qu'après un bon nombre d'années.”

The height appears to have been a difficulty with Marsden, who refers to the *G. arboreum*, but does not admit that it could be intended. Yet I see in the *English*

Cyclopædia that to this species is assigned a height of 15 to 20 feet. Polo's six paces therefore, even if it means 30 feet as I think, is not a great exaggeration. (*Royle, Cult. of Cotton*, 144, 145, 152; *Eng. Cycl. art. Gossypium.*)

NOTE 4. — Embroidered and Inlaid leather-work for bed-covers, palankin mats and the like, is still a great manufacture in Rajkot and other places of Kattiawar in Peninsular Guzerat, as well as in the adjoining region of Sind. (Note from *Sir Bartle Frere.*) The embroidery of Guzerat is highly commended by Barbosa, Linschoten, and A. Hamilton.

The G. T. adds at the end of this passage: "*E qe voz en diroi? Sachlés tout voiremant qe en ceste reingne se labore roiaus dereusse de cuir et plus sotilment que ne fait en tout lo monde, e celz qe sunt de greingnors vaillance.*"

The two words in Roman type I cannot explain; qu. *royaux devises?*

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF TANA.

TANA is a great kingdom lying towards the west, a kingdom great both in size and worth. The people are Idolaters, with a language of their own, and a king of their own, and tributary to nobody.¹ No pepper grows there, nor other spices, but plenty of incense; not the white kind however, but brown.²

There is much traffic here, and many ships and merchants frequent the place; for there is a great export of leather of various excellent kinds, and also of good buckram and cotton. The merchants in their ships also import various articles, such as gold, silver, copper, and other things in demand.

With the King's connivance many corsairs launch from this port to plunder merchants. These corsairs have a covenant with the King that he shall get all the horses they capture, and all other plunder shall remain with them. The King does this because he has no horses of his own, whilst many are shipped from abroad towards India; for no ship ever goes thither without horses in addition to other cargo. The practice is naughty and unworthy of a king.

NOTE 1.—The town of THÁNA, on the landward side of the island of Salsette, still exists, about 20 miles from Bombay. The Great Peninsular Railroad here crosses the strait which separates Salsette from the Continent.

The *Konkan* is no doubt what was intended by the kingdom of Thána. Albiruni speaks of that city as the capital of Konkan; Rashiduddin calls it *Konkan-Tána*, Ibn Batuta *Kúkin-Tána*, the last a form which appears in the Carta Catalana as *Cucintana*. Tieffentaller writes *Kokan*, and this is said (*Cunningham's Anc. Geog.* 553) to be the local pronunciation. Abulfeda speaks of it as a very celebrated place of trade, producing a kind of cloth which was called *Tánasi*, bamboos, and *Tabashtr* derived from the ashes of the bamboo.

As early as the 16th year of the Hijra (A.D. 637) an Arab fleet from Oman made a hostile descent on the Island of Thána, *i.e.* Salsette. The place (*Sri Sthánaka*) appears from inscriptions to have been the seat of a Hindu kingdom of the Konkan, in the 11th century. In Polo's time Thána seems to have been still under a Hindu prince, but it soon afterwards became subject to the Delhi sovereigns; and when visited by Jordanus and by Odoric some thirty years after Polo's voyage, a Mussulman governor was ruling there, who put to death four Franciscans, the companions of Jordanus. Barbosa gives it the compound name of TANA-MAIAMBU, the latter part being the first indication I know of the name of Bombay (*Mambai*). It was still a place of many mosques, temples, and gardens, but the trade was small. Pirates still did business from the port, but on a reduced scale. Botero says that there were the remains of an immense city to be seen, and that the town still contained 5000 velvet-weavers (p. 104). Till the Mahrattas took Salsette in 1737, the Portuguese had many fine villas about Thána.

Polo's dislocation of geographical order here has misled Fra Mauro into placing Tana to the west of Guzerat, though he has a duplicate Tana nearer the correct position.

NOTE 2.—It has often been erroneously supposed that the frankincense (*olibanum*) of commerce, for which Bombay and the ports which preceded it in Western India have for centuries afforded the chief mart, was an Indian product. But Marco is not making that mistake; he calls the incense of Western India *brown*, evidently in contrast with the *white* incense or *olibanum*, which he afterwards assigns to its true locality (*infra*, ch. xxxvii., xxxviii.). Nor is Marsden justified in assuming that the brown incense of Tana must needs have been *Benzoin* imported from Sumatra, though I observe Dr. Birdwood considers that the term *Indian Frankincense* which occurs in Dioscorides must have included Benzoin. Dioscorides describes the so-called Indian Frankincense as *blackish*; and Garcia supposes the name merely to refer to the colour, as he says the Arabs often gave the name of Indian to things of a dark colour.

There seems to be no proof that Benzoin was known even to the older Arab writers. Western India supplies a variety of aromatic gum-resins, one of which was probably intended by our traveller:

I. *BOSWELLIA THURIFERA* of Colebrooke, whose description led to a general belief that this tree produced the Frankincense of commerce. The tree is found in Oudh and Rohilkhand, in Bahár, Central India, Khandesh, and Kattiwár, etc. The gum-resin is used and sold locally as an incense, but is soft and sticky, and is *not* the *olibanum* of commerce; nor is it collected for exportation.

The Coromandel *Boswellia glabra* of Roxburgh is now included (see Dr. Birdwood's Monograph) as a variety under the *B. thurifera*. Its gum-resin is a good deal used as incense, in the Tamul regions, under the name of *Kundrikam*, with which is apparently connected *Kundur*, one of the Arabic words for *olibanum* (see ch. xxxviii., note 2).

II. *Vateria Indica* (Roxb.), producing a gum-resin which when recent is known as *Piney Varnish*, and when hardened, is sold for export under the names of *Indian Copal*, *White Dammar*, and others. Its northern limit of growth is North

Canara; but the gum is exported from Bombay. The tree is the *Chloroxylon Dupada* of Buchanan, and is, I imagine, the *Dupu* or Incense Tree of Rheede. (*Hort. Malab.* IV.) The tree is a fine one, and forms beautiful avenues in Malabar and Canara. The Hindus use the resin as an incense, and in Malabar it is also made into candles which burn fragrantly and with little smoke. It is, or was, also used as pitch, and is probably the *thus* with which Indian vessels, according to Joseph of Cranganore (in *Novus Orbis*), were payed. Garcia took it for the ancient *Cannamum*, but this Dr. Birdwood identifies with the next, viz. :—

III. *Gardenia lucida* (Roxb.). It grows in the Konkan districts, producing a fragrant resin called *Dikamdli* in India, and by the Arabs *Kankham*.

IV. *Balsamodendron Mukul*, growing in Sind, Kattiwár and the Deesa District, and producing the Indian *Bdellium*, *Mukl* of the Arabs and Persians, used as an incense and as a cordial medicine. It is believed to be the *Bδέλλα* mentioned in the *Periplus* as exported from the Indus, and also as brought down with *Costus* through *Ozene* (Ujjain) to *Barygaza* (Baroch—see Müller's *Geog. Græc. Minor.* I. 287, 293). It is mentioned also (*Mukl*) by Albiruni as a special product of Kachh, and is probably the incense of that region alluded to by Hiuen Tsang. (See last chapter, note 3.) It is of a yellow, red, or brownish colour. (*Eng. Cyc.* art. *Bdellium*; *Dowson's Elliot*, I. 66; *Reinaud* in *J. As. sér.* IV. tom. iv. p. 263).

V. *Canarium strictum* (Roxb.), of the Western Ghats, affording the *Black Dammar* of Malabar, which when fresh is aromatic and yellow in colour. It abounds in the country adjoining Tana. The natives use it as incense, and call the tree *Dhúp* (incense) and *Gugul* (Bdellum).

Besides these resinous substances, the *Costus* of the Ancients may be mentioned (Sansk. *Kushth*), being still exported from Western India, as well as from Calcutta, to China, under the name of *Putchok*, to be burnt as incense in Chinese temples. Its identity has been ascertained in our own day by Drs. Royle and Falconer, as the root of a plant which they called *Aucklandia Costus*. But the identity of the *Pucho* (which he gives as the Malay name) with *Costus* was known to Garcia. Alex. Hamilton, at the beginning of last century, calls it *Ligna Dulcis* (*sic*), and speaks of it as an export from Sind, as did the author of the *Periplus* 1600 years earlier.

My own impression is that *Mukl* or *Bdellium* was the brown incense of Polo, especially because we see from Albiruni that this was regarded as a staple export from neighbouring regions. But Dr. Birdwood considers that the Black Dammar of *Canarium strictum* is in question. (*Report on Indian Gum-Resins*, by Mr. Dalzell of Bot. Gard. Bombay, 1866; *Birdwood's Bombay Products*, 2nd ed. pp. 282, 287, etc.; *Drury's Useful Plants of India*, 2nd ed.; *Garcia*; *A. Hamilton*, I. 127; *Eng. Cyc.*, art. *Putchuk*; *Buchanan's Journey*, II. 44, 335, etc.)

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF CAMBAET.

CAMBAET is a great kingdom lying further west. The people are Idolaters, and have a language of their own, and a king of their own, and are tributary to nobody.¹

The North Star is here still more clearly visible;

and henceforward the further you go west the higher you see it.

There is a great deal of trade in this country. It produces indigo in great abundance; and they also make much fine buckram. There is also a quantity of cotton which is exported hence to many quarters; and there is a great trade in hides, which are very well dressed; with many other kinds of merchandize too tedious to mention. Merchants come here with many ships and cargoes, but what they chiefly bring is gold, silver, copper [and tutia].

There are no pirates from this country; the inhabitants are good people, and live by their trade and manufactures.

NOTE I.—CAMBAET is nearer the genuine name of the city than our CAMBAY. Its proper Hindu name was, according to Colonel Tod, *Khambavati*, "the City of the Pillar." The inhabitants write it *Kambáyat*. The ancient city is 3 miles from the existing Cambay, and is now overgrown with jungle. It is spoken of as a flourishing place by Mas'udi, who visited it in A. D. 915. Ibn Batuta speaks of it also as a very fine city, remarkable for the elegance and solidity of its mosques, and houses built by wealthy foreign merchants. *Cambeth* is mentioned by Polo's contemporary Marino Sanudo, as one of the two chief Ocean Ports of India; and in the 15th century Conti calls it 14 miles in circuit. It was still in high prosperity in the early part of the 16th century, abounding in commerce and luxury, and one of the greatest Indian marts. Its trade continued considerable in the time of Federici, towards the end of that century; but it has now long disappeared, the local part of it being transferred to Gogo and other ports having deeper water. Its chief or sole industry now is in the preparation of ornamental objects from agates, cornelians, and the like.

The Indigo of Cambay was long a staple export, and is mentioned by Conti, Nikitin, Santo Stefano, Federici, Linschoten, and Abu'l Fazl.

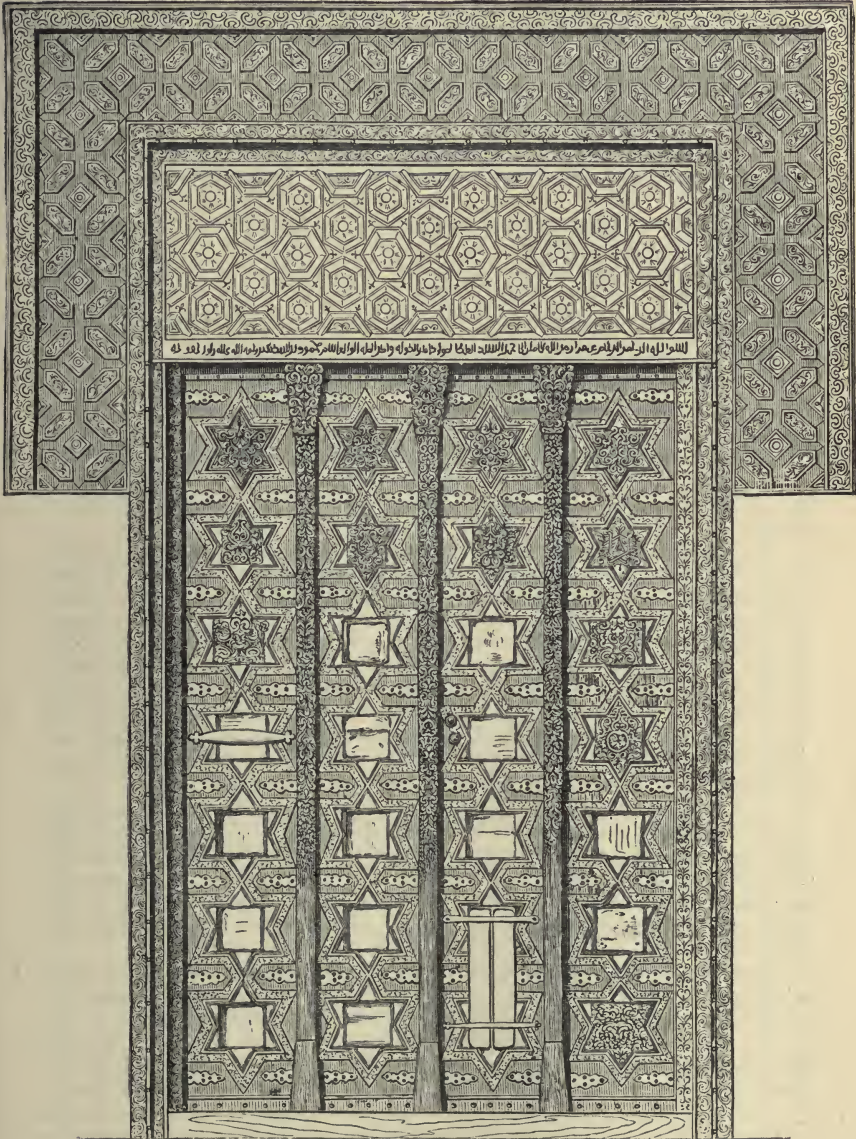
The independence of Cambay ceased a few years after Polo's visit; for it was taken in the end of the century by the armies of Aláuddín Khilji of Delhi, a king whose name survived in Guzerat down to our own day as *Aláuddín Kháulí*—Bloody Alauddin. (*Rás Mála*, I. 235.)

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF SEMENAT.

SEMENAT is a great kingdom towards the west. The people are Idolaters, and have a king and a language of their own, and pay tribute to nobody. They are not

corsairs, but live by trade and industry as honest people ought. It is a place of very great trade. They are forsooth cruel Idolaters.¹



"The Gates of Somnath," as preserved in the British Arsenal at Agra, from a photograph (converted into elevation).

NOTE I.—SOMNATH is the site of the celebrated Temple on the coast of Sauráshtra, or Peninsular Guzerat, plundered by Mahmúd of Ghazni on his sixteenth expedition to India (A.D. 1023). The term "great kingdom" is part of Polo's formula. But the place was at this time of some importance as a commercial port, and much visited by the ships of Aden, as Abulfeda tells us. At an earlier date Albiruni speaks of it both as the seat of a great Mahadeo much frequented by Hindu pilgrims, and as a port of call for vessels on their way from Sofala in Africa to China,—a remarkable incidental notice of departed trade and civilisation! He does not give Somnath so good a character as Polo does; for he names it as one of the chief pirate-haunts. And Colonel Tod mentions that the sculptured memorial stones on this coast frequently exhibit the deceased as a pirate in the act of boarding. In fact, piratical habits continued in the islands off the coast of Kattiawár down to our own day.

Properly speaking, three separate things are lumped together as Somnath: (1) The Port, properly called Veráwal, on a beautiful little bay; (2) the City of Deva-Pattan, Somnath-Pattan, or Prabhás, occupying a prominence on the south side of the bay, having a massive wall and towers, and many traces of ancient Hindu workmanship, though the vast multitude of tombs around shows the existence of a large Mussulman population at some time; and among these are dates nearly as old as our Traveller's visit; (3) The famous Temple (or, strictly speaking, the object of worship in that Temple) crowning a projecting rock at the south-west angle of the city, and close to the walls. Portions of columns and sculptured fragments strew the soil around.

Notwithstanding the famous story of Mahmúd and the image stuffed with jewels, there is little doubt that the idol really termed Somnath (Moon's Lord) was nothing but a huge columnar emblem of Mahadeo. Hindu authorities mention it as one of the twelve most famous emblems of that kind over India, and Ibn Ásir's account, the oldest extant narrative of Mahmúd's expedition, is to the same effect. Every day it was washed with water newly brought from the Ganges. Mahmúd broke it to pieces, and with a fragment a step was made at the entrance of the Jámí' Mosque at Ghazni.

The temples and idols of Pattan underwent a second visitation at the hands of Aláuddin's forces a few years after Polo's visit (1300),* and this seems in great measure to have wiped out the memory of Mahmúd. The temple, as it now stands deserted, bears evident tokens of having been converted into a mosque. A good deal of old and remarkable architecture remains, but mixed with Moslem work, and no part of the building as it stands is believed to be a survival from the time of Mahmúd; though part may belong to a reconstruction which was carried out by Raja Bhima Deva of Anhilwara about twenty-five years after Mahmúd's invasion. It is remarkable that Ibn Ásir speaks of the temple plundered by Mahmúd as "built upon 56 pillars of teak-wood covered with lead." Is it possible that it was a wooden building?

In connection with this brief chapter on Somnath we present a faithful representation of those Gates which Lord Ellenborough rendered so celebrated in connection with that name, when he caused them to be removed from the Tomb of Mahmúd, on the retirement of our troops from Kabul in 1842. His intention, as announced in that once famous *pæan* of his, was to have them carried solemnly to Guzerat, and there restored to the (long desecrated) temple. Calmer reflection prevailed, and the Gates were consigned to the Fort of Agra, where they still remain.

Captain J. D. Cunningham, in his *Hist. of the Sikhs* (p. 209), says that in 1831, when Sháh Shújá treated with Ranjít Singh for aid to recover his throne, one of the Maharája's conditions was the restoration of the Gates to Somnath. This probably put the scheme into Lord Ellenborough's head. But a remarkable fact is, that the Sháh reminded Ranjít of a *prophecy that foreboded the downfall of the Sikh Empire on the removal of the Ghazni Gates*. This is quoted from a report of Captain Wade's,

* So in *Elliot*, II. 74. But Jacob says there is an inscription of a Mussulman Governor in Pattan of 1297.

dated 21st November, 1831. The gates were removed to India in the end of 1842. The "Sikh Empire" practically collapsed with the murder of Sher Singh in September, 1843.

It is not probable that there was any *real* connection between these Gates, of Saracenic design, carved (it is said) in Himalayan cedar, and the Temple of Somnath. But tradition did ascribe to them such a connection, and the eccentric prank of a clever man in high place made this widely known. Nor in any case can we regard as alien to the scope of this book the illustration of a work of mediæval Asiatic art, which is quite as remarkable for its own character and indisputable history, as for the questionable origin ascribed to it. (*Tod's Travels*, 385, 504; *Burgess, Visit to Somnath*, etc.; *Jacob's Report on Kattywar*, p. 18; *Gildemeister*, 185; *Dowson's Elliot*, II. 468 *seqq.*; *Asiatic Journal*, 3rd series, vol. I.).

CHAPTER XXX.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF KESMACORAN.

KESMACORAN is a kingdom having a king of its own and a peculiar language. [Some of] the people are Idolaters, [but the most part are Saracens]. They live by merchandize and industry, for they are professed traders, and carry on much traffic by sea and land in all directions. Their food is rice [and corn], flesh and milk, of which they have great store. There is no more to be said about them.¹

And you must know that this kingdom of Kesmacoran is the last in India as you go towards the west and north-west. You see, from Maabar on, this province is what is called the GREATER INDIA, and it is the best of all the Indies. I have now detailed to you all the kingdoms and provinces and (chief) cities of this India the Greater, that are upon the seaboard; but of those that lie in the interior I have said nothing, because that would make too long a story.²

And so now let us proceed, and I will tell you of some of the Indian Islands. And I will begin by two Islands which are called Male and Female.

NOTE I.—Though M. Pauthier has imagined objections there is no room for doubt that *Kesmacoran* is the province of MEKRAN, known habitually all over the East as KIJ-MAKRÁN, from the combination with the name of the country of that of its chief town, just as we lately met with a converse combination in *Konkan-tana*. This was pointed out to Marsden by his illustrious friend Major Rennell. We find the term *Kij Makrán* used by Ibn Batuta (III. 47); by the Turkish Admiral Sidi 'Ali (*J. As.*, sér. I. tom. ix. 72; and *J. A. S. B.* V. 463); by Sharifuddin (*P. de la Croix*, I. 379, II. 417-418); in the famous Sindian Romeo-and-Juliet tale of Sassi and Pannún (*Elliot*, I. 333); by Pietro della Valle (I. 724, II. 358); by Sir F. Goldsmid (*J. R. A. S.*, n.s., I. 38); and see for other examples, *J. A. S. B.* VII. 298, 305, 308; VIII. 764; XIV. 158; XVII. pt. ii. 559; XX. 262, 263.

The argument that Mokrán was not a province of India only amounts to saying that Polo has made a mistake. But the fact is that it often *was* reckoned to belong to India, from ancient down to comparatively modern times. Pliny says: "Many indeed do not reckon the Indus to be the western boundary of India, but include in that term also four satrapies on this side the river, the Gedrosi, the Arachoti, the Arii, and the Parapomisadae (*i.e.* Mokrán, Kandahar, Herat, and Kabul) . . . whilst others class all these together under the name of Ariana" (VI. 23). Arachosia, according to Isidore of Charax, was termed by the Parthians "White India." Aelian calls Gedrosia a part of India. (*Hist. Animal.* XVII. 6.) In the 6th century the Nestorian Patriarch Jesujabus, as we have seen (*supra*, ch. xxii. note 1), considered all to be India from the coast of Persia, *i.e.* of Fars, beginning from near the Gulf. According to Ibn Khordádbeh, the boundary between Persia and India was seven days' sail from Hormuz and eight from Daibul, or less than half-way from the mouth of the Gulf to the Indus. (*J. As.* sér. VI. tom. v. 283.) Beladhori speaks of the Arabs in early expeditions as invading Indian territory about the Lake of Sijistan; and Istakhri represents this latter country as bounded on the north and *partly on the west* by portions of India. Kabul was still reckoned in India. Chach, the last Hindu king of Sind but one, is related to have marched through Mokrán to a river which formed the limit between Mokrán and Kermán. On its banks he planted date-trees, and set up a monument which bore: "*This was the boundary of HIND in the time of Chach, the son of Síláj, the son of Basábas.*" In the Geography of Bakui we find it stated that "Hind is a great country which begins at the province of Mokrán." (*N. and E.* II. 54.) In the map of Marino Sanuto India begins from Hormuz; and it is plain from what Polo says in quitting that city that he considered the next step from it south-eastward would have taken him to India (*supra*, I. p. 110).

[“The name Mekan has been commonly, but erroneously, derived from Mahi Khoran, *i.e.* the fish-eaters, or *ichthyophagi*, which was the title given to the inhabitants of the Beluchi coast-fringe by Arrian. But the word is a Dravidian name, and appears as Makara in the *Brhat Sanhita* of Varaha Mihira in a list of the tribes contiguous to India on the west. It is also the *Μακαρῆνη* of Stephen of Byzantium, and the Makuran of Tabari, and Moses of Chorene. Even were it not a Dravidian name, in no old Aryan dialect could it signify fish-eaters.” (*Curzon, Persia*, II. p. 261, note.)

“It is to be noted that Kesmacoran is a combination of Kech or Kej and Makrán, and the term is even to-day occasionally used.” (*Major P. M. Sykes, Persia*, p. 102.)—H. C.]

We may add a Romance definition of India from *King Alisaunder* :—

“Lordynges, also I fynde,
At Mede so bigynneth Ynde :
Forsothe ich woot, it stretcheth ferest
Of alle the Londes in the Est,
And oth the South half sikerlyk,
To the cee taketh of Affryk ;
And the north half to a Mountayne,
That is yclepèd Caucasayne.”—L. 4824-4831.

It is probable that Polo merely coasted Mekrán; he seems to know nothing of the Indus, and what he says of Mekrán is vague.

NOTE 2.—As Marco now winds up his detail of the Indian coast, it is proper to try to throw some light on his partial derangement of its geography. In the following columns the first shows the *real* geographical order from east to west of the Indian provinces as named by Polo, and the second shows the order as *he* puts them. The *Italic* names are brief and general identifications.

<i>Real order.</i>				<i>Polo's order.</i>	
	1. Mutfli (<i>Telingana</i>).			1. Mutfli.	
	2. St. Thomas's (<i>Madras</i>).			2. St. Thomas's (Lar, west of do.).	
MAABAR, including	3. Maabar Proper, Kingdom of Sonder Bandi (<i>Tanjore</i>).	MAABAR, including		3. Maabar proper, or Soli.	
	4. Cail (<i>Tinnevelly</i>).			4. Cail.	
	5. Comari (<i>C. Comorin</i>).			5. Coilum.	
MELIBAR, including	6. Coilum (<i>Travancore</i>).			6. Comari.	
	7. Eli (<i>Cananore</i>).			7. Eli.	
GUZERAT, or LAR, including	8. Tana (<i>Bombay</i>).			8. (MELIBAR).	
	9. Canbaet (<i>Cambay</i>).			9. (GOZURAT).	
	10. Semenat (<i>Somnath</i>).			10. Tana.	
	11. Kešmacoran (<i>Mekran</i>).			11. Canbaet.	
				12. Semenat.	
				13. Kesmacoran.	

It is difficult to suppose that the fleet carrying the bride of Arghun went out of its way to Maabar, St. Thomas's, and Telingana. And on the other hand, what is said in chapter xxiii. on Comari, about the North Star not having been visible since they approached the Lesser Java, would have been grossly inaccurate if in the interval the travellers had been north as far as Madras and Motupalle. That passage suggests to me strongly that Comari was the first Indian land made by the fleet on arriving from the Archipelago (exclusive *perhaps* of Ceylon). Note then that the position of Eli is marked by its distance of 300 miles from Comari, evidently indicating that this was a run made by the traveller *on some occasion* without an intermediate stoppage. Tana, Cambay, Somnath, would follow naturally as points of call.

In Polo's order, again, the positions of Comari and Coilum are transposed, whilst Melibar is introduced as if it were a country *westward* (as Polo views it, northward we should say)* of Coilum and Eli, instead of including them, and Gozurat is introduced as a country lying *eastward* (or southward, as we should say) of Tana, Cambaet, and Semenat, instead of including them, or at least the two latter. Moreover, he names no cities in connection with those two countries.

The following hypothesis, really not a complex one, is the most probable that I can suggest to account for these confusions.

I conceive, then, that Cape Comorin (Comari) was the first Indian land made by the fleet on the homeward voyage, and that Hili, Tana, Cambay, Somnath, were touched at successively as it proceeded towards Persia.

I conceive that in a former voyage to India on the Great Kaan's business Marco had visited Maabar and Kaulam, and gained partly from actual visits and partly from information the substance of the notices he gives us of Telingana and St Thomas's on the one side and of Malabar and Guzerat on the other, and that in combining into one series the results of the information acquired on two different voyages he failed rightly to co-ordinate the material, and thus those dislocations which we have noticed occurred, as they very easily might, in days when maps had practically no existence; to say nothing of the accidents of dictation.

The expression in this passage for "the cities that lie in the interior," is in the G. T. "*celz qe sunt en fra terres*"; see I. 43. Pauthier's text has "*celles qui sont en ferme terre*," which is nonsense here.

* Abulfeda's orientation is the same as Polo's.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DISCOURSETH OF THE TWO ISLANDS CALLED MALE AND FEMALE,
AND WHY THEY ARE SO CALLED.

WHEN you leave this kingdom of Kesmacoran, which is on the mainland, you go by sea some 500 miles towards the south; and then you find the two Islands, MALE and FEMALE, lying about 30 miles distant from one another. The people are all baptized Christians, but maintain the ordinances of the Old Testament; thus when their wives are with child they never go near them till their confinement, or for forty days thereafter.

In the Island however which is called Male, dwell the men alone, without their wives or any other women. Every year when the month of March arrives the men all set out for the other Island, and tarry there for three months, to wit, March, April, May, dwelling with their wives for that space. At the end of those three months they return to their own Island, and pursue their husbandry and trade for the other nine months.

They find on this Island very fine ambergris. They live on flesh and milk and rice. They are capital fishermen, and catch a great quantity of fine large sea-fish, and these they dry, so that all the year they have plenty of food, and also enough to sell to the traders who go thither. They have no chief except a bishop, who is subject to the archbishop of another Island, of which we shall presently speak, called SCOTRA. They have also a peculiar language.

As for the children which their wives bear to them, if they be girls they abide with their mothers; but if they be boys the mothers bring them up till they are fourteen, and then send them to the fathers. Such is the custom

of these two Islands. The wives do nothing but nurse their children and gather such fruits as their Island produces; for their husbands do furnish them with all necessaries.¹

NOTE I.—It is not perhaps of much use to seek a serious identification of the locality of these Islands, or, as Marsden has done, to rationalise the fable. It ran from time immemorial, and as nobody ever found the Islands, their locality shifted with the horizon, though the legend long hung about Socotra and its vicinity. Coronelli's Atlas (Venice, 1696) identifies these islands with those called Abdul Kuri near Cape Gardafui, and the same notion finds favour with Marsden. No islands indeed exist in the position indicated by Polo if we look to his direction "south of Kesmacorán," but if we take his indication of "half-way between Mekrán and Socotra," the Kuria Muria Islands on the Arabian coast, in which M. Pauthier longs to trace these veritable Male and Female Isles, will be nearer than any others. Marco's statement that they had a bishop subject to the metropolitan of Socotra certainly looks as if certain concrete islands had been associated with the tale. Friar Jordanus (p. 44) also places them between India the Greater and India Tertia (*i.e.* with him Eastern Africa). Conti locates them not more than 5 miles from Socotra, and yet 100 mile distant from one another. "Sometimes the men pass over to the women, and sometimes the women pass over to the men, and each return to their own respective island before the expiration of six months. Those who remain on the island of the others beyond this fatal period die immediately" (p. 21). Fra Mauro places the islands to the south of Zanzibar, and gives them the names of *Mangla* and *Nebila*. One is curious to know whence came these names, one of which seems to be Sanskrit, the other (also in Sanudo's map) Arabic; (*Nabílâh*, Ar., "Beautiful"; *Mangala*, Sansk. "Fortunate").

A savour of the story survived to the time of the Portuguese discoveries, and it had by that time attached itself to Socotra. (*De Barros*, Dec. II. Liv. i. cap. 3; *Bartoli*, *H. della Comp. di Gesù*, Asia, I. p. 37; *P. Vincenzo*, p. 443.)

The story was, I imagine, a mere ramification of the ancient and wide-spread fable of the Amazons, and is substantially the same that Palladius tells of the Brahmans; how the men lived on one side of the Ganges and the women on the other. The husbands visited their wives for 40 days only in June, July, and August, "those being their cold months, as the sun was then to the north." And when a wife had once borne a child the husband returned no more. (*Müller's Ps. Callisth.* 105.) The Mahábháráta celebrates the Amazon country of Ráná Paramitá, where the regulations were much as in Polo's islands, only male children were put to death, and men if they overstayed a month. (*Wheeler's India*, I. 400.)

Hiuen Tsang's version of the legend agrees with Marco's in placing the Woman's Island to the south of Persia. It was called the *Kingdom of Western Women*. There were none but women to be seen. It was under *Folin* (the Byzantine Empire), and the ruler thereof sent husbands every year; if boys were born, the law prohibited their being brought up. (*Vie et Voyages*, p. 268.) Alexander, in Ferdúsi's poem, visits the City of Women on an island in the sea, where no man was allowed.

The Chinese accounts, dating from the 5th century, of a remote Eastern Land called Fusang, which Neumann fancied to have been Mexico, mention that to the east of that region again there was a Woman's Island, with the usual particulars. (*Lassen*, IV. 751.) [Cf. *G. Schlegel*, *Niu Kouo*, *T'oung Pao*, III. pp. 495-510.—H. C.] Oddly enough, Columbus heard the same story of an island called Matityna or Matinino (apparently Martinique) which he sighted on his second voyage. The Indians on board "asserted that it had no inhabitants but women, who at a certain time of the year were visited by the Cannibals (Caribs); if the children born were

boys they were brought up and sent to their fathers, if girls they were retained by the mothers. They reported also that these women had certain subterranean caverns in which they took refuge if any one went thither except at the established season," etc. (*P. Martyr in Ramusio*, III. 3 v. and see 85.) Similar Amazons are placed by Adam of Bremen on the Baltic Shores, a story there supposed to have originated in a confusion between Gwenland, *i.e.* Finland, and a land of *Cwens* or Women.

Mendoza heard of the like in the vicinity of Japan (perhaps the real Fusang story), though he opines judiciously that "this is very doubtfull to be beleevd, although I have bin certified by religious men that have talked with persons that within these two yeares have beene at the saide ilands, and have seene the saide women." (*H. of China*, II. 301.) Lane quotes a like tale about a horde of Cossacks whose wives were said to live apart on certain islands in the Dnieper. (*Arab. Nights*, 1859, III. 479.) The same story is related by a missionary in the *Lettres Édifiantes* of certain unknown islands supposed to lie south of the Marian group. Pauthier, from whom I derive this last instance, draws the conclusion: "On voit que le récit de Marc Pol est loin d'être imaginaire." Mine from the premises would be different!

Sometimes the fable took another form; in which the women are entirely isolated, as in that which Mela quotes from Hanno (III. 9). So with the Isle of Women which Kazwini and Bakui place to the South of China.* They became enceinte by the Wind, or by eating a particular fruit [or by plunging into the sea; cf. *Schlegel, l.c.*—H. C.], or, as in a Chinese tradition related by Magaillans, by looking at their own faces in a well! The like fable is localised by the Malays in the island of Engano off Sumatra, and was related to Pigafetta of an island under Great Java called Ocoloro, perhaps the same.

(*Magaill.* 76; *Gildem.* 196; *N. et Ex.* II. 398; *Pigafetta*, 173; *Marsden's Sumatra*, 1st ed. p. 264.)

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF SCOTRA.

WHEN you leave those two Islands and go about 500 miles further towards the south, then you come to an Island called SCOTRA. The people are all baptized Christians; and they have an Archbishop. They have a great deal of ambergris; and plenty also of cotton stuffs and other merchandize; especially great quantities of salt fish of a large and excellent kind. They also eat flesh and milk and rice, for that is their only kind of corn; and they all go naked like the other Indians.

[The ambergris comes from the stomach of the whale,

and as it is a great object of trade, the people contrive to take the whales with barbed iron darts, which, once they are fixed in the body, cannot come out again. A long cord is attached to this end, to that a small buoy which floats on the surface, so that when the whale dies they know where to find it. They then draw the body ashore and extract the ambergris from the stomach and the oil from the head.¹

There is a great deal of trade there, for many ships come from all quarters with goods to sell to the natives. The merchants also purchase gold there, by which they make a great profit; and all the vessels bound for Aden touch at this Island.

Their Archbishop has nothing to do with the Pope of Rome, but is subject to the great Archbishop who lives at Baudas. He rules over the Bishop of that Island, and over many other Bishops in those regions of the world, just as our Pope does in these.²

A multitude of corsairs frequent the Island; they come there and encamp and put up their plunder to sale; and this they do to good profit, for the Christians of the Island purchase it, knowing well that it is Saracen or Pagan gear.³

And you must know that in this Island there are the best enchanters in the world. It is true that their Archbishop forbids the practice to the best of his ability; but 'tis all to no purpose, for they insist that their forefathers followed it, and so must they also. I will give you a sample of their enchantments. Thus, if a ship be sailing past with a fair wind and a strong, they will raise a contrary wind and compel her to turn back. In fact they make the wind blow as they list, and produce great tempests and disasters; and other such sorceries they perform, which it will be better to say nothing about in our Book.⁴

NOTE 1.—Mr. Blyth appears to consider that the only whale met with nowadays in the Indian Sea north of the line is a great Rorqual or *Balaenoptera*, to which he gives the specific name of *Indica*. (See *J. A. S. B.* XXVIII. 481.) The text, however (from Ramusio), clearly points to the Spermaceti whale; and Maury's Whale-Chart consists with this.

"The best ambergris," says Mas'udi, "is found on the islands and coasts of the Sea of Zinj (Eastern Africa); it is round, of a pale blue, and sometimes as big as an ostrich egg. . . . These are morsels which have been swallowed by the fish called *Awál*. When the sea is much agitated it casts up fragments of amber almost like lumps of rock, and the fish swallowing these is choked thereby, and floats on the surface. The men of Zinj, or wherever it be, then come in their canoes, and fall on the creature with harpoons and cables, draw it ashore, cut it up, and extract the ambergris" (I. 134).

Kazwini speaks of whales as often imprisoned by the ebb tide in the channels about Basra. The people harpooned them, and got much oil out of the brain, which they used for lamps, and smearing their ships. This also is clearly the sperm whale. (*Eihé*, p. 268.)

After having been long doubted, scientific opinion seems to have come back to the opinion that ambergris is an excretion from the whale. "Ambergris is a morbid secretion in the intestines of the cachalot, deriving its origin either from the stomach or biliary ducts, and allied in its nature to gall-stones, . . . whilst the masses found floating on the sea are those that have been voided by the whale, or liberated from the dead animal by the process of putrefaction." (*Bennett, Whaling Voyage Round the Globe*, 1840, II. 326.)

["The *Pen ts'ao*, ch. xliii. fol. 5, mentions ambergris under the name *lung sien hiang* (dragon's saliva perfume), and describes it as a sweet-scented perfume, which is obtained from the south-western sea. It is greasy, and at first yellowish white; when dry, it forms pieces of a yellowish black colour. In spring whole herds of dragons swim in that sea, and vomit it out. Others say that it is found in the belly of a large fish. This description also doubtless points to ambergris, which in reality is a pathological secretion of the intestines of the spermaceti whale (*Physeter macrocephalus*), a large cetaceous animal. The best ambergris is collected on the Arabian coast. In the *Ming shu* (ch. cccxxvi.) *lung sien hiang* is mentioned as a product of *Bu-la-wa* (*Bravu*, on the east coast of Africa), and *an-ba-rh* (evidently also ambergris) amongst the products of *Dsu-fa-rh* (*Dsahfar*, on the south coast of Arabia)." (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.* I. p. 152, note.)—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—*Scotra* probably represented the usual pronunciation of the name SOCOTRA, which has been hypothetically traced to a Sanskrit original, *Dvīpa-Sukhādhāra*, "the Island Abode of Bliss," from which (contracted *Diuskadra*) the Greeks made "the island of *Dioscorides*."

So much painful interest attaches to the history of a people once Christian, but now degenerated almost to savagery, that some detail may be permitted on this subject.

The *Periplus* calls the island very large, but desolate; . . . the inhabitants were few, and dwelt on the north side. They were of foreign origin, being a mixture of Arabs, Indians, and Greeks, who had come thither in search of gain. . . . The island was under the king of the Incense Country. . . . Traders came from *Musa* (near Mocha) and sometimes from *Limyrica* and *Barygasa* (Malabar and Guzerat), bringing rice, wheat, and Indian muslins, with female slaves, which had a ready sale. Cosmas (6th century) says there was in the island a bishop, appointed from Persia. The inhabitants spoke Greek, having been originally settled there by the Ptolemies. "There are clergy there also, ordained and sent from Persia to minister among the people of the island, and a multitude of Christians. We sailed past the island, but did not land. I met, however, with people from it who were on their way to Ethiopia, and they spoke Greek."

The ecclesiastical historian Nicephorus Callistus seems to allude to the people of

Socotra, when he says that among the nations visited by the missionary Theophilus, in the time of Constantius, were "the Assyrians on the verge of the outer ocean towards the East . . . whom Alexander the Great, after driving them from Syria, sent thither to settle, and to this day they keep their mother tongue, though all of the blackest, through the power of the sun's rays." The Arab voyagers of the 9th century say that the island was colonised with Greeks by Alexander the Great, in order to promote the culture of the Socotrine aloes; when the other Greeks adopted Christianity these did likewise, and they had continued to retain their profession of it. The colonising by Alexander is probably a fable, but invented to account for facts.

[Edrisi says (*Jaubert's transl.* pp. 47, *seqq.*) that the chief produce of Socotra is aloes, and that most of the inhabitants of this island are Christians; for this reason: when Alexander had subjugated Porus, his master Aristotle gave him the advice to seek after the island producing aloes; after his conquest of India, Alexander remembered the advice, and on his return journey from the Sea of India to the Sea of Oman, he stopped at Socotra, which he greatly admired for its fertility and the pleasantness of its climate. Acting on the advice of Aristotle, Alexander removed the inhabitants from their island, and established in their place a colony of Ionians, to whom he entrusted the care of cultivating aloes. These Greeks were converted when the Christian religion was preached to them, and their descendants have remained Christians.—H. C.]

In the list of the metropolitan Sees of the Nestorian Church we find one called *Kotrobah*, which is supposed to stand for Socotra. According to Edrisi, Kotrobah was an island inhabited by Christians; he speaks of Socotra separately, but no island suits his description of Kotrobah but Socotra itself; and I suspect that we have here geography in duplicate, no uncommon circumstance. There is an epistle extant from the Nestorian Patriarch Jesubab (A.D. 650-660), *ad Episcopos Catarensiūm*, which Assemani interprets of the Christians in Socotra and the adjacent coasts of Arabia (III. 133).* Abulfeda says the people of Socotra were Nestorian Christians and pirates. Nicolo Conti, in the first half of the 15th century, spent two months on the island (*Sechutera*). He says it was for the most part inhabited by Nestorian Christians.

[Professor W. R. Smith, in a letter to Sir H. Yule, dated Cambridge, 15th June, 1886, writes: "The authorities for Kotrobah seem to be (1) Edrisi, (2) the list of Nestorian Bishops in Assemani. There is no trace of such a name anywhere else that I can find. But there is a place called Kaṭar about which most of the Arab Geographers know very little, but which is mentioned in poetry. Bekri, who seems best informed, says that it lay between Bahrain and Oman. . . . Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Haukal speak of the Kaṭar pirates. Their collective name is the Kaṭarfyā."]

Some indications point rather to a connection of the island's Christianity with the Jacobite or Abyssinian Church. Thus they practised circumcision, as mentioned by Maffei in noticing the proceedings of Albuquerque at Socotra. De Barros calls them Jacobite Christians of the Abyssinian stock. Barbosa speaks of them as an olive-coloured people, Christian only in name, having neither baptism nor Christian knowledge, and having for many years lost all acquaintance with the Gospel. Andrea Corsali calls them Christian shepherds of Ethiopian race, like Abyssinians. They lived on dates, milk, and butter; some rice was imported. They had churches like mosques, but with altars in Christian fashion.

When Francis Xavier visited the island there were still distinct traces of the Church. The people revered the cross, placing it on their altars, and hanging it round their necks. Every village had its minister, whom they called *Kashīs* (*Ar.* for a Christian Presbyter), to whom they paid tithes. No man could read. The *Kashīs* repeated prayers antiphonetically in a forgotten tongue, which De Barros calls Chaldee, frequently scattering incense; a word like *Alleluia* often recurred. For bells they used wooden rattles. They assembled in their churches four times a day,

* [Assemani, in his corrections (III. p. 362), gives up *Socotra* in favour of *Bactria*.]

and held St. Thomas in great veneration. The Kashises married, but were very abstemious. They had two Lents, and then fasted strictly from meat, milk, and fish.

The last vestiges of Christianity in Socotra, so far as we know, are those traced by P. Vincenzo, the Carmelite, who visited the island after the middle of the 17th century. The people still retained a profession of Christianity, but without any knowledge, and with a strange jumble of rites; sacrificing to the moon; circumcising; abominating wine and pork. They had churches which they called *Moquame* (*Ar. Maḳām*, "Locus, Statio"?), dark, low, and dirty, daily anointed with butter. On the altar was a cross and a candle. The cross was regarded with ignorant reverence, and carried in processions. They assembled in their churches three times in the day, and three times in the night, and in their worship burned much incense, etc. The priests were called *Odambo*, elected and consecrated by the people, and changed every year. Of baptism and other sacraments they had no knowledge.

There were two races: one, black with crisp hair; the other, less black, of better aspect, and with straight hair. Each family had a cave in which they deposited their dead. They cultivated a few palms, and kept flocks; had no money, no writing, and kept tale of their flocks by bags of stones. They often committed suicide in age, sickness, or defeat. When rain failed they selected a victim by lot, and placing him within a circle, addressed prayers to the moon. If without success they cut off the poor wretch's hands. They had many who practised sorcery. The women were all called *Maria*, which the author regarded as a relic of Christianity; this De Barros also notices a century earlier.

Now, not a trace of former Christianity can be discovered—unless it be in the name of one of the villages on the coast, *Colesseeah*, which looks as if it faintly commemorated both the ancient religion and the ancient language (*ἐκκλησία*). The remains of one building, traditionally a place of worship, were shown to Wellsted; he could find nothing to connect it with Christianity.

The social state of the people is much as Father Vincenzo described it; lower it could scarcely be. Mahomedanism is now the universal profession. The people of the interior are still of distinct race, with curly hair, Indian complexion, regular features. The coast people are a mongrel body, of Arab and other descent. Probably in old times the case was similar, and the civilisation and Greek may have been confined to the littoral foreigners. (*Müller's Geog. Gr. Minores*, I. pp. 280-281; *Relations*, I. 139-140; *Cathay*, clxxi., ccxlv. 169; *Conti*, 20; *Maffei*, lib. III.; *Büsching*, IV. 278; *Faria*, I. 117-118; *Ram.* I. f. 181 v. and 292; *Jarric, Thes. Rer. Indic.* I. 108-109; *P. Vinc.* 132, 442; *J. R. G. S. V.* 129 *seqq.*)

NOTE 3.—As far back as the 10th century Socotra was a noted haunt of pirates. Mas'udi says: "Socotra is one of the stations frequented by the Indian corsairs called *Bawdrij*, which chase the Arab ships bound for India and China, just as the Greek galleys chase the Mussulmans in the sea of Rúm along the coasts of Syria and Egypt" (III. 37). The *Bawdrij* were corsairs of Kach'h and Guzerat, so called from using a kind of war-vessel called *Bárja*. (*Elliot*, I. 65.) Ibn Batuta tells a story of a friend of his, the Shaikh Sa'íd, superior of a convent at Mecca, who had been to India and got large presents at the court of Delhi. With a comrade called Hajji Washl, who was also carrying a large sum to buy horses, "when they arrived at the island of Socotra . . . they were attacked by Indian corsairs with a great number of vessels. . . . The corsairs took everything out of the ship, and then left it to the crew with its tackle, so that they were able to reach Aden." Ibn Batuta's remark on this illustrates what Polo has said of the Malabar pirates, in *ch.* xxv. *supra*: "The custom of these pirates is not to kill or drown anybody when the actual fighting is over. They take all the property of the passengers, and then let them go whither they will with their vessel" (I. 362-363).

NOTE 4.—We have seen that P. Vincenzo alludes to the sorceries of the people; and De Barros also speaks of the *feiticeria* or witchcraft by which the women drew ships to the island, and did other marvels (*u. s.*).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF MADEIGASCAR.

MADEIGASCAR is an Island towards the south, about a thousand miles from Scotra. The people are all Saracens, adoring Mahommet. They have four *Esheks*, *i.e.* four Elders, who are said to govern the whole Island. And you must know that it is a most noble and beautiful Island, and one of the greatest in the world, for it is about 4000 miles in compass. The people live by trade and handicrafts.

In this Island, and in another beyond it called ZANGHIBAR, about which we shall tell you afterwards, there are more elephants than in any country in the world. The amount of traffic in elephants' teeth in these two Islands is something astonishing.

In this Island they eat no flesh but that of camels; and of these they kill an incredible number daily. They say it is the best and wholesomest of all flesh; and so they eat of it all the year round.¹

They have in this Island many trees of red sanders, of excellent quality; in fact, all their forests consist of it.² They have also a quantity of ambergris, for whales are abundant in that sea, and they catch numbers of them; and so are *Oil-heads*, which are a huge kind of fish, which also produce ambergris like the whale.³ There are numbers of leopards, bears, and lions in the country, and other wild beasts in abundance. Many traders, and many ships go thither with cloths of gold and silk, and many other kinds of goods, and drive a profitable trade.

You must know that this Island lies so far south that ships cannot go further south or visit other Islands in

that direction, except this one, and that other of which we have to tell you, called Zanghibar. This is because the sea-current runs so strong towards the south that the ships which should attempt it never would get back again. Indeed, the ships of Maabar which visit this Island of Madeigascar, and that other of Zanghibar, arrive thither with marvellous speed, for great as the distance is they accomplish it in 20 days, whilst the return voyage takes them more than 3 months. This (I say) is because of the strong current running south, which continues with such singular force and in the same direction at all seasons.⁴

'Tis said that in those other Islands to the south, which the ships are unable to visit because this strong current prevents their return, is found the bird *Gryphon*, which appears there at certain seasons. The description given of it is however entirely different from what our stories and pictures make it. For persons who had been there and had seen it told Messer Marco Polo that it was for all the world like an eagle, but one indeed of enormous size ; so big in fact that its wings covered an extent of 30 paces, and its quills were 12 paces long, and thick in proportion. And it is so strong that it will seize an elephant in its talons and carry him high into the air, and drop him so that he is smashed to pieces ; having so killed him the bird gryphon swoops down on him and eats him at leisure. The people of those isles call the bird *Ruc*, and it has no other name.⁵ So I wot not if this be the real gryphon, or if there be another manner of bird as great. But this I can tell you for certain, that they are not half lion and half bird as our stories do relate ; but enormous as they be they are fashioned just like an eagle.

The Great Kaan sent to those parts to enquire about these curious matters, and the story was told by those

who went thither. He also sent to procure the release of an envoy of his who had been despatched thither, and had been detained; so both those envoys had many wonderful things to tell the Great Kaan about those strange islands, and about the birds I have mentioned. [They brought (as I heard) to the Great Kaan a feather of the said Ruc, which was stated to measure 90 spans, whilst the quill part was two palms in circumference, a marvellous object! The Great Kaan was delighted with it, and gave great presents to those who brought it.⁶] They also brought two boars' tusks, which weighed more than 14 lbs. a-piece; and you may gather how big the boar must have been that had teeth like that! They related indeed that there were some of those boars as big as a great buffalo. There are also numbers of giraffes and wild asses; and in fact a marvellous number of wild beasts of strange aspect.⁷

NOTE I.—Marco is, I believe, the first writer European or Asiatic, who unambiguously speaks of MADAGASCAR; but his information about it was very incorrect in many particulars. There are no elephants nor camels in the island, nor any leopards, bears, or lions.

Indeed, I have no doubt that Marco, combining information from different sources, made some confusion between *Makdashau* (Magadoxo) and *Madagascar*, and that particulars belonging to both are mixed up here. This accounts for Zanghibar being placed entirely *beyond* Madagascar, for the entirely Mahomedan character given to the population, for the hippopotamus-teeth and staple trade in ivory, as well for the lions, elephants, and other beasts. But above all the camel-killing indicates Sumáli Land and Magadoxo as the real locality of part of the information. Says Ibn Batuta: "After leaving Zaila we sailed on the sea for 15 days, and arrived at Makdashau, an extremely large town. The natives keep camels in great numbers, and they slaughter several hundreds daily" (II. 181). The slaughter of camels for food is still a Sumáli practice. (See *J. R. G. S.* VI. 28, and XIX. 55.) Perhaps the *Shaikhs* (*Escege*) also belong to the same quarter, for the Arab traveller says that the Sultan of Makdashau had no higher title than *Shaikh* (183); and Brava, a neighbouring settlement, was governed by 12 shaikhs. (*De Barros*, I. viii. 4.) Indeed, this kind of local oligarchy still prevails on that coast.

We may add that both Makdashau and Brava are briefly described in the Annals of the Ming Dynasty. The former *Mu-ku-tu-su*, lies on the sea, 20 days from *Siao-Kolan* (Quilon?), a barren mountainous country of wide extent, where it sometimes does not rain for years. In 1427 a mission came from this place to China. *Pu-la-wa* (Brava, properly Baráwa) adjoins the former, and is also on the sea. It produces

olibanum, myrrh, and *ambergris*; and among animals elephants, camels, rhinoceroses, spotted animals like asses, etc.*

It is, however, true that there are traces of a considerable amount of ancient Arab colonisation on the shores of Madagascar. Arab descent is ascribed to a class of the people of the province of Matitánana on the east coast, in lat. 21°-23° south, and the Arabic writing is in use there. The people of the St. Mary's Isle of our maps off the east coast, in lat. 17°, also call themselves the children of Ibrahim, and the island *Nusi-Ibrahim*. And on the north-west coast, at Babeluka Bay, Captain Owen found a large Arab population, whose forefathers had been settled there from time immemorial. The number of tombs here and in Magambo Bay showed that the Arab population had once been much greater. The government of this settlement, till conquered by Radama, was vested in three persons: one a Malagash, the second an Arab, the third as guardian of strangers; a fact also suggestive of Polo's four sheikhs (*Ellis*, I. 131; *Owen*, II. 102, 132. See also *Sonnerat*, II. 56.) Though the Arabs were in the habit of navigating to Sofala, in about lat. 20° south, in the time of Mas'udi (beginning of 10th century), and must have then known Madagascar, there is no intelligible indication of it in any of their geographies that have been translated.†

[M. Alfred Grandidier, in his *Hist. de la Géog. de Madagascar*, p. 31, comes to the conclusion that Marco Polo has given a very exact description of Magadoxo, but that he did not know the island of Madagascar. He adds in a note that Yule has shown that the description of Madagascar refers partly to Magadoxo, but that notwithstanding he (Yule) believed that Polo spoke of Madagascar when the Venetian traveller does not. I must say that I do not see any reason why Yule's theory should not be accepted.]

M. G. Ferrand, formerly French Agent at Fort Dauphin, has devoted ch. ix. (pp. 83-90) of the second part of his valuable work *Les Musulmans à Madagascar* (Paris, 1893), to the "Etymology of Madagascar." He believes that M. Polo really means the great African Island. I mention from his book that M. Guët (*Origines de l'île Bourbon*, 1888) brings the Carthaginians to Madagascar, and derives the name of this island from *Madax-Aschtoret* or *Madax-Astarté*, which signifies *Isle of Astarté* and *Isle of Tanit!* Mr. I. Taylor (*The origin of the name 'Madagascar,' in Antananarivo Annual*, 1891) gives also some fancy etymologies; it is needless to mention them. M. Ferrand himself thinks that very likely Madagascar simply means *Country of the Malagash* (Malgaches), and is only a bad transcription of the Arabic *Madagasbar*. —H. C.]

NOTE 2.—There is, or used to be, a trade in sandal-wood from Madagascar. (See *Owen*, II. 99.) In the map of S. Lorenzo (or Madagascar) in the *Isole* of Porcacchi (1576), a map evidently founded on fact, I observe near the middle of the Island: *quivi sono boschi di sandari rossi*.

NOTE 3.—"The coast of this province" (Ivongo, the N.E. of the Island) "abounds with whales, and during a certain period of the year Antongil Bay is a favourite resort for whalers of all nations. The inhabitants of Titingue are remarkably expert in spearing the whales from their slight canoes." (*Lloyd* in *J. R. G. S. XX.* 56.) A description of the whale-catching process practised by the Islanders of St. Mary's, or Nusi Ibrahim, is given in the *Quinta Pars Indiae Orientalis* of *De Bry*, p. 9. Owen gives a similar account (I. 170).

The word which I have rendered *Oil-heads* is *Capdoilles* or *Capdols*, representing *Capidoglio*, the appropriate name still applied in Italy to the Spermaceti whale. The *Vocab. Ital. Univ.* quotes Ariosto (VII. 36):—

—"*I Capidogli co' vecchi marini
Vengon turbati dal lor pigro sonno.*"

* Bretschneider, *On the knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, etc. London, 1871, p. 21.

† Mas'udi speaks of an island *Kanbālū*, well cultivated and populous, one or two days from the Zinj coast, and the object of voyages from Oman, from which it was about 500 parasangs distant. It was conquered by the Arabs, who captured the whole Zinj population of the island, about the beginning of the Abasside Dynasty (circa A.D. 750). Barbier de Meynard thinks this may be Madagascar. I suspect it rather to be *Pemba*. (See *Prairies d'Or*, I. 205, 232, and III. 31.)

The Spermaceti-whale is described under this name by Rondeletius, but from his cut it is clear he had not seen the animal.

NOTE 4.—De Barros, after describing the dangers of the Channel of Mozambique, adds : “ And as the Moors of this coast of Zanguebar make their voyages in ships and sambuks sewn with coir, instead of being nailed like ours, and thus strong enough to bear the force of the cold seas of the region about the Cape of Good Hope, . . . they never dared to attempt the exploration of the regions to the westward of the Cape of Currents, although they greatly desired to do so.” (Dec. I. viii. 4; and see also IV. i. 12.) Kazwini says of the Ocean, quoting Al Biruni : “ Then it extends to the sea known as that of Berbera, and stretches from Aden to the furthest extremity of Zanjibar; beyond this goes no vessel on account of the great current. Then it extends to what are called the Mountains of the Moon, whence spring the sources of the Nile of Egypt, and thence to Western Sudan, to the Spanish Countries and the (Western) Ocean.” There has been recent controversy between Captain A. D. Taylor and Commodore Jansen of the Dutch navy, regarding the Mozambique currents, and (incidentally) Polo’s accuracy. The currents in the Mozambique Channel vary with the monsoons, but from Cape Corrientes southward along the coast runs the permanent Lagullas current, and Polo’s statement requires but little correction. (*Ethé*, pp. 214-215; see also *Barbosa* in *Ram.* I. 288; *Owen*, I. 269; *Stanley’s Correa*, p. 261; *J. R. G. S.* II. 91; *Fra Mauro* in *Zurla*, p. 61; see also *Reinaud’s Abulfeda*, vol. i. pp. 15-16; and *Ocean Highways*, August to November, 1873.)

NOTE 5.—The fable of the RUKH was old and widely spread, like that of the Male and Female Islands, and, just as in that case, one accidental circumstance or another would give it a local habitation, now here now there. The *Garuda* of the



The Rukh (from Lane’s “Arabian Nights”), after a Persian drawing.

Hindus, the *Simurgh* of the old Persians, the *’Angka* of the Arabs, the *Bar Yuchre* of the Rabbinical legends, the *Gryps* of the Greeks, were probably all versions of the same original fable.

Bochart quotes a bitter Arabic proverb which says, "Good-Faith, the Ghul, and the Gryphon (*'Angka*) are three names of things that exist nowhere." And Mas'udi, after having said that whatever country he visited he always found that the people believed these monstrous creatures to exist in regions as remote as possible from their own, observes: "It is not that our reason absolutely rejects the possibility of the existence of the *Nesuds* (see vol. i. p. 206) or of the *'Angka*, and other beings of that rare and wondrous order; for there is nothing in their existence incompatible with



Frontispiece showing the Bird *Rukh*.

the Divine Power; but we decline to believe in them because their existence has not been manifested to us on any irrefragable authority."

The circumstance which for the time localized the *Rukh* in the direction of Madagascar was perhaps some rumour of the great fossil *Aepyornis* and its colossal eggs, found in that island. According to Geoffroy St. Hilaire, the Malagashes assert that the bird which laid those great eggs still exists, that it has an immense power of

flight, and preys upon the greater quadrupeds. Indeed the continued existence of the bird has been alleged as late as 1861 and 1863!

On the great map of Fra Mauro (1459) near the extreme point of Africa which he calls *Cavo de Diab*, and which is suggestive of the Cape of Good Hope, but was really perhaps Cape Corrientes, there is a rubric inscribed with the following remarkable story: "About the year of Our Lord 1420 a ship or junk of India in crossing the Indian Sea was driven by way of the Islands of Men and Women beyond the Cape of Diab, and carried between the Green Islands and the Darkness in a westerly and south-westerly direction for 40 days, without seeing anything but sky and sea, during which time they made to the best of their judgment 2000 miles. The gale then ceasing they turned back, and were seventy days in getting to the aforesaid Cape Diab. The ship having touched on the coast to supply its wants, the mariners beheld there the egg of a certain bird called *Chrocho*, which egg was as big as a butt.* And the bigness of the bird is such that between the extremities of the wings is said to be 60 paces. They say too that it carries away an elephant or any other great animal with the greatest ease, and does great injury to the inhabitants of the country, and is most rapid in its flight."

G.-St. Hilaire considered the Aepyornis to be of the Ostrich family; Prince C. Buonaparte classed it with the *Inepti* or Dodos; Duvernay of Valenciennes with aquatic birds! There was clearly therefore room for difference of opinion, and Professor Bianconi of Bologna, who has written much on the subject, concludes that it was most probably a bird of the vulture family. This would go far, he urges, to justify Polo's account of the Ruc as a bird of prey, though the story of its *lifting* any large animal could have had no foundation, as the feet of the vulture kind are unfit for such efforts. Humboldt describes the habit of the condor of the Andes as that of worrying, wearying, and frightening its four-footed prey until it drops; sometimes the condor drives its victim over a precipice.

Bianconi concludes that on the same scale of proportion as the condor's, the great quills of the Aepyornis would be about 10 feet long, and the spread of the wings about 32 feet, whilst the height of the bird would be at least four times that of the condor. These are indeed little more than conjectures. And I must add that in Professor Owen's opinion there is no reasonable doubt that the Aepyornis was a bird allied to the Ostriches.

We gave, in the first edition of this work, a drawing of the great Aepyornis egg in the British Museum of its true size, as the nearest approach we could make to an illustration of the *Rukh* from nature. The actual contents of this egg will be about 2'35 gallons, which may be compared with Fra Mauro's *anfora*! Except in this matter of size, his story of the ship and the egg may be true.

A passage from Temple's Travels in Peru has been quoted as exhibiting exaggeration in the description of the condor surpassing anything that can be laid to Polo's charge here; but that is, in fact, only somewhat heavy banter directed against our traveller's own narrative. (See *Travels in Various Parts of Peru*, 1830, II. 414-417.)

Recently fossil bones have been found in New Zealand, which seem to bring us a step nearer to the realization of the Rukh. Dr. Haast discovered in a swamp at Glenmark in the province of Otago, along with remains of the *Dinornis* or Moa, some bones (femur, ungual phalanges, and rib) of a gigantic bird which he pronounces to be a bird of prey, apparently allied to the Harriers, and calls *Harpagornis*. He supposes it to have preyed upon the Moa, and as that fowl is calculated to have been 10 feet and upwards in height, we are not so very far from the elephant-devouring Rukh. (See *Comptes Rendus, Ac. des Sciences* 1872, p. 1782; and *Ibis*, October 1872, p. 433.) This discovery may possibly throw a new light on the traditions of the New Zealanders. For Professor Owen, in first describing the *Dinornis* in 1839, mentioned that the natives had a tradition that the bones belonged to a bird of the

* "*De la grandezza de una bota d'anfora.*" The lowest estimate that I find of the Venetian anfora makes it equal to about 108 imperial gallons, a little less than the English butt. This seems intended. The ancient amphora would be more reasonable, being only 5'66 gallons.

eagle kind. (See *Eng. Cyc. Nat. Hist.* sub. v. *Dinornis*.) And Sir Geo. Grey appears to have read a paper, 23rd October 1872,* which was the description by a Maori of the *Hokiol*, an extinct gigantic bird of prey of which that people have traditions come down from their ancestors, said to have been a black hawk of great size, as large as the Moa.

I have to thank Mr. Arthur Grote for a few words more on that most interesting subject, the discovery of a real fossil *Ruc* in New Zealand. He informs me (under date 4th December 1874) that Professor Owen is now working on the huge bones sent home by Dr. Haast, "and is convinced that they belonged to a bird of prey, probably (as Dr. Haast suggested) a Harrier, *double the weight of the Moa*, and quite capable therefore of preying on the young of that species. Indeed, he is disposed to attribute the extinction of the *Harpagornis* to that of the Moa, which was the only victim in the country which could supply it with a sufficiency of food."

One is tempted to add that if the Moa or *Dinornis* of New Zealand had its *Harpagornis* scourge, the still greater *Aepyornis* of Madagascar may have had a proportionate tyrant, whose bones (and quills?) time may bring to light. And the description given by Sir Douglas Forsyth on page 542, of the action of the Golden Eagle of Kashgar in dealing with a wild boar, illustrates how such a bird as our imagined *Harpagornis Aepyornithon* might master the larger pachydermata, even the elephant himself, without having to treat him precisely as the Persian drawing at p. 415 represents.

Sindbad's adventures with the Rukh are too well known for quotation. A variety of stories of the same tenor hitherto unpublished, have been collected by M. Marcel Devic from an Arabic work of the 10th century on the "*Marvels of Hind*," by an author who professes only to repeat the narratives of merchants and mariners whom he had questioned. A specimen of these will be found under Note 6. The story takes a peculiar form in the Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela. He heard that when ships were in danger of being lost in the stormy sea that led to China the sailors were wont to sew themselves up in hides, and so when cast upon the surface they were snatched up by great eagles called gryphons, which carried their supposed prey ashore, etc. It is curious that this very story occurs in a Latin poem stated to be *at least* as old as the beginning of the 13th century, which relates the romantic adventures of a certain Duke Ernest of Bavaria; whilst the story embodies more than one other adventure belonging to the History of Sindbad.† The Duke and his comrades, navigating in some unknown ramification of the Euxine, fall within the fatal attraction of the Magnet Mountain. Hurried by this augmenting force, their ship is described as crashing through the rotten forest of masts already drawn to their doom:—

"Et ferit impulsus majoris verbere montem
Quam si diplosas impingat machina turres."

There they starve, and the dead are deposited on the lofty poop to be carried away by the daily visits of the gryphons:—

— "Quae griffae membra leonis
Et pennas aquilae simulantes unguibus atris
Tollentes miseranda suis dant prandia pullis."

When only the Duke and six others survive, the wisest of the party suggests the scheme which Rabbi Benjamin has related:—

— "Quaeramus tergora, et armis
Vestiti prius, optatis volvamus in illis,
Ut nos tollentes mentita cadavera Griffae
Pullis objiciant, a queis facientibus armis
Et cute dissutâ, nos, si volet, Ille Deorum
Optimus eripiet."

* The friend who noted this for me, omitted to name the Society.

† I got the indication of this poem, I think, in Bochart. But I have since observed that its coincidences with Sindbad are briefly noticed by Mr. Lane (ed. 1859, III. 78) from an article in the "*Foreign Quarterly Review*."

Which scheme is successfully carried out. The wanderers then make a raft on which they embark on a river which plunges into a cavern in the heart of a mountain; and after a time they emerge in the country of Arimaspa inhabited by the Cyclopes; and so on. The Gryphon story also appears in the romance of Huon de Bordeaux, as well as in the tale called 'Hasan of el-Basrah' in Lane's Version of the *Arabian Nights*.

It is in the China Seas that Ibn Batuta beheld the Rukh, first like a mountain in the sea where no mountain should be, and then "when the sun rose," says he, "we saw the mountain aloft in the air, and the clear sky between it and the sea. We were in astonishment at this, and I observed that the sailors were weeping and bidding each other adieu, so I called out, 'What is the matter?' They replied, 'What we took for a mountain is "the Rukh." If it sees us, it will send us to destruction.' It was then some 10 miles from the junk. But God Almighty was gracious unto us, and sent us a fair wind, which turned us from the direction in which the Rukh was; so we did not see him well enough to take cognizance of his real shape." In this story we have evidently a case of abnormal refraction, causing an island to appear suspended in the air.*

The Archipelago was perhaps the legitimate habitat of the Rukh, before circumstances localised it in the direction of Madagascar. In the Indian Sea, says Kazwini, is a bird of size so vast that when it is dead men take the half of its bill and make a ship of it! And there too Pigafetta heard of this bird, under its Hindu name of *Garuda*, so big that it could fly away with an elephant.† Kazwini also says that the 'Angka carries off an elephant as a hawk flies off with a mouse; his flight is like the loud thunder. Whilom he dwelt near the haunts of men, and wrought them great mischief. But once on a time it had carried off a bride in her bridal array, and Hamd Allah, the Prophet of those days, invoked a curse upon the bird. Wherefore the Lord banished it to an inaccessible Island in the Encircling Ocean.

The Simurgh or 'Angka, dwelling behind veils of Light and Darkness on the inaccessible summits of Caucasus, is in Persian mysticism an emblem of the Almighty.

In Northern Siberia the people have a firm belief in the former existence of birds of colossal size, suggested apparently by the fossil bones of great pachyderms which are so abundant there. And the compressed sabre-like horns of *Rhinoceros tichorinus* are constantly called, even by Russian merchants, *birds' claws*. Some of the native tribes fancy the vaulted skull of the same rhinoceros to be the bird's head, and the leg-bones of other pachyderms to be its quills; and they relate that their forefathers used to fight wonderful battles with this bird. Erman ingeniously suggests that the Herodotean story of the Gryphons, *from under which* the Arimaspians drew their gold, grew out of the legends about these fossils.

I may add that the name of our *rook* in chess is taken from that of this same bird; though first perverted from (Sansk.) *rath*, a chariot.

Some Eastern authors make the *Rukh* an enormous beast instead of a bird. (See *J. R. A. S. XIII. 64*, and *Elliot, II. 203*.) A Spanish author of the 16th century seems to take the same view of the Gryphon, but he is prudently vague in describing it, which he does among the animals of Africa: "The *Grifo* which some call *CAMELLO PARDAL* . . . is called by the Arabs *Yfrit* (!), and is made just in that fashion in which we see it painted in pictures." (*Marmol, Descripcion General de Affrica, Granada, 1573, I. f. 30*.) The *Zorafa* is described as a different beast, which it certainly is!

(*Bochart, Hierozoica, II. 852 seqq.*; *Mas'udi, IV. 16*; *Mem. dell' Acad. dell' Instit. di Bologna, III. 174 seqq.*; *V. 112 seqq.*; *Zurla on Fra Mauro, p. 62*;

* An intelligent writer, speaking of such effects on the same sea, says: "The boats floating on a calm sea, at a distance from the ship, were magnified to a great size; the crew standing up in them appeared as masts or trees, and their arms in motion as the wings of windmills; whilst the surrounding islands (especially at their low and tapered extremities) seemed to be suspended in the air, some feet above the ocean's level." (*Bennett's Whaling Voyage, II. 71-72*.)

† An epithet of the *Garuda* is *Gajakürmäsin*, "elephant cum-tortoise-devourer," because said to have swallowed both when engaged in a contest with each other.

Lane's Arabian Nights, Notes on Sindbad; *Benj. of Tudela*, p. 117; *De Varia Fortuna Ernesti Bavariæ Ducis*, in *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum* of Martene and Durand, vol. III. col. 353 *seqq.*; *I. B.* IV. 305; *Gildem.* p. 220; *Pigafetta*, p. 174; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 311; *Erman*, II. 88; *Garcin de Tassy*, *La Poésie philos. etc., chez les Persans*, 30 *seqq.*)

[In a letter to Sir Henry Yule, dated 24th March 1887, Sir (then Dr.) John Kirk writes: "I was speaking with the present Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyed Barghash, about the great bird which the natives say exists, and in doing so I laughed at the idea. His Highness turned serious and said that indeed he believed it to be quite true that a great bird visited the Udoe country, and that it caused a great shadow to fall upon the country; he added that it let fall at times large rocks. Of course he did not pretend to know these things from his own experience, for he has never been inland, but he considered he had ample grounds to believe these stories from what he had been told of those who travelled. The Udoe country lies north of the River Wami opposite the island of Zanzibar and about two days going inland. The people are jealous of strangers and practise cannibalism in war. They are therefore little visited, and although near the coast we know little of them. The only members of their tribe I have known have been converted to Islam, and not disposed to say much of their native customs, being ashamed of them, while secretly still believing in them. The only thing I noticed was an idea that the tribe came originally from the West, from about Manyema; now the people of that part are cannibals, and cannibalism is almost unknown except among the *Wadoe*, nearer the east coast. It is also singular that the other story of a gigantic bird comes from near Manyema and that the *whalebone* that was passed off at Zanzibar as the wing of a bird, came, they said, from Tanganyika. As to rocks falling in East Africa, I think their idea might easily arise from the fall of meteoric stones."]

[M. Alfred Grandidier (*Hist. de la Géog. de Madagascar*, p. 31) thinks that the Rukh is but an image; it is a personification of water-spouts, cyclones, and typhoons.—H. C.]

NOTE 6.—Sir Thomas Brown says that if any man will say he desires before belief to behold such a creature as is the *Rukh* in Paulus Venetus, for his own part he will not be angry with his incredulity. But M. Pauthier is of more liberal belief; for he considers that, after all, the dimensions which Marco assigns to the wings and quills of the Rukh are not so extravagant that we should refuse to admit their possibility.

Ludolf will furnish him with corroborative evidence, that of Padre Bolivar, a Jesuit, as communicated to Thévenot; the assigned position will suit well enough with Marco's report: "The bird condor differs in size in different parts of the world. The greater species was seen by many of the Portuguese in their expedition against the Kingdoms of Sofala and Cuama and the Land of the Caffres from Monomotapa to the Kingdom of Angola and the Mountains of Teroa. In some countries I have myself seen the wing-feathers of that enormous fowl, although the bird itself I never beheld. The feather in question, as could be deduced from its form, was one of the middle ones, and it was 28 palms in length and three in breadth. The quill part, from the root to the extremity, was five palms in length, of the thickness of an average man's arm, and of extreme strength and hardness. [M. Alfred Grandidier (*Hist. de la Géog. de Madagascar*, p. 25) thinks that the quill part of this feather was one of the bamboo shoots formerly brought to Yemen to be used as water-jars and called there *feathers of Rukh*, the Arabs looking upon these bamboo shoots as the quill part of the feathers of the Rukh.—H.C.] The fibres of the feather were equal in length and closely fitted, so that they could scarcely be parted without some exertion of force; and they were jet black, whilst the quill part was white. Those who had seen the bird stated that it was bigger than the bulk of a couple of elephants, and that hitherto nobody had succeeded in killing one. It rises to the clouds with such extraordinary swiftness that it seems scarcely to stir its wings. *In form it is like an*

eagle. But although its size and swiftness are so extraordinary, it has much trouble in procuring food, on account of the density of the forests with which all that region is clothed. Its own dwelling is in cold and desolate tracts such as the Mountains of Teroa, *i.e.* of the Moon; and in the valleys of that range it shows itself at certain periods. Its black feathers are held in very high estimation, and it is with the greatest difficulty that one can be got from the natives, for *one* such serves to fan ten people, and to keep off the terrible heat from them, as well as the wasps and flies" (*Ludolf, Hist. Aethiop.* Comment. p. 164.)

Abu Mahomed, of Spain, relates that a merchant arrived in Barbary who had lived long among the Chinese. He had with him the quill of a chick Rukh, and this held nine skins of water. He related the story of how he came by this,—a story nearly the same as one of Sindbad's about the Rukh's egg. (*Bochart, II.* 854.)

Another story of a seaman wrecked on the coast of Africa is among those collected by M. Marcel Devic. By a hut that stood in the middle of a field of rice and *durra* there was a trough. "A man came up leading a pair of oxen, laden with 12 skins of water, and emptied these into the trough. I drew near to drink, and found the trough to be polished like a steel blade, quite different from either glass or pottery. 'It is the hollow of a quill,' said the man. I would not believe a word of the sort, until, after rubbing it inside and outside, I found it to be transparent, and to retain the traces of the barbs." (*Comptes Rendus, etc., ut supra*; and *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 99.)

Fr. Jordanus also says: "In this *India Tertia* (Eastern Africa) are certain birds which are called *Roc*, so big that they easily carry an elephant up into the air. I have seen a certain person who said that he had seen one of those birds, one wing only of which stretched to a length of 80 palms" (p. 42).

The Japanese Encyclopædia states that in the country of the *Tsengsz'* (Zinjis) in the South-West Ocean, there is a bird called *pheng*, which in its flight eclipses the sun. It can swallow a camel; and its quills are used for water-casks. This was probably got from the Arabs. (*J. As.*, sér. 2, tom. xii. 235-236.)

I should note that the *Geog. Text* in the first passage where the feathers are spoken of says: "*e ce qe je en vi voz dirai en autre leu, por ce qe il convient ensi faire à nostre livre,*"—"that which I have seen of them I will tell you elsewhere, as it suits the arrangement of our book." No such other detail is found in that text, but we have in Ramusio this passage about the quill brought to the Great Kaan, and I suspect that the phrase, "as I have heard," is an interpolation, and that Polo is here telling *ce qe il en vit*. What are we to make of the story? I have sometimes thought that possibly some vegetable production, such as a great frond of the *Ravenala*, may have been cooked to pass as a Rukh's quill. [See *App.* L.]

NOTE 7.—The giraffes are an error. The *Eng. Cyc.* says that wild asses and zebras (?) do exist in Madagascar, but I cannot trace authority for this.

The great boar's teeth were indubitably hippopotamus-teeth, which form a considerable article of export from Zanzibar* (not Madagascar). Burton speaks of their reaching 12 lbs in weight. And Cosmas tells us: "The hippopotamus I have not seen indeed, but I had some great teeth of his that weighed thirteen pounds, which I sold here (in Alexandria). And I have seen many such teeth in Ethiopia and in Egypt." (See *J. R. G. S.* XXIX. 444; *Cathay*, p. clxxv.)

* The name as pronounced seems to have been *Zangibár* (hard *g*), which polite Arabic changed into *Zanjibár*, whence the Portuguese made *Zanzibar*.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF ZANGHIBAR. A WORD ON INDIA
IN GENERAL.

ZANGHIBAR is a great and noble Island, with a compass of some 2000 miles.¹ The people are all Idolaters, and have a king and a language of their own, and pay tribute to nobody. They are both tall and stout, but not tall in proportion to their stoutness, for if they were, being so stout and brawny, they would be absolutely like giants; and they are so strong that they will carry for four men and eat for five.

They are all black, and go stark naked, with only a little covering for decency. Their hair is as black as pepper, and so frizzly that even with water you can scarcely straighten it. And their mouths are so large, their noses so turned up, their lips so thick, their eyes so big and bloodshot, that they look like very devils; they are in fact so hideously ugly that the world has nothing to show more horrible.

Elephants are produced in this country in wonderful profusion. There are also lions that are black and quite different from ours. And their sheep and wethers are all exactly alike in colour; the body all white and the head black; no other kind of sheep is found there, you may rest assured.² They have also many giraffes. This is a beautiful creature, and I must give you a description of it. Its body is short and somewhat sloped to the rear, for its hind legs are short whilst the fore-legs and the neck are both very long, and thus its head stands about three paces from the ground. The head is small, and the animal is not at all mischievous. Its colour is all red and white in round spots, and it is really a beautiful object.³

* * The women of this Island are the ugliest in the world, with their great mouths and big eyes and thick noses ; their breasts too are four times bigger than those of any other women ; a very disgusting sight.

The people live on rice and flesh and milk and dates ; and they make wine of dates and of rice and of good spices and sugar. There is a great deal of trade, and many merchants and vessels go thither. But the staple trade of the Island is in elephants' teeth, which are very abundant ; and they have also much ambergris, as whales are plentiful.⁴

They have among them excellent and valiant warriors, and have little fear of death. They have no horses, but fight mounted on camels and elephants. On the latter they set wooden castles which carry from ten to sixteen persons, armed with lances, swords, and stones, so that they fight to great purpose from these castles. They wear no armour, but carry only a shield of hide, besides their swords and lances, and so a marvellous number of them fall in battle. When they are going to take an elephant into battle they ply him well with their wine, so that he is made half drunk. They do this because the drink makes him more fierce and bold, and of more service in battle.⁵

As there is no more to say on this subject I will go on to tell you about the Great Province of ABASH, which constitutes the MIDDLE INDIA ;—but I must first say something about India in general.

You must understand that in speaking of the Indian Islands we have described only the most noble provinces and kingdoms among them ; for no man on earth could give you a true account of the whole of the Islands of India. Still, what I have described are the best, and as it were the Flower of the Indies. For the greater part of the other Indian Islands that I have omitted are

subject to those that I have described. It is a fact that in this Sea of India there are 12,700 Islands, inhabited and uninhabited, according to the charts and documents of experienced mariners who navigate that Indian Sea.⁶

INDIA THE GREATER is that which extends from Mabar to Kesmacoran; and it contains 13 great kingdoms, of which we have described ten. These are all on the mainland.

INDIA THE LESSER extends from the Province of Champa to Mutfli, and contains eight great kingdoms. These are likewise all on the mainland. And neither of these numbers includes the Islands, among which also there are very numerous kingdoms, as I have told you.⁷

NOTE 1.—ZANGIBAR, “the Region of the Blacks,” known to the ancients as *Zingis* and *Zingium*. The name was applied by the Arabs, according to De Barros, to the whole stretch of coast from the Kilimanchi River, which seems to be the Jubb, to Cape Corrientes beyond the Southern Tropic, *i.e.* as far as Arab traffic extended; Burton says now from the Jubb to Cape Delgado. According to Abulfeda, the King of Zinjis dwelt at Mombasa. In recent times the name is by Europeans almost appropriated to the Island on which resides the Sultan of the Maskat family, to whom Sir B. Frere lately went as envoy. Our author’s “Island” has no reference to this; it is an error simply.

Our traveller’s information is here, I think, certainly at second hand, though no doubt he had seen the negroes whom he describes with such disgust, and apparently the sheep and the giraffes.

NOTE 2.—These sheep are common at Aden, whither they are imported from the opposite African coast. They have hair like smooth goats, no wool. Varthema also describes them (p. 87). In the Cairo Museum, among ornaments found in the mummy-pits, there is a little figure of one of these sheep, the head and neck in some blue stone and the body in white agate. (*Note by Author of the sketch on next page.*)

NOTE 3.—A giraffe—made into a *seraph* by the Italians—had been frequently seen in Italy in the early part of the century, there being one in the train of the Emperor Frederic II. Another was sent by Bibars to the Imperial Court in 1261, and several to Barka Khan at Sarai in 1263; whilst the King of Nubia was bound by treaty in 1275 to deliver to the Sultan three elephants, three giraffes, and five shepanthers. (*Kington*, I. 471; *Makrizi*, I. 216; II. 106, 108.) The giraffe is sometimes wrought in the patterns of mediæval Saracenic damasks, and in Sicilian ones imitated from the former. Of these there are examples in the Kensington Collection.

I here omit a passage about the elephant. It recounts an old and long-persistent fable, exploded by Sir T. Brown, and indeed before him by the sensible Garcia de Orta.

NOTE 4.—The port of Zanzibar is probably the chief ivory mart in the world. Ambergris is mentioned by Burton among miscellaneous exports, but it is not now of any consequence. Owen speaks of it as brought for sale at Delagoa Bay in the south.

NOTE 5.—Mas’udi more correctly says: “The country abounds with wild elephants, but you don’t find a single tame one. The Zinjies employ them neither in

war nor otherwise, and if they hunt them 'tis only to kill them" (III. 7). It is difficult to conceive how Marco could have got so much false information. The only beast of burden in Zanzibar, at least north of Mozambique, is the ass. His particulars seem jumbled from various parts of Africa. The camel-riders suggest the *Bejas* of the Red Sea coast, of whom there were in Mas'udi's time 30,000 warriors so mounted, and armed with lances and bucklers (III. 34). The elephant stories may have arisen from the occasional use of these animals by the Kings of Abyssinia. (See Note 4 to next chapter.)

NOTE 6.—An approximation to 12,000 as a round number seems to have been habitually used in reference to the Indian Islands; John of Montecorvino says they are many more than 12,000; Jordanus had heard that there were 10,000 *inhabited*. Linschoten says some estimated the Maldives at 11,100. And we learn from Pyard



Ethiopian Sheep.

de Laval that the Sultan of the Maldives called himself Ibrahim Sultan of Thirteen Atollons (or coral groups) and of 12,000 Islands! This is probably the origin of the proverbial number. Ibn Batuta, in his excellent account of the Maldives, estimates them at only about 2000. But Captain Owen, commenting on Pyard, says that he believes the actual number of islands to be treble or fourfold of 12,000. (*P. de Laval* in *Charlton*, IV. 255; *I. B.* IV. 40; *J. R. G. S.* II. 84.)

NOTE 7.—The term "India" became very vague from an early date. In fact, Alcuin divides the whole world into three parts, Europe, Africa, and India. Hence it was necessary to discriminate different Indias, but there is very little agreement among different authors as to this discrimination.

The earliest use that I can find of the terms India Major and Minor is in the *Liber Junioris Philosophi* published by Hudson, and which is believed to be translated from a lost Greek original of the middle of the 4th century. In this author India Minor adjoins Persia. So it does with Friar Jordanus. His India Minor appears to embrace Sind (possibly Mekran), and the western coast exclusive of Malabar. India Major extends from Malabar indefinitely eastward. His *India Tertia* is Zanjibar. The Three Indies appear in a map contained in a MS. by Guido Pisanus, written in

1118. Conti divides India into three: (1) From Persia to the Indus (*i.e.* Mekran and Sind); (2) From the Indus to the Ganges; (3) All that is beyond Ganges (Indo-China and China).

In a map of Andrea Bianco at Venice (No. 12) the divisions are—(1) India Minor, extending westward to the Persian Gulf; (2) India Media, “containing 14 regions and 12 nations;” and (3) India Superior, containing 8 regions and 24 nations.

Marino Sanuto places immediately east of the Persian Gulf “India Minor *quae et Ethiopia.*”

John Marignolli again has three Indias: (1) Manzi or India Maxima (S. China); (2) Mynibar (Malabar); (3) Maabar. The last two with Guzerat are Abulfeda’s divisions, exclusive of Sind.

We see that there was a traditional tendency to make out *Three Indies*, but little concord as to their identity. With regard to the expressions *Greater and Lesser India*, I would recall attention to what has been said about Greater and Lesser Java (*supra*, chap. ix. note 1). Greater India was originally intended, I imagine, for the *real* India, what our maps call Hindustan. And the threefold division, with its inclination to place one of the Indies in Africa, I think may have originated with the Arab *Hind, Sind, and Zinj*. I may add that our vernacular expression “the Indies” is itself a vestige of the twofold or threefold division of which we have been speaking.

The partition of the Indies made by King Sebastian of Portugal in 1571, when he constituted his eastern possessions into three governments, recalled the old division into Three Indias. The first, INDIA, extending from Cape Gardafui to Ceylon, stood in a general way for Polo’s India Major; the second MONOMOTAPA, from Gardafui to Cape Corrientes (India Tertia of Jordanus); the third MALACCA, from Pegu to China (India Minor). (*Faria y Souza*, II. 319.)

Polo’s knowledge of India, *as a whole*, is so little exact that it is too indefinite a problem to consider which are the three kingdoms that he has *not* described. The ten which he has described appear to be—(1) Maabar, (2) Coilum, (3) Comari, (4) Eli, (5) Malabar, (6) Guzerat, (7) Tana, (8) Canbaet, (9) Semenat, (10) Kesmaroran. On the one hand, this distribution in itself contains serious misapprehensions, as we have seen, and on the other there must have been many dozens of kingdoms in India Major instead of 13, if such states as Comari, Hili, and Somnath were to be separately counted. Probably it was a common saying that there were 12 kings in India, and the fact of his having himself described so many, which he knew did not nearly embrace the whole, may have made Polo convert this into 13. Jordanus says: “In this Greater India are 12 idolatrous kings and more;” but his Greater India is much more extensive than Polo’s. Those which he names are *Molebar* (probably the kingdom of the Zamorin of Calicut), *Singuyli* (Cranganor), *Columbum* (Quilon), *Molephatan* (on the east coast, uncertain, see above pp. 333, 391), and *Sylen* (Ceylon), *Java*, three or four kings, *Telenc* (Polo’s Mutfli), *Maratha* (Deogir), *Batigala* (in Canara), and in *Champa* (apparently put for all Indo-China) many kings. According to Firishta there were about a dozen *important* principalities in India at the time of the Mahomedan conquest of which he mentions *eleven*, viz.: (1) *Kanauj*, (2) *Mirat* (or Delhi), (3) *Mahávan* (Mathra), (4) *Lahore*, (5) *Malwa*, (6) *Guzerat*, (7) *Ajmir*, (8) *Gwalior*, (9) *Kalinjar*, (10) *Multán*, (11) *Ujjain*. (*Ritter*, V. 535.) This omits Bengal, Orissa, and all the Deccan. *Twelve* is a round number which constantly occurs in such statements. Ibn Batuta tells us there were 12 princes in Malabar alone. Chinghiz, in Sanang-Setzen, speaks of his vow to subdue the *twelve* kings of the human race (91). Certain figures in a temple at Anhilwara in Guzerat are said by local tradition to be the effigies of the *twelve* great kings of Europe. (*Todd’s Travels*, p. 107.) The King of Arakan used to take the title of “Lord of the 12 provinces of Bengal” (*Reinaud, Inde*, p. 139.)

The *Masálak-al-Absár* of Shihabuddin Dimishki, written some forty years after Polo’s book, gives a list of the provinces (twice twelve in number) into which India was then considered to be divided. It runs—(1) *Delhi*, (2) *Deogir*, (3) *Multán*, (4) *Kehran* (*Kohrán*, in Sirhind Division of Province of Delhi?), (5) *Sámán*

(Samána, N.W. of Delhi?), (6) *Siwastán* (Schwán), (7) *Ujah* (Uchh), (8) *Hási* (Hansi), (9) *Sarsati* (Sirsá), (10) *Ma'bar*, (11) *Tiling*, (12) *Gujerat*, (13) *Baddún*, (14) *Audh*, (15) *Kanauj*, (16) *Laknaoti* (Upper Bengal), (17) *Bahár*, (18) *Karráh* (in the Doab), (19) *Maláwa*, (Málwa), (20) *Lahaur*, (21) *Káldánur* (in the Bári Doáb, above Lahore), (22) *Jájnagar* (according to Elphinstone, Tipura in Bengal), (23) *Tilinj* (a repetition or error), (24) *Dursamand* (Dwara Samudra, the kingdom of the Belláls in Mysore). Neither Malabar nor Orissa is accounted for. (See *Not. et Ext.* XIII. 170). Another list, given by the historian Zlá-uddín Barni some years later, embraces again only *twelve* provinces. These are (1) Delhi, (2) Gujerat, (3) Málwah, (4) Deogír, (5) Tiling, (6) Kampilah (in the Doáb, between Koil and Farakhábád), (7) Dur Samandar, (8) Ma'bar, (9) *Tirhut*, (10) Lakhaoti, (11) *Satgánw*, (12) *Sundárganw* (these two last forming the Western and Eastern portions of Lower Bengal).*

CHAPTER XXXV.

TREATING OF THE GREAT PROVINCE OF ABASH WHICH IS MIDDLE INDIA, AND IS ON THE MAINLAND.

ABASH is a very great Province, and you must know that it constitutes the MIDDLE INDIA; and it is on the mainland. There are in it six great Kings with six great Kingdoms; and of these six Kings there are three that are Christians and three that are Saracens; but the greatest of all the six is a Christian, and all the others are subject to him.¹

The Christians in this country bear three marks on the face;² one from the forehead to the middle of the nose, and one on either cheek. These marks are made with a hot iron, and form part of their baptism; for after that they have been baptised with water, these three marks are made, partly as a token of gentility, and partly as the completion of their baptism. There are also Jews in the country, and these bear two marks, one on either cheek; and the Saracens have but one, to wit, on the forehead extending halfway down the nose.

The Great King lives in the middle of the country; the Saracens towards Aden. St. Thomas the Apostle

* E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi*, p. 203.

preached in this region, and after he had converted the people he went away to the province of Maabar, where he died ; and there his body lies, as I have told you in a former place.

The people here are excellent soldiers, and they go on horseback, for they have horses in plenty. Well they may ; for they are in daily war with the Soldan of ADEN, and with the Nubians, and a variety of other nations.³ I will tell you a famous story of what befel in the year of Christ, 1288.

You must know that this Christian King, who is the Lord of the Province of Abash, declared his intention to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem to adore the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord God Jesus Christ the Saviour. But his Barons said that for him to go in person would be to run too great a risk ; and they recommended him to send some bishop or prelate in his stead. So the King assented to the counsel which his Barons gave, and despatched a certain Bishop of his, a man of very holy life. The Bishop then departed and travelled by land and by sea till he arrived at the Holy Sepulchre, and there he paid it such honour as Christian man is bound to do, and presented a great offering on the part of his King who had sent him in his own stead.

And when he had done all that behoved him, he set out again and travelled day by day till he got to Aden. Now that is a Kingdom wherein Christians are held in great detestation, for the people are all Saracens, and their enemies unto the death. So when the Soldan of Aden heard that this man was a Christian and a Bishop, and an envoy of the Great King of Abash, he had him seized and demanded of him if he were a Christian ? To this the Bishop replied that he was a Christian indeed. The Soldan then told him that unless he would turn to the Law of Mahommet he should work him great shame

and dishonour. The Bishop answered that they might kill him ere he would deny his Creator.

When the Soldan heard that he waxed wroth, and ordered that the Bishop should be circumcised. So they took and circumcised him after the manner of the Saracens. And then the Soldan told him that he had been thus put to shame in despite to the King his master. And so they let him go.

The Bishop was sorely cut to the heart for the shame that had been wrought him, but he took comfort because it had befallen him in holding fast by the Law of Our Lord Jesus Christ; and the Lord God would recompense his soul in the world to come.

So when he was healed he set out and travelled by land and by sea till he reached the King his Lord in the Kingdom of Abash. And when the King beheld him, he welcomed him with great joy and gladness. And he asked him all about the Holy Sepulchre; and the Bishop related all about it truly, the King listening the while as to a most holy matter in all faith. But when the Bishop had told all about Jerusalem, he then related the outrage done on him by the Soldan of Aden in the King's despite. Great was the King's wrath and grief when he heard that; and it so disturbed him that he was like to die of vexation. And at length his words waxed so loud that all those round about could hear what he was saying. He vowed that he would never wear crown or hold kingdom if he took not such condign vengeance on the Soldan of Aden that all the world should ring therewithal, even until the insult had been well and thoroughly redressed.

And what shall I say of it? He straightway caused the array of his horse and foot to be mustered, and great numbers of elephants with castles to be prepared to accompany them;⁴ and when all was ready he set out with his army and advanced till he entered the Kingdom

of Aden in great force. The Kings of this province of Aden were well aware of the King's advance against them, and went to encounter him at the strongest pass on their frontier, with a great force of armed men, in order to bar the enemy from entering their territory. When the King arrived at this strong pass where the Saracens had taken post, a battle began, fierce and fell on both sides, for they were very bitter against each other. But it came to pass, as it pleased our Lord God Jesus Christ, that the Kings of the Saracens, who were three in number, could not stand against the Christians, for they are not such good soldiers as the Christians are. So the Saracens were defeated, and a marvellous number of them slain, and the King of Abash entered the Kingdom of Aden with all his host. The Saracens made various sallies on them in the narrow defiles, but it availed nothing; they were always beaten and slain. And when the King had greatly wasted and destroyed the kingdom of his enemy, and had remained in it more than a month with all his host, continually slaying the Saracens, and ravaging their lands (so that great numbers of them perished), he thought it time to return to his own kingdom, which he could now do with great honour. Indeed he could tarry no longer, nor could he, as he was aware, do more injury to the enemy; for he would have had to force a way by still stronger passes, where, in the narrow defiles, a handful of men might cause him heavy loss. So he quitted the enemy's Kingdom of Aden and began to retire. And he with his host got back to their own country of Abash in great triumph and rejoicing; for he had well avenged the shame cast on him and on his Bishop for his sake. For they had slain so many Saracens, and so wasted and harried the land, that 'twas something to be astonished at. And in sooth 'twas a deed well done! For it is not to be borne that the dogs

of Saracens should lord it over good Christian people! Now you have heard the story.⁵

I have still some particulars to tell you of the same province. It abounds greatly in all kinds of victual; and the people live on flesh and rice and milk and sesame. They have plenty of elephants, not that they are bred in the country, but they are brought from the Islands of the other India. They have however many giraffes, which are produced in the country; besides bears, leopards, lions in abundance, and many other passing strange beasts. They have also numerous wild asses; and cocks and hens the most beautiful that exist, and many other kind of birds. For instance, they have ostriches that are nearly as big as asses; and plenty of beautiful parrots, with apes of sundry kinds, and baboons and other monkeys that have countenances all but human.⁶

There are numerous cities and villages in this province of Abash, and many merchants; for there is much trade to be done there. The people also manufacture very fine buckrams and other cloths of cotton.

There is no more to say on the subject; so now let us go forward and tell you of the province of Aden.

NOTE 1.—*Abash* (Abasce) is a close enough representation of the Arabic *Habsh* or *Habash*, i.e. Abyssinia. He gives as an alternative title *Middle India*. I am not aware that the term *India* is applied to Abyssinia by any Oriental (Arabic or Persian) writer, and one feels curious to know where our Traveller got the appellation. We find nearly the same application of the term in Benjamin of Tudela:

“Eight days from thence is Middle Ind.a, which is Aden, and in Scripture Eden in Thelasar. This country is very mountainous, and contains many independent Jews who are not subject to the power of the Gentiles, but possess cities and fortresses on the summits of the mountains, from whence they descend into the country of Maatum, with which they are at war. Maatum, called also Nubia, is a Christian kingdom and the inhabitants are called Nubians,” etc. (p. 117). Here the Rabbi seems to transfer Aden to the west of the Red Sea (as Polo also seems to do in this chapter); for the Jews warring against Nubian Christians must be sought in the Falasha strongholds among the mountains of Abyssinia. His *Middle India* is therefore the same as Polo's or nearly so. In Jordanus, as already mentioned, we have *India Tertia*, which combines some characters of Abyssinia and Zanjibar, but is distinguished from the Ethiopia of Prester John, which adjoins it.

But for the occurrence of the name in R. Benjamin I should have supposed

the use of it to have been of European origin and current at most among Oriental Christians and Frank merchants. The *European* confusion of India and Ethiopia comes down from Virgil's time, who brings the Nile from India. And Servius (4th century) commenting on a more ambiguous passage—

—“*Sola India nigrum
Fert ebumum,*”

says explicitly “*Indiam omnem plagam Æthiopia accipimus.*” Procopius brings the Nile into Egypt ἐξ Ἰνδῶν; and the Ecclesiastical Historians Sozomen and Socrates (I take these citations, like the last, from Ludolf), in relating the conversion of the Abyssinians by Frumentius, speak of them only [as of the Ἰνδῶν τῶν ἐνδοτέρω, “Interior Indians,” a phrase intended to imply *remoter*, but which might perhaps give rise to the term *Middle India*. Thus Cosmas says of China: “ἦς ἐνδοτέρω, there is no other country”; and Nicolo Conti calls the Chinese *Interiores Indi*, which Mr. Winter Jones misrenders “natives of Central India.”* St. Epiphanius (end of 4th century) says *India* was formerly divided into nine kingdoms, viz., those of the (1) *Alabastris*, (2) *Homeritae*, (3) *Azumiti*, and *Dulites*, (4) *Bugaei*, (5) *Taiani*, (6) *Isabeni*, and so on, several of which are manifestly provinces subject to Abyssinia.† Roger Bacon speaks of the “Ethiopes de Nubiâ et ultimi illi qui vocantur Indi, propter approximationem ad Indiam.” The term *India Minor* is applied to some Ethiopic region in a letter which Matthew Paris gives under 1237. And this confusion which prevailed more or less till the 16th century was at the bottom of that other confusion, whatever be its exact history, between Prester John in remote Asia, and Prester John in Abyssinia. In fact the narrative by Damian de Goës of the Embassy to the King of Abyssinia to Portugal in 1513, which was printed at Antwerp in 1532, bears the title “*Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris,*” etc. (*Ludolf, Comment.* p. 2 and 75-76; *Epiph. de Gemmis*, etc., p. 15; *R. Bacon, Opus Majus*, p. 148; *Matt. Paris*, p. 372.)

Wadding gives a letter from the Pope (Alex. II.) under date 3rd Sept. 1329, addressed to the *Emperor of Ethiopia*, to inform him of the appointment of a Bishop of Diagorgan. As this place is the capital of a district near Tabriz (Dehi-Khorkhân) the papal geography looks a little hazy.

NOTE 2.—The allegation against the Abyssinian Christians, sometimes extended to the whole Jacobite Church, that they accompanied the rite of Baptism by branding with a hot iron on the face, is pretty old and persistent.

The letter quoted from Matt. Paris in the preceding note relates of the Jacobite Christians “who occupy the kingdoms between Nubia and India,” that some of them brand the foreheads of their children before Baptism with a hot iron” (p. 302). A quaint Low-German account of the East, in a MS. of the 14th century, tells of the Christians of India that when a Bishop ordains a priest he fires him with a sharp and hot iron from the forehead down the nose, and the scar of this wound abides till the day of his death. And this they do for a token that the Holy Ghost came on the Apostles with fire. Frescobaldi says those called the Christians of the Girdle were the sect which baptized by branding on the head and temples. Clavijo says there is such a sect among the Christians of India, but they are despised by the rest. Barbosa, speaking of the Abyssinians, has this passage: “According to what is said, their baptism is threefold, viz., by blood, by fire, and by water. For they use circumcision like the Jews, they brand on the forehead with a hot iron, and they baptize with water like Catholic Christians.” The respectable Pierre Belon speaks of the Christians of Prester John, called Abyssinians, as baptized with fire and branded in three places,

* Reinaud (*Abulf.* I. 81) says the word *Interior* applied by the Arabs to a country, is the equivalent of *citerior*, whilst by *exterior* they mean *ulterior*. But the truth is just the reverse, even in the case before him, where *Bolgâr-al-Dakhila*, ‘Bulgari Interiores,’ are the Volga Bulgars. So also the Arabs called Armenia on the Araxes *Interior*, Armenia on Lake Van *Exterior* (*St. Martin*, I. 31).

† Thus (2) the *Homeritae* of Yemen, (3) the people of Axum, and Adulis or Zulla, (5) the *Bugaei* or Bejahs of the Red Sea coast, (6) *Taiani* or Tiamo, appear in Salt’s Axum Inscription as subject to the King of Axum in the middle of the 4th century.

i.e. between the eyes and on either cheek. Linschoten repeats the like, and one of his plates is entitled *Habitus Abissinorum quibus loco Baptismatis frons inuritur*. Ariosto, referring to the Emperor of Ethiopia, has :—

“Gli è, s'io non piglio errore, in questo loco
Ove al battesimo loro usano il fuoco.”

As late as 1819 the traveller Dupré published the same statement about the Jacobites generally. And so sober and learned a man as Assemani, himself an Oriental, says : “Æthiopes vero, seu Abissini, praeter circumcisionem adhibent etiam ferrum candens, quo pueris notam inurunt.”

Yet Ludolf's Abyssinian friend, Abba Gregory, denied that there was any such practice among them. Ludolf says it is the custom of various African tribes, both Pagan and Mussulman, to cauterize their children in the veins of the temples, in order to inure them against colds, and that this, being practised by some Abyssinians, was taken for a religious rite. In spite of the terms “Pagan and Mussulman,” I suspect that Herodotus was the authority for this practice. He states that many of the nomad Libyans, when their children reached the age of four, used to burn the veins at the top of the head with a flock of wool; others burned the veins about the temples. And this they did, he says, to prevent their being troubled with rheum in after life.

Indeed Andrea Corsali denies that the branding had aught to do with baptism, “but only to observe Solomon's custom of marking his slaves, the King of Ethiopia claiming to be descended from him.” And it is remarkable that Salt mentions that most of the people of Dixan had a cross marked (*i.e.* branded) on the breast, right arm, or forehead. This he elsewhere explains as a mark of their attachment to the ancient metropolitan church of Axum, and he supposes that such a practice may have originated the stories of fire-baptism. And we find it stated in Marino Sanudo that “some of the Jacobites and Syrians who had crosses branded on them said this was done for the destruction of the Pagans, and out of reverence to the Holy Rood.” Matthew Paris, commenting on the letter quoted above, says that many of the Jacobites *before baptism* brand their children on the forehead with a hot iron, whilst others brand a cross upon the cheeks or temples. He had seen such marks also on the arms of both Jacobites and Syrians who dwelt among the Saracens. It is clear, from Salt, that such branding was practised by many Abyssinians, and that to a recent date, though it may have been entirely detached from baptism. A similar practice is followed at Dwárika and Koteswar (on the old Indus mouth, now called Lakpat River), where the Hindu pilgrims to these sacred sites are branded with the mark of the god.

(*Orient und Occident*, Göttingen, 1862, I. 453; *Frescob.* 114; *Clavijo*, 163; *Ramus*. I. f. 290, v., f. 184; *Marin. Sanud.* 185, and Bk. iii. pt. viii. ch. iv.; *Clusius, Exotica*, pt. ii. p. 142; *Orland. Fur.* XXXIII. st. 102; *Voyage en Perse, dans les Années 1807-1809*; *Assemani*, II. c.; *Ludolf*, iii. 6, § 41; *Salt*, in *Valentia's Trav.* II. p. 505, and his *Second Journey*, French Tr., II. 219; *M. Paris*, p. 373; *J. R. A. S. I.* 42.)

NOTE 3.—It is pretty clear from what follows (as Marsden and others have noted) that the narrative requires us to conceive of the Sultan of Aden as dominant over the territory between Abyssinia and the sea, or what was in former days called ADEL, between which and *Aden* confusion seems to have been made. I have noticed in Note I the appearance of this confusion in R. Benjamin; and I may add that also in the Map of Marino Sanudo Aden is represented on the western shore of the Red Sea. But is it not possible that in the origin of the Mahomedan States of Adel the Sultan of Aden had some power over them? For we find in the account of the correspondence between the King of Abyssinia and Sultan Bibars, quoted in the next Note but one, that the Abyssinian letters and presents for Egypt were sent to the Sultan of Yemen or Aden to be forwarded.

NOTE 4.—This passage is not authoritative enough to justify us in believing that the mediæval Abyssinians or Nubians did use elephants in war, for Marco has already erred in ascribing that practice to the Blacks of Zanjibar.

There can indeed be no doubt that elephants from the countries on the west of the Red Sea were caught and tamed and used for war, systematically and on a great scale, by the second and third Ptolemies, and the latter (Euergetes) has commemorated this, and his own use of *Troglodytic* and *Ethiopic* elephants, and the fact of their encountering the elephants of India, in the Adulitic Inscription recorded by Cosmas.

This author however, who wrote about A.D. 545, and had been at the Court of Axum, then in its greatest prosperity, says distinctly: "The Ethiopians do not understand the art of taming elephants; but if their King should want one or two for show they catch them young, and bring them up in captivity." Hence, when we find a few years later (A.D. 570) that there was one great elephant, and some say *thirteen* elephants,* employed in the army which Abraha, the Abyssinian ruler of Yemen led against Mecca, an expedition famous in Arabian history as the War of the Elephant, we are disposed to believe that these must have been elephants imported from India. There is indeed a notable statement quoted by Ritter, which if trustworthy would lead to another conclusion: "Already in the 20th year of the Hijra (A.D. 641) had the *Nubas* and *Bejas* hastened to the help of the Greek Christians of Oxyrhynchus (*Bahnasa* of the Arabs) . . . against the first invasion of the Mahomedans, and according to the exaggerated representations of the Arabian Annalists, the army which they brought consisted of 50,000 men and 1300 *war-elephants*."† The Nubians certainly must have tamed elephants *on some scale* down to a late period in the Middle Ages, for elephants,—in one case three annually,—formed a frequent part of the tribute paid by Nubia to the Mahomedan sovereigns of Egypt at least to the end of the 13th century; but the passage quoted is too isolated to be accepted without corroboration. The only approach to such a corroboration that I know of is a statement by Poggio in the matter appended to his account of Conti's Travels. He there repeats some information derived from the Abyssinian envoys who visited Pope Eugenius IV. about 1440, and one of his notes is: "They have elephants very large and in great numbers; some kept for ostentation or pleasure, some as useful in war. They are hunted; the old ones killed, the young ones taken and tamed." But the facts on which this was founded probably amounted to no more than what Cosmas had stated. I believe no trustworthy authority since the Portuguese discoveries confirms the use of the elephant in Abyssinia;‡ and Ludolf, whose information was excellent, distinctly says that the Abyssinians did not tame them. (*Cathay*, p. clxxxi.; *Quat., Mém., sur l'Égypte*, II. 98, 113; *India in 17th Century*, 37; *Ludolf*, I. 10, 32; *Armandi, H. Militaire des Éléphants*, p. 548.)

NOTE 5.—To the 10th century at least the whole coast country of the Red Sea, from near Berbera probably to Suakin, was still subject to Abyssinia. At this time we hear only of "Muselman families" residing in Zaila' and the other ports, and tributary to the Christians (see *Mas'udi*, III. 34).

According to Bruce's abstract of the Abyssinian chronicles, the royal line was superseded in the 10th century by Falasha Jews, then by other Christian families, and three centuries of weakness and disorder succeeded. In 1268, according to Bruce's chronology, Icon Amlac of the House of Solomon, which had continued to rule in Shoa, regained the empire, and was followed by seven other princes whose reigns come down to 1312. The history of this period is very obscure, but Bruce gathers that it was marked by civil wars, during which the Mahomedan communities

* *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, I. clxiii.

† *Ritter, Africa*, p. 605. The statement appears to be taken from Burckhardt's *Nubia*, but the reference is not quite clear. There is nothing about this army in Quatremère's *Mém. sur la Nubie*. (*Mém. sur l'Égypte*, vol. ii.)

‡ Armandi indeed quotes a statement in support of such use from a Spaniard, *Marmol*, who travelled (he says) in Abyssinia in the beginning of the 16th century. But the author in question, already quoted at pp. 368 and 407, was no traveller, only a compiler; and the passage cited by Armandi is evidently made up from the statement in Poggio and from what our traveller has said about Zanjibar. (*Supra*, p. 422. See *Marmol, Desc. de Affrica*, I. f. 27, v.)

that had by this time grown up in the coast-country became powerful and expelled the Abyssinians from the sea-ports. Inland provinces of the low country also, such as Ifat and Dawaro, had fallen under Mahomedan governors, whose allegiance to the Negush, if not renounced, had become nominal.

One of the principal Mahomedan communities was called *Adel*, the name, according to modern explanation, of the tribes now called Danáklí. The capital of the Sultan of Adel was, according to Bruce at Aussa, some distance inland from the port of Zaila', which also belonged to Adel.

Amda Zion, who succeeded to the Abyssinian throne, according to Bruce's chronology, in 1312, two or three years later, provoked by the Governor of Ifat, who had robbed and murdered one of his Mahomedan agents in the Lowlands, descended on Ifat, inflicted severe chastisement on the offenders, and removed the governor. A confederacy was then formed against the Abyssinian King by several of the Mahomedan States or chieftainships, among which Adel is conspicuous. Bruce gives a long and detailed account of Amda Zion's resolute and successful campaigns against this confederacy. It bears a strong general resemblance to Marco's narrative, always excepting the story of the Bishop, of which Bruce has no trace, and always admitting that our traveller has confounded Aden with Adel.

But the chronology is obviously in the way of identification of the histories. Marco could not have related in 1298 events that did not occur till 1315-16. Mr. Salt however, in his version of the chronology, not only puts the accession of Amda Zion eleven years earlier than Bruce, but even then has so little confidence in its accuracy, and is so much disposed to identify the histories, that he suggests that the Abyssinian dates should be carried back further still by some 20 years, on the authority of the narrative in our text. M. Pauthier takes a like view.

I was for some time much disposed to do likewise, but after examining the subject more minutely, I am obliged to reject this view, and to abide by Bruce's Chronology. To elucidate this I must exhibit the whole list of the Abyssinian Kings from the restoration of the line of Solomon to the middle of the 16th century, at which period Bruce finds a check to the chronology in the record of a solar eclipse. The chronologies have been extracted independently by Bruce, Ruppel, and Salt; the latter using a different version of the Annals from the other two. I set down all three.

BRUCE.			RÜPPEL.	SALT.		
Reigns.	Duration of reign.	Dates.	Duration of reign.	Reigns.	Duration of reign.	Dates.
Icon Amlac	Years.		Years.		Years.	
Igba Zion	15	1268—1283	15	.. ..	14	1255—1269
Bahar Segued	9	1283—1292	9	Wouдем Arad ..	15	1269—1284
Trenaff "	5	1292—1297	5	Kudma Asgud ...	5	1284—1287
Jan "				Asfa " ..		
Hazeb Araad				Sinfa " ..		
Kedem Segued ...				Bar " ..		
Wedem Arad				Igba Zion		
Amda Zion	15	1297—1312	15	.. ..	..	..
Saif Arad	30	1312—1342	30	.. ..	30	1301—1331
Wedem Asferi ...	28	1342—1370	28	.. ..	28	1331—1359
David II	10	1370—1380	10	.. ..	10	1359—1369
Theodorus	29	1380—1409	29	.. ..	32	1369—1401
Isaac	3	1409—1412	3	.. ..	1	1401—1402
Andreas	17	1412—1429	15	.. ..	15	1402—1417
Haseb Nanya ..	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1429	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. ..	7	1417—1424
Sarwe Yasus.	4	1429—1433	4	.. ..	5	1424—1429
Ameda Yasus ..	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1433—1434	1	.. ..	5	1429—1434
Zara Jacob	34	1434—1468	34 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. ..	34	1434—1468
Beda Mariam ...	10	1468—1478	10	.. ..	10	1468—1478
Iskander	17	1478—1495	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. ..	16	1478—1494
Amda Zion						
Naod	13	1495—1508	13	.. ..	13	1494—1507
David III	32	1508—1540	32	.. ..	32	1507—1536
Claudius .....	..	1540	..	.. ..	..	..

Bruce checks his chronology by an eclipse which took place in 1553, and which the Abyssinian chronicle assigns to the 13th year of Claudius. This alone would be scarcely satisfactory as a basis for the retrospective control of reigns extending through nearly three centuries; but we find some other checks.

Thus in Quatremère's Makrizi we find a correspondence between Sultan Bibars and the King of Habasha, or of Amhara, *Mahar AMLAK*, which occurred in A.H. 672 or 673, *i.e.* A.D. 1273-1274. This would fall within the reign of Icon AMLAK according to Bruce's chronology, but not according to Salt's, and *à fortiori* not according to any chronology throwing the reigns further back still.

In Quatremère's *Égypte* we find another notice of a letter which came to the Sultan of Egypt from the King of Abyssinia, IAKBA SIUN, in Ramadhan 689, *i.e.* in the end of A.D. 1289.

Again, this is perfectly consistent with Bruce's order and dates, but not with Salt's.

The same work contains a notice of an inroad on the Mussulman territory of Assuan by David (II.), the son of Saif Arad, in the year 783 (A.D. 1381-1382).

In Rink's translation of a work of Makrizi's it is stated that this same King David died in A.H. 812, *i.e.* A.D. 1409; that he was succeeded by Theodorus, whose reign was very brief, and he again by Isaac, who died in Dhulkada 833, *i.e.* July-August 1430. These dates are in close or substantial agreement with Bruce's chronology, but not at all with Salt's or any chronology throwing the reigns further back. Makrizi goes on to say that Isaac was succeeded by Andreas, who reigned only four months, and then by Hazbana, who died in Ramadhan 834, *i.e.* May-June 1431. This last date does not agree, but we are now justified in suspecting an error in the Hijra date,* whilst the 4 months' reign ascribed to Andreas shows that Salt again is wrong in extending it to 7 years, and Bruce presumably right in making it 7 months.

These coincidences seem to me sufficient to maintain the substantial accuracy of Bruce's chronology, and to be fatal to the identification of Marco's story with that of the wars of Amda Zion. The general identity in the duration of reigns as given by Ruppell shows that Bruce did not tamper with these. It is remarkable that in Makrizi's report of the letter of Igba Zion in 1289 (the very year when according to the text this anti-Mahomedan war was going on), that Prince tells the Sultan that he is a protector of the Mahomedans in Abyssinia, acting in that respect *quite differently from his Father who had been so hostile to them.*

I suspect therefore that *Icon Amlak* must have been the true hero of Marco's story, and that the date must be thrown back, probably to 1278.

Ruppell is at a loss to understand where Bruce got the long story of Amda Zion's heroic deeds, which enters into extraordinary detail, embracing speeches after the manner of the Roman historians and the like, and occupies some 60 pages in the (French) edition of Bruce which I have been using. The German traveller could find no trace of this story in any of the versions of the Abyssinian chronicle which he consulted, nor was it known to a learned Abyssinian whom he names. Bruce himself says that the story, which he has "a little abridged and accommodated to our manner of writing, was derived from a work written in very pure Gheez, in Shoa, under the reign of Zara Jacob"; and though it is possible that his amplifications outweigh his abridgments, we cannot doubt that he had an original groundwork for his narrative.

The work of Makrizi already quoted speaks of seven kingdoms in Zaila' (here used for the Mahomedan low country) originally tributary to the Hati (or Negush) of Amhara, *viz.*, *Aufat*,† *Dawaro*, Arababni, *Hadiiah*, Shirha, Bali, Darah. Of these Ifat, Dawaro, and Hadiiah repeatedly occur in Bruce's story of the war. Bruce also tells us that Amda Zion, when he removed *Hakeddin*, the Governor of Ifat, who had murdered his agent, replaced him by his brother *Sabreddin*. Now we find in

* 834 for 836.

† On *Aufat*, see De Sacy, *Chrestom. Arabe*, I. 457.

Makrizi that about A.H. 700, the reigning governor of Aifat under the Hati was *Sabreddin* Mahomed Valahui; and that it was 'Ali, the son of this Sabreddin, who first threw off allegiance to the Abyssinian King, then Saif Arad (son of Amda Zion). The latter displaces 'Ali and gives the government to his son Ahmed. After various vicissitudes Hakeddin, the son of Ahmed, obtains the mastery in Aifat, defeats Saif Arad completely, and founds a city in Shoa called Vahal, which superseded Aifat or Ifat. Here the *Sabreddin* of Makrizi appears to be identical with Amda Zion's governor in Bruce's story, whilst the *Hakeddins* belong to two different generations of the same family. But Makrizi does not notice the wars of Amda Zion any more than the Abyssinian Chronicles notice the campaign recorded by Marco Polo.

(Bruce, vol. III. and vol. IV., pp. 23-90, and *Sal's Second Journey to Abyssinia*, II. 270, etc.; both these are quoted from French versions which are alone available to me, the former by *Castera*, Londres, 1790, the latter by *P. Henry*, Paris, 1816; *Fr. Th. Rink*, *Al Macrisi, Hist. Rerum Islamitarum in Abyssinia*, etc., Lugd. Bat. 1798; *Rüppell*, Dissert. on Abyss. Hist. and Chronology in his work on that country; *Quat. Makr.* II. 122-123; *Quat. Mém. sur l'Égypte*, II. 268, 276.)

NOTE 6.—The last words run in the G. T.: "*Il ont singles de plosors maineres. Il ont gat paulz* (see note 2, ch. xxiii. *supra*), *et autre gat maïmon si devisez qe pou s'en faut de tiel hi a qe ne semblent a vix d'omes.*" The beautiful cocks and hens are, I suppose, Guinea fowl.

[We read in the *Si Shi ki*: "There is (in Western Asia) a large bird, above 10 feet high, with feet like a camel, and of bluish-grey colour. When it runs it flaps the wings. It eats fire, and its eggs are of the size of a *sheng* (a certain measure for grain). (*Bretschneider*, *Med. Res.*, I. pp. 143-144.) Dr. Bretschneider gives a long note on the ostrich, called in Persian *shutur-murg* (camel-bird), from which we gather the following information: "The ostrich, although found only in the desert of Africa and Western Asia, was known to the Chinese in early times, since their first intercourse with the countries of the far west. In the History of the Han (*T'sien Han shu*, ch. xvi.) it is stated that the Emperor *Wu-ti*, B.C. 140-186, first sent an embassy to *An-si*, a country of Western Asia, which, according to the description given of it, can only be identified with ancient *Parthia*, the empire of the dynasty of the Arsacides. In this country, the Chinese chronicler records, a large bird from 8 to 9 feet high is found, the feet, the breast, and the neck of which make it resemble the camel. It eats barley. The name of this bird is *ta ma tsio* (the bird of the great horse). It is further stated that subsequently the ruler of *An-si* sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor, and brought as a present the eggs of this great bird. In the *Hou Han shu*, ch. cxviii., an embassy from *An-si* is mentioned again in A.D. 101. They brought as presents a lion and a large bird. In the History of the *Wei* Dynasty, A.D. 386-558, where for the first time the name of *Po-sz'* occurs, used to designate Persia, it is recorded that in that country there is a large bird resembling a camel and laying eggs of large size. It has wings and cannot fly far. It eats grass and flesh, and swallows men. In the History of the *T'ang* (618-907) the camel-bird is again mentioned as a bird of Persia. It is also stated there that the ruler of *T'u-huo-lo* (Tokharestan) sent a camel-bird to the Chinese emperor. The Chinese materia medica, *Pen ts'ao Kang mu*, written in the 16th century, gives (ch. xlix.) a good description of the ostrich, compiled from ancient authors. It is said, amongst other things, to eat copper, iron, stones, etc., and to have only two claws on its feet. Its legs are so strong that it can dangerously wound a man by jerking. It can run 300 *li* a day. Its native countries are *A-dan* (Aden) *Dju-bo* (on the Eastern African coast). A rude but tolerably exact drawing of the camel-bird in the *Pen-ts'ao* proves that the ostrich was well known to the Chinese in ancient times, and that they paid great attention to it. In the History of the *Ming* Dynasty, ch. cccxxvi., the country of *Hu-lu-mo-sz'* (Hormuz on the Persian Gulf) is mentioned as producing ostriches."—H. C.]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ADEN.

YOU must know that in the province of ADEN there is a Prince who is called the Soldan. The people are all Saracens and adorers of Mahommet, and have a great hatred of Christians. There are many towns and villages in the country.

This Aden is the port to which many of the ships of India come with their cargoes ; and from this haven the merchants carry the goods a distance of seven days further in small vessels. At the end of those seven days they land the goods and load them on camels, and so carry them a land journey of 30 days. This brings them to the river of ALEXANDRIA, and by it they descend to the latter city. It is by this way through Aden that the Saracens of Alexandria receive all their stores of pepper and other spicery ; and there is no other route equally good and convenient by which these goods could reach that place.¹

And you must know that the Soldan of Aden receives a large amount in duties from the ships that traffic between India and his country, importing different kinds of goods ; and from the exports also he gets a revenue, for there are despatched from the port of Aden to India a very large number of Arab chargers, and palfreys, and stout nags adapted for all work, which are a source of great profit to those who export them.² For horses fetch very high prices in India, there being none bred there, as I have told you before ; insomuch that a charger will sell there for 100 marks of silver and more. On these also the Soldan of Aden receives heavy payments in port charges, so that 'tis said he is one of the richest princes in the world.³

And it is a fact that when the Soldan of Babylon went against the city of Acre and took it, this Soldan of Aden sent to his assistance 30,000 horsemen and full 40,000 camels, to the great help of the Saracens and the grievous injury of the Christians. He did this a great deal more for the hate he bears the Christians than for any love he bears the Soldan of Babylon; for these two do hate one another heartily.⁴

Now we will have done with the Soldan of Aden, and I will tell you of a city which is subject to Aden, called Esher.

NOTE 1.—This is from Pauthier's text, which is here superior to the G. T. The latter has: "They put the goods in small vessels, which proceed *on a river* about seven days." *Ram.* has, "in other smaller vessels, with which they make a voyage on a gulf of the sea for 20 days, more or less, as the weather may be. On reaching a certain port they load the goods on camels, and carry them a 30 days' journey by land to the River Nile, where they embark them in small vessels called *Zerms*, and in these descend the current to Cairo, and thence by an artificial cut, called *Calizene*, to Alexandria." The last looks as if it had been *edited*; Polo never uses the name *Cairo*. The canal, the predecessor of the *Mahmúdiyah*, is also called *Il Caligine* in the journey of Simon Sigoli (*Frescobaldi*, p. 168). Brunetto Latini, too, discoursing of the Nile, says:—

"Così serva su' filo,
Ed è chiamato Nilo.
D'un su' ramo si dice,
Ch'è chiamato Calice."

—*Tesoretto*, pp. 81-82.

Also in the *Sfera* of Dati:—

— "Chiamasi il *Caligine*
Egion e Nilo, e non si sa l'origine." P. 9.

The word is (Ar.) *Khallj*, applied in one of its senses specially to the canals drawn from the full Nile. The port on the Red Sea would be either Suákin or Aidháb; the 30 days' journey seems to point to the former. Polo's contemporary, Marino Sanudo, gives the following account of the transit, omitting *entirely* the Red Sea navigation, though his line correctly represented would apparently go by Kosseir: "The fourth haven is called AHADEN, and stands on a certain little island joining, as it were, to the main, in the land of the Saracens. The spices and other goods from India are landed there, loaded on camels, and so carried by a journey of nine days to a place on the River Nile, called *Chus* (*Kús*, the ancient *Cos* below Luqsor), where they are put into boats and conveyed in 15 days to Babylon. But in the month of October and thereabouts the river rises to such an extent that the spices, etc., continue to descend the stream from Babylon and enter a certain long canal, and so are conveyed over the 200 miles between Babylon and Alexandria." (Bk. I. pt. i. ch. i.)

Makrizi relates that up to A.H. 725 (1325), from time immemorial the Indian ships had discharged at Aden, but in that year the exactions of the Sultan induced a shipmaster to pass on into the Red Sea, and eventually the trade came to Jidda. (See *De Sacy, Chrest. Arabe*, II. 556.)

∴ Aden is mentioned (*A-dan*) in ch. cccxxvi. of the Ming History as having sent

an embassy to China in 1427. These embassies were subsequently often repeated. The country, which lay 22 days' voyage west of *Kuli* (supposed Calicut, but perhaps Káyal), was devoid of grass or trees. (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.*, II. pp. 305-306.)

[Ma-huan (transl. by Phillips) writes (*J. R. A. S.*, April 1896): "In the nineteenth year of Yung-lo (1422) an Imperial Envoy, the eunuch Li, was sent from China to this country with a letter and presents to the King. On his arrival he was most honourably received, and was met by the king on landing and conducted by him to his palace."—H. C.]

NOTE 2.—The words describing the horses are (P.'s text): "*de bons destriers Arrabins et chevaux et grans roncins à ij selles.*" The meaning seems to be what I have expressed in the text, fit either for saddle or pack-saddle.

[*Roncins à deux selles.* Littré's great Dictionary supplies an apt illustration of this phrase. A contemporary *Eloge de Charles VII.* says: "*Jamais il chevauchoit mule ne haquenée, mais un bas cheval trotier entre deux selles*" (a cob?).]

In one application the *Deux selles* of the old riding-schools were the two styles of riding, called in Spanish *Montar á la Gineta* and *Montar á la Brida*. The latter stands for the old French style, with heavy bit and saddle, and long stirrups just reached by the toes; the former the Moorish style, with short stirrups and lighter bit. But the phrase would also seem to have meant *saddle and pack-saddle*. Thus Cobarruvias explains the phrase *Hombre de dos sillas*, "*Conviene saber de la gineta y brida, ser de silla y albarda* (pack-saddle), *servir de todo,*" and we find the converse expression, *No ser para silla ni para albarda*, good for nothing.

But for an example of the exact phrase of the French text I am indebted to P. della Valle. Speaking of the Persian horses, he says: "Few of them are of any great height, and you seldom see thoroughbreds among them; probably because here they have no liking for such and don't seek to breed them. For the most part they are of that very useful style that we call horses for both saddles (*che noi chiamiamo da due selle*)," etc. (See *Cobarruvias*, under *Silla* and *Brida*; *Dicc. de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Española*, under *Silla*, *Gineta*, *Brida*; *P. della Valle*, Let. XV. da Sciraz, § 3, vol. ii. p. 240.)

NOTE 3.—The supposed confusion between Aden and Aden does not affect this chapter.

The "Soldan of Aden" was the Sultan of Yemen, whose chief residence was at Ta'izz, North-East of Mokha. The prince reigning in Polo's day was Malik Muza'far Shamsuddín Abul Mahasen Yusuf. His father, Malik Mansúr, a retainer of the Ayubite Dynasty, had been sent by Saladin as Wazir to Yemen, with his brother Malik Muazzam Turan Shah. After the death of the latter, and of his successor, the Wazir assumed the government and became the founder of a dynasty. Aden was the chief port of his dominions. It had been a seat of direct trade with China in the early centuries of Islam.

Ibn Batuta speaks of it thus correctly: "It is enclosed by mountains, and you can enter by one side only. It is a large town, but has neither corn nor trees, nor fresh water, except from reservoirs made to catch the rain-water; for other drinking water is at a great distance from the town. The Arabs often prevent the townspeople coming to fetch it until the latter have come to terms with them, and paid them a bribe in money or cloths. The heat at Aden is great. It is the port frequented by the people from India, and great ships come thither from Kunbáyat, Tána, Kaulam, Kálíkút, Fandaráina, Sháliát, Manjarúr, Fákanúr, Hinaur, Sindábúr,* etc. There are Indian merchants residing in the city, and Egyptian merchants as well."

The tanks of which the Moor speaks had been buried by débris; of late years they have been cleared and repaired. They are grand works. They are said to have been formerly 50 in number, with a capacity of 30 million gallons.

* All ports of Western India: Pandarani, Shalia (near Calicut), Mangalore, Baccanore, Onore, Goa.

This cut, from a sketch by Dr. Kirk, gives an excellent idea of Aden as seen by a ship approaching from India. The large plate again, reduced from a grand and probably unique contemporary wood-engraving of great size, shows the impression that the city made upon European eyes in the beginning of the 16th century. It will seem absurd, especially to those who knew Aden in the early days of our occupation, and no doubt some of the details are extravagant, but the general impression is quite consonant with that derived from the description of De Barros and Andrea Corsali: "In site and aspect from the seaward," says the former, "the city forms a beautiful object, for besides the part which lies along the shore with its fine walls and towers, its many public buildings and rows of houses rising aloft in many stories, with terraced roofs, you have all that ridge of mountain facing the sea and presenting to its very summit a striking picture of the operations of Nature, and still more of the industry of man." This historian says that the prosperity of Aden increased on the arrival of the Portuguese in those seas, for the Mussulman traders from Jidda and the Red Sea ports now dreaded these western corsairs, and made Aden an entrepôt, instead of passing it by as they used to do in days of unobstructed navigation. This prosperity, however, must have been of very brief duration. Corsali's account of Aden (in 1517) is excellent, but too long for extract. *Makrizi*, IV. 26-27; *Playfair*, *H. of Yemen*, p. 7; *Ibn Batuta*, II. 177; *De Barros*, II. vii. 8; *Ram.* I. f. 182.)

NOTE 4.—I have not been able to trace any other special notice of the part taken by the Sultan of Yemen in the capture of Acre by the Mameluke Sultan, Malik Ashraf Khalil, in 1291. Ibn Ferat, quoted by Reinaud, says that the Sultan sent into all the provinces the most urgent orders for the supply of troops and machines; and there gathered from all sides the warriors of Damascus, of Hamath, and the rest of Syria, of Egypt, and of Arabia. (*Michaud*, *Bibl. des Croisades*, 1829, IV. 569.)



View of Aden in 1840.

“ I once ” (says Joinville) “ rehearsed to the Legate two cases of sin that a priest of mine had been telling me of, and he answered me thus : ‘ No man knows as much of the heinous sins that are done in Acre as I do ; and it cannot be but God will take vengeance on them, in such a way that the city of Acre shall be washed in the blood of its inhabitants, and that another people shall come to occupy after them.’ The good man’s prophecy hath come true in part, for of a truth the city hath been washed in the blood of its inhabitants, but those to replace them are not yet come : may God send them good when it pleases Him ! ” (p. 192).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF ESHER.

ESHER is a great city lying in a north-westerly direction from the last, and 400 miles distant from the Port of Aden. It has a king, who is subject to the Soldan of Aden. He has a number of towns and villages under him, and administers his territory well and justly.

The people are Saracens. The place has a very good haven, wherefore many ships from India come thither with various cargoes ; and they export many good chargers thence to India.¹

A great deal of white incense grows in this country, and brings in a great revenue to the Prince ; for no one dares sell it to any one else ; and whilst he takes it from the people at 10 livres of gold for the hundredweight, he sells it to the merchants at 60 livres, so his profit is immense.²

Dates also grow very abundantly here. The people have no corn but rice, and very little of that ; but plenty is brought from abroad, for it sells here at a good profit. They have fish in great profusion, and notably plenty of tunny of large size ; so plentiful indeed that you may buy two big ones for a Venice groat of silver. The natives live on meat and rice and fish. They have no wine of the vine, but they make good wine from sugar, from rice, and from dates also.

And I must tell you another very strange thing. You must know that their sheep have no ears, but where the ear ought to be they have a little horn! They are pretty little beasts.³

And I must not omit to tell you that all their cattle, including horses, oxen, and camels, live upon small fish and nought besides, for 'tis all they get to eat. You see in all this country there is no grass or forage of any kind; it is the driest country on the face of the earth. The fish which are given to the cattle are very small, and during March, April, and May, are caught in such quantities as would astonish you. They are then dried and stored, and the beasts are fed on them from year's end to year's end. The cattle will also readily eat these fish all alive and just out of the water.⁴

The people here have likewise many other kinds of fish of large size and good quality, exceedingly cheap; these they cut in pieces of about a pound each, and dry them in the sun, and then store them, and eat them all the year through, like so much biscuit.⁵

NOTE 1.—*Shihr* or *Shehr*, with the article, ES-SHEHR, still exists on the Arabian coast, as a town and district about 330 m. east of Aden. In 1839 Captain Haines described the modern town as extending in a scattered manner for a mile along the shore, the population about 6000, and the trade considerable, producing duties to the amount of 5000*l.* a year. It was then the residence of the Sultan of the Hamúm tribe of Arabs. There is only an open roadstead for anchorage. Perhaps, however, the old city is to be looked for about ten miles to the westward, where there is another place bearing the same name, "once a thriving town, but now a desolate group of houses with an old fort, formerly the residence of the chief of the *Kasaidi* tribe." (*J. R. G. S.* IX. 151-152.) Shehr is spoken of by Barbosa (*Xaer* in Lisbon ed.; *Pecher* in Ramusio; *Xeher* in Stanley; in the two last misplaced to the east of Dhofar): "It is a very large place, and there is a great traffic in goods imported by the Moors of Cambaia, Chaul, Dabul, Batticala, and the cities of Malabar, such as cotton-stuffs . . . strings of garnets, and many other stones of inferior value; also much rice and sugar, and spices of all sorts, with coco-nuts; . . . their money they invest in horses for India, which are here very large and good. Every one of them is worth in India 500 or 600 ducats." (*Ram.* f. 292.) The name Shehr in some of the Oriental geographies, includes the whole coast up to Omán.

NOTE 2.—The hills of the Shehr and Dhafár districts were the great source of produce of the Arabian frankincense. Barbosa says of Shehr: "They carry away much incense, which is produced at this place and in the interior; . . . it is exported hence all over the world, and here it is used to pay ships with, for on the

spot it is worth only 150 farthings the hundredweight." See note 2, ch. xxvii. *supra*; and next chapter, note 2.

NOTE 3.—This was no doubt a breed of four-horned sheep, and Polo, or his informant, took the lower pair of horns for abnormal ears. Probably the breed exists, but we have little information on details in reference to this coast. The Rev. G. P. Badger, D.C.L., writes: "There are sheep on the eastern coast of Arabia, and as high up as Mohammerah on the Shatt-al-Arab, *with very small ears indeed*; so small as to be almost imperceptible at first sight near the projecting horns. I saw one at Mohammerah having *six* horns." And another friend, Mr. Arthur Grote, tells me he had for some time at Calcutta a 4-horned sheep from Aden.

NOTE 4.—This custom holds more or less on all the Arabian coast from Shehr to the Persian Gulf, and on the coast east of the Gulf also. Edrisi mentions it at Shehr (printed *Shajr*; I. 152), and the Admiral Sidi 'Ali says: "On the coast of Shehr, men and animals all live on fish" (*J. A. S. B.* V. 461). Ibn Batuta tells the same of Dhafár, the subject of next chapter: "The fish consist for the most part of sardines, which are here of the fattest. The surprising thing is that all kinds of cattle are fed on these sardines, and sheep likewise. I have never seen anything like that elsewhere" (II. 197). Compare Strabo's account of the Ichthyophagi on the coast of Mekran (XV. 11), and the like account in the life of Apollonius of Tyana (III. 56).

[Burton, quoted by Yule, says (*Sind Revisited*, 1877, I. p. 33): "The whole of the coast, including that of Mekrán, the land of the *Máhi Kháran* or Ichthyophagi." Yule adds: "I have seen this suggested also elsewhere. It seems a highly probable etymology." See note, p. 402.—H. C.]

NOTE 5.—At Hásik, east of Dhafár, Ibn Batuta says: "The people here live on a kind of fish called *Al-Lukham*, resembling that called the sea-dog. They cut it in slices and strips, dry it in the sun, salt it, and feed on it. Their houses are made with fish-bones, and their roofs with camel-hides" (II. 214).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CONCERNING THE CITY OF DUFAR.

DUFAR is a great and noble and fine city, and lies 500 miles to the north-west of Esher. The people are Saracens, and have a Count for their chief, who is subject to the Soldan of Aden; for this city still belongs to the Province of Aden. It stands upon the sea and has a very good haven, so that there is a great traffic of shipping between this and India; and the merchants take hence great numbers of Arab horses to that market, making great profits thereby. This city has under it many other towns and villages.¹

Much white incense is produced here, and I will tell you how it grows. The trees are like small fir-trees; these are notched with a knife in several places, and from these notches the incense is exuded. Sometimes also it flows from the tree without any notch; this is by reason of the great heat of the sun there.²

NOTE 1.—*Dufar*. The name **ذفار** is variously pronounced Dhafár, DHO FAR, Zhafár, and survives attached to a well-watered and fertile plain district opening on the sea, nearly 400 miles east of Shehr, though according to Haines there is now no town of the name. Ibn Batuta speaks of the city as situated at the extremity of Yemen ("the province of Aden"), and mentions its horse-trade, its unequalled dirt, stench, and flies, and consequent diseases. (See II. 196 *seqq.*) What he says of the desert character of the tract round the town is not in accordance with modern descriptions of the plain of Dhafár, nor seemingly with his own statements of the splendid bananas grown there, as well as other Indian products, betel, and coco-nut. His account of the Sultan of Zhafár in his time corroborates Polo's, for he says that prince was the son of a cousin of the King of Yemen, who had been chief of Zhafár under the suzeraineté of that King and tributary to him. The only ruins mentioned by Haines are extensive ones near Haffer, towards the western part of the plain; and this Fresnel considers to be the site of the former city. A lake which exists here, on the landward side of the ruins, was, he says, formerly a gulf, and formed the port, "the very good haven," of which our author speaks.

A quotation in the next note however indicates Merbát, which is at the eastern extremity of the plain, as having been the port of Dhafár in the Middle Ages. Professor Sprenger is of opinion that the city itself was in the eastern part of the plain. The matter evidently needs further examination.

This Dhafár, or the bold mountain above it, is supposed to be the *Sephar* of Genesis (x. 30). But it does not seem to be the *Sapphara metropolis* of Ptolemy, which is rather an inland city of the same name: "Dhafár was the name of two cities of Yemen, one of which was near Sana'á . . . it was the residence of the Himyarite Princes; some authors allege that it is identical with Sana'á" (*Maráshid-al-Ittilá*, in Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, I. p. 124).

Dofar is noted by Camoens for its fragrant incense. It was believed in Malabar that the famous King Cheram Perumal, converted to Islám, died on the pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried at Dhafár, where his tomb was much visited for its sanctity.

The place is mentioned (*Tsafarh*) in the Ming Annals of China as a Mahomedan country lying, with a fair wind, 10 days N.W. of *Kuli* (*supra*, p. 440). Ostriches were found there, and among the products are named drugs which Dr. Bretschneider renders as *Olibanum*, *Storax liquida*, *Myrrh*, *Catechu* (?), *Dragon's blood*. This state sent an embassy (so-called) to China in 1422. (*Haines in J. R. G. S. XV. 116 seqq.*; *Playfair's Yemen*, p. 31; *Fresnel in J. As. sér. 3, tom. V. 517 seqq.*; *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 56; *Bretschneider*, p. 19.)

NOTE 2.—Frankincense presents a remarkable example of the obscurity which so often attends the history of familiar drugs; though in this case the darkness has been, like that of which Marco spoke in his account of the Caraoas (vol. i. p. 98), much of man's making.

This coast of Hadhramaut is the true and ancient **χώρα λιβανοφόρος** or **λιβανοφόρος**, indicated or described under those names by Theophrastus, Ptolemy, Pliny, Pseudo-Arrian, and other classical writers; *i.e.* the country producing the fragrant gum-resin called by the Hebrews *Lebonah*, by the Brahmans apparently

Kundu and *Kundur*, by the Arabs *Lubán* and *Kundur*, by the Greeks *Libanos*, by the Romans *Thus*, in mediæval Latin *Olibanum*, and in English *Frankincense*, *i.e.* I apprehend, "Genuine incense," or "Incense Proper."* It is still produced in this region and exported from it: but the larger part of that which enters the markets of the world is exported from the roadsteads of the opposite Sumálf coast. In ancient times also an important quantity was exported from the latter coast, immediately west of Cape Gardafui (*Aromatum Prom.*), and in the Periplus this frankincense is distinguished by the title *Peratic*, "from over the water."

The *Mardjid-al-Ittila'*, a Geog. Dictionary of the end of the 14th century, in a passage of which we have quoted the commencement in the preceding note, proceeds as follows: "The other Dhafár, which still subsists, is on the shore of the Indian Sea, distant 5 parasangs from Mérbáth in the province of Shehr. Merbath lies below Dhafár, and serves as its port. Olibanum is found nowhere except in the mountains of Dhafár, in the territory of Shehr; in a tract which extends 3 days in length and the same in breadth. The natives make incisions in the trees with a knife, and the incense flows down. This incense is carefully watched, and can be taken only to Dhafár, where the Sultan keeps the best part for himself; the rest is made over to the people. But any one who should carry it elsewhere than to Dhafár would be put to death."

The elder Niebuhr seems to have been the first to disparage the Arabian produce of olibanum. He recognises indeed its ancient celebrity, and the fact that it was still to some extent exported from Dhafár and other places on this coast, but he says that the Arabs preferred foreign kinds of incense, especially benzoin; and also repeatedly speaks of the superiority of that from India (*des Indes* and *de l'Inde*), by which it is probable that he meant the same thing—viz., benzoin from the Indian Archipelago. Niebuhr did not himself visit Hadhramaut.

Thus the fame of Arabian olibanum was dying away, and so was our knowledge of that and the opposite African coast, when Colebrooke (1807) published his Essay on Olibanum, in which he showed that a gum-resin, identical as he considered with frankincense, and so named (*Kundur*), was used in India, and was the produce of an indigenous tree, *Boswellia serrata* of Roxburgh, but thereafter known as *B. thurifera*. This discovery, connecting itself, it may be supposed, with Niebuhr's statements about Indian olibanum (though probably misunderstood), and with the older tradition coming down from Dioscorides of a so-called Indian *libanos* (*supra* p. 396), seems to have induced a hasty and general assumption that the Indian resin was the olibanum of commerce; inasmuch that the very existence of Arabian olibanum came to be treated as a matter of doubt in some respectable books, and that down to a very recent date.

In the Atlas to Bruce's Travels is figured a plant under the name of *Angoua*, which the Abyssinians believed to produce true olibanum, and which Bruce says did really produce a gum resembling it.

In 1837 Lieut. Cruttenden of the Indian Navy saw the frankincense tree of Arabia on a journey inland from Merbát, and during the ensuing year the trees of the Sumálf country were seen, and partially described by Kempthorne, and Vaughan of the same service, and by Cruttenden himself. Captain Haines also in his report of the Survey of the Hadhramaut coast in 1843-1844,† speaks, apparently as an eye-witness, of the frankincense trees about Dhafár as extremely numerous, and adds

* "*Drogue franche*:—Qui a les qualités requises sans mélange" (*Littre*). "*Franc* . . . Vrai, véritable" (*Raynouard*).

The mediæval *Olibanum* was probably the Arabic *Al-lubán*, but was popularly interpreted as *Oleum Libani*. Dr. Birdwood saw at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 samples of frankincense solemnly labelled as the produce of Mount Lebanon!

† Professor Dümichen, of Strasburg, has discovered at the Temple of Daif-el-Báhrî, in Upper Egypt, paintings illustrating the traffic carried on between Egypt and Arabia, as early as the 17th century B.C. In these paintings there are representations, not only of bags of olibanum, but also of olibanum-trees planted in tubs or boxes, being conveyed by ship from Arabia to Egypt." (*Hanbury and Flüchiger, Pharmacographia*, p. 121.)

† Published in *J. R. G. S.*, vol. XV. (for 1845).

that from 3000 to 10,000 *maunds* were annually exported "from Merbát and Dhafár." "3 to 10" is vague enough; but as the kind of *maund* is not specified it is vaguer still. *Maunds* differ as much as *livres Français* and *livres sterling*. In 1844 and 1846 Dr. Carter also had opportunities of examining olibanum trees on this coast, which he turned to good account, sending to Government cuttings, specimens, and drawings, and publishing a paper on the subject in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. As. Society* (1847).

But neither Dr. Carter's paper and specimens, nor the previous looser notices of the naval officers, seemed to attract any attention, and men of no small repute went



The Harvest of Frankincense in Arabia. Facsimile of an engraving in Thevet's *Cosmographie Universelle* (1575), reproduced from the *Bible Educator*.*

* By courtesy of the publishers, Messrs. Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

on repeating in their manuals the old story about Indian olibanum. Dr. G. Birdwood however, at Bombay, in the years following 1859, took up the subject with great zeal and intelligence, procuring numerous specimens of the Sumálí trees and products; and his monograph of the genus *Boswellia* in the Linnæan Transactions (read April 1869), to which this note is very greatly indebted, is a most interesting paper, and may be looked on, I believe, as embodying the most correct knowledge as yet attainable. The species as ranked in his table are the following:



Boswellia Frereana (Birdw.).

1. *Boswellia Carterii* (Birdw.), including the Arabian tree of Dhafár, and the larger variety called *Mohr Madau* by the Sumálís.
2. *B. Bhau-dajiana* (Birdw.), *Mohr A'd* of the Sumálís.
3. *B. papyrifera* (Richard). Abyssinian species.
4. *B. thurifera* (Colebr.), see p. 396 *supra*.
5. *B. Frereana* (Birdw.), *Yegár* of the Sumálís—named after Mr. William Frere, Member of Council at Bombay. No. 2 was named from Bhau Dáji, a very eminent Hindu scholar and physician at Bombay (Birdw.).

No. 1 produces the Arabian olibanum, and Nos. 1 and 2 together the bulk of the olibanum exported from the Sumál coast under the name *Lubán-Shehri*. Both are said to give an inferior kind besides, called *L. Bedawi*. No. 3 is, according to Birdwood, the same as Bruce's *Angoua*. No. 5 is distinctly a new species, and affords a highly fragrant resin sold under the name of *Lubán Méti*.

Bombay is now the great mart of frankincense. The quantity exported thence in 1872-1873 was 25,000 *cwt.*, of which nearly one quarter went to China.

Frankincense when it first exudes is milky white; whence the name "White Incense" by which Polo speaks of it. And the Arabic name *libán* apparently refers to milk. The Chinese have so translated, calling it *Ju-siang* or Milk-perfume.

Polo, we see, says the tree was like a fir tree; and it is remarkable that a Chinese Pharmacology quoted by Bretschneider says the like, which looks as if their information came from a common source. And yet I think Polo's must have been oral. One of the meanings of *Lubán*, from the Kámús, is *Pinus* (*Freytag*). This may have to do with the error. Dr. Birdwood, in a paper in *Cassell's Bible Educator*, has given a copy of a remarkable wood engraving from Thevet's *Cosmographie Universelle* (1575), representing the collection of Arabian olibanum, and this through his kind intervention I am able to reproduce here. The text (probably after Polo) speaks of the tree as resembling a fir, but in the cut the firs are in the background; the incense trees have some real suggestion of *Boswellia*, and the whole design has singular spirit and verisimilitude.

Dr. Birdwood thus speaks of the *B. Frereana*, the only species that he has seen in flower: "As I saw the plant in Playfair's garden at Aden . . . in young leaf and covered with bloom, I was much struck by its elegant singularity. The long racemes of green star-like flowers, tipped with the red anthers of the stamens (like aigrettes of little stars of emerald set with minute rubies), droop gracefully over the clusters of glossy, glaucous leaves; and every part of the plant (bark, leaves, and flowers) gives out the most refreshing lemon-like fragrance." (*Birdwood* in *Linnaean Transactions* for 1869, pp. 109 *seqq.*; *Hanbury and Flückiger's Pharmacographia*, pp. 120 *seqq.*; *Ritter*, xii. 356 *seqq.*; *Niebuhr, Desc. de l'Arabie*, I. p. 202, II. pp. 125-132.)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONCERNING THE GULF OF CALATU AND THE CITY SO CALLED.

CALATU is a great city, within a gulf which bears the name of the Gulf of Calatu. It is a noble city, and lies 600 miles from Dufar towards the north-west, upon the sea-shore. The people are Saracens, and are subject to Hormos. And whenever the Melic of Hormos is at war with some prince more potent than himself, he betakes himself to this city of Calatu, because it is very strong, both from its position and its fortifications.¹

They grow no corn here, but get it from abroad; for

every merchant-vessel that comes brings some. The haven is very large and good, and is frequented by numerous ships with goods from India, and from this city the spices and other merchandize are distributed among the cities and towns of the interior. They also export many good Arab horses from this to India.² For, as I have told you before, the number of horses exported from this and the other cities to India yearly is something astonishing. One reason is that no horses are bred there, and another that they die as soon as they get there, through ignorant handling; for the people there do not know how to take care of them, and they feed their horses with cooked victuals and all sorts of trash, as I have told you fully heretofore; and besides all that they have no farriers.

This City of Calatu stands at the mouth of the Gulf, so that no ship can enter or go forth without the will of the chief. And when the Melic of Hormos, who is Melic of Calatu also, and is vassal to the Soldan of Kerman, fears anything at the hand of the latter, he gets on board his ships and comes from Hormos to Calatu. And then he prevents any ship from entering the Gulf. This causes great injury to the Soldan of Kerman; for he thus loses all the duties that he is wont to receive from merchants frequenting his territories from India or elsewhere; for ships with cargoes of merchandize come in great numbers, and a very large revenue is derived from them. In this way he is constrained to give way to the demands of the Melic of Hormos.

This Melic has also a castle which is still stronger than the city, and has a better command of the entry to the Gulf.³

The people of this country live on dates and salt fish, which they have in great abundance; the nobles, however, have better fare.

There is no more to say on this subject. So now let us go on and speak of the city of Hormos, of which we told you before.

NOTE 1.—*Ķalhát*, the *Calaiate* of the old Portuguese writers, is about 500 m by shortest *sea-line* north-east of Dhafár. “The city of *Kalhát*,” says Ibn Batuta, “stands on the shore; it has fine bazaars, and one of the most beautiful mosques that you could see anywhere, the walls of which are covered with enamelled tiles of *Káshán*. . . . The city is inhabited by merchants, who draw their support from Indian import trade. . . . Although they are Arabs, they don’t speak correctly. After every phrase they have a habit of adding the particle *no*. Thus they will say ‘You are eating,—no?’ ‘You are walking,—no?’ ‘You are doing this or that,—no?’ Most of them are schismatics, but they cannot openly practise their tenets, for they are under the rule of Sultan Kutbuddin Tehemten Malik, of Hormuz, who is orthodox” (II. 226).

Calaiate, when visited by d’Albuquerque, showed by its buildings and ruins that it had been a noble city. Its destruction was ascribed to an earthquake. (*De Barros*, II. ii. 1.) It seems to exist no longer. Wellsted says its remains cover a wide space; but only one building, an old mosque, has escaped destruction. Near the ruins is a small fishing village, the people of which also dig for gold coins. (*J. R. G. S.* VII. 104.)

What is said about the Prince of Hormuz betaking himself to *Kalhát* in times of trouble is quite in accordance with what we read in Teixeira’s abstract of the Hormuz history. When expelled by revolution at Hormuz or the like, we find the princes taking refuge at *Kalhát*.

NOTE 2.—“Of the interior.” Here the phrase of the G. T. is again “*en fra tere a mainte cité et castiaus*.” (See *supra*, Bk. I. ch. i. note 2.)

There was still a large horse-trade from *Kalhát* in 1517, but the Portuguese compelled all to enter the port of Goa, where according to Andrea Corsali they had to pay a duty of 40 *saraffi* per head. If these *ashrafis* were pagodas, this would be about 15*l.* a head; if they were *dindrs*, it would be more than 20*l.* The term is *now* commonly applied in Hindustan to the gold mohr.

NOTE 3.—This no doubt is Maskat.

CHAPTER XL.

RETURNS TO THE CITY OF HORMOS WHEREOF WE SPOKE FORMERLY.

WHEN you leave the City of Calatu, and go for 300 miles between north-west and north, you come to the city of Hormos; a great and noble city on the sea.¹ It has a *Melic*, which is as much as to say a King, and he is under the Soldan of Kerman.

There are a good many cities and towns belonging to Hormos, and the people are Saracens. The heat is tremendous, and on that account their houses are built with ventilators to catch the wind. These ventilators are placed on the side from which the wind comes, and they bring the wind down into the house to cool it. But for this the heat would be utterly unbearable.²

I shall say no more about these places, because I formerly told you in regular order all about this same city of Hormos, and about Kerman as well. But as we took one way to go, and another to come back, it was proper that we should bring you a second time to this point.

Now, however, we will quit this part of the world, and tell you about Great Turkey. First, however, there is a point that I have omitted; to wit, that when you leave the City of Calatu and go between west and north-west, a distance of 500 miles, you come to the city of Kis.³ Of that, however, we shall say no more now, but pass it with this brief mention, and return to the subject of Great Turkey, of which you shall now hear.

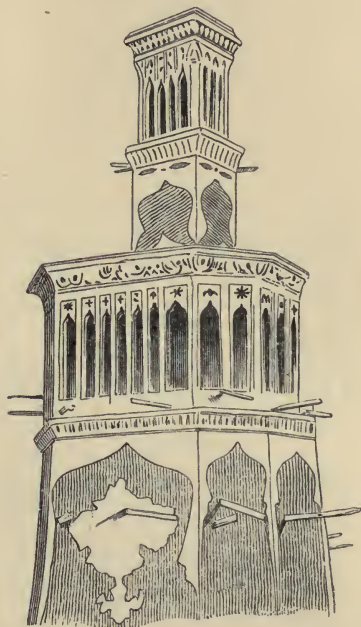
NOTE 1.—The distance is very correct; and the bearing fairly so for the first time since we left Aden. I have tried in my map of Polo's Geography to realise what seems to have been his idea of the Arabian coast.

NOTE 2.—These ventilators are a kind of masonry windsail, known as *Bád-glr*, or "wind-catchers," and in general use over Oman, Kerman, the province of Baghdad, Mekrán, and Sind. A large and elaborate example, from Hommaire de Hell's work on Persia, is given in the cut above. Very particular accounts of these ventilators will be found in P. della Valle, and in the embassy of Don Garcias de Silva Figueroa. (*Della Val.* II. 333-335; *Figueroa*, Fr. Trans. 1667, p. 38; *Ramus.* I. 293 v.; *Macd. Kinneir*, p. 69.) A somewhat different arrangement for the same purpose is in use in Cairo, and gives a very peculiar character to the city when seen from a moderate height.

[“The structures [at Gombroon] are all plain atop, only *Ventosos's*, or Funnels, for to let in the Air, the only thing requisite to living in this fiery Furnace with any comfort; wherefore no House is left without this contrivance; which shews gracefully at a distance on Board Ship, and makes the Town appear delightful enough to Beholders, giving at once a pleasing Spectacle to Strangers, and kind Refreshment to the Inhabitants; for they are not only elegantly Adorned without, but conveniently Adapted for every Apartment to receive the cool Wind within.” (*John Fryer, Nine Years' Travels*, Lond., 1698, p. 222.)]

NOTE 3.—On *Kish* see Book I. ch. vi. note 2.

[Chao Ju-kua (transl. in German by Dr. F. Hirth, *T'oung Pao*, V. Supp. p. 40), a Chinese Official of the Sung Dynasty, says regarding Kish: "The land of *Ki-shih* (Kish) lies upon a rocky island in the sea, in sight of the coast of Ta-shih, at half-a-day's journey. There are but four towns in its territories. When the King shows himself out of doors, he rides a horse under a black canopy, with an escort of 100 servants. The inhabitants are white and of a pure race and eight Chinese feet tall. They wear under a Turban their hair loose partly hanging on their neck. Their dress consists of a foreign jacket and a light silk or cotton overcoat, with red leather shoes. They use gold and silver coins. Their food consists of wheaten bread, mutton, fish and dates; they do not eat rice. The country produces pearls and horses of a superior quality."—H. C.]



A Persian Wind-Catcher.

The Turkish Admiral Sidi 'Ali, who was sent in 1553 to command the Ottoman fleet in the Persian Gulf, and has written an interesting account of his disastrous command and travels back to Constantinople from India, calls the Island *Ḳais*, or "*the old Hormuz*." This shows that the traditions of the origin of the island of Hormuz had grown dim. *Kish* had preceded Hormuz as the most prominent port of Indian trade, but old Hormuz, as we have seen (Bk. I. ch. xix.), was quite another place. (*J. As. sér. I, tom. ix. 67.*)

455

BOOK FOURTH



WARS AMONG THE TARTAR PRINCES
AND
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

Note.—A considerable number of the quasi-historical chapters in this section (which I have followed M. Pauthier in making into a Fourth Book) are the merest verbiage and repetition of narrative formulæ without the slightest value. I have therefore thought it undesirable to print all at length, and have given merely the gist (marked thus †), or an extract, of such chapters. They will be found entire in English in H. Murray's and Wright's editions, and in the original French in the edition of the Société de Géographie, in Bartoli, and in Pauthier.

BOOK IV.



CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING GREAT TURKEY.

IN GREAT TURKEY there is a king called CAIDU, who is the Great Kaan's nephew, for he was the grandson of CHAGATAI, the Great Kaan's own brother. He hath many cities and castles, and is a great Prince. He and his people are Tartars alike ; and they are good soldiers, for they are constantly engaged in war.¹

Now this King Caidu is never at peace with his uncle the Great Kaan, but ever at deadly war with him, and he hath fought great battles with the Kaan's armies. The quarrel between them arose out of this, that Caidu demanded from the Great Kaan the share of his father's conquests that of right belonged to him ; and in particular he demanded a share of the Provinces of Cathay and Manzi. The Great Kaan replied that he was willing enough to give him a share such as he gave to his own sons, but that he must first come on summons to the Council at the Kaan's Court, and present himself as one of the Kaan's liegemen. Caidu, who did not trust his uncle very far, declined to come, but said that where he was he would hold himself ready to obey all the Kaan's commands.

In truth, as he had several times been in revolt, he dreaded that the Kaan might take the opportunity to de-

stroy him. So, out of this quarrel between them, there arose a great war, and several great battles were fought by the host of Caidu against the host of the Great Kaan, his uncle. And the Great Kaan from year's end to year's end keeps an army watching all Caidu's frontier, lest he should make forays on his dominions. He, natheless, will never cease his aggressions on the Great Kaan's territory, and maintains a bold face to his enemies.²

Indeed, he is so potent that he can well do so; for he can take the field with 100,000 horse, all stout soldiers and inured to war. He has also with him several Barons of the imperial lineage; *i.e.*, of the family of Chinghis Kaan, who was the first of their lords, and conquered a great part of the world, as I have told you more particularly in a former part of this Book.

Now you must know that Great Turkey lies towards the north-west when you travel from Hormos by that road I described. It begins on the further bank of the River JON,* and extends northward to the territory of the Great Kaan.

Now I shall tell you of sundry battles that the troops of Caidu fought with the armies of the Great Kaan.

NOTE 1.—We see that Polo's error as to the relationship between Kúblái and Kaidu, and as to the descent of the latter (see Vol. I. p. 186) was not a slip, but persistent. The name of Kaidu's grandfather is here in the G. T. written precisely Chagatai (*Chagatai*).

Kaidu was the son of Kashin, son of Okkodai, who was the third son of Chinghiz and his successor in the Kaanate. Kaidu never would acknowledge the supremacy of Kúblái, alleging his own superior claim to the Kaanate, which Chinghiz was said to have restricted to the house of Okkodai as long as it should have a representative. From the vicinity of Kaidu's position to the territories occupied by the branch of Chaghatai he exercised great influence over its princes, and these were often his allies in the constant hostilities that he maintained against the Kaan. Such circumstances may have led Polo to confound Kaidu with the house of Chaghatai. Indeed, it is not easy to point out the mutual limits of their territories, and these must have been somewhat complex, for we find Kaidu and Borrak Khan of Chaghatai at one time exercising a kind of joint sovereignty in the cities of Bokhara and Samarkand. Probably, indeed, the limits were in a great measure *tribal* rather than territorial. But it may be gathered that Kaidu's authority extended over Kashgar and the cities

* The Jaihún or Oxus.

bordering the south slopes of the Thian Shan as far east as Kara Khoja, also the valley of the Talas River, and the country north of the Thian Shan from Lake Balkhash eastward to the vicinity of Barkul, and in the further north the country between the Upper Yenisei and the Irtish.

Kaidu died in 1301 at a very great age. He had taken part, it was said, in 41 pitched battles. He left 14 sons (some accounts say 40), of whom the eldest, called Shabar, succeeded him. He joined Dua Khan of Chaghatai in making submission to Teimur Kaan, the successor of Kúblái; but before long, on a quarrel occurring between the two former, Dua seized the territory of Shabar, and as far as I can learn no more is heard of the house of Kaidu. Vámbéry seems to make the Khans of Khokand to be of the stock of Kaidu; but whether they claim descent from Yúnus Khán, as he says, or from a son of Baber left behind in his flight from Ferghána, as Pandit Manphúl states, the genealogy would be from Chaghatai, not from Kaidu.

NOTE 2.—“To the N.N.W. a desert of 40 days' extent divides the states of Kúblái from those of Kaidu and Dua. This frontier extends for 30 days' journey from east to west. From point to point,” etc.; see continuation of this quotation from Rashíduddín, in Vol. I. p. 214.

CHAPTER II.

OF CERTAIN BATTLES THAT WERE FOUGHT BY KING CAIDU AGAINST
THE ARMIES OF HIS UNCLE THE GREAT KAAAN.

Now it came to pass in the year of Christ's incarnation, 1266, that this King Caidu and another prince called YESUDAR, who was his cousin, assembled a great force and made an expedition to attack two of the Great Kaan's Barons who held lands under the Great Kaan, but were Caidu's own kinsmen, for they were sons of Chagatai who was a baptized Christian, and own brother to the Great Kaan; one of them was called CHIBAI, and the other CHIBAN.¹

Caidu with all his host, amounting to 60,000 horse, engaged the Kaan's two Barons, those cousins of his, who had also a great force amounting to more than 60,000 horsemen, and there was a great battle. In the end the Barons were beaten, and Caidu and his people won the day. Great numbers were slain on both sides, but the two brother Barons escaped, thanks to their

good horses. So King Caidu returned home swelling the more with pride and arrogance, and for the next two years he remained at peace, and made no further war against the Kaan.

However, at the end of those two years King Caidu assembled an army composed of a vast force of horsemen. He knew that at Caracoron was the Great Kaan's son NOMOGAN, and with him GEORGE, the grandson of Prester John. These two princes had also a great force of cavalry. And when King Caidu was ready he set forth and crossed the frontier. After marching rapidly without any adventure, he got near Caracoron, where the Kaan's son and the younger Prester John were awaiting him with their great army, for they were well aware of Caidu's advance in force. They made them ready for battle like valiant men, and all undismayed, seeing that they had more than 60,000 well-appointed horsemen. And when they heard Caidu was so near they went forth valiantly to meet him. When they got within some 10 miles of him they pitched their tents and got ready for battle, and the enemy who were about equal in numbers did the same; each side forming in six columns of 10,000 men with good captains. Both sides were well equipped with swords and maces and shields, with bows and arrows, and other arms after their fashion. You must know that the practice of the Tartars going to battle is to take each a bow and 60 arrows. Of these, 30 are light with small sharp points, for long shots and following up an enemy, whilst the other 30 are heavy, with large broad heads which they shoot at close quarters, and with which they inflict great gashes on face and arms, and cut the enemy's bowstrings, and commit great havoc. This every one is ordered to attend to. And when they have shot away their arrows they take to their swords and maces and lances, which also they ply stoutly.

So when both sides were ready for action the Naccaras began to sound loudly, one on either side. For 'tis their custom never to join battle till the Great Naccara is beaten. And when the Naccaras sounded, then the battle began in fierce and deadly style, and furiously the one host dashed to meet the other. So many fell on either side that in an evil hour for both it was begun! The earth was thickly strewn with the wounded and the slain, men and horses, whilst the uproar and din of battle was so loud you would not have heard God's thunder! Truly King Caidu himself did many a deed of prowess that strengthened the hearts of his people. Nor less on the other side did the Great Kaan's son and Prester John's grandson, for well they proved their valour in the medley, and did astonishing feats of arms, leading their troops with right good judgment.

And what shall I tell you? The battle lasted so long that it was one of the hardest the Tartars ever fought. Either side strove hard to bring the matter to a point and rout the enemy, but to no avail. And so the battle went on till vesper-tide, and without victory on either side. Many a man fell there; many a child was made an orphan there; many a lady widowed; and many another woman plunged in grief and tears for the rest of her days, I mean the mothers and the *araines* of those who fell.²

So when they had fought till the sun was low they left off, and retired each side to its tents. Those who were unhurt were so dead tired that they were like to drop, and the wounded, who were many on both sides, were moaning in their various degrees of pain; but all were more fit for rest than fighting, so gladly they took their repose that night. And when morning approached, King Caidu, who had news from his scouts that the

Great Kaan was sending a great army to reinforce his son, judged that it was time to be off; so he called his host to saddle and mounted his horse at dawn, and away they set on their return to their own country. And when the Great Kaan's son and the grandson of Prester John saw that King Caidu had retired with all his host, they let them go unpursued, for they were themselves sorely fatigued and needed rest. So King Caidu and his host rode and rode, till they came to their own realm of Great Turkey and to Samarcand; and there they abode a long while without again making war.³

NOTE 1.—The names are uncertain. The G. T. has "one of whom was called Tibai or Ciban"; Pauthier, as in the text.

The phrase about their being Kaidu's kinsmen is in the G. T., "*qe zinzinz (?) meisme estoient de Caidu roi.*"

NOTE 2.—*Araines* for *Harims*, I presume. In the narrative of a merchant in Ramusio (II. 84, 86) we find the same word represented by *Arin* and *Arino*.

NOTE 3.—The date at the beginning of the chapter is in G. T., and Pauthier's MS. A, as we have given it. Pauthier substitutes 1276, as that seems to be the date approximately connecting Prince Numughan with the wars against Kaidu. In 1275 Kúblái appointed Numughan to the command of his N.W. frontier, with Ngantung or 'Antung, an able general, to assist him in repelling the aggressions of Kaidu. In the same year Kaidu and Dua Khan entered the Uighúr country (W. and N.W. of Kamul), with more than 100,000 men. Two years later, viz., in 1277, Kaidu and Shireghi, a son of Mangu Khan, engaged near Almalik (on the Ili) the troops of Kúblái, commanded by Numughan and 'Antung, and took both of them prisoners. The invaders then marched towards Karakorum. But Bayan, who was in Mongolia, marched to attack them, and completely defeated them in several engagements. (*Gaubil*, 69, 168, 182.)

Pauthier gives a little more detail from the Chinese annals, but throws no new light on the discrepancies which we see between Polo's account and theirs. 'Antung, who was the grandson of Mokli, the Jelair, one of Chinghiz's Orlok or Marshals, seems here to take the place assigned to Prester John's grandson, and Shireghi perhaps that of Yesudar. The only prince of the latter name that I can find is a son of Hulaku's.

The description of the battle in this chapter is a mere formula again and again repeated. The armies are always exactly or nearly equal, they are always divided into corps of 10,000 (*tomans*), they always halt to prepare for action when within ten miles of one another, and the terms used in describing the fight are the same. We shall not inflict these tiresome repetitions again on the reader.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT THE GREAT KAADU SAID TO THE MISCHIEF DONE BY KAADU
HIS NEPHEW.

‡(THAT were Caidu not of his own Imperial blood, he would make an utter end of him, &c.)

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE EXPLOITS OF KING CAIDU'S VALIANT DAUGHTER.

NOW you must know that King Caidu had a daughter whose name was AIJARUC, which in the Tartar is as much as to say "The Bright Moon." This damsel was very beautiful, but also so strong and brave that in all her father's realm there was no man who could outdo her in feats of strength. In all trials she showed greater strength than any man of them.¹

Her father often desired to give her in marriage, but she would none of it. She vowed she would never marry till she found a man who could vanquish her in every trial; him she would wed and none else. And when her father saw how resolute she was, he gave a formal consent in their fashion, that she should marry whom she list and when she list. The lady was so tall and muscular, so stout and shapely withal, that she was almost like a giantess. She had distributed her challenges over all the kingdoms, declaring that whosoever should come to try a fall with her, it should be on these conditions, *viz.*, that if she vanquished him she should win from him 100 horses, and if he vanquished her he should win her to wife. Hence many a noble youth had come to try his strength against her, but she beat them all; and in this way she had won more than 10,000 horses.

Now it came to pass in the year of Christ 1280 that there presented himself a noble young gallant, the son of a rich and puissant king, a man of prowess and valiance and great strength of body, who had heard word of the damsel's challenge, and came to match himself against her in the hope of vanquishing her and winning her to wife. That he greatly desired, for the young lady was passing fair. He, too, was young and handsome, fearless and strong in every way, insomuch that not a man in all his father's realm could vie with him. So he came full confidently, and brought with him 1000 horses to be forfeited if she should vanquish him. Thus might she gain 1000 horses at a single stroke! But the young gallant had such confidence in his own strength that he counted securely to win her.

Now ye must know that King Caidu and the Queen his wife, the mother of the stout damsel, did privily beseech their daughter to let herself be vanquished. For they greatly desired this prince for their daughter, seeing what a noble youth he was, and the son of a great king. But the damsel answered that never would she let herself be vanquished if she could help it; if, indeed, he should get the better of her then she would gladly be his wife, according to the wager, but not otherwise.

So a day was named for a great gathering at the Palace of King Caidu, and the King and Queen were there. And when all the company were assembled, for great numbers flocked to see the match, the damsel first came forth in a strait jerkin of sammet; and then came forth the young bachelor in a jerkin of sendal; and a winsome sight they were to see. When both had taken post in the middle of the hall they grappled each other by the arms and wrestled this way and that, but for a long time neither could get the better of the other. At last, however, it so befel that the damsel threw him right valiantly

on the palace pavement. And when he found himself thus thrown, and her standing over him, great indeed was his shame and discomfiture. He gat him up straightway, and without more ado departed with all his company, and returned to his father, full of shame and vexation, that he who had never yet found a man that could stand before him should have been thus worsted by a girl! And his 1000 horses he left behind him.

As to King Caidu and his wife they were greatly annoyed, as I can tell you; for if they had had their will this youth should have won their daughter.

And ye must know that after this her father never went on a campaign but she went with him. And gladly he took her, for not a knight in all his train played such feats of arms as she did. Sometimes she would quit her father's side, and make a dash at the host of the enemy, and seize some man thereout, as deftly as a hawk pounces on a bird, and carry him to her father; and this she did many a time.

Now I will leave this story and tell you of a great battle that Caidu fought with Argon the son of Abaga, Lord of the Tartars of the Levant.

NOTE I.—The name of the lady is in Pauthier's MSS. *Agiaint*, *Agyanie*; in the Bern, *Agyanic*; in the MS. of the G. T., distinctly *Aigiariuc*, though printed in the edition of 1824 as *Agiarm*. It is Oriental Turkish, *AI-YÁRÚK*, signifying precisely *Lucent Lune*, as Marco explains it. For this elucidation I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Vámbéry, who adds that the name is in actual use among the Uzbek women.

Kaidu had many sons, but only one daughter, whom Rashiduddin (who seems to be Hammer's authority here) calls *Kutulm*. Her father loved her above all his sons; she used to accompany him to the field, and aid in state affairs. Letters were exchanged between her and Ghazan Khan, in which she assured him she would marry no one else; but her father refused her hand to all suitors. After Kaidu's death, this ambitious lady made some attempt to claim the succession. (*Hammer's Ilkhans*, II. 143-144.)

The story has some resemblance to what Ibn Batuta relates of another warlike Princess, Urdúja, whom he professes to have visited in the questionable kingdom of Tawálisi on his way to China: "I heard . . . that various sons of kings had sought Urduja's hand, but she always answered, 'I will marry no one but him who shall fight and conquer me'; so they all avoided the trail, for fear of the shame of being beaten by her." (*I. B. IV. 253-254.*) I have given reasons (*Cathay*, p. 520) for

suspecting that this lady with a Turkish name in the Indian Archipelago is a bit of fiction. Possibly Ibn Batuta had heard the legend of King Kaidu's daughter.

The story of Kaidu's daughter, and still more the parallel one from Ibn Batuta, recall what Herodotus tells of the Sauromatae, who had married the Amazons; that no girl was permitted to marry till she had killed an enemy (IV. 117). They recall still more closely Brunhild, in the Nibelungen:—

———— “a royal maiden who reigned beyond the sea :
From sunrise to the sundown no paragon had she.
All boundless as her beauty was her strength was peerless too,
And evil plight hung o'er the knight who dared her love to woo.
For he must try three bouts with her ; the whirling spear to fling ;
To pitch the massive stone ; and then to follow with a spring ;
And should he beat in every feat his wooing well has sped,
But he who fails must lose his love, and likewise lose his head.”

CHAPTER V.

HOW ABAGA SENT HIS SON ARGON IN COMMAND AGAINST KING CAIDU.

ABAGA the Lord of the Levant had many districts and provinces bordering on King Caidu's territories. These lay in the direction of the *Arbre Sol*, which the Book of Alexander calls the *Arbre Sec*, about which I have told you before. And Abaga, to watch against forays by Caidu's people sent his son Argon with a great force of horsemen, to keep the marches between the *Arbre Sec* and the River Jon. So there tarried Argon with all his host.¹

Now it came to pass that King Caidu assembled a great army and made captain thereof a brother of his called Barac, a brave and prudent man, and sent his host under his brother to fight with Argon.²

‡ (Barac and his army cross the Jon or Oxus and are totally routed by Argon, to whose history the traveller now turns.)

NOTE 1.—The Government of this frontier, from Kazwin or Rei to the banks of the Oxus, was usually, under the Mongol sovereigns of Persia, confided to the heir of the throne. Thus, under Hulaku it was held by Ábáqá, under Abáqá by Arghún, and under Arghún by Gházán. (See *Hammer, passim*.)

We have already spoken amply of the *Arbre Sol* (vol. i. p. 128 *seqq.*).

NOTE 2.—Barac or Borrak, who has been already spoken of in ch. iii. of the Prologue (vol. i. p. 10), was no brother of Kaidu's. He was the head of the house of Chaghatai, and in alliance with Kaidu. The invasion of Khorasan by Borrak took place in the early part of 1269. Arghún was only about 15, and his father Abáká came to take the command in person. The battle seems to have been fought somewhere near the upper waters of the Murghab, in the territory of the Badghís (north of Herat). Borrak was not long after driven from power, and took refuge with Kaidu. He died, it is said from poison, in 1270.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW ARGON AFTER THE BATTLE HEARD THAT HIS FATHER WAS DEAD,
AND WENT TO ASSUME THE SOVEREIGNTY AS WAS HIS RIGHT.

AFTER Argon had gained this battle over Caidu's brother Barac and his host, no long time passed before he had news that his father Abaga was dead, whereat he was sorely grieved.¹ He made ready his army and set out for his father's Court to assume the sovereignty as was his right ; but he had a march of 40 days to reach it.

Now it befel that an uncle of Argon's whose name was ACOMAT SOLDAN (for he had become a Saracen), when he heard of the death of his brother Abaga, whilst his nephew Argon was so far away, thought there was a good chance for him to seize the government. So he raised a great force and went straight to the Court of his late brother Abaga, and seized the sovereignty and proclaimed himself King ; and also got possession of the treasure, which was of vast amount. All this, like a crafty knave, he divided among the Barons and the troops to secure their hearts and favour to his cause. These Barons and soldiers accordingly, when they saw what large spoil they had got from him, were all ready to say he was the best of kings, and were full of love for him, and declared they would have no lord but him. But he did one evil thing that was greatly reprobated by all ; for he took all the wives of his brother Abaga, and kept them for himself.²

Soon after he had seized the government, word came to him how Argon his nephew was advancing with all his host. Then he tarried not, but straightway summoned his Barons and all his people, and in a week had fitted out a great army of horse to go to meet Argon. And he went forth light of heart, as being confident of victory, showing no dismay, and saying on all occasions that he desired nought so much as to take Argon, and put him to a cruel death.³

NOTE 1.—Abáká died at Hamadan 1st April 1282, twelve years after the defeat of Borrak.

NOTE 2.—This last sentence is in Pauthier's text, but not in the G. T. The thing was a regular Tartar custom (vol. i. pp. 253, 256), and would scarcely be "reprobated by all."

NOTE 3.—Acomat Soldan is AHMAD, a younger son of Hulaku, whose Mongol name was Tigúdar, and who had been baptized in his youth by the name of Nicolas, but went over to Islam, and thereby gained favour in Persia. On the death of his brother Ábáká he had a strong party and seized the throne. Arghún continued in sullen defiance, gathering means to assist his claim.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW ACOMAT SOLDAN SET OUT WITH HIS HOST AGAINST HIS NEPHEW WHO WAS COMING TO CLAIM THE THRONE THAT BELONGED TO HIM.

♣ (RELATES how Acomat marches with 60,000 horse, and on hearing of the approach of Argon summons his chiefs together and addresses them.)

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW ARGON TOOK COUNSEL WITH HIS FOLLOWERS ABOUT ATTACKING HIS UNCLE ACOMAT SOLDAN.

♣ (ARGON, uneasy at hearing of Acomat's approach, calls together his Barons and counsellors and addresses them.)

CHAPTER IX.

HOW THE BARONS OF ARGON ANSWERED HIS ADDRESS.

♣ (AN old Baron, as the spokesman of the rest, expresses their zeal and advises immediate advance. On coming within ten miles of Acomat, Argon encamps and sends two envoys to his uncle.)

CHAPTER X.

THE MESSAGE SENT BY ARGON TO ACOMAT.

♣ (A REMONSTRANCE and summons to surrender the throne.)

CHAPTER XI.

HOW ACOMAT REPLIED TO ARGON'S MESSAGE.

AND when Acomat Soldan had heard the message of Argon his nephew, he thus replied: "Sirs and envoys," quoth he, "my nephew's words are vain; for the land is mine, not his, and I helped to conquer it as much as his father did. So go and tell my nephew that if he will I will make him a great Prince, and give him ample lands, and he shall be as my son, and the greatest lord in the land after myself. But if he will not, let him be assured that I will do my best to bring him to his death! That is my answer to my nephew, and nought else of concession or covenant shall you ever have from me!" With that Acomat ceased, and said no word more. And when

the Envoys had heard the Soldan's words they asked again: "Is there no hope that we shall find you in different mind?" "Never," quoth he, "never whilst I live shall ye find my mind changed."

‡ (Argon's wrath at the reply. Both sides prepare for battle.)

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE BATTLE BETWEEN ARGON AND ACOMAT, AND THE CAPTIVITY OF ARGON.

‡ (THERE is a prolix description of a battle almost identical with those already given in Chapter II. of this Book and previously. It ends with the rout of Argon's army, and proceeds:)

And in the pursuit Argon was taken. As soon as this happened they gave up the chase, and returned to their camp full of joy and exultation. Acomat first caused his nephew to be shackled and well guarded, and then, being a man of great lechery, said to himself that he would go and enjoy himself among the fair women of his Court. He left a great Melic¹ in command of his host, enjoining him to guard Argon like his own life, and to follow to the Court by short marches, to spare the troops. And so Acomat departed with a great following, on his way to the royal residence. Thus then Acomat had left his host in command of that Melic whom I mentioned, whilst Argon remained in irons, and in such bitterness of heart that he desired to die.²

NOTE 1.—This is in the original *Belic*, for Melic, *i.e.* Ar. *Malik*, chief or prince.

NOTE 2.—In the spring of 1284 Ahmad marched against his nephew Arghún, and they encountered in the plain of Ak Khoja, near Kazwin. Arghún's force was

very inferior in numbers, and he was defeated. He fled to the Castle of Kala'at beyond Tús, but was persuaded to surrender. Ahmad treated him kindly, and though his principal followers urged the execution of the prisoner, he refused, having then, it is said, no thought for anything but the charms of his new wife Tudai.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW ARGON WAS DELIVERED FROM PRISON.

Now it befel that there was a great Tartar Baron, a very aged man, who took pity on Argon, saying to himself that they were doing an evil and disloyal deed in keeping their lawful lord a prisoner, wherefore he resolved to do all in his power for his deliverance. So he tarried not, but went incontinently to certain other Barons and told them his mind, saying that it would be a good deed to deliver Argon and make him their lord, as he was by right. And when the other Barons had heard what he had to put before them, then both because they regarded him as one of the wisest men among them, and because what he said was the truth, they all consented to his proposal and said that they would join with all their hearts. So when the Barons had assented, BOGA (which was he who had set the business going), and with him ELCHIDAI, TOGAN, TEGANA, TAGACHAR, ULATAI, and SAMAGAR,—all those whom I have now named,—proceeded to the tent where Argon lay a prisoner. When they had got thither, Boga, who was the leader in the business, spoke first, and to this effect: “Good my Lord Argon,” said he, “we are well aware that we have done ill in making you a prisoner, and we come to tell you that we desire to return to Right and Justice. We come therefore to set you free, and to make you our Liege Lord as by right you are!” Then Boga ceased and said no more.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW ARGON GOT THE SOVEREIGNTY AT LAST.

WHEN Argon heard the words of Boga he took them in truth for an untimely jest, and replied with much bitterness of soul: "Good my Lord," quoth he, "you do ill to mock me thus! Surely it suffices that you have done me so great wrong already, and that you hold me, your lawful Lord, here a prisoner and in chains! Ye know well, as I cannot doubt, that you are doing an evil and a wicked thing, so I pray you go your way, and cease to flout me." "Good my Lord Argon," said Boga, "be assured we are not mocking you, but are speaking in sober earnest, and we will swear it on our Law." Then all the Barons swore fealty to him as their Lord, and Argon too swore that he would never reckon it against them that they had taken him prisoner, but would hold them as dear as his father before him had done.

And when these oaths had passed they struck off Argon's fetters, and hailed him as their lord. Argon then desired them to shoot a volley of arrows into the tent of the Melic who had held them prisoners, and who was in command of the army, that he might be slain. At his word they tarried not, but straightway shot a great number of arrows at the tent, and so slew the Melic. When that was done Argon took the supreme command and gave his orders as sovereign, and was obeyed by all. And you must know that the name of him who was slain, whom we have called the Melic, was SOLDAN; and he was the greatest Lord after Acomat himself. In this way that you have heard, Argon recovered his authority.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW ACOMAT WAS TAKEN PRISONER.

‡ (A MESSENGER breaks in upon Acomat's festivities with the news that Soldan was slain, and Argon released and marching to attack him. Acomat escapes to seek shelter with the Sultan of Babylon, *i.e.* of Egypt, attended by a very small escort. The Officer in command of a Pass by which he had to go, seeing the state of things, arrests him and carries him to the Court (probably Tabriz), where Argon was already arrived.)

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW ACOMAT WAS SLAIN BY ORDER OF HIS NEPHEW.

AND so when the Officer of the Pass came before Argon bringing Acomat captive, he was in a great state of exultation, and welcomed his uncle with a malediction,* saying that he should have his deserts. And he straightway ordered the army to be assembled before him, and without taking counsel with any one, commanded the prisoner to be put to death, and his body to be destroyed. So the officer appointed to this duty took Acomat away and put him to death, and threw his body where it never was seen again.

CHAPTER XVII.

HOW ARGON WAS RECOGNISED AS SOVEREIGN.

AND when Argon had done as you have heard, and remained in possession of the Throne and of the Royal

* "Il dit à son ungle qe il soit le mau-venu" (see *supra*, p. 21).

Palace, all the Barons of the different Provinces, who had been subject to his father Abaga, came and performed homage before him, and obeyed him, as was his due.¹ And after Argon was well established in the sovereignty he sent CASAN, his son, with 30,000 horse to the *Arbre Sec*, I mean to the region so-called, to watch the frontier. Thus then Argon got back the government. And you must know that Argon began his reign in the year 1286 of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Acomat had reigned two years, and Argon reigned six years; and at the end of those six years he became ill and died; but some say 'twas of poison.²

NOTE 1.—Arghún, a prisoner (see last note), and looking for the worst, was upheld by his courageous wife BULUGHÁN (see Prologue, ch. xvii.), who shared his confinement. The order for his execution, as soon as the camp should next move, had been issued.

BUKA the Jelair, who had been a great chief under Ábáká, and had resentments against Ahmad, got up a conspiracy in favour of Arghún, and effected his release as well as the death of ALINAK, Ahmad's commander-in-chief. Ahmad fled towards Tabriz, pursued by a band of the Karaunas, who succeeded in taking him. When Arghún came near and saw his uncle in their hands, he called out in exultation *Morio!*—an exclamation, says Wassáf, which the Mongols used when successful in archery,—and with a gesture gave the signal for the prisoner's death (10th August 1284).

Buka is of course the *Boga* of Polo; Alinak is his *Soldan*. The conspirators along with Buka, who are named in the history of Wassáf, are *Yesubuka*, *Gurgan*, *Aruk*, *Kurmishí*, and *Arkasan Noian*. Those named by Polo are not mentioned on this occasion; but the names are all Mongol. TAGÁJAR, ILCHIDAI, TUGHAN, SAMAGHAR, all appear in the Persian history of those times. Tagajar appears to have had the honour of a letter from the Pope (Nicolas IV.) in 1291, specially exhorting him to adopt the Christian faith; it was sent along with letters of like tenor addressed to Arghún, Gházán, and other members of the imperial family. Tagajar is also mentioned by the continuator of Abulfaraj as engaged in the conspiracy to dethrone Kaikhátu. ULATAI was probably the same who went a few years later as Arghún's ambassador to Cambaluc (see Prologue, ch. xvii.); and Polo may have heard the story from him on board ship.

(*Assem.* III. pt. 2, 118; *Mosheim*, p. 80; *Ilchan.*, passim.)

Abulfaragius gives a fragment of a letter from Arghún to Kúblái, reporting the deposition of Ahmad by the princes because he had "apostatized from the law of their fathers, and adopted that of the Arabs." (*Assemani*, u.s. p. 116.) The same historian says that Ahmad was kind and liberal to the Christians, though Hayton speaks differently.

NOTE 2.—Arghún obtained the throne on Ahmad's death, as just related, and soon after named his son Gházán (born in 1271) to the Government of Khorasan, Mazanderan, Kumis, and Rei. Buka was made Chief Minister. The circumstances of Arghún's death have been noticed already (*supra*, p. 369).

Facsimile of a vertical strip of a document with handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Arabic or Persian. The strip is dark and shows signs of wear and tear. Several rectangular stamps or seals are visible, particularly near the top and bottom. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, though the strip is oriented vertically.

Facsimile of a vertical strip of a document with handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Arabic or Persian. The strip is dark and shows signs of wear and tear. Several rectangular stamps or seals are visible, particularly near the top and bottom. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, though the strip is oriented vertically.

Facsimile of the Letters sent to Philip the Fair, King of France, by Aghūn Khan in A.D. 1289, and by Oljaitū, in A. D. 1305.

To face p. 474, vol. ii.

474

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOW KIACATU SEIZED THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER ARGON'S DEATH.

AND immediately on Argon's death, an uncle of his who was own brother * to Abaga his father, seized the throne, as he found it easy to do owing to Casan's being so far away as the *Arbre Sec*. When Casan heard of his father's death he was in great tribulation, and still more when he heard of KIACATU'S seizing the throne. He could not then venture to leave the frontier for fear of his enemies, but he vowed that when time and place should suit he would go and take as great vengeance as his father had taken on Acomat. And what shall I tell you? Kiacatu continued to rule, and all obeyed him except such as were along with Casan. Kiacatu took the wife of Argon for his own, and was always dallying with women, for he was a great lechour. He held the throne for two years, and at the end of those two years he died; for you must know he was poisoned.¹

NOTE I.—KÁIKHATÚ, of whom we heard in the Prologue (vol. i. p. 35), was the brother, not the uncle, of Arghún. On the death of the latter there were three claimants, viz., his son Gházán, his brother Káikhatu, and his cousin Baidu, the son of Tarakai, one of Hulaku's sons. The party of Káikhatu was strongest, and he was raised to the throne at Akhlath, 23rd July 1291. He took as wives out of the Royal Tents of Arghún the Ladies Bulughán (the 2nd, not her named in the Prologue) and Uruk. All the writers speak of Káikhatu's character in the same way. Hayton calls him "a man without law or faith, of no valour or experience in arms, but altogether given up to lechery and vice, living like a brute beast, glutting all his disordered appetites; for his dissolute life hated by his own people, and lightly regarded by foreigners." (*Ram.* II. ch. xxiv.) The continuator of Abulfaraj, and Abulfeda in his Annals, speak in like terms. (*Assem.* III. Pt. 2nd, 119-120; *Reiské, Ann. Abulf.* III. 101.)

Baidu rose against him; most of his chiefs abandoned him, and he was put to death in March-April, 1295. He reigned therefore nearly four years, not *two* as the text says.

* *Frer carnaus* (I. p. 127).

CHAPTER XIX.

HOW BAIDU SEIZED THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER THE DEATH OF
KIACATU.

WHEN Kiacatu was dead, BAIDU, who was his uncle, and was a Christian, seized the throne.¹ This was in the year 1294 of Christ's Incarnation. So Baidu held the government, and all obeyed him, except only those who were with Casan.

And when Casan heard that Kiacatu was dead, and Baidu had seized the throne, he was in great vexation, especially as he had not been able to take his vengeance on Kiacatu. As for Baidu, Casan swore that he would take such vengeance on him that all the world should speak thereof; and he said to himself that he would tarry no longer, but would go at once against Baidu and make an end of him. So he addressed all his people, and then set out to get possession of his throne.

And when Baidu had intelligence thereof he assembled a great army and got ready, and marched ten days to meet him, and then pitched his camp, and awaited the advance of Casan to attack him; meanwhile addressing many prayers and exhortations to his own people. He had not been halted two days when Casan with all his followers arrived. And that very day a fierce battle began. But Baidu was not fit to stand long against Casan, and all the less that soon after the action began many of his troops abandoned him and took sides with Casan. Thus Baidu was discomfited and put to death, and Casan remained victor and master of all. For as soon as he had won the battle and put Baidu to death, he proceeded to the capital and took possession of the government; and all the Barons performed homage and

obeyed him as their liege lord. Casan began to reign in the year 1294 of the Incarnation of Christ.

Thus then you have had the whole history from Abaga to Casan, and I should tell you that Alaü, the conqueror of Baudac, and the brother of the Great Kaan Cublay, was the progenitor of all those I have mentioned. For he was the father of Abaga, and Abaga was the father of Argon, and Argon was the father of Casan who now reigns.²

Now as we have told you all about the Tartars of the Levant, we will quit them and go back and tell you more about Great Turkey—— But in good sooth we *have* told you all about Great Turkey and the history of Caidu, and there is really no more to tell. So we will go on and tell you of the Provinces and nations in the far North.

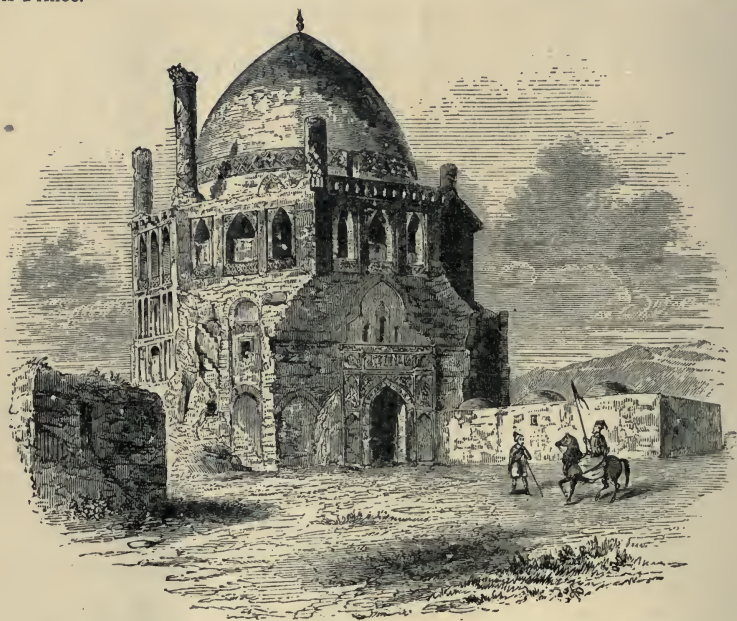
NOTE I.—The Christian writers often ascribe Christianity to various princes of the Mongol dynasties without any good grounds. Certain coins of the Ilkhans of Persia, up to the time of Gházán's conversion to Islam, exhibit sometimes Mahomedan and sometimes Christian formulæ, but this is no indication of the religion of the prince. Thus coins not merely of the heathen Khans Abaka and Arghún, but of Ahmad Tigudar, the fanatical Moslem, are found inscribed "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." Raynaldus, under 1285, gives a fragment of a letter addressed by Arghún to the European Powers, and dated from Tabriz, "in the year of the Cock," which begins "*In Christi Nomen, Amen!*" But just in like manner some of the coins of Norman kings of Sicily are said to bear the Mahomedan profession of faith; and the copper money of some of the Ghaznevide sultans bears the pagan effigy of the bull *Nandi*, borrowed from the coinage of the Hindu kings of Kabul.

The European Princes could not get over the belief that the Mongols were necessarily the inveterate enemies of Mahomedanism and all its professors. Though Gházán was professedly a zealous Mussulman, we find King James of Aragon, in 1300, offering *Cassan Rey del Mogol* amity and alliance with much abuse of the infidel Saracens; and the same feeling is strongly expressed in a letter of Edward II. of England to the "Emperor of the Tartars," which apparently was meant for Oljaitu, the successor of Gházán. (*Fraehn de Ilchan. Nummis*, vi. and *passim*; *Raynald*. III. 619; *J. A. S. B.* XXIV. 490; *Kington's Frederick II.* I. 396; *Capmany, Antiguos Tratados*, etc. p. 107; *Rymer*, 2d Ed. III. 34; see also p. 20.)

There are other assertions, besides our author's, that Baidu professed Christianity. Hayton says so, and asserts that he prohibited Mahomedan proselytism among the Tartars. The continuator of Abulfaraj says that Baidu's long acquaintance with the Greek *Despina Khatun*, the wife of Ábáká, had made him favourable to Christians, so that he willingly allowed a church to be carried about with the camp, and bells to be struck therein, but he never openly professed Christianity. In fact at this time the whole body of Mongols in Persia was passing over to Islam, and Baidu also, to please them, adopted Mahomedan practices. But he would only employ Christians as Ministers of State. His rival Gházán, on the other hand, strengthened his own

influence by adopting Islam; Baidu's followers fell off from him, and delivered him into Gházán's power. He was put to death 4th of October, 1295, about seven months after the death of his predecessor. D'Ohsson's authorities seem to mention no battle such as the text speaks of; but Mirkhond, as abridged by Teixeira, does so, and puts it at Nakshiwán on the Araxes (p. 341).

NOTE 2.—Hayton testifies from his own knowledge to the remarkable personal beauty of Arghún, whilst he tells us that the son Gházán was as notable for the reverse. After recounting with great enthusiasm instances which he had witnessed of the daring and energy of Gházán, the Armenian author goes on: "And the most remarkable thing of all was that within a frame so small, and ugly almost to monstrosity, there should be assembled nearly all those high qualities which nature is wont to associate with a form of symmetry and beauty. In fact among all his host of 200,000 Tartars you should scarcely find one of smaller stature or of uglier and meaner aspect than this Prince."



Tomb of Oljaïtu Khan, the brother of Polo's "Casan," at Sultaniah. (From Fergusson.)

Pachymeres says that Gházán made Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander his patterns, and delighted to read of them. He was very fond of the mechanical arts; "no one surpassed him in making saddles, bridles, spurs, greaves, and helmets; he could hammer, stitch, and polish, and in such occupations employed the hours of his leisure from war." The same author speaks of the purity and beauty of his coinage, and the excellence of his legislation. Of the latter, so famous in the East, an account at length is given by D'Ohsson. (*Hayton in Ramus*. II. ch. xxvi.; *Pachym. Andron. Palaeol.* VI. 1; *D'Ohsson*, vol. iv.)

Before finally quitting the "Tartars of the Levant," we give a representation of the finest work of architecture that they have left behind them, the tomb built for himself by Oljaïtu (see on this page), or, as his Moslem name ran, Mahomed Khodabandah, in the city of Sultaniah, which he founded. Oljaïtu was the brother and successor of Marco Polo's friend Gházán, and died in 1316, eight years before our traveller.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCERNING KING CONCHI WHO RULES THE FAR NORTH.

YOU must know that in the far north there is a King called CONCHI. He is a Tartar, and all his people are Tartars, and they keep up the regular Tartar religion. A very brutish one it is, but they keep it up just the same as Chinghis Kaan and the proper Tartars did, so I will tell you something of it.

You must know then that they make them a god of felt, and call him NATIGAI; and they also make him a wife; and then they say that these two divinities are the gods of the Earth who protect their cattle and their corn and all their earthly goods. They pray to these figures, and when they are eating a good dinner they rub the mouths of their gods with the meat, and do many other stupid things.

The King is subject to no one, although he is of the Imperial lineage of Chinghis Kaan, and a near kinsman of the Great Kaan.¹ This King has neither city nor castle; he and his people live always either in the wide plains or among great mountains and valleys. They subsist on the milk and flesh of their cattle, and have no corn. The King has a vast number of people, but he carries on no war with anybody, and his people live in great tranquillity. They have enormous numbers of cattle, camels, horses, oxen, sheep, and so forth.

You find in their country immense bears entirely white, and more than 20 palms in length. There are also large black foxes, wild asses, and abundance of sables; those creatures I mean from the skins of which they make those precious robes that cost 1000 bezants each. There are also vairs in abundance; and vast

multitudes of the Pharaoh's rat, on which the people live all the summer time. Indeed they have plenty of all sorts of wild creatures, for the country they inhabit is very wild and trackless.²

And you must know that this King possesses one tract of country which is quite impassable for horses, for it abounds greatly in lakes and springs, and hence there is so much ice as well as mud and mire, that horses cannot travel over it. This difficult country is 13 days in extent, and at the end of every day's journey there is a post for the lodgment of the couriers who have to cross this tract. At each of these post-houses they keep some 40 dogs of great size, in fact not much smaller than donkeys, and these dogs draw the couriers over the day's journey from post-house to post-house, and I will tell you how. You see the ice and mire are so prevalent, that over this tract, which lies for those 13 days' journey in a great valley between two mountains, no horses (as I told you) can travel, nor can any wheeled carriage either. Wherefore they make sledges, which are carriages without wheels, and made so that they can run over the ice, and also over mire and mud without sinking too deep in it. Of these sledges indeed there are many in our own country, for 'tis just such that are used in winter for carrying hay and straw when there have been heavy rains and the country is deep in mire. On such a sledge then they lay a bear-skin on which the courier sits, and the sledge is drawn by six of those big dogs that I spoke of. The dogs have no driver, but go straight for the next post-house, drawing the sledge famously over ice and mire. The keeper of the post-house however also gets on a sledge drawn by dogs, and guides the party by the best and shortest way. And when they arrive at the next station they find a new relay of dogs and sledges ready to take them on, whilst the old relay

turns back ; and thus they accomplish the whole journey across that region, always drawn by dogs.³

The people who dwell in the valleys and mountains adjoining that tract of 13 days' journey are great hunters, and catch great numbers of precious little beasts which are sources of great profit to them. Such are the Sable, the Ermine, the Vair, the *Erculin*, the Black Fox, and many other creatures from the skins of which the most costly furs are prepared. They use traps to take them, from which they can't escape.⁴ But in that region the cold is so great that all the dwellings of the people are underground, and underground they always live.⁵

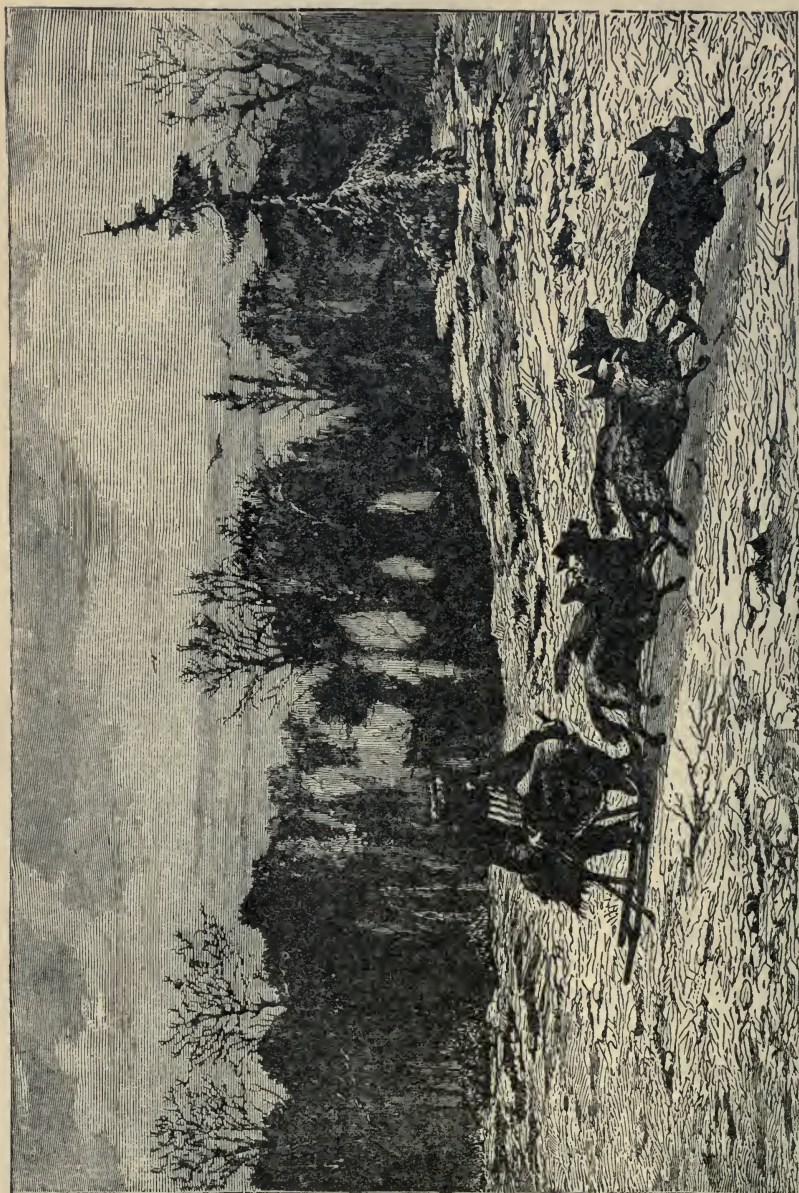
There is no more to say on this subject, so I shall proceed to tell you of a region in that quarter, in which there is perpetual darkness.

NOTE I.—There are two KUWINJIS, or KAUNCHIS, as the name, from Polo's representation of it, probably ought to be written, mentioned in connection with the Northern Steppes, if indeed there has not been confusion about them ; both are descendants of Juji, the eldest son of Chinghiz. One was the twelfth son of Shaibani, the 5th son of Juji. Shaibani's Yurt was in Siberia, and his family seem to have become predominant in that quarter. Arghún, on his defeat by Ahmad (*supra* p. 470), was besought to seek shelter with Kaunchi. The other Kaunchi was the son of Sirtaktai, the son of Orda, the eldest son of Juji, and was, as well as his father and grandfather, chief of the White Horde, whose territory lay north-east of the Caspian. An embassy from this Kaunchi is mentioned as having come to the court of Kaikhatu at Siah-Kuh (north of Tabriz) with congratulations, in the summer of 1293. Polo may very possibly have seen the members of this embassy, and got some of his information from them. (See *Gold. Horde*, 149, 249 ; *Ilkhans*, I. 354, 403 ; II. 193, where Hammer writes the name of *Kandschi*.)

It is perhaps a trace of the lineage of the old rulers of Siberia that the old town of Tyuman in Western Siberia is still known to the Tartars as *Chinghiz Tora*, or the Fort of Chinghiz. (*Erman*, I. 310.)

NOTE 2.—We see that Polo's information in this chapter extends over the whole latitude of Siberia ; for the great White Bears and the Black Foxes belong to the shores of the Frozen Ocean ; the Wild Asses only to the southern parts of Siberia. As to the Pharaoh's Rat, see vol. i. p. 254.

NOTE 3.—No dog-sledges are now known, I believe, on this side of the course of the Obi, and there not south of about 61° 30'. But in the 11th century they were in general use between the Dwina and Petchora. And Ibn Batuta's account seems to imply that in the 14th they were in use far to the south of the present limit : " It had been my wish to visit the Land of Darkness, which can only be done from Bolghar. There is a distance of 40 days' journey between these two places. I had to give up the intention however on account of the great difficulty attending the journey and the little fruit that it promised. In that country they travel only with small vehicles



The Siberian Dog Sledge.

“E sus ceste treies hi se mett sus un cuir d’ors, e puis hi monte sus un mesaje; e ceste treies moient six chiens de celz grant qe je voz ai contés; et cesti chiens ne les moine nulz, mes il vont tout droit jusque à l’autre poste, et traient la treies moult bien.”

drawn by great dogs. For the steppe is covered with ice, and the feet of men or the shoes of horses would slip, whereas the dogs having claws their paws don't slip upon the ice. The only travellers across this wilderness are rich merchants, each of whom owns about 100 of these vehicles, which are loaded with meat, drink, and firewood. In fact, on this route there are neither trees nor stones, nor human dwellings. The guide of the travellers is a dog who has often made the journey before! The price of such a beast is sometimes as high as 1000 dinars or thereabouts. He is yoked to the vehicle by the neck, and three other dogs are harnessed along with him. He is the chief, and all the other dogs with their carts follow his guidance and stop when he stops. The master of this animal never ill-uses him nor scolds him, and at feeding-time the dogs are always served before the men. If this be not attended to, the chief of the dogs will get sulky and run off, leaving the master to perdition" (II. 399-400).

[Mr. Parker writes (*China Review*, xiv. p. 359), that dog-sledges appear to have been known to the Chinese, for in a Chinese poem occurs the line: "Over the thick snow in a dog-cart."—H. C.]

The bigness attributed to the dogs by Polo, Ibn Batuta, and Rubruquis, is an imagination founded on the work ascribed to them. Mr. Kennan says they are simply half-domesticated Arctic wolves. Erman calls them the height of European spaniels (qu. setters?), but much slenderer and leaner in the flanks. A good draught-dog, according to Wrangell, should be 2 feet high and 3 feet in length. The number of dogs attached to a sledge is usually greater than the old travellers represent,—none of whom, however, had seen the thing.

Wrangell's account curiously illustrates what Ibn Batuta says of the Old Dog who guides: "The best-trained and most intelligent dog is often yoked in front. . . . He often displays extraordinary sagacity and influence over the other dogs, e.g. in keeping them from breaking after game. In such a case he will sometimes turn and bark in the opposite direction; . . . and in crossing a naked and boundless *taundra* in darkness or snow-drift he will guess his way to a hut that he has never visited but once before" (I. 159). Kennan also says: "They are guided and controlled entirely by the voice and by a lead-dog, who is especially trained for the purpose." The like is related of the Esquimaux dogs. (*Kennan's Tent Life in Siberia*, pp. 163-164; *Wood's Mammalia*, p. 266.)

NOTE 4.—On the *Erculin* and *Ercolin* of the G. T., written Arculin in next chapter, *Arcolino* of Ramusio, *Herculini* of Pipino, no light is thrown by the Italian or other editors. One supposes of course some animal of the ermine or squirrel kinds affording valuable fur, but I can find no similar name of any such animal. It may be the Argali or Siberian Wild Sheep, which Rubruquis mentions: "I saw another kind of beast which is called *Arcali*; its body is just like a ram's, and its horns spiral like a ram's also, only they are so big that I could scarcely lift a pair of them with one hand. They make huge drinking-vessels out of these" (p. 230). [See I. p. 177.]

Vair, so often mentioned in mediæval works, appears to have been a name appropriate to the fur as prepared rather than to the animal. This appears to have been the Siberian squirrel called in French *petit-gris*, the back of which is of a fine grey and the belly of a brilliant white. In the *Vair* (which is perhaps only *varius* or variegated) the backs and bellies were joined in a kind of checquer; whence the heraldic checquer called by the same name. There were two kinds, *menu-vair* corrupted into *minever*, and *gros-vair*, but I cannot learn clearly on what the distinction rested. (See *Douet d'Arçq*, p. xxxv.) Upwards of 2000 *ventres de menuvair* were sometimes consumed in one complete suit of robes (*ib.* xxxii.).

The traps used by the Siberian tribes to take these valuable animals are described by Erman (I. 452), only in the English translation the description is totally incomprehensible; also in Wrangell, I. 151.

NOTE 5.—The country chiefly described in this chapter is probably that which the Russians, and also the Arabian Geographers, used to term *Yugria*, apparently the

country of the Ostyaks on the Obi. The winter-dwellings of the people are not, strictly speaking, underground, but they are flanked with earth piled up against the walls. The same is the case with those of the Yakuts in Eastern Siberia, and these often have the floors also sunk 3 feet in the earth. Habitations really subterranean, of some previous race, have been found in the Samoyed country. (*Klaproth's Mag. Asiatique*, II. 66.)

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCERNING THE LAND OF DARKNESS.

STILL further north, and a long way beyond that kingdom of which I have spoken, there is a region which bears the name of DARKNESS, because neither sun nor moon nor stars appear, but it is always as dark as with us in the twilight. The people have no king of their own, nor are they subject to any foreigner, and live like beasts. [They are dull of understanding, like half-witted persons.¹]

The Tartars however sometimes visit the country, and they do it in this way. They enter the region riding mares that have foals, and these foals they leave behind. After taking all the plunder that they can get they find their way back by help of the mares, which are all eager to get back to their foals, and find the way much better than their riders could do.²

Those people have vast quantities of valuable peltry; thus they have those costly Sables of which I spoke, and they have the Ermine, the Arculin, the Vair, the Black Fox, and many other valuable furs. They are all hunters by trade, and amass amazing quantities of those furs. And the people who are on their borders, where the Light is, purchase all those furs from them; for the people of the Land of Darkness carry the furs to the Light country for sale, and the merchants who purchase these make great gain thereby, I assure you.³

The people of this region are tall and shapely, but very pale and colourless. One end of the country borders upon Great Rosia. And as there is no more to be said about it, I will now proceed, and first I will tell you about the Province of Rosia.

NOTE 1.—In the Ramusian version we have a more intelligent representation of the facts regarding the *Land of Darkness*: “Because for most part of the winter months the sun appears not, and the air is dusky, as it is just before the dawn when you see and yet do not see;” and again below it speaks of the inhabitants catching the fur animals “in summer when they have continuous daylight.” It is evident that the writer of this version *did* and the writer of the original French which we have translated from *did not* understand what he was writing. The whole of the latter account implies belief in the perpetuity of the darkness. It resembles Pliny’s hazy notion of the northern regions:* “pars mundi damnata a rerum naturâ et densâ mersa caligine.” Whether the fault is due to Rustician’s ignorance or is Polo’s own, who can say? We are willing to debit it to the former, and to credit Marco with the improved version in Ramusio. In the *Masdlak-al-Absâr*, however, we have the following passage in which the conception is similar: “Merchants do not ascend (the Wolga) beyond Bolghar; from that point they make excursions through the province of Julman (supposed to be the country on the Kama and Viatka). The merchants of the latter country penetrate to Yughra, which is the extremity of the North. Beyond that you see no trace of habitation except a great Tower built by Alexander, after which there is nothing but Darkness.” The narrator of this, being asked what he meant, said: “It is a region of desert mountains, where frost and snow continually reign, where the sun never shines, no plant vegetates, and no animal lives. Those mountains border on the Dark Sea, on which rain falls perpetually, fogs are ever dense, and the sun never shows itself, and on tracts perpetually covered with snow.” (*N. et Ex.* XIII. i. 285.)

NOTE 2.—This is probably a story of great antiquity, for it occurs in the legends of the mythical *Ughuz*, Patriarch of the Turk and Tartar nations, as given by Rashid-uddin. In this hero’s campaign towards the far north, he had ordered the old men to be left behind near Almalik; but a very ancient sage called Bushi Khwaja persuaded his son to carry him forward in a box, as they were sure sooner or later to need the counsel of experienced age. When they got to the land of *Karâ Hulun*, Ughuz and his officers were much perplexed about finding their way, as they had arrived at the Land of Darkness. The old Bushi was then consulted, and his advice was that they should take with them 4 mares and 9 she-asses that had foals, and tie up the foals at the entrance to the Land of Darkness, but drive the dams before them. And when they wished to return they would be guided by the scent and maternal instinct of the mares and she-asses. And so it was done. (See *Erdmann Temuschin*, p. 478.) Ughuz, according to the Mussulman interpretation of the Eastern Legends, was the great-grandson of Japhet.

The story also found its way into some of the later Greek forms of the Alexander Legends. Alexander, when about to enter the Land of Darkness, takes with him only picked young men. Getting into difficulties, the King wants to send back for some old sage who should advise. Two young men had smuggled their old father with them in anticipation of such need, and on promise of amnesty they produce him. He gives the advice to use the mares as in the text. (See *Müller’s ed. of Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Bk. II. ch. xxxiv.)

* That is, in one passage of Pliny (iv. 12); for in another passage from his multifarious note book, where Thule is spoken of, the Arctic day and night are much more distinctly characterised (IV. 16).

NOTE 3.—Ibn Batuta thus describes the traffic that took place with the natives of the Land of Darkness: "When the Travellers have accomplished a journey of 40 days across this Desert tract they encamp near the borders of the Land of Darkness. Each of them then deposits there the goods that he has brought with him, and all return to their quarters. On the morrow they come back to look at their goods, and find laid beside them skins of the Sable, the Vair, and the Ermine. If the owner of the goods is satisfied with what is laid beside his parcel he takes it, if not he leaves it there. The inhabitants of the Land of Darkness may then (on another visit) increase the amount of their deposit, or, as often happens, they may take it away altogether and leave the goods of the foreign merchants untouched. In this way is the trade conducted. The people who go thither never know whether those with whom they buy and sell are men or goblins, for they never see any one!" (II. 401.)

["Ibn Batuta's account of the market of the 'Land of Darkness' . . . agrees almost word for word with Dr Hirth's account of the 'Spirit Market, taken from the Chinese.'" (*Parker, China Review*, XIV. p. 359.)—H. C.]

Abulfeda gives exactly the same account of the trade; and so does Herberstein. Other Oriental writers ascribe the same custom to the *Wisü*, a people three months' journey from Bolghar. These Wisu have been identified by Fraehn with the *Wesses*, a people spoken of by Russian historians as dwelling on the shores of the Bielo Osero, which Lake indeed is alleged by a Russian author to have been anciently called *Wisü*, misunderstood into *Weissensee*, and thence rendered into Russian Bielo Osero ("White Lake"). (*Golden Horde*, App. p. 429; *Büsching*, IV. 359-360; *Herberstein in Ram.* II. 168 v.; *Fraehn, Bolghar*, pp. 14, 47; *Do., Ibn Fozlan*, 205 *seqq.*, 221.) Dumb trade of the same kind is a circumstance related of very many different races and periods, *e.g.*, of a people beyond the Pillars of Hercules by Herodotus, of the Sabaeans dealers in frankincense by Theophrastus, of the Seres by Pliny, of the Sasiens far south of Ethiopia by Cosmas, of the people of the Clove Islands by Kazwini, of a region beyond Segelmessa by Mas'udi, of a people far beyond Timbuctoo by Cadamosto, of the Veddas of Ceylon by Marignolli and more modern writers, of the Poliars of Malabar by various authors, by Paulus Jovius of the Laplanders, etc. etc.

Pliny's attribution, surely erroneous, of this custom to the Chinese [see *supra*, H. C.], suggests that there may have been a misunderstanding by which this method of trade was confused with that other curious system of dumb higgling, by the pressure of the knuckles under a shawl, a masonic system in use from Peking to Bombay, and possibly to Constantinople.

The term translated here "Light," and the "Light Country," is in the G. T. "*a la Carte*," "*a la Cartes*." This puzzled me for a long time, as I see it puzzled Mr. Hugh Murray, Signor Bartoli, and Lazari (who passes it over). The version of Pipino, "*ad Lucis terras finitimas deferunt*," points to the true reading;—*Carte* is an error for *Clarte*.

The reading of this chapter is said to have fired Prince Rupert with the scheme which resulted in the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company.

CHAPTER XXII.

DESCRIPTION OF ROSIA AND ITS PEOPLE. PROVINCE OF LAC.

ROSLIA is a very great province, lying towards the north. The people are Christians, and follow the Greek doctrine.

There are several kings in the country, and they have a language of their own. They are a people of simple manners, but both men and women very handsome, being all very white and [tall, with long fair hair]. There are many strong defiles and passes in the country; and they pay tribute to nobody except to a certain Tartar king of the Ponent, whose name is TOCTAI; to him indeed they pay tribute, but only a trifle. It is not a land of trade, though to be sure they have many fine and valuable furs, such as Sables, in abundance, and Ermine, Vair, Ercolin, and Fox skins, the largest and finest in the world [and also much wax]. They also possess many Silver-mines, from which they derive a large amount of silver.¹

There is nothing else worth mentioning; so let us leave Rosia, and I will tell you about the Great Sea, and what provinces and nations lie round about it, all in detail; and we will begin with Constantinople.—First, however, I should tell you of a province that lies between north and north-west. You see in that region that I have been speaking of, there is a province called LAC, which is conterminous with Rosia, and has a king of its own. The people are partly Christians and partly Saracens. They have abundance of furs of good quality, which merchants export to many countries. They live by trade and handicrafts.²

There is nothing more worth mentioning, so I will speak of other subjects; but there is one thing more to tell you about Rosia that I had forgotten. You see in Rosia there is the greatest cold that is to be found anywhere, so great as to be scarcely bearable. *great* The country is so great that it reaches even to the shores of the Ocean Sea, and 'tis in that sea that there are certain islands in which are produced numbers of gerfalcons and peregrine falcons, which are carried in many directions. *to* From Russia also to OROECH it is not very far, and the journey

could be soon made, were it not for the tremendous cold; but this renders its accomplishment almost impossible.³

Now then let us speak of the Great Sea, as I was about to do. To be sure many merchants and others have been there, but still there are many again who know nothing about it, so it will be well to include it in our Book. We will do so then, and let us begin first with the Strait of Constantinople.

NOTE 1.—Ibn Fozlan, the oldest Arabic author who gives any detailed account of the Russians (and a very remarkable one it is), says he “never saw people of form more perfectly developed; they were tall as palm-trees, and ruddy of countenance,” but at the same time “the most uncleanly people that God hath created,” drunken, and frightfully gross in their manners. (*Fraehn's Ibn Fozlan*, p. 5 *seqq.*) Ibn Batuta is in some respects less flattering; he mentions the silver-mines noticed in our text: “At a day's distance from Ukak* are the hills of the Russians, who are Christians. They have red hair and blue eyes; ugly to look at, and crafty to deal with. They have silver-mines, and it is from their country that are brought the *saum* or ingots of silver with which buying and selling is carried on in this country (Kipchak or the Ponent of Polo). The weight of each *saumah* is 5 ounces” (II. 414). Mas'udi also says: “The Russians have in their country a silver-mine similar to that which exists in Khorasan, at the mountain of Banjhir (*i.e.* *Panjshir*; II. 15; and see *supra*, vol. i. p. 161). These positive and concurrent testimonies as to Russian silver-mines are remarkable, as modern accounts declare that no silver is found in Russia. And if we go back to the 16th century, Herberstein says the same. There was no silver, he says, except what was imported; silver money had been in use barely 100 years; previously they had used oblong ingots of the value of a ruble, without any figure or legend. (*Ram.* II. 159.)

But a welcome communication from Professor Bruun points out that the statement of Ibn Batuta identifies the silver-mines in question with certain mines of argentiferous lead-ore near the River Mious (a river falling into the sea of Azof, about 22 miles west of Taganrog); an ore which even in recent times has afforded 60 per cent. of lead, and $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of silver. And it was these mines which furnished the ancient Russian *rubles* or ingots. Thus the original *ruble* was the *saumah* of Ibn Batuta, the *sommo* of Pegolotti. A ruble seems to be still called by some term like *saumah* in Central Asia; it is printed *soom* in the Appendix to Davies's Punjab Report, p. xi. And Professor Bruun tells me that the silver ruble is called *Som* by the Ossethi of Caucasus.†

Franc.-Michel quotes from Fitz-Stephen's Desc. of London (*temp.* Henry II.) :—

“*Aurum mittit Arabs*
Seres purpureas vestes; Galli sua vina;
Norwegi, Russi, varium, grysium, sabelinas.”

* This Ukak of Ibn Batuta is not, as I too hastily supposed (vol. i. p. 8) the *Ucaca* of the Polos on the Volga, but a place of the same name on the Sea of Azof, which appears in some mediæval maps as *Locac* or *Locaq* (*i.e.* *POcac*), and which Elie de Laprimaудаie in his Periplus of the Mediæval Caspian, locates at a place called Kaszik, a little east of Mariupol. (*Et. sur le Comm. au Moyen. Age*, p. 230.) I owe this correction to a valued correspondent, Professor Bruun, of Odessa.

† The word is, however, perhaps Or. Turkish; *Som*, “pure, solid.” (See *Pavet de Courteille*, and *Vámbéry*, s. v.)

Russia was overrun with fire and sword as far as Tver and Torshok by Batu Khan (1237-1238), some years before his invasion of Poland and Silesia. Tartar tax-gatherers were established in the Russian cities as far north as Rostov and Jaroslawl, and for many years Russian princes as far as Novgorod paid homage to the Mongol Khans in their court at Sarai. Their subjection to the Khans was not such a trifle as Polo seems to imply; and at least a dozen Russian princes met their death at the hands of the Mongol executioner.



Mediæval Russian Church. (From Fergusson.)

NOTE 2.—The *Lac* of this passage appears to be WALLACHIA. Abulfeda calls the Wallachs *Auldak*; Rubruquis *Illac*, which he says is the same word as *Blac* (the usual European form of those days being *Blachi*, *Blachia*), but the Tartars could not pronounce the B (p. 275). Abulghazi says the original inhabitants of Kipchak were the *Urús*, the *Olaks*, the *Majars*, and the *Bashkirs*.

Rubruquis is wrong in placing *Illac* or Wallachs in Asia; at least the people near the Ural, who he says were so-called by the Tartars, cannot have been Wallachs. Professor Bruun, who corrects my error in following Rubruquis, thinks those Asiatic *Blac* must have been *Polovtzi*, or Cumanians.

[Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 130, note) writes: "A branch of the Volga Bulgars occupied the Moldo-Vallach country in about A.D. 485, but it was not until the first years of the 6th century that a portion of them passed the Danube under the leadership of Asparuk, and established themselves in the present Bulgaria, Friar William's 'Land of Assan.'"—H. C.]

NOTE 3.—*Oroech* is generally supposed to be a mistake for *Noroech*, NORWEGE or Norway, which is probable enough. But considering the Asiatic sources of most of our author's information, it is also possible that *Oroech* represents WAREG. The

Waraegs or *Warangs* are celebrated in the oldest Russian history as a race of warlike immigrants, of whom came Kurik, the founder of the ancient royal dynasty, and whose name was long preserved in that of the Varangian guards at Constantinople. Many Eastern geographers, from Al Biruni downwards, speak of the Warag or Warang as a nation dwelling in the north, on the borders of the Slavonic countries, and on the shores of a great arm of the Western Ocean, called the *Sea of Warang*, evidently the Baltic. The Waraegers are generally considered to have been Danes or Northmen, and Erman mentions that in the bazaars of Tobolsk he found Danish goods known as *Varaegian*. Mr. Hyde Clark, as I learn from a review, has recently identified the Warangs or Warings with the *Varini*, whom Tacitus couples with the Angli, and has shown probable evidence for their having taken part in the invasion of Britain. He has also shown that many points of the laws which they established in Russia were purely Saxon in character. (*Bayer in Comment. Acad. Petropol. IV. 276 seqq.*; *Fraehn* in App. to *Ibn Fozlan*, p. 177 *seqq.*; *Erman*, I. 374; *Sat. Review*, 19th June, 1869; *Gold. Horde*, App. p. 428.)

CHAPTER XXIII.

HE BEGINS TO SPEAK OF THE STRAITS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, BUT DECIDES TO LEAVE THAT MATTER.

AT the straits leading into the Great Sea, on the west side, there is a hill called the FARO.—But since beginning on this matter I have changed my mind, because so many people know all about it, so we will not put it in our description, but go on to something else. And so I will tell you about the Tartars of the Ponent, and the lords who have reigned over them.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCERNING THE TARTARS OF THE PONENT AND THEIR LORDS.

THE first lord of the Tartars of the Ponent was SAIN, a very great and puissant king, who conquered ROSIA and COMANIA, ALANIA, LAC, MENJAR, ZIC, GOTHIA, and GAZARIA; all these provinces were conquered by King Sain. Before his conquest these all belonged to the Comanians,

but they did not hold well together nor were they united, and thus they lost their territories and were dispersed over divers countries; and those who remained all became the servants of King Sain.¹

After King Sain reigned King PATU, and after Patu BARCA, and after Barca MUNGLETEMUR, and after Mungletemur King TOTAMANGUL, and then TOCTAI the present sovereign.²

Now I have told you of the Tartar kings of the Ponent, and next I shall tell you of a great battle that was fought between Alau the Lord of the Levant and Barca the Lord of the Ponent.

So now we will relate out of what occasion that battle arose, and how it was fought.

NOTE 1. —The COMANIANS, a people of Turkish race, the *Polovtai* [or "Dwellers of the Plain" of Nestor, the Russian Annalist] of the old Russians, were one of the chief nations occupying the plains on the north of the Black Sea and eastward to the Caspian, previous to the Mongol invasion. Rubruquis makes them identical with the KIPCHAK, whose name is generally attached to those plains by Oriental writers, but Hammer disputes this. [See a note, pp. 92-93 of *Rockhill's Rubruck*. —H. C.]

ALANIA, the country of the Alans on the northern skirts of the Caucasus and towards the Caspian; LAC, the Wallachs as above. MENJAR is a subject of doubt. It may be *Májar*, on the Kuma River, a city which was visited by Ibn Batuta, and is mentioned by Abulfeda as *Kummdjar*. It was in the 14th century the seat of a Franciscan convent. Coins of that century, both of Major and New Major, are given by Erdmann. The building of the fortresses of Kichi Major and Ulu Major (little and great) is ascribed in the *Derbend Nameh* to Naoshirwan. The ruins of Major were extensive when seen by Gmelin in the last century, but when visited by Klapproth in the early part of the present one there were few buildings remaining. Inscriptions found there are, like the coins, Mongol-Mahomedan of the 14th century. Klapproth, with reference to these ruins, says that *Majar* merely means in "old Tartar" a stone building, and denies any connection with the *Magyars* as a nation. But it is possible that the Magyar country, *i.e.* Hungary, is here intended by Polo, for several Asiatic writers of his time, or near it, speak of the Hungarians as *Májár*. Thus Abulfeda speaks of the infidel nations near the Danube as including Aulák, Majárs, and Serbs; Rashiduddin speaks of the Mongols as conquering the country of the Bashkirds, the Majárs, and the Sassan (probably Saxons of Transylvania). One such mention from Abulghazi has been quoted in note 2 to ch. xxii.; in the *Masálah-al-Absár*, the *Cherkes*, *Russians*, *Aas* (or Alans), and Major are associated; the Major and *Aldn* in Sharifuddin. Doubts indeed arise whether in some of these instances a people located in Asia be not intended.* (*Rubr.* p. 246;

* This doubt arises also where Abulfeda speaks of *Majgaria* in the far north, "the capital of the country of the *Madjars*, a Turk race" of pagan nomads, by whom he seems to mean the *Bashkirs*. (*Reinaud's Abulf.* I. 324.) For it is to the Bashkir country that the Franciscan travellers apply the term Great Hungary, showing that they were led to believe it the original seat of the *Magyars*.

(*D'Avezac*, p. 486 *seqq.*; *Golden Horde*, p. 5; *I. B.* II. 375 *seqq.*; *Büsching*, IV. 359; *Cathay*, p. 233; *Numi Asiatici*, I. 333, 451; *Klaproth's Travels*, ch. xxxi.; *N. et Ex.* XIII. i. 269, 279; *P. de la Croix*, II. 383; *Rein. Abulf.* I. 80; *D'Ohsson*, II. 628.)

[“The author of the *Tarikh Djihan Kushai*, as well as Rashid and other Mohammedan authors of the same period, term the Hungarians *Bashkerds* (Bashkirs). This latter name, written also *Bashkurd*, appears for the first time, it seems, in Ibn Fozlan's narrative of an embassy to the Bulgars on the Volga in the beginning of the 10th century (translated by Fraehn, ‘De Bashkiris,’ etc., 1822). . . . The Hungarians arrived in Europe in the 9th century, and then called themselves *Magyar* (to be pronounced Modjor), as they do down to the present time. The Russian Chronicler Nestor mentions their passing near Kiev in 898, and terms them *Ugry*. But the name Magyar was also known to other nations in the Middle Ages. Abulfeda (ii. 324) notices the *Madjgars*; it would, however, seem that he applies this name to the Bashkirs in Asia. The name *Madjar* occurs also in Rashid's record. In the Chinese and Mongol annals of the 13th century the Hungarians are termed *Madja-rh*.” (*Bretschneider, Med. Res.* I. pp. 326-327.)—H. C.]

ZIC is Circassia. The name was known to Pliny, Ptolemy, and other writers of classic times. Ramusio (II. 196 *v*) gives a curious letter to Aldus Manutius from George Interiano, “*Della vita de' Zychi chiamati Circassi*,” and a great number of other references to ancient and mediæval use of the name will be found in *D'Avezac's* Essay, so often quoted (p. 497).

GOTHIA is the southern coast of the Crimea from Sudak to Balaklava and the mountains north of the latter, then still occupied by a tribe of the Goths. The Genoese officer who governed this coast in the 15th century bore the title of *Capitamus Gotiæ*; and a remnant of the tribe still survived, maintaining their Teutonic speech, to the middle of the 16th century, when Busbeck, the emperor's ambassador to the Porte, fell in with two of them, from whom he derived a small vocabulary and other particulars. (*Busbequii Opera*, 1660, p. 321 *seqq.*; *D'Avezac*, pp. 498-499; *Heyd*, II. 123 *seqq.*; *Cathay*, pp. 200-201.)

GAZARIA, the Crimea and part of the northern shore of the Sea of Azov, formerly occupied by the *Khazars*, a people whom Klaproth endeavours to prove to have been of Finnish race. When the Genoese held their settlements on the Crimean coast the Board at Genoa which administered the affairs of these colonies was called *The Office of Gazaria*.

NOTE 2.—The real list of the “Kings of the Ponent,” or Khans of the Golden Horde, down to the time of Polo's narrative, runs thus: BATU, *Sartaq*, *Ulagchi* (these two almost nominal), BARKA, MANGKU TIMUR, TUDAI MANGKU, *Tulabugha*, *Tuktuka* or TOKTAL. Polo here omits *Tulabugha* (though he mentions him below in ch. xxix.), and introduces before Batu, as a great and powerful conqueror, the founder of the empire, a prince whom he calls *Sain*. This is in fact Batu himself, the leader of the great Tartar invasion of Europe (1240-1242), whom he has split into two kings. Batu bore the surname of *Sain Khan*, or “the Good Prince,” by which name he is mentioned, e.g., in Makrizi (*Quatremère's Trans.* II. 45), also in Wassáf (*Hammer's Trans.* pp. 29-30). Plano Carpini's account of him is worth quoting: “*Hominibus quidem ejus satis benignus; timetur tamen valde ab iis; sed crudelissimus est in pugnâ; sagax est multum; et etiam astutissimus in bello, quia longo tempore jam pugnâvit.*” This Good Prince was indeed *crudelissimus in pugnâ*.

(*Rubr.* 274, *Plan. Carpin.* 747; and in same vol., *D'Avezac*, p. 491.) Further confusion arises from the fact that, besides the Uralian Bashkirs, there were, down to the 13th century, Bashkirs recognised as such, and as distinct from the Hungarians though akin to them, dwelling in *Hungarian territory*. Ibn Saïd, speaking of Sebennico (the cradle of the Polo family), says that when the Tartars advanced under its walls (1242?) “the Hungarians, the Bashkirs, and the Germans united their forces near the city” and gave the invaders a signal defeat. (*Reinaud's Abulf.* I. 312; see also 294, 295.) One would gladly know what are the real names that M. Reinaud renders *Hongrois* and *Allemands*. The Christian Bashkirds of Khondemir, on the borders of the Franks, appear to be Hungarians. (See *J. As.*, sér. IV. tom. xvii. p. 111.)

At Moscow he ordered a general massacre, and 270,000 right ears are said to have been laid before him in testimony to its accomplishment. It is odd enough that a mistake like that in the text is not confined to Polo. The chronicle of Kazan, according to a Russian writer, makes *Sain* succeed *Batu*. (*Carpini*, p. 746; *J. As. sér.* IV. tom. xvii. p. 109; *Büsching*, V. 493; also *Golden Horde*, p. 142, note.)

Batu himself, in the great invasion of the West, was with the southern host in Hungary; the northern army which fought at Liegnitz was under *Baidar*, a son of *Chaghatai*.

According to the *Masálak-al-Absár*, the territory of Kipchak, over which this dynasty ruled, extended in length from the Sea of Istambul to the River Irtish, a journey of 6 months, and in breadth from Bolghar to the Iron Gates, 4 (?) months' journey. A second traveller, quoted in the same work, says the empire extended from the Iron Gates to *Yughra* (see p. 483 *supra*), and from the Irtish to the country of the *Nemej*. The last term is very curious, being the Russian *Niemicz*, "Dumb," a term which in Russia is used as a proper name of the Germans; a people, to wit, unable to speak Slavonic. (*N. et Ex.* XIII. i. 282, 284.)

[“An allusion to the Mongol invasion of Poland and Silesia is found in the *Yuen-shi*, ch. cxxi., biography of Wu-liang-ho t'ai (the son of Su-bu-t'ai). It is stated there that Wu-liang-ho t'ai [Uriangcakai] accompanied Badu when he invaded the countries of *K'in-ch'a* (Kipchak) and *Wu-la-sz'* (Russia). Subsequently he took part also in the expedition against the *P'o-lie-rih* and *Nie-mi-sze*.” (*Dr. Bretschneider, Med. Res.* I. p. 322.) With reference to these two names, Dr. Bretschneider says, in a note, that he has no doubt that the Poles and Germans are intended. “As to its origin, the Russian linguists generally derive it from *nemoi*, 'dumb,' i.e., unable to speak Slavonic. To the ancient Byzantine chroniclers the Germans were known under the same name. Cf. *Mural's Essai de Chronogr. Byzant.*, sub anno 882: 'Les Slavons maltraités par les guerriers *Nemetzi* de Swiatopolc' (King of Great Moravia, 870-894). Sophocles' Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100: '*Nemitz*' Austrians, Germans. This name is met also in the Mohammedan authors. According to the *Masálak-al-Absár*, of the first half of the 14th century (transl. by Quatremère, *N. et Ex.* XXII. 284), the country of the Kipchaks extended (eastward) to the country of the *Nemedj*, which separates the Franks from the Russians. The Turks still call the Germans *Niemesi*; the Hungarians term them *Nemet*.”—H. C.]



Figure of a Tartar under the feet of Henry II., Duke of Silesia, Cracow, and Poland, from the tomb at Breslau of that Prince, killed in battle with the Tartar host at Liegnitz, 9th April, 1241.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE WAR THAT AROSE BETWEEN ALAU AND BARCA, AND THE BATTLES THAT THEY FOUGHT.

IT was in the year 1261 of Christ's incarnation that there arose a great discord between King Alau the Lord of the Tartars of the Levant, and Barca the King of the Tartars of the Ponent; the occasion whereof was a province that lay on the confines of both.¹

‡ (They exchange defiances, and make vast preparations.)

And when his preparations were complete, Alau the Lord of Levant set forth with all his people. They marched for many days without any adventure to speak of, and at last they reached a great plain which extends between the IRON GATES and the SEA OF SARAIN.² In this plain he pitched his camp in beautiful order; and I can assure you there was many a rich tent and pavilion therein, so that it looked indeed like a camp of the wealthy. Alau said he would tarry there to see if Barca and his people would come; so there they tarried, abiding the enemy's arrival. This place where the camp was pitched was on the frontier of the two kings. Now let us speak of Barca and his people.³

NOTE 1.—“*Que marcesoit à le un et à le autre;*” in Scotch phrase, “which marched with both.”

NOTE 2.—Respecting the Iron Gates, see vol. i. p. 53. The Caspian is here called the Sea of *Sarain*, probably for *Sarai*, after the great city on the Volga. For we find it in the Catalan Map of 1375 termed the Sea of *Sarra*. Otherwise *Sarain* might have been taken for some corruption of *Shirwân*. (See vol. i. p. 59, note 8.)

NOTE 3.—The war here spoken of is the same which is mentioned in the very beginning of the book, as having compelled the two Elder Polos to travel much further eastward than they had contemplated.

Many jealousies and heart-burnings between the cousins Hulaku and Barka had existed for several years. The Mameluke Sultan Bibars seems also to have stimulated Barka to hostility with Hulaku. War broke out in 1262, when 30,000 men from

Kipchak, under the command of Nogai, passed Derbend into the province of Shirwan. They were at first successful, but afterwards defeated. In December, Hulaku, at the head of a great army, passed Derbend, and routed the forces which met him. Abaka, son of Hulaku, was sent on with a large force, and came upon the opulent camp of Barka beyond the Terek. They were revelling in its plunder, when Barka rallied his troops and came upon the army of Abaka, driving them southward again, across the frozen river. The ice broke and many perished. Abaka escaped, chased by Barka to Derbend. Hulaku returned to Tabriz and made great preparations for vengeance, but matters were apparently never carried further. Hence Polo's is anything but an accurate account of the matter.

The following extract from Wassáf's History, referring to this war, is a fine sample of that prince of rignarole :

"In the winter of 662 (A.D. 1262-1263) when the Almighty Artist had covered the River of Derbend with plates of silver, and the Furrier of the Winter had clad the hills and heaths in ermine; the river being frozen hard as a rock to the depth of a spear's length, an army of Mongols went forth at the command of Barka Aghul, filthy as Ghúls and Devils of the dry-places, and in numbers countless as the rain-drops," etc. etc. (*Golden Horde*, p. 163 *seqq.*; *Ilchan*. I. 214 *seqq.*; *Q. R.* p. 393 *seqq.*; *Q. Makrizi*, I. 170; *Hammer's Wassáf*, p. 93.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

HOW BARCA AND HIS ARMY ADVANCED TO MEET ALAU.

♣ (BARCA advances with 350,000 horse, encamps on the plain within 10 miles of Alau; addresses his men, announcing his intention of fighting after 3 days, and expresses his confidence of success as they are in the right and have 50,000 men more than the enemy.)

CHAPTER XXVII.

HOW ALAU ADDRESSED HIS FOLLOWERS.

♣ (ALAU calls together "a numerous parliament of his worthies"* and addresses them.)

* "Il asenble encore sez parlement de grand quantités des buens homes."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN ALAU AND BARCA.

‡ (DESCRIPTION of the Battle in the usual style, with nothing characteristic. Results in the rout of Barca and great slaughter.)

CHAPTER XXIX.

HOW TOTAMANGU WAS LORD OF THE TARTARS OF THE PONENT.

YOU must know there was a Prince of the Tartars of the Ponent called MONGOTEMUR, and from him the sovereignty passed to a young gentleman called TOLOBUGA. But TOTAMANGU, who was a man of great influence, with the help of another Tartar King called NOGAI, slew Tolobuga and got possession of the sovereignty. He reigned not long however, and at his death TOCTAI, an able and valiant man, was chosen sovereign in the place of Totamangu. But in the meantime two sons of that Tolobuga who was slain were grown up, and were likely youths, able and prudent.

So these two brothers, the sons of Totamangu, got together a goodly company and proceeded to the court of Toctai. When they had got thither they conducted themselves with great discretion, keeping on their knees till Toctai bade them welcome, and to stand up. Then the eldest addressed the Sovereign thus: "Good my Lord Toctai, I will tell you to the best of my ability why we be come hither. We are the sons of Totamangu, whom Tolobuga and Nogai slew, as thou well knowest. Of Tolobuga we will say no more, since he is dead, but

we demand justice against Nogai as the slayer of our Father ; and we pray thee as Sovereign Lord to summon him before thee and to do us justice. For this cause are we come !”¹

(Toctai agrees to their demand and sends two messengers to summon Nogai, but Nogai mocks at the message and refuses to go. Whereupon Toctai sends a second couple of messengers.)

NOTE I.—I have not attempted to correct the obvious confusion here ; for in comparing the story related here with the regular historians we find the knots too complicated for solution.

In the text as it stands we first learn that Totamangu by help of Nogai kills *Tolobuga*, takes the throne, dies, and is succeeded by Toctai. But presently we find that it is the sons of *Totamangu* who claim vengeance from Toctai against Nogai for having aided *Tolobuga* to slay their father. Turning back to the list of princes in chapter xxiv. we find *Totamangu* indeed, but *Tolobuga* omitted altogether.

The outline of the history as gathered from Hammer and D’Ohsson is as follows :—

NOGHAI, for more than half a century one of the most influential of the Mongol Princes, was a great-great-grandson of Chinghiz, being the son of Tatar, son of Tawal, son of Juji. He is first heard of as a leader under Batu Khan in the great invasion of Europe (1241), and again in 1258 we find him leading an invasion of Poland.

In the latter quarter of the century he had established himself as practically independent, in the south of Russia. There is much about him in the Byzantine history of Pachymeres ; Michael Palaeologus sought his alliance against the Bulgarians (of the south), and gave him his illegitimate daughter Euphrosyne to wife. Some years later Noghai gave a daughter of his own in marriage to Feodor Rostislawitz, Prince of Smolensk.

Mangu- or Mangku-Temur, the great-nephew and successor of Barka, died in 1280-81 leaving nine sons, but was succeeded by his brother TUDAI-MANGKU (Polo’s *Totamangu*). This Prince occupied himself chiefly with the company of Mahomedan theologians and was averse to the cares of government. In 1287 he abdicated, and was replaced by TULABUGHA (*Tolobuga*), the son of an elder brother, whose power, however, was shared by other princes. Tulabugha quarrelled with old Noghai and was preparing to attack him. Noghai however persuaded him to come to an interview, and at this Tulabugha was put to death. TOKTAI, one of the sons of Mangku-Temur, who was associated with Noghai, obtained the throne of Kipchak. This was in 1291. We hear nothing of sons of Tudai-Mangku or Tulabugha.

Some years later we hear of a symbolic declaration of war sent by Toktai to Noghai, and then of a great battle between them near the banks of the Don, in which Toktai is defeated. Later, they are again at war, and somewhere south of the Dnieper Noghai is beaten. As he was escaping with a few mounted followers, he was cut down by a Russian horseman. “I am Noghai,” said the old warrior, “take me to Toktai.” The Russian took the bridle to lead him to the camp, but by the way the old chief expired. The horseman carried his head to the Khan ; its heavy grey eyebrows, we are told, hung over and hid the eyes. Toktai asked the Russian how he knew the head to be that of Noghai. “He told me so himself,” said the man. And so he was ordered to execution for having presumed to slay a great Prince

without orders. How like the story of David and the Amalekite in Ziklag! (2 Samuel, ch. i.).

The chronology of these events is doubtful. Rashiduddin seems to put the defeat of Toktai near the Don in 1298-1299, and a passage in Wassáf extracted by Hammer seems to put the defeat and death of Noghai about 1303. On the other hand, there is evidence that war between the two was in full flame in the beginning of 1296; Makrizi seems to report the news of a great defeat of Toktai by Noghai as reaching Cairo in *Jumadah* I. A.H. 697 or February-March, 1298. And Novairi, from whom D'Ohsson gives extracts, appears to put the defeat and death of Noghai in 1299. If the battle on the Don is that recounted by Marco it cannot be put later than 1297, and he must have had news of it at Venice, perhaps from relations at Soldaia. I am indeed reluctant to believe that he is not speaking of events of which he had cognizance *before* quitting the East; but there is no evidence in favour of that view. (*Golden Horde*, especially 269 *seqq.*; *Ilchan*, II. 347, and also p. 35; *D'Ohsson*, IV. Appendix; *Q. Mákrizi*, IV. 60.)

The symbolical message mentioned above as sent by Toktai to Noghai, consisted of a hoe, an arrow, and a handful of earth. Noghai interpreted this as meaning, "If you hide in the earth, I will dig you out! If you rise to the heavens I will shoot you down! Choose a battle-field!" What a singular similarity we have here to the message that reached Darius 1800 years before, on this very ground, from Toktai's predecessors, alien from him in blood it may be, but identical in customs and mental characteristics:—

"At last Darius was in a great strait, and the Kings of the Scythians having ascertained this, sent a herald bearing, as gifts to Darius, a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. . . . Darius's opinion was that the Scythians meant to give themselves up to him. . . . But the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven who had deposed the Magus, did not coincide with this; he conjectured that the presents intimated: 'Unless, O Persians, ye become birds, and fly into the air, or become mice and hide yourselves beneath the earth, or become frogs and leap into the lakes, ye shall never return home again, but be stricken by these arrows.' And thus the other Persians interpreted the gifts." (*Herodotus*, by Carey, IV. 131, 132.) Again, more than 500 years after Noghai and Toktai were laid in the steppe, when Muraviev reached the court of Khiva in 1820, it happened that among the Russian presents offered to the Khan were two loaves of sugar on the same tray with a quantity of powder and shot. The Uzbegs interpreted this as a symbolical demand: Peace or War? (*V. en Turcomanie*, p. 165.)

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE SECOND MESSAGE THAT TOCTAI SENT TO NOGAI, AND HIS REPLY.

♣ (THEY carry a threat of attack if he should refuse to present himself before Toctai. Nogai refuses with defiance. Both sides prepare for war, but Toctai's force is the greater in numbers.)

CHAPTER XXXI.

HOW TOCTAI MARCHED AGAINST NOGAI.

‡ (THE usual description of their advance to meet one another. Toctai is joined by the two sons of Totamangu with a goodly company. They encamp within ten miles of each other in the Plain of NERGLI.)

CHAPTER XXXII.

HOW TOCTAI AND NOGAI ADDRESS THEIR PEOPLE, AND THE NEXT DAY JOIN BATTLE.

‡ (THE whole of this is in the usual formula without any circumstances worth transcribing. The forces of Nogai though inferior in numbers are the better men-at-arms. King Toctai shows great valour.)

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE VALIANT FEATS AND VICTORY OF KING NOGAI.

‡ (THE deeds of Nogai surpass all; the enemy scatter like a flock, and are pursued, losing 60,000 men, but Toctai escapes, and so do the two sons of Totamangu.)

CHAPTER XXXIV. AND LAST

CONCLUSION.*

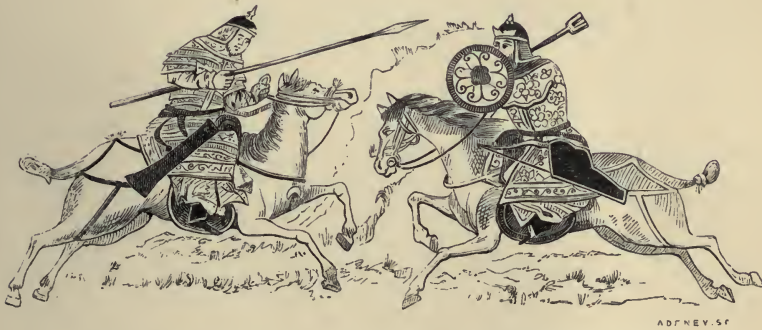
AND now ye have heard all that we can tell you about the Tartars and the Saracens and their customs, and likewise about the other countries of the world as far as our researches and information extend. Only we have said nothing whatever about the GREATER SEA and the provinces that lie round it, although we know it thoroughly. But it seems to me a needless and useless task to speak about places which are visited by people every day. For there are so many who sail all about that sea constantly, Venetians, and Genoese, and Pisans, and many others, that everybody knows all about it, and that is the reason that I pass it over and say nothing of it.

Of the manner in which we took our departure from the Court of the Great Kaan you have heard at the beginning of the Book, in that chapter where we told you of all the vexation and trouble that Messer Maffeo and Messer Nicolo and Messer Marco had about getting the Great Kaan's leave to go; and in the same chapter is related the lucky chance that led to our departure. And you may be sure that but for that lucky chance, we should never have got away in spite of all our trouble, and never have got back to our country again. But I believe it was God's pleasure that we should get back in order that people might learn about the things that the world contains. For according to what has been said in the introduction at the beginning of the Book, there

* This conclusion is not found in any copy except in the Crusca Italian, and, with a little modification, in another at Florence, belonging to the Pucci family. It is just possible that it was the embellishment of a transcriber or translator; but in any case it is very old, and serves as an epilogue.

never was a man, be he Christian or Saracen or Tartar or Heathen, who ever travelled over so much of the world as did that noble and illustrious citizen of the City of Venice, Messer Marco the son of Messer Nicolo Polo.

Thanks be to God! Amen! Amen!

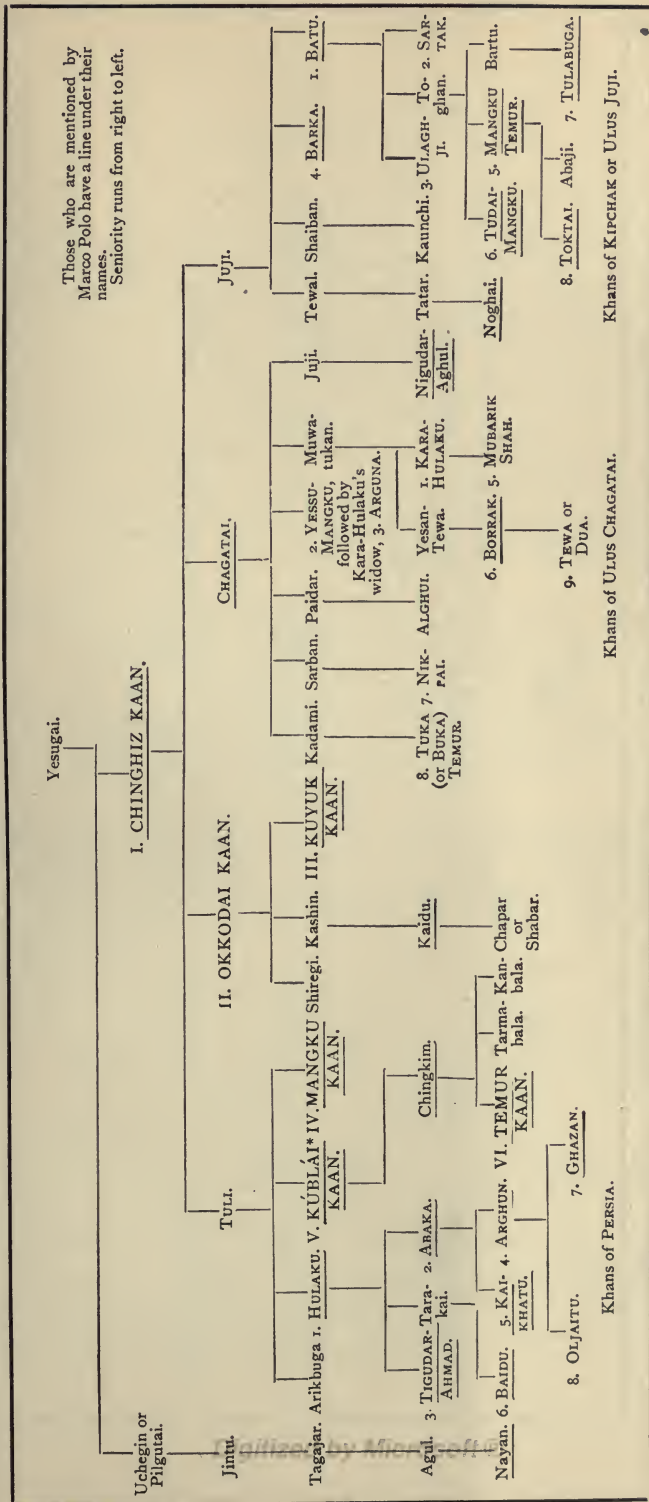


AD NEV. 51

Asiatic Warriors of Polo's Age. (From a contemporary Persian Miniature.)

APPENDICES

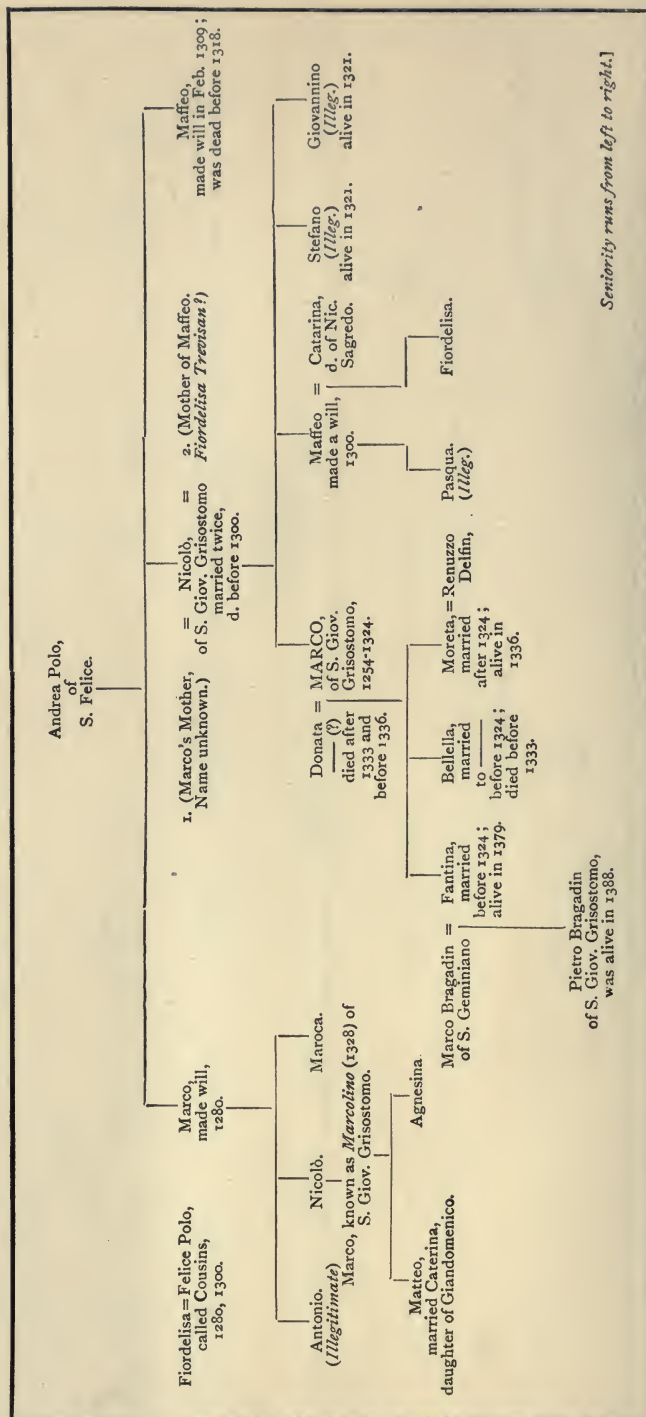
APPENDIX A.—Genealogy of the House of Chinghiz, to end of Thirteenth Century.



Supreme KAANS in large capitals. KHANS of KIPCHAK, CHAGATAI, and PERSIA in small capitals. Numerals indicate order of succession.

* For other sons of Kúblái, see Book II., chapter ix.

APPENDIX B.—*The Polo Families.*
 (I.) GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF MARCO POLO THE TRAVELLER.



APPENDIX B.—*continued.*

(II.) THE POLOS OF SAN GEREMIA.

THE preceding Table gives the Family of our Traveller as far as I have seen sound data for tracing it, either upwards or downwards.

I have expressed, in the introductory notices, my doubts about the Venetian genealogies, which continue the family down to 1418 or 19, because it seems to me certain that all of them do more or less confound with our Polos of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, members of the other Polo Family of S. Geremia. It will help to disentangle the subject if we put down what is ascertained regarding the S. Geremia family.

To the latter with tolerable certainty belonged the following :—

1302. MARCO Polo of Cannareggio, see vol. i. pp. 64-67. (The Church of S. Geremia stands on the canal called Cannareggio.)
 Already in 1224, we find a Marco Polo of S. Geremia and Cannareggio. (See *Liber Plegiorum*, published with *Archivio Veneto*, 1872 pp. 32, 36.)
1319. (Bianca, widow of GIOVANNI Polo?)*
1332. 24th March. Concession, apparently of some privilege in connection with the State Lake in San Basilio, to DONATO and HERMORAO (=Hermolaus or Almorò) Paulo (Document partially illegible).†
1333. 23rd October. Will of Marchesina Corner, wife of Marino Gradenigo of S. Apollinare, who chooses for her executors "my mother Dona Fiordelisa Cornaro, and my uncle (*Barba*) Ser Marco Polo."‡ Another extract apparently of the same will mentions "*mia cusina* MARIA Polo," and "*mio cusin* MARCO Polo" three times.§
1349. MARINO Polo and Brothers.||
1348. About this time died NICOLO Polo of S. Geremia,¶ who seems to have been a Member of the Great Council.** He had a brother MARCO, and this Marco had a daughter AGNESINA. Nicolo also leaves a sister BARBARA (a nun), a son GIOVANNINO (apparently illegitimate**), of age in 1351,¶ a nephew GHERARDO, and a niece FILIPPA,¶ Abbess of Sta. Catarina in Mazzorbo.

The executors of Nicolo are GIOVANNI and DONATO Polo.¶ We have not their relationship stated.

DONATO must have been the richest Polo we hear of, for in the Estimo or forced Loan of 1379 for the Genoese War, he is assessed at 23,000 *Livres*.†† A history of that war also states that he ("Donado Polo del Canareggio") presented the Government with 1000 ducats,

* Document in *Archivio* of the *Casa di Ricovero*, Bundle LXXVII., No. 209.

† *Registro di Grazie*, 4^o c. Comm. by Comm. Berchet.

‡ *Arch. Gen. dei Giudici del Proprio*, Perg. No. 82, 1st July, 1342, cites this. (Comm. Berchet.)

§ *Arch. dei Procuratori di San Marco*, with Testam. 1327, January, marked "N. H. Ser Marco Gradenigo." (Comm. Berchet.)

|| Document in *Archivio* of the *Casa di Ricovero*, Bundle LXXIV., No. 651.

¶ List (extracted in 1868-9) of Documents in the above *Archivio*, but which seem to have been since mislaid.

** Parchment in the possession of Cav. F. Stefani, containing a decision, dated 16th September, 1355, signed by the Doge and two Councillors, in favour of Giovannino Polo, natural son of the Noble Nicoletto of S. Geremia (*qu. Nobilis Viri Nicoletti Paulo*).

†† In *Galliccioli, Delle Mem. Ven. Antiche*, Ven. 1795, II. p. 136. In the MS. of *Cappellari. Campidoglio Veneto*, in the Marciana, the sum stated is 3000 only.

besides maintaining in arms himself, his son, and seven others.* Under 1388 we find Donato still living, and mention of CATARUZZA, d. of Donato :† and under 1390 of Elena, widow of Donato.†

The Testamentary Papers of Nicolo also speak of GIACOMO [or Jacopo] Polo. He is down in the *Estimo* of 1379 for 1000 *Lire* ;‡ and in 1371 an inscription in Cicogna shows him establishing a family burial-place in Sta. Maria de' Servi :‡

[M°CCC°LXXI. Die primo mensis . . . S. Dñi IACHOBI. PAVLI. DE CFINIO. SANCTI. IEREMIE. ET. SVOR. HEREDVM.]

- (1353. 2nd June. Viriola, widow of ANDREA or Andriuolo Polo of Sta. Maria Nuova ?)§
1379. In addition to those already mentioned we have NICOLO assessed at 4000 *lire*.||
1381. And apparently this is the NICOLO, son of Almorò (*Hermolaus*), who was raised to the Great Council, for public service rendered, among 30 elected to that honour after the war of Chioggia.¶ Under 1410 we find ANNA, relict of Nicolo Polo.**
1379. In this year also, ALMORO, whether father or brother of the last, contributes 4000 *lire* to the *Estimo*.||
1390. CLEMENTE Polo (died before 1397)** and his wife MADDALUZIA.** Also in this year PAOLO Polo, son of Nicolo, gave his daughter in marriage to Giov. Vitturi.††
- 1408 and 1411. CHIARA, daughter of Francesco Balbi, and widow of ERMOLAO (or Almorò) Polo, called of *Sta. Trinità*.**
1416. GIOVANNI, perhaps the Giovannino mentioned above.**
1420. 22nd November. BARTOLO, son of Ser ALMORO and of the Nobil Donna CHIARA Orio. (?)‡‡ This couple probably the same as in the penultimate entry.
- 1474, *segg.* Accounts belonging to the Trust Estate of BARTOLOMEO Polo of S. Geremia.**

There remains to be mentioned a MARCO POLO, member of the Greater Council, chosen *Auditor Sententiarum*, 7th March, 1350, and named among the electors of the Doges Marino Faliero (1354) and Giovanni Gradenigo (1355). The same person appears to have been sent as *Proveditore* to Dalmatia in 1355. As yet it is doubtful to what family he belonged, and it is *possible* that he may have belonged to our traveller's branch, and have continued that branch according to the tradition. But I suspect that he is identical with the Marco, brother of Nicolo Polo of S. Geremia, mentioned above, under 1348. (See also vol. i. p. 74.) Cappellari states distinctly that this Marco was the father of the Lady who married Azzo Trevisan. (See *Introd.* p. 78.)

We have intimated the probability that he was the Marco mentioned twice in connection with the Court of Sicily. (See vol. i. p. 79, note.)

A later Marco Polo, in 1537, distinguished himself against the Turks in

* *Della Presa di Chiozza in Muratori, Script.* xv. 785.

† Documents seen by the Editor in the Arch. of the *Casa di Ricovero*.

‡ *Cicogna*, I. p. 77.

§ *Arch. Gen. dei Giud. Perg.* No. 120.

¶ In *Gallieciolli Delle Mem. Ven. Antiche*, Ven. 1795, II. p. 136.

‡‡ *Cappellari*, MS.; *Sanuto, Vite de' Duchi di Ven.* in *Muratori*, XXII. 730.

** Documents seen by the Editor in the Arch. of the *Casa di Ricovero*.

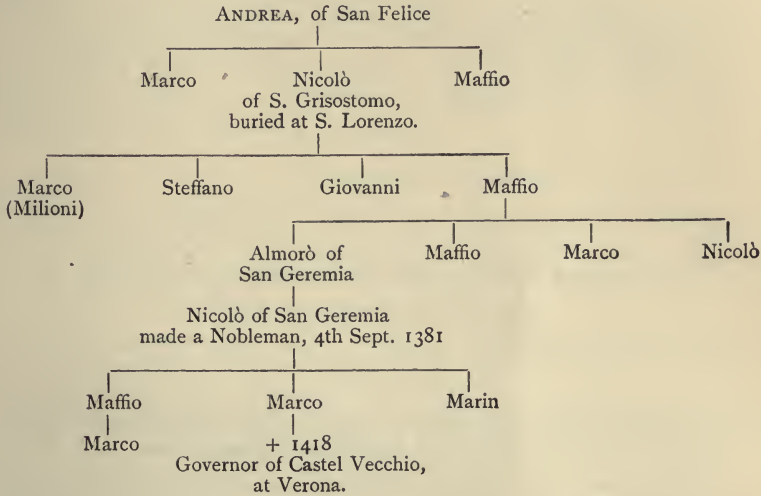
†† *Cappellari*.

‡‡ *Libro d'Oro* from 1414 to 1497 in Museo Correr. Comm. by Comm. Berchet.

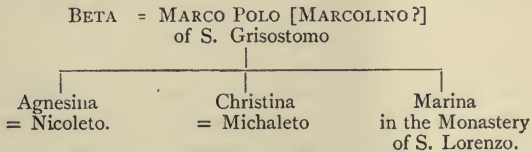
command of a ship called the *Giustiniana*; forcing his way past the enemy's batteries into the Gulf of Prevesa, and cannonading that fortress. But he had to retire, being unsupported.

It may be added that a Francesco Paulo appears among the list of those condemned for participation in the conspiracy of Baiamonte Tiepolo in 1310. (*Dandolo* in *Mur.* XII. 410, 490.)

[I note from the MS. of *Priuli, Genealogie delle famiglie nobili di Venesia*, kept in the R. Archivio di Stato at Venice, some information, pp. 4376-4378, which permit me to draw up the following Genealogy which may throw some light on the Polos of San Geremia:—



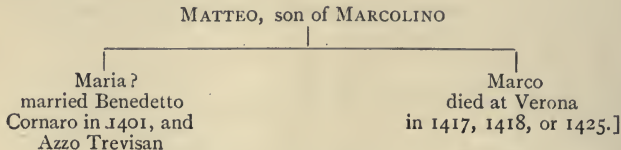
Sir Henry Yule writes above (II. p. 507) that Nicolò Polo of S. Geremia had a brother Marco, and this Marco had a daughter Agnesina. I find in the Acts of the Notary Brutti, in the Will of Elisabetta Polo, dated 14th March, 1350:—



The Maffio, son of Nicolò of S. Giov. Grisostomo, and father of Pasqua and Fiordelisa, married probably after his will (1300) and had his four sons: Almorò of S. Geremia, Maffio, Marco, Nicolò. Indeed, Cicogna writes (*Insc. Ven.* II. p. 390):—"Non apparisce che Maffeo abbia avuto figliuoli maschi da questo testamento [1300]; ma per altro non è cosa assurda il credere che posteriormente a questo testamento 1300 possa avere avuti

figliuoli maschi; ed in effetto le Genealogie gliene danno quatro, cioè *Ermolao, Maffio, Marco, Nicolò*. Il Ramusio anzi glien dà cinque, senza nominarli, uno de'quali *Marco*, e una femmina di nome *Maria*; e Marco Barbaro gliene dà sei, cioè *Nicolò, Maria, Pietro, Donado, Marco, Franceschino*."—H. C.]

[Sig. Ab. Cav. Zanetti gives (*Archivio Veneto*, XVI. 1878, p. 110). See our *Int.*, p. 78.



APPENDIX C.—*Calendar of Documents Relating to
Marco Polo and his Family.*

1.—(1280).

Will of Marco Polo of S. Severo, uncle of the Traveller, executed at Venice, 5th August, 1280. An Abstract given in vol. i. pp. 23-24.

The originals of this and the two other Wills (Nos. 2 and 8) are in St. Mark's Library. They were published first by Cicogna, *Iscrizioni Veneziane*, and again more exactly by Lazari.

2.—(1300).

Will of Maffeo Polo, brother of the Traveller, executed at Venice, 31st August, 1300. Abstract given at pp. 64-65 of vol. i.

3.—(1302).

Archivio Generale—Maggior Consiglio—Liber Magnus, p. 81.*

1392. 13 Aprilis. (Capta est): Quod fit gratia provido viro MARCO PAULO quod ipse absolvatur a penâ incursâ pro eo quod non fecit circari unam suam conductam cum ignoraverit ordinem circa hoc.

Ego MARCUS MICHAEL consiliarius m. p. s.

Ego PAULUS DELPHINUS consiliarius m. p. s.

Ego MARCUS SIBOTO de mandato ipsorum cancellavi.

* For this and for all the other documents marked with an * I am under obligation to Comm. Berchet. There is some doubt if this refer to our Marco Polo. (See vol. i. p. 66.)

4.—(1305).

Resolution of the *Maggior Consiglio*, under date 10th April, 1305, in which Marco Polo is styled Marcus Paulo Milioni. (See p. 67 of vol. i.) In the *Archivio Generale, Maggior Cons. Reg. M.S., Carta 82.*†

“Item quod fiat gratia Bonocio de Mestre de illis Libris centum quinquaginta duobus, in quibus extitit condempnatus per Capitaneos Postarum, occasione vini per eum portati contra bampnum, isto modo *videlicet* quod solvere debeat dictum debitum hinc ad annos quatuor, solvendo annuatim quartum dicti debiti per hunc modum, *scilicet* quod dictus Bonocius ire debeat cum nostris Ambaxiatoribus, et soldum quod ei competet pro ipsis viis debeat scontari, et it quod ad solvendum dictum quartum deficiat per eum vel suos plegios integre persolvatur. Et sunt plegii *Nobiles Viri* PETRUS MAUROCENO et MARCHUS PAULO MILIONI et plures alii qui sunt scripti ad Cameram Capitaneorum Postarum.”

5.—(1311).

Decision in Marco Polo's suit against Paulo Girardo, 9th March 1311, for recovery of the price of musk sold on commission, etc. (From the Archives of the *Casa di Ricovero* at Venice, *Filza No. 202.* (See vol. i. p. 70.)

“In nomine Dei Eterni Amen. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Jesu Christi millesimo trecentesimo undecimo, Mensis Marci die nono, intrante Indicione Nona, Rivoalti . . .

“Cum coram nobilibus viris Dominis CATHARINO DALMARIO et MARCO LANDO, Judicibus Peticionum, Domino LEONARDO DE MOLINO, tercio Judice curie, tunc absente, inter Nobilem Virum MARCUS POLO de confinio Sancti Johannis Grisostomi ex unâ parte, et PAULUM GIRARDO de confinio Sancti Apollinaris ex altera parte, quo ex suo officio verteretur occasione librarum trium *denariorum grossorum Venetorum* in parte unâ, quas sibi PAULO GIRARDO petebat idem MARCUS POLO pro dimidia libra muscli quam ab ipso MARCO POLO ipse PAULUS GIRARDO habuerat, et vendiderat precio suprascriptarum Librarum trium *den. Ven. gros.* et occasione *den. Venet. gross.* viginti, quos eciam ipse MARCUS POLO eidem POLO GIRARDO petebat pro manchamento unius sazii de musclo, quem dicebat sibi deficere de librâ unâ muscli, quam simul cum suprascriptâ dimidiâ ipse Paulus Girardo ab ipso MARCO POLO habuerat et receperat, in parte alterâ de dicta, Barbaro advocatori (*sic*) curie pro suprascripto MARCO POLO sive JOHANNIS (*sic*) POLO ‡ de Confinio Sancti Johannis Grisostomi constitutus in Curiâ pro ipso MARCO POLO sicut coram suprascriptis Dominis Judicibus legitimum testificatum extiterat . . . legi fecit quamdam cedulam bambazinam scriptam manu propriâ ipsius PAULI GIRARDI, cujus tenor talis, videlicet: . . . “*de avril recevi io Polo Girardo da Missier Marco Polo libre ½ de musclo metemelo libre tre de grossi. Ancora recevi io Polo libre una de musclo che me lo mete*

† For the indication of this I was indebted to Professor Minotto.

‡ This perhaps indicates that Marco's half-brother Giovannino was in partnership with him.

libre sei de grossi, et va a so risico et da sua vintura et damelo in choleganza a la metade de lo precio." * * * * "Quare cum ipse Paulus noluerit satisfacere de predictis, nec velit ad presens * * * * * Condemnatum ipsum PAULUM GIRARDO in expensis pro parte dicti MARCI PAULO factis in questione, dando et assignando sibi terminum competentem pro predictis omnibus et singulis persolvendis, in quem terminum si non solveret iudicant ipsi domini iudices quod capi debetur ipse PAULUS GERARDO et carceribus Communis Venetiarum precludi, de quibus exire non posset donec sibi MARCO PAULO omnia singula suprascripta exolvenda dixisset, non obstante absentiâ ipsius PAULI GERARDO cum sibi ex parte Domini Ducis proministeriale Curie Palatii preceptum fuisset ut hodie esset ad Curiam Peticionum.

* * * * *

"Ego KATHARINUS DALMARIO Iudex Peticionum manu meâ subscripsi

"Ego MARCUS LANDO Iudex Peticionum manu meâ subscripsi,

"Ego NICOLAUS, Presbiter Sancti Canciani notarius complevi et roboravi."

6.—(1319).

In a list of documents preserved in the Archives of the *Casa di Ricovero*, occurs the entry which follows. But several recent searches have been made for the document itself in vain.

* "No 94 MARCO GALETTI *investe della proprietâ dei beni che si trovano in S. Giovanni Grisostomo MARCO POLO di Nicolo. 1319, 10 Settembre, rogato dal notaio Nicolo Prete di S. Canciano.*"

The notary here is the same who made the official record of the document last cited.

[This document was kept in the Archives of the *Istituto degli Esposti*, now transferred to the *Archivio di Stato*, and was found by the Ab. Cav. V. Zanetti, and published by him in the *Archivio Veneto*, XVI., 1878, pp. 98-100; parchment, 1157, filza I.; Marco Polo the traveller, according to a letter of the 16th March, 1306, had made in 1304, a loan of 20 *lire di grossi* to his cousin Nicolo, son of Marco the elder; the sum remaining unpaid at the death of Nicolo, his son and heir Marcolino became the debtor, and by order of the Doge Giovanni Soranzo, Marco Galetti, according to a sentence of the *Giudici del Mobile*, of the 2nd July, transferred to the traveller Marco on the 10th September, 1319, *duas proprietates que sunt hospicia et camere posite in . . . confinio sancti Ihoanis grisostomi que fuerunt Nicolai Paulo*. This Document is important, as it shows the exact position of Marcolino in the family.—H. C.]

7.—(1323).

Document concerning House Property in S. Giovanni Grisostomo, adjoining the Property of the Polo Family, and sold by the Lady Donata to her husband Marco Polo. Dated May, 1323.

See No. 16 below.

8.—(1324).

Will of MARCO POLO. (In St. Mark's Library.) †

In Nomine Dei Eterni Amen. Anno ab Incarnatione Dni. Nri. Jhu. Xri. millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo tertio, mensis Januarii die nono, † intrante Indictione septima, Rivoalti. Divine inspirationis donum est et provide mentis arbitrium ut antequam superveniat mortis iudicium quilibet sua bona sit ordinare sollicitus ne ipsa sua bona inordinata remaneant. Quapropter ego quidem MARCUS PAULO de confinio Sancti Johannis Chrysostomi, dum cotidie debilitarer propter infirmitatem corporis, sanus tamen per Dei gratiam mente, integroque consilio et sensu, timens ne ab intestato decederem, et mea bona inordinata remanerent, vocari ad me feci JOHANEM JUSTINIANUM presbiterum Sancti Proculi et Notarium, ipsumque rogavi quatenus hoc meum scriberet testamentum per integrum et completeret. In quo meas fidecommissarias etiam constituo DONATAM dilectam uxorem meam, et FANTINAM et BELLELAM atque MORETAM peramabiles filias meas, ut secundum quod hic ordinavero darique jussero, ita ipse post obitum meum adimpleant. Primitus enim omnium volo et ordino dari rectam decimam et volo et ordino distribui libras *denariorum venetorum* duo millia ultra decimam, de quibus dimitto soldos viginti *denariorum Venet. grossarum* Monasterio Sancti Laurentii ubi meam eligo sepulturam. Item dimitto libras trecentas *den. Venet.* YSABETE QUIRINO cognate mee quas mihi dare tenetur. Item soldos quadraginta cuilibet monasteriorum et hospitaliorum a Gradu usque ad Capud Aggeris. Item dimitto conventui sanctorum Johannis et Pauli Predicatorum illud quod mihi dare tenetur, et libras decem Fratri RENERIO et libras quinque Fratri BENVENUTO Veneto Ordinis Predicatorum, ultra illud quod mihi dare tenetur. Item dimitto libras quinque cuilibet Congregationi Rivoalti

† This is printed line for line with the original; it was printed in the first edition, ii. pp. 440-441, but was omitted in the second. The translation is given in the Introductory Essay, vol. i. pp. 70-73, *segg.*; with a facsimile.

‡ *I.e.*, 9th January, 1324.

et libras quattuor cuilibet Scolarum sive fraternitatum in quibus sum. Item dimitto soldos viginti *denariorum Venetorum grossorum* Presbitero JOHANNI JUSTINIANO notario pro labore istius mei testamenti et ut Dominum pro me teneatur deprecare. Item absolvo PETRUM famulum meum de genere Tartarorum ab omni vinculo servitutis ut Deus absolvat animam meam ab omni culpâ et peccato. Item sibi remitto omnia que adquisivit in domo suâ suo labore, et insuper dimitto libras *denariorum Venetorum* centum. Residuum vero dictarum duarum millia librarum absque decimâ distribuat pro animâ meâ secundum bonam discreptionem commissariarum mearum. De aliis meis bonis dimitto suprascripte DONATE uxori et commissarie mee libras octo *denariorum Venetorum grossorum*, omni anno dum ipsa vixerit, pro suo usu, ultra suam repressam et stracium et omne capud massariarum cum tribus lectis corredatis. Omnia vero alia bona mobilia et immobilia inordinata, et si de predictis ordinatis aliqua inordinata remanerent, quocumque modo jure et formâ mihi spectantia, seu que expectare vel pertinere potuerunt vel possent, tam jure successorio et testamentario ac hereditario aut paterno fraterno materno et ex quâcumque aliâ propinquitate sive ex lineâ ascendenti et descendenti vel ex colaterali vel aliâ quâcumque de causâ mihi pertinencia seu expectancia et de quibus secundum formam statuti Veneciarum mihi expectaret, plenam et specialem facere mentionem seu dispositionem et ordinationem quamquam in hoc et in omni casu ex formâ statuti specificiter facio specialiter et expresse dimitto suprascriptis filiabus meis FANTINE, BELLELE, et MORETE, libere et absolute inter eas equaliter dividenda, ipsasque mihi heredes instituo in omnibus et singulis meis bonis mobilibus et immobilibus juribus et actionibus, tacitis et expressis qualitercumque ut predicatur michi pertinentibus et expectantibus. Salvo quod MORETA predicta filia mea habere debeat ante partem de more tantum quantum habuit quelibet aliarum filiarum mearum pro dote et corredis suis. Tamen volo quod si in hoc meo testamento essent contra statuta et consilia Communis Veneciarum corriganur et reducantur ad ipsa statuta et consilia. Preterea do et confero suprascriptis commissariabus meis post obitum meum plenam virtutem et potestatem dictam meam commissariam intromittendi administrandi et furniendi, inquirendi inter-

pellandi placitandi respondendi ad vocationem interdicta et placita tollendi, legem petendi et consequendi si opus fuerit, in anima mea jurandi, sententiam audiendi et prosequendi, vendendi et alienandi, introumittendi et interdicendi petendi et exigendi sive excuciendi omnia mea bona, et habere a cunctis personis ubicumque et apud quemcumque ea vel ex eis poterint inuenire, cum cartá et sine cartá, in curiá et extra curiá, et omnes securitatis cartas et omnes alias cartas necessarias faciendi, sicut egomet presens vivens facere possem et deberem. Et ita hoc meum Testamentum firmum et stabile esse iudico in perpetuum. Si quis ipsum frangere vel violare presumpserit maledictionem Omnipotentis Dei incurrat, et sub anathemate trecentorum decem et octo Patrum constrictus permaneat, et insuper componat ad suprascriptas meas fidecommissarias aureas libras quinque, et hec mei Testamenti Carta in suá permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti Domini Marci Paulo qui hec rogavit feri.

“Ego PETRUS GRIFO testis presbiter.

Ego NUFRIUS BARBERIUS testis.

! Ego JOHANES JUSTINIANUS presbiter Sancti Proculi et notarius complevi et roboravi.”

9.—(1325).

Release, dated 7th June, 1325, by the Lady Donata and her three daughters, Fantina, Bellella, and Marota, as Executors of the deceased Marco Polo, to Marco Bragadino. (From the *Archivio Notarile* at Venice.)

“In nomine Dei Eterni Amen. Anno ab Inc. Dni. Ntri. Jhu. Xri. Millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo quinto, mensis Junii die septimo, exeunte Indictione octavâ, Rivoalti.

“Plenam et irrevocabilem securitatem facimus nos DONATA relicta, FANTINA, BELLELLA et MAROTA quondam filie, et nunc omnes commissarie MARCI POLO de confinio Sancti Joannis Grisostomi cum nostris successoribus, tibi MARCO BRAGADINO quondam de confinio Sancti Geminiani nunc de confinio Sancti Joannis Grisostomi, quondam genero antedicti MARCI POLO et tuis heredibus, de omnibus bonis mobilibus quondam suprascripti MARCI POLO seu ipsius commissarie per te dictum MARCHUM BRAGADINO quoque modo et formâ intromissis habitis et receptis, ante obitum, ad obitum, et post obitum ipsius MARCI POLO, et insuper de tota colleganciâ quam a dicti quondam MARCO POLO habuisti, et de ejus lucro usque ad presentem diem * * * * * si igitur contra hanc securitatis cartam ire temptaverimus tunc emendare debeamus cum nostris successoribus tibi et tuis heredibus auri libras quinque, et hec securitatis carta in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascriptarum DONATE relicte, FANTINE, BELLELE et MAROTE, omnium filiarum et nunc commissarie, que hec rogaverunt fieri.

“Ego PETRUS MASSARIO clericus Ecclesie Scti. Geminiani testis subscripsi.

“Ego SIMEON GORGII de Jadra testis subscripsi.

“Ego DOMINICUS MOZZO presbiter plebanus Scti. Geminiani et notarius complevi et roboravi.

“† Ego MARCUS BARISANO presbiter Canonicus et notarius ut vidi in matre testis sum in filliâ.

“† Ego JOANNES TEUPULLO Judex Esaminatorum ut vidi in matre testis sum in filliâ.

“(L. S.-N.) Ego magister ALBERTINUS DE MAYIS Notarius Veneciarum hoc exemplum exemplari anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi Millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo quinto mensis Julii die septimo, intrante indictione octava, Rivoalti, nil addens nec minuens quod sententiam mutet vel sensum tollat, complevi et roboravi.” †

† This was printed in the First Edition (ii. p. 442), but was omitted in the Second.

10.—(1326).

Resolution of Counsel of XL, condemning Zanino Grioni for insulting Donna Moreta Polo in Campo San Vitale.

(*Avvogaria di Comun.* Reg. I. Raspe, 1324-1341, Carta 23 del 1325.)*

“MCCCXXV. Die xxvi. Februarii.

“Cum ZANINUS GRIONI quondam Ser LIONARDI GRIONI contrate Sancte Heustachii diceretur intulisse iniuriam Domine MORETE qm. Dni. MARCI POLO, de presente mense in Campo Sancti Vitalis et de verbis iniuriosis et factis Capta fuit pars hodie in dicto consilio de XL. quod dictus ZANINUS condemnatus sit ad standum duobus mensibus in carceribus comunis, scilicet in quarantia.

“Die eodem ante prandium dictus ZANINUS GRIONI fuit consignatus capitaneo et custodibus quarantie,” etc.

11.—(1328).

(*Maj. Cons. Delib. Brutus, c. 77.*)*

“MCCCXXVII. Die 27 Januarii.

“Capta. Quod quoddam instrumentum vigoris et roboris processi et facti a quondam Ser MARCO PAULO contra Ser HENRICUM QUIRINO et Pauli dictum dictum Sclavo [*sic*] JOHANNI et PHYLIPPO et ANFOSIO QUIRINO, scriptum per presbyterum Johannem Taiapetra, quod est adheo corosum quod legi non potest, relevetur et fiat,” etc.

12.—(1328).

Judgment on a Plaint lodged by Marco Polo, called Marcolino, regarding a legacy from Maffeo Polo the Elder. (See I. p. 77.)

(*Avvogaria di Comun.* Raspe Reg. i. 1324-1341, c. 14 tergo, del 1329.)*

“1328. Die xv. Mensis Marcii.

“Cum coram dominis Advocatoribus Comunis per D. MARCUM, dictum MARCOLINUM PAULO sancti Johannis Grisostomi fuisset querela depositata de translatione et alienatione imprestitorum olim Domini MAPHEI PAULO majoris Scti. Joh. Gris., facta domino MARCO PAULO de dicto confinio in MCCCXVIII mense Maii, die xi, et postea facta heredibus ejusdem dni. MARCI PAULO post ejus mortem, cum videretur eisdem dominis Advocatoribus quod dicte translationes et alienationes imprestitorum fuerint injuste ac indebite facte, videlicet in tantum quantum sunt libre mille dimisse MARCO dicto MARCOLINO PAULO predicto in testamento dicti olim dni. MATHEI PAULO maioris, facti in anno domini MCCCXVIII mense Februarii die vi intrante indictione viii^a Capta fuit pars in ipso consilio de XL^{ta} quod dicta translactio et alienatio imprestitorum revocentur, cassentur, et annullentur, in tantum videlicet quantum sunt dicte mille libre,” etc.

13.—(1328).

Grant of citizenship to Marco Polo's old slave Peter the Tartar. (See vol. i. p. 72.)

(*Maj. Conc. Delib. Brutus, Cart. 78 t.*)*

“MCCCXXVIII, die vii Aprilis.

“(Capta) Quod fiat gratia PETRO S. Marie Formose, olim sclavorum Ser MARCI PAULI Sancti Joh. Gris., qui longo tempore fuit Venetiis, pro suo bono portamento, de cetero sit Venetus, et pro Venetus [*sic*] haberi et tractari debeat.”

14.—(1328).

Process against the Lady Donata Polo for a breach of trust. See vol. i. p. 77 (as No. 12, c. 8, del 1328).*

“MCCCXXVIII. Die ultimo Maii.

“Cum olim de mandato . . . curie Petitionum, ad petitionem Ser BERTUTII QUIRINO factum fuerit apud Dominam DONATAM PAULO Sancti Joh. Gris., quoddam sequestrum de certis rebus, inter quas erant duo sachi cum Venetis grossis intus, legati et bullati, et postea in una capsellâ sigillatâ repositi, prout in scripturis dicti sequestri plenus continetur. Et cum diceretur fuisse subtractam aliquam pecunie quantitatem, non bono modo, de dictis sachis, post dictum sequestrum, et dictâ de causâ per dictos dominos Advocatores . . . fuerit hodie in consilio de XL. placitata dicta Dna. DONATA PAULO, penes quam dicta capsella cum sachis remansit hucusque.

. cum per certas testimonia habeatur quod tempore sequestri facti extimata fuit pecunia de dictis sacchis esse libras lxxx grossorum vel circha,† et quando postea numerata fuit inventam esse solummodo libras xlv grossorum et grossos xxii, quod dicta Dna. Donata teneatur et debeat restituere et consignare in saculo seu saculis, loco pecunie que ut predicitur deficit et extrata, et ablata est libras xxv [sic] grossorum. Et ultra hoc pro penâ ut ceteris transeat in exemplum condempnetur in libris ducentis et solvat eas.”

15.—(1330).

Remission of fine incurred by an old servant of Marco Polo's.

(Reg. Grazie 3°, c. 40.)*

“MCCCXXX, iiii Septembris.

“Quod fiat gratia MANULLI familiari Ser MARCI POLO sancti Joh. Gris. quod absolvatur a penâ librarum L pro centenariis, quam dicunt officiales Levantis incurrisse pro eo quod ignorans ordines et pure non putans facere contra aliqua nostra ordinamenta cum galeis que de Ermeniâ venerunt portavit Venecias tantum piperis et lanæ quod constitit supra soldos xxv grossorum tanquam forenses (?). Et officiales Levantis dicunt quod non possunt aliud dicere nisi quod solvat. Sed consideratis bonitate et legalitate dicti Manulli, qui mercatores cum quibus stetit fideliter servivit, sibi videtur peccatum quod debeat amittere aliud parum quod tam longo tempore cum magnis laboribus acquisivit, sunt contenti quod dicta gratia sibi fiat.”

16.—(1333).

Attestation by the Gastald and Officer of the Palace Court of his having put the Lady Donata and her daughters in possession of two tenements in S. Giovanni Grisostomo. Dated 12th July, 1333.

(From the *Archivio* of the *Istituto degli Esposti*, No. 6.)‡

The document begins with a statement, dated 22nd August, 1390, by MORANDUS DE CAROVELLIS, parson of St. Apollinaris and Chancellor of the Doge's Aula, that the original document having been lost, he, under authority of the Doge and Councils, had formally renewed it from the copy recorded in his office.

In nomine Dei Eterni Amen. Anno ab Incarn. D. N. J. C. millesimo

† About 300*l.* sterling.

‡ For this I was indebted to Comm. Barozzi.

trecentesimo tregesimo tertio mensis Julii die duodecimo, intrantis indicione primâ Rivoalti. Testificor Ego DONATUS Gastaldio Dni. nostri Dni. Francisci Dandulo Dei gratiâ incltyi Venetiarum Ducis, et Ministerialis Curie Palatii, quod die tercio intrante suprascripti mensis Julii, propter preceptum ejusdem Dni. Ducis, secundum formam statuti Veneciarum, posui in tenutam et corporalem possessionem DONATAM quondam uxorem, FANTINAM et MORETAM quondam filias, omnes commissarias Nobilis Viri MARCI PAULO de confinio Scti. Johannis Grisostomi, nomine ipsius Commissarie, cum BELELLA olim filiâ et similiter nominatâ commissariâ dicti MARCI PAULO * * * de duabus proprietatibus terrarum et casis copertis et discopertis positis in dicto confinio Scti. Johannis Grisostomi, que firmant prout inferius in infrascripte notitie cartâ continetur * * * * ut in eâ legitur :

“Hec est carta fata anno ab Inc. D. N. J. C. millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo tercio, mensis Maij die nono, exeunte Indictione sextâ, Rivoalti, quam fieri facit Dnus. Johannes Superantio D. G. Veneciarum Dalmacie atque Croacie olim Dux, cum suis iudicibus examinatorum, suprascripto Marco Paulo postquam venit ante suam suorumque iudicum examinatorum presenciam ipse MARCUS PAULO de confinio Scti. Johannis Grisostomi, et ostendit eis duas cartas completas et roboratas, prima quarum est venditionis et securitatis carta, facta anno ab Inc. D. N. J. C. (1321) mensis Junii die decimo, intrante indicione quintâ, Rivoalti; quâ manifestum fecit ipsa DONATA uxor MARCI PAULO de confinio Scti. Johannis Grisostomi cum suis successoribus quia in Dei et Christi nomine dedit, vendidit, atque transactavit sibi MARCO PAULO viro suo de eodem confinio et suis heredibus duas suas proprietates terre, et casas copertas et discopertas, que sunt hospicia, videlicet camere et camini, simul conjuncta versus Rivum . . . secundum quod dicta proprietas sive hospicium firmat ab uno suo capite, tam superius quam inferius, in muro comuni huic proprietati et proprietati MARCI PAULO et STEPHANI PAULO. Et ab alio suo capite firmat in uno alio muro comuni huic proprietati et predictorum MARCI et STEPHANI PAULO. Ab imo suo latere firmat in supradicto Rivo. Et alio suo latere firmat tam superius quam inferius in salis sive porticis que sunt comunes huic proprietati et proprietati suprascriptorum MARCI et STEPHANI PAULO fratrum. Unde hec proprietas sive hospicia habent introitum et exitum per omnes scalas positas a capite dictarum salarum sive porticum usque ad curiam et ad viam comunem discurrentem ad Ecclesiam Scti. Johannis Grisostomi et alio. Et est sciendum quod curia, puthei, gradate, et latrine sunt comunes huic proprietati et proprietati suprascriptorum MARCI et STEPHANI PAULO fratrum. * * * *

[The definition of the second tenement—*una cusina*—follows, and then a long detail as to a doubt regarding common rights to certain *sale sive porticus magne que respiciunt et sunt versus Ecclesiam Scti. Johannis Grisostomi*, and the discussion by a commission appointed to report; and, again, similar detail as to stairs, wells, etc.]-“declaraverunt et determinaverunt omnes suprascripti cancellarii in concordia quod tam putheus qui est in dictâ curiâ, quam etiam putheus qui est extra curiam ad quem itur per quamdam januam que est super calle extra januam principalem tocius proprietatis de CHA POLO, sunt communes supradictis duabus proprietatibus MARCI PAULO et toti reliquo dicte proprietatis quod est indivisum.” * * * * Et ego supra-

scriptus DONATUS Gastaldio supradicti Dni. Ducis secundum predictas declarationes et determinationes posui suprascriptas commissarias dicti MARCI PAULO die suprascripto tercio intrante mensis Julii in tenutam et possessionem de suprascriptis duabus proprietatibus confinatis in cartâ noticie supradicte. Et hoc per verum dico testimonium. Signum supradicti DONATI Gastaldionis Dni. Ducis, et Ministerialis Curie Palacii, qui hec rogavit fieri.†

17.—(1336).

Release granted by Agnes Lauredano, sister, and by Fantina Bragadino and Moreta Dolphyno, daughters, and all three Trustees of the late Domina Donata, relict of Dominus Marcus Polo of S. Giov. Grisostomo, to Dominus Raynuzo Dolphyno of the same, on account of 24 *lire of grossi* † which the Lady Donata Polo had advanced to him on pledge of many articles. Dated 4th March, 1336. The witnesses and notary are the same as in the next.

(In the *Archivio Generale; Pacta, Serie T, No. 144.*)

18.—(1336).

Release by the Ladies Fantina and Moreta to their aunt Agnes Lauredano and themselves, as Trustees of the late Lady Donata, on account of a legacy left them by the latter.§ Dated 4th March, 1336.

(In the *Archivio Generale; Pacta, Serie T, No. 143.*)

“Plenam et irrevocabilem securitatem facimus nos FANTINA uxor MARCI BRAGADINO de confinio Scti. Johannis Grisostomi et Moreta uxor RENUZI DELFINO de dicto confinio Scti. Johannis Grisostomi, ambe sorores, et filie comdam DONATE relicte Domini MARCI POLO de dicto confinio Scti. J. G. cum nostris successoribus, vobis AGNETI LAUREDANO, comdam sorori, ac nobis preditis FANTINE et MORETE olim filiabus (predicte DONATE) omnibus commissariabus predicte DONATE relicte dicti Domini MARCI POLO de predicto confinio S. J. G. et vestris ac nostris successoribus de libris *denariorum Veneciarum Grossorum* quadraginta quinque, que libre *den. Ven. gros.* quadraginta quinque sunt pro parte librarum *den. Ven. gros.* quadraginta octo quas suprascripta Domina Donata olim mater nostra secundum formam sui testamenti cartam nobis dimisit, in quibus libris . . . sententiam obtinuimus . . . anno ab Inc. D.N.J.C. Millesimo trecentesimo trigesimo quinto mensis februarii die ultimo (29th February, 1336) indictione, quartâ Rivoalti.

“Signum suprascriptarum Fantine et Morete que hec rogaverunt fieri.

“Ego MARCUS LOVARI Canonicus Sancti Marci testis subscripsi.

“Ego NICOLETUS DE BONOMO Canonicus Sancti Marci testis subscripsi.

“(L. S. N.) Ego Presbiter GUIDO TREVISANO Canonicus Sancti Marci et Notarius complevi et roboravi.”

† See i. p. 37.—Reprinted from the First Edition.

‡ About 907.

§ Of 48 lire of grossi, or about 1807.

19.—(1388).

[Document dated 15th May, 1388, found at the Archives *degli Esposti*, now at the *Archivio di Stato*, by the Ab. Cav. V. Zanetti, containing a sentence of the *Giudici della Curia del Procuratore* in favour of Pietro Bragadin against *Agnesina*, sister, and *Catarinuza*, widow of *Matteo Polo di S. Giovanni Grisostomo*, for work done. This document is interesting, as it shows that this Matteo was a son of Marcolino. Published partly in the *Archivio Veneto*, XVI., 1878, pp. 102-103.—H. C.]

20.—(1388.)

[Document dated 15th May, 1388, found in the Archives *degli Esposti*, now at the *Archivio di Stato*, by the Ab. Cav. V. Zanetti, and mentioned by him in the *Archivio Veneto*, XVI., 1878, pp. 104-105, containing a sentence of the *Giudici della Curia del Procuratore* in favour of Pietro Bragadin against the Commissaries of the late Matteo Polo.—H. C.]

APPENDIX D.—Comparative Specimens of *Polo's Text*.

1. MS. PARIS LIBRARY, 7367 (now Fr. 11116).
(*Geographic Text*)

Quant l'en se part de le isle de PENTAM e l'en ala por yseloc entor cent miles, adonc treuve le ysle de JAVA LA MENOR; mès si sachiés q'ele ne est pas si peïtte q'ele ne gire environ plus de deus mille milles, et de ceste ysle voz conteron toute la virité. Or sachiés que sor ceste ysle ha huit roïames et huit rois coronés en ceste ysle, e sunt tuit ydres et ont langajes por elles. Car sachiés che chascun des roïames ont langajes por eles. En ceste ysle a mout grandisme habundance de trespour et de toutes chieres especes e leïgn aloie et espi, et de maintes autres especes que unques n'en vinent en nostre pais. Or vos voil conter la manieres de toutes cestes jens, cascune por soi, e vos dirai primerment une cousse que bien senblera à cascun mervoïllose cousse. Or sachiés tout voïrment que ceste ysle est tant à midi que la stolle de tramontaine ne apert ne pou ne grant. Or noz retourneron à la maniere des homes, e voz conteron toute avant dou roïame de FERLEC.

FRENCH.

2. MS. OF PARIS LIBRARY, 10260 (Fr. 5631)
(*Pauthier's MS. A.*)

Quant on se part de l'isle de MALIUR, et on nage quatre vingt dix milles, adonc treuve en l'isle de Java la Meneur; mais elle n'est mie si petite qu'elle n'ait de tour ii. milles. Et si vous conteray de cette isle l'affaire.

Sachiez que sus ceste isle a vij. royaumes et vij. rois couronnés. Ilz sont tuit ydolastres; et si a, chascun royaume, son langage par soy. Il y a en ceste isle grant quantité d'espiceries. Et si vous conteray la maniere de la plus grant partie de ces huit royaumes. Mais je vous diray avant une chose. Etachiez que ceste isle est si vers midi que l'estoille tremontaine n'y apert.

Or nous retournerons à notre matière, et vous conterons tout avant du royaume de FALC.

3. BERN MS.
(*T. de Cepoy's Type.*)

Quant l' en se part de l'isle de MALAIUR, et l'en a nage par seloc environ ^{xx} 1111 et x milles, il dont treuve l'en la petite Isle de JAVA, mais elle n'est pas si petite qu'elle ne dure bien environ ij milles. Et si vous conterons de ceste isle tout l'affaire et verité.

Oreachiez que sous ceste isle y a vij. royaumes et viii. roys couronnez, car chascun roy si a couronne par soy. Il sont tout ydres et chascun royaume par soy a son langage. Il y a en ceste isle moult grant tresor, et si y a moult despeceries de moult de manieres. [Et si vous conteray la maniere]* de la plus grant part de ces viii. royaumes chascun par soy, mais avant vous diray une chose qui moult samblera estrange à chascun. Sachiez que l'estoille de Tramontane apert ne pou ne assez.

Or retournerons nous a nostre maniere.

* Omitted in MS. or at least in my transcript.

ITALIAN.

4. CRUSCA.

Quando l'uomo si parte dell' isola di PETAM, e l'uomo va per isciroc da c miglia, trova l'isola di LAVA LA MINORE, ma ella non è sì piccola ch' ella non giri ii. M miglia: e di questa isola vi conterà tutto il vero. Sappiate che in su questa isola hae viii. re coronati, e sono tutti idoli, e ciascuno di questi reami ha lingua per sè. Qui ha grande abbondanza di tesoro e di tutte care ispezierie. Or vi conterà la maniera di tutti questi reami di ciascuno per sè; e dirovvi una cosa che parrà maraviglia ad ogni uomo, che questa isola è tanto verso mezzodi, che la tramontana non si vede nè poco nè assai. Or torneremo alla maniera degli uomini, e dirovvi del reame di FERRET.

5. BERN ITALIAN.

Se lo homo se parte da PENTAN e navicha per sirocho c. mia, trova l' isola de IANA MINORE che volze ben piu de ii. mia. In la q^{le} isola è viii. regnami, e ciascun regname ha uno re. La zente de questa isola ha linguazo per si e sono idolatri e ge grande habundantia de specie che non sono mai in nostre contrade. Questa isola è tanto verso mezodi chel non se po veder la stella tramontana ne pocho ne assai. Jo non fui in tutti li regnami de questa provincia ma fui in solo lo regname de FORLETTI e in quel de BASARON e in quello de SAMARA e in quello de GROIAN e in quel de LAMBRIN e in quello de FANFIRO. In li altri dui non fui. E pero io ne diro pur de questi dove sum stado.

6. RAMUSIO'S PRINTED TEXT.

Quando si parte dall' Isola PENTAN, e che s' è navigato circa a cento miglia per Scirocco, si truova l' Isola di GLAUA MINORE. Ma non è però così picciola, che non giri circa due mila miglia a torno a torno. Et in quest' isola son' otto reami, et otto Re. Le genti della quale adorano gl' idoli, & in ciascun regno v' è linguaggio da sua posta, diverso dalla favella de gli altri regni. V' è abbondanza di thesoro, & di tutte le specie, & di legno d' aloe, verzino, ebanò, & di molte altri sorti di specie, che alla patria nostra per la longhezza del viaggio, & pericoli del navigare non si portano, ma si portan' alla provincia di Mangi, & del Cataio.

Hor vogliamo dire della maniera di questi genti di ciascuna partitamente per se, ma primamente è da sapere, che quest' isola è posta tanto verso le parti di mezzo giorno, che quivi la stella Tramontana non si puo vedere, & M. Marco fu in sei reami di quest' isola, de' quali, qui se ne parlerà, lasciando gli altri due che non vidde.

APPENDIX D.—Comparative Recensions of *Polo's Text*.—(continued.)

LATIN.			
<p>7. MS. OF PARIS LIBRARY, 3195. (Geographic Latin.)</p> <p>Quando homo recedit de insula de PENTAY et vadit per silochium centum miliaria, invenit insulam minorem de JAVA, et est ista insula parva et durat duo millia miliaria; et de istâ insulâ computabo vobis omnia. Super istâ insulâ sunt octo regna, in sex quorum ego Marcus fui, scilicet in regnis Ferlech, Basman, Samara, Dragoiam, Lambri et Fansur. In aliis autem duobus octo regna, ita sunt octo reges coronati, et sunt omnes idolatrae. Et quodlibet istorum regnorum habet linguam per se. Ibi est magna abundantia thesauri et de omnibus caris speciebus; et dicam vobis de istâ insulâ quaedam quae videbuntur mirabilia. Ista insula est tantum versus meridiem quod tramontana non videtur ibi nec parvum nec multum. Postquam diximus vobis de insulâ et de regnis ipsis, nunc computemus de moribus hominum ipsius insulae, et primo de regno Ferlech.</p>	<p>8. PIPINO'S VERSION (British Museum, King's Libr. 14 c. xiii.).</p> <p>Ultra Insulam Pentham per Syrochum post miliaria centum invenit insulam quae dicitur JAVA MINOK quae in suo ambitu continet miliaria duo millia. Ibi sunt octo regna cum singulis regibus et est ibi propria lingua. Et omnes habitatores insulae ydolatrie sectatores sunt. Ibi est omnium aromatum copia, quarum similitudinem nunquam vidimus citra mare. Hec insula in tantum est ad meridiem posita, quod de ipsâ insula Polus Arcticus videri non poterit stella seu illa quae vulgariter dicitur Tramontana. Ego autem Marcus fui in sex regnis hujus insulae, sc. in regnis FERLECH, BASMAN, SAMARA, DRAGOIAN, LAMBRI et FANSUR. In aliis autem duobus non fui. Et primo dicam de regno Ferlech.</p>	<p>9. VERSION OF CICOGNA MS. in Museo Civico, Venice.</p> <p>Ab ynsulâ Pentain circa 100 mil. versus Syroch est ynsula JAVA que licet Minor dicatur per respectum alterius supradicte est in circuitu [sic] 2000 mil. et plus. In ipsâ enim sunt 8 regna singuli* et reges, et habet quodlibet regnum per se proprium ydeoma, et est in ipsâ tesaurus multus valde et species magni valoris multe, et lignum aloes et spica, et multe diverse species que nunquam in nostris partibus appertantur. Et est hec ynsula in tantum versus meridiem posita quod Polus Arcticus breviter non apparet.</p> <p>* Word doubtful.</p>	<p>10. VERSION PRINTED IN THE NOVUS ORBIS OF GRYNÆUS.</p> <p>Ultra insulam PETAN, per Sirochum navigando, est JAVA MINOR, centum distans miliaribus à PETAN: et hec in circuitu continere dicitur circiter duo millia miliarium. Dividitur insula in octo regna, habetque linguam propriam. Pro- ducit etiam varia aromata, qualia in his nostris partibus nunquam visa sunt. . . . Protenditur hæc insula in tantum ad Austrum, ut polus Arcticus, et stelle ejus minime videri possent. Ego Marcus fui in hac insula, lustravique sex ejus regna, nempe regnum Ferlech, Basman, Samara, Dragoiam, Lambri, et Fansur. In aliis vero duobus non fui.</p>

APPENDIX E.—*The Preface of Friar Pipino to his Latin Version of Marco Polo.*

(Circa 1315—1320.)

“The Book of that prudent, honourable, and most truthful gentleman, MESSER MARCO POLO of Venice, concerning the circumstances and manners of the Regions of the East, which he conscientiously wrote and put forth in the Vulgar Tongue, I, FRIAR FRANCESCO PIPINO of Bologna, of the Order of the Preaching Friars, am called upon by a number of my Fathers and Masters to render faithfully and truthfully out of the vulgar tongue into the Latin. And this, not merely because they are themselves persons who take more pleasure in Latin than in vernacular compositions, but also that those who, owing to the diversity of languages and dialects, might find the perusal of the original difficult or impossible, may be able to read the Book with understanding and enjoyment.

“The task, indeed, which they have constrained me to undertake, is one which they themselves could have executed more competently, but they were averse to distract their attention from the higher contemplations and sublime pursuits to which they are devoted, in order to turn their thoughts and pens to things of the earthy. I, therefore, in obedience to their orders, have rendered the whole substance of the Book into such plain Latin as was suited to its subject.

“And let none deem this task to be vain and unprofitable; for I am of opinion that the perusal of the Book by the Faithful may merit an abounding Grace from the Lord; whether that in contemplating the variety, beauty, and vastness of God’s Creation, as herein displayed in His marvellous works, they may be led to bow in adoring wonder before His Power and Wisdom; or, that, in considering the depths of blindness and impurity in which the Gentile Nations are involved, they may be constrained at once to render thanks to God Who hath deigned to call His faithful people out of such perilous darkness into His marvellous Light, and to pray for the illumination of the hearts of the Heathen. Hereby, also, the sloth of undevout Christians may be put to shame, when they see how much more ready the nations of the unbelievers are to worship their Idols, than are many of those who have been marked with Christ’s Token to adore the True God. Moreover, the hearts of some members of the religious orders may be moved to strive for the diffusion of the Christian Faith, and by Divine Aid to carry the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, forgotten among so vast multitudes, to those blinded nations, among whom the harvest is indeed so great, and the labourers so few.

“But lest the inexperienced Reader should regard as beyond belief the many strange and unheard of things that are related in sundry passages of this Book, let all know MESSER MARCO POLO, the narrator of these marvels, to be a most respectable, veracious, and devout person, of most honourable character, and receiving such good testimony from all his acquaintance, that his many virtues claim entire belief for that which he relates. His Father, Messer Nicolo, a man of the highest respectability, used to relate all these things in the same manner. And his uncle, Messer Maffeo, who is spoken of in the Book, a man of ripe wisdom and piety, in familiar conversation with his Confessor when on his death-bed, maintained unflinchingly that the whole of the contents of this Book were true.

“Wherefore I have, with a safer conscience, undertaken the labour of this Translation, for the entertainment of my Readers, and to the praise of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of all things visible and invisible.”

APPENDIX F.—*Note of MSS. of Marco Polo so far as they are known.*

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF MSS.

	LATIN	FRENCH	ITALIAN	GERMAN	IRISH	TOTAL
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16
Cambridge . . .	3	...	...	...	...
Dublin . . .	1	...	...	...	...
Lismore Castle . . .	...	...	...	...	1	
Glasgow . . .	2	...	...	...	...
London . . .	4	2	1	...	...
Oxford . . .	1	1	...	...	...
FRANCE ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
Paris . . .	4	7	1	...	...
LUXEMBURG ...	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
BELGIUM ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Brussels . . .	...	1	...	...	...
ITALY ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29
Venice . . .	4	...	2	...	...
Ferrara . . .	...	...	1	...	...
Milan . . .	1	...	...	...	...
Modena . . .	1	...	...	...	...
Florence . . .	1	...	8	...	...
Lucca . . .	...	...	1	...	...
Siena . . .	...	...	1	...	...
Rome . . .	4	1	4	...	...
SPAIN ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Escorial . . .	1	...	...	...	...
Toledo . . .	1	...	1	...	...
SWITZERLAND ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Bern . . .	...	1	1	...	...
Vevey . . .	...	1	...	...	...
GERMANY ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16
Munich . . .	4	...	...	4	...	
Wolfenbüttel . . .	2	...	...	...	...
Berlin . . .	1	...	...	1	...	
Würzburg . . .	1	...	...	...	...
Giessen . . .	1	...	...	...	...
Jena . . .	1	...	...	...	...
Mentz . . .	1	...	...	...	...
AUSTRIA ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Prague . . .	1	...	...	...	...
Vienna . . .	...	...	...	1	...	
SWEDEN ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Stockholm . . .	...	2	...	...	...
	41	16	21	6	1	85

I add Lists of the Miniatures in two of the finer MSS. as noted from examination.

LIST OF MINIATURES IN THE GREAT VOLUME OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL LIBRARY, COMMONLY KNOWN AS 'LE LIVRE DES MERVEILLES' (FR. 2810) WHICH BELONG TO THE BOOK OF MARCO POLO.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Frontispiece. "Comment les deux freres se partirent de Constanti- nople pour chechier du monde." 2. Conversation with the Ambassadors at Bokhara (fol. 2). 3. The Brothers before the G. Kaan (f. 2 v.). 4. The Kaan giving them Letters (f. 3). 5. " " " " a Golden Tablet (f. 3 v.). 6. The Second Departure from Venice (f. 4). 7. The Polos before Pope Gregory (f. 4 v.) 8. The two elder Polos before the Kaan presenting Book and Cross (f. 5). 9. The Polos demand <i>congé</i> (f. 6). 10. (Subject obscure) (f. 7). 11. Georgians, and Convent of St. Leonard (f. 8). 12. The Calif shut up in his Treasury (f. 9). 13. The Calif ordering Christians to move the Mountain (f. 10). 14. Miracle of the Mountain (God is seen pushing it) (f. 10 v.) 15. The three Kings <i>en route</i> (f. 11 v.). 16. " " " " adoring the Fire (f. 12). 17. (Subject obscure— Travelling in Persia?) (f. 12 v.) 18. Cattle of Kerman (f. 13 v.). 19. Ship from India arriving at Hormus (f. 14 v.). 20. Travelling in a Wood, with Wild Beasts (f. 15 v.). 21. The Old Man's Paradise (f. 16 v.). 22. The Old Man administering the Potion (f. 17). 23. Hunting Porcupines in Badashan (f. 18). 24. Digging for Rubies in Badashan (f. 18). | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 25. Kashmir — the King maintaining Justice (<i>i.e.</i>, seeing a Man's head cut off) (f. 19 v.). 26. Baptism of Chagatai (f. 20 v.). 27. People of Charchan in the Desert (f. 21 v.). 28. Idolaters of Tangut with Ram before Idol (f. 22 v.). 29. Funeral Festivities of Tangut (f. 23). 30. (Subject obscure) (f. 24). 31. Coronation of Chinghiz (f. 25 v.). 32. Chinghiz sends to Prester John (f. 26). 33. Death of Chinghiz (f. 27). 34. (Subject obscure) (f. 28). 35. Some of Pliny's Monsters (<i>à propos de bottes</i>) (f. 29 v.). 36. A Man herding White Cattle (?) (f. 30 v.). 37. Kúblái hawking, with Cheeta <i>en croupe</i> (f. 31 v.). 38. Kaan on Elephant, in Battle with Nayan (f. 33). 39. Nayan with his wife surprised by the enemy (f. 34). 40. The Kaan's four Queens (f. 36). 41. The Kaan's Palace, with the Lake and Green Mount (f. 37). 42. The Kaan's Son's Palace (f. 38). 43. The Kaan's Banquet (f. 39). 44. " " worship of Idols (f. 40). 45. The Kaan travelling in Horse- litter (f. 41). 46. " " hunting (f. 42). 47. " " in Elephant - litter (f. 42 v.). 48. The White Feast (f. 44). 49. The Kaan gives Paper for Treasure (f. 45). 50. Couriers arrive before Kaan (f. 46 v.). 51. The Kaan transplants big Trees (f. 47 v.). 52. The Bridge Pulisangin (f. 49). 53. The Golden King as a Cow-herd (f. 50). 54. Trade on the Caramoran (f. 51). |
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| <p>55. The Girls of Tibet (f. 52 v.).
 56. Fishing Pearls in Caidu (f. 54).
 57. Dragons of Carajan (f. 55 v.).
 58. Battle of Vochan (f. 58).
 59. The Forests of Mien, Elephants in the Wood (f. 59).
 60. " " and Unicorns, etc. (f. 59 v.).
 61. Lion hunting in Coloman (f. 61).
 62. Return from the Chase (f. 62 v.).
 63. The Queen of Manzi surrenders (f. 64).
 64. The City of Quinsai (f. 67).
 65. The Receipt of Custom at Quinsai (f. 69).
 66. Curiosities brought from India to Great Kaan (f. 71).
 67. War with Chipangu (f. 72).
 68. Scene at Sea (an Expedition to Chipangu?) (f. 73 v.).</p> | <p>69. Cannibals of Sumatra (f. 74 v.).
 70. Cynocephali (rather Alopecocephali!) (f. 76 v.).
 71. The folk of Ma'abar, without raiment (f. 78).
 72. Idol worship of Indian girls (f. 80).
 73. The Valley of Diamonds (f. 82).
 74. Brahmin Merchants (f. 83).
 75. Pepper gathering (f. 84).
 76. Wild Beasts (f. 85).
 77. City of Cambaia (f. 86 v.).
 78. Male and Female Islands (f. 87).
 79. Madagascar (f. 88).
 80. Battle of the Abyssinian Kings (f. 89 v.).
 81. City of the Ichthyophagi (f. 91).
 82. Arab horses at Calatu (f. 92).
 83. Wars of Caidu (f. 93 v.).
 84. Prowess of Caidu's daughter (f. 95 v.).*</p> |
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LIST OF MINIATURES IN THE BODLEIAN MS. OF MARCO POLO.†

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| <p>1. <i>Frontispiece</i> (f. 218).
 2. The Kaan giving the Golden Tablet.
 3. Presentation of Pope's Letter.
 4. Taking of Baudas.
 5. The Bishop before the Calif.
 6. The Three Kings at Bethlehem.
 7. White Oxen of Kerman.
 8. Paradise of the Old Man.
 9. River of Balashan.
 10. City of Campichu.
 11. Battle with Prester John.
 12. Tartars and their Idols.
 13. The Kaan in his Park at Chandu.
 14. Idol Worship.</p> | <p>15. Battle with Nayan.
 16. Death of the Rebels.
 17. Kaan rewarding his Officers.
 18. " at Table.
 19. " hunting.
 20. The Kaan and his Barons.
 21. The Kaan's alms.
 22. City of Kenjanfu.
 23. " " Sindinfu.
 24. People of Carajan.
 25. The Couvade.
 26. Gold and Silver Towers of Mien.
 27. Funeral Customs.
 28. The Great River Kian?</p> |
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* + This MS. Fr. 2810 (formerly 8392), known as the *Livre des Merveilles*, belonged to the Library of John, Duke of Berry, at the Château of Mehun-sur-Yevre, 1416, No. 116 of the catalogue; also No. 196, p. 186, of *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibl. Nationale*, par. L. Delisle, III. Count A. de Bastard began publishing some of the miniatures, but did not finish the work. Of the miniatures, Nos. 1, 12, 19, 35, 41, 37, 45, 47, 52, 56, 57, 60, 66, 70, 75, 78, 81 are engraved, pp. 258, 273, 282, 310, 316, 317, 328, 332, 340, 348, 350, 354, 381, 392, 406, 411, 417 in *Charton's Voyageurs du Moyen Age*, vol. ii., besides two others, pp. 395, 395, not identified; [in my edition of Odoric, I reproduced Nos. 33, 41, 70, pp. 439, 377, 207.—H. C.]; in the present work, Nos. 5, 31, 41, 52, 70 are engraved, vol. i. pp. 15, 244, 369; Nos. 52, 70, vol. ii. pp. 5, 311. Nos. 60 and 75 have been reproduced, pp. 97 and 98 of *Faguet's Hist. de la Littérature Française*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1900.

† [Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, who thought at first that this MS. was written at the end of the 14th century, in his Introduction to *Early Bodleian Music*, by J. F. R. Stainer and C. Stainer, London, 1901, has come to the conclusion (p. xviii.) that it belongs to the first half of the 15th century. I agree with him. Mr. Nicholson thinks that the writing is English, and that the miniatures are by a Flemish artist; Mr. Holmes, the King's Librarian, believes that both writing and miniatures are English. This MS. came into the Bodleian Library between 1598 and 1605, and was probably given by Sir Thomas Bodley himself.—H. C.]

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| 29. The Attack of Saianfu (with a Cannon, a Mangonel, and a Cross-bow). | 37. Shrine of St. Thomas. |
| 30. City of Quinsay. | 38. The Six Kings, subject to Abyssinia. Part of the Frontispiece is engraved in vol. i. p. 18 of the present work; the whole of the Frontispiece representing the Piazzetta reduced has been poorly reproduced in Mrs. Oliphant's <i>The Makers of Venice</i> , London, 1887, p. 134. |
| 31. Palace of Facfur. | |
| 32. Port of Zayton. | |
| 33. Cynocephali. | |
| 34. „ | |
| 35. Idolaters of Little Java. | |
| 36. Pearl Divers. | |

APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known.†

The MSS. marked thus * are spoken of after Personal Inspection by the Editor.

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
1	British Museum Library	Harleian MSS., No. 5115	GREAT <i>Latin</i>	BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Pipino's Version; with the work of Hayton the Armenian; Parchment; written about A.D. 1400, in a careful hand.—152 ff.—folio.	*
2	British Museum Library	Arundel, XIII., Plut. 163 c.	<i>Latin</i>	Pipino's; followed by Odoric in same hand, but more carelessly written. Parchment. [4to; 51 fol., 14th century.— <i>H. Cordier, Odoric de Pordenone</i> , p. lxix.]	*
3	British Museum Library	Bibl. Reg. XIV., c. 13.—Plut. 12 f.	<i>Latin</i>	Pipino's. A well-written folio [311 ff.] on parchment, containing <i>Ramulf of Chester; Praefationes Historiographorum; Gyraldus Camb. de Conq. Hyberniae; Libellus de Mirab. Sanctae Terrae; Odoric; Rubruquis; Polo; Verses of Master Michael of Cornwall; etc.</i> —[<i>H. Cordier, Odoric</i> , pp. lxxviii-lxix.]	*
4	British Museum Library	Bib. Reg. XIX., D. I.	<i>French</i>	[Contains eight works: <i>Le livre d'Alexandre; Jehan le Venelais, la Vengeance d'Alexandre; Marc Pol; Odoric; Ascelin, Mission chez les Tartares; le Directoire; Primat,</i>	<i>Paul Meyer, Doc. ms. de l'ancienne litt. de la France, 1871, pp. 69-80.</i>

5	British Museum Library	Additional MSS., No. 19, 952 Plut. excii. B.	Latin	<p><i>Chronique des règnes de Louis IX. et de Philippe III.; Extraits de la Bible</i>; Translation of Jean de Vignay. (See <i>H. Cordier, Odoric</i>, pp. cv. cvi.; 14th century.)]</p> <p>Pipino's. Paper, small 4to.—111 ff. Appended, f. 85 et seqq., is a notice of Mahommed and the Koran: <i>Incipit Noticia de Machomelo et de Libro Legi Saracenorum</i>, etc. Appears to be the work of William of Tripoli. (See vol. i. p. 23.). Purchased of D. Henry Wolff, 12th August, 1854.</p>	* *
6	British Museum Library	Sloane MSS., No. 251	Italian dialect	<p>Paper, small fol. 39 ff. A good deal abridged, and in a desperately difficult handwriting; but notable as being the only MS. besides the Geog. Text which contains the war of Tocat and Nogai at the end of the Book. It does not, however, contain the majority of the historical chapters forming our Book IV.</p> <p>At the end, f. 39 v., is "<i>Esplicatio Liber Milionis Zuis Venetiani Questo libro scrissi Saluador Puxuti (?) del = 1457 a viazo di Baruti</i> [Patron Misser Cabual Volanesso, chapit. Misser Polo Barbarigo]." (The latter words [in part.—H. C.] from Marsden; being to me illegible.)</p>	
7	British Museum Library	<i>Egerton</i> , 2176	French	<p>Translated from the Latin version of Pipino. Parchment, 103 folio, 4to. Illuminated Capital Letters. Purchased of R. Townley Nordman, 22nd June, 1872.</p>	Yule, 2nd ed., II. p. 517.

† [This List was printed in vol. ii. pp. 449-462 of the first edition of the Book, but was omitted in the second edition. My own experience has shown me the usefulness of this table, which contains 85 MSS. instead of 75, and some additional particulars.—H. C.]

APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known.—(continued).

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
8	OXFORD . . .	Bodleian, No. 264	GREAT <i>French</i>	<p>BRITAIN AND IRELAND—(continued).</p> <p>This is bound up with the celebrated Alexander MS. It is a beautiful work, embellished with thirty-eight miniatures, some of which are exquisite, e.g., the Frontispiece, a large piece of about 9½ in. x 9 in., forming a sort of condensed view of the Field of Travel; a large part of it occupied by VENICE, of which our cut (<i>The Piazzetta</i>) in vol. i., p. 18, <i>Introduction</i>, is an extract. Another fine work (f. 220) represents the three Polos presenting the Pope's Letter to the Kaan. The embroidered bands on the Kaan's robe form an inscription, in which is legible "<i>Johannes me fecit</i>." This Mr. Coxe attributes to John of Cologne, a known artist of the 14th century. He considers the MS. to be of about 1380. The Alexander is dated 1338, and its illuminations as finished in 1344 by Jehan de Grise. [See <i>supra</i>, p. 528, <i>note</i>.]</p> <p>A comparison of a good many readings, as well as of the point where the version breaks off, and the words: "<i>Explicit le Livre nommé du Grant Caan de la Graunt Cité de Cambaluc, Dieux ayde Amen</i>," indicate that this MS. is of the same type as Pauthier's C (No. 20 in this List) and the Bern. MS. (No. 63). The name given in the colophon as above has</p>	<p>* [<i>P. Meyer, Romania</i>, XI., 1882, pp. 290-301. <i>E. W. B. Nicholson</i>; Personal.—H. C.]</p>

9	OXFORD	Merton College, No. 312	Latin	caused the work to be entered in the old Printed Catalogue under a wrong title. Hence the MS., as one of Marco Polo, has been overlooked.	Pipino's; followed by Hayton, and Palladius <i>de Agriculturâ</i> .	<i>Coxe, Catal. Codic. MSS. Oxon.</i> Pt. I., p. 123.
10	CAMBRIDGE	University Library, D. d. I. 17, No. 12	Latin		Pipino's. The same folio contains Jacques de Vitry, Hayton, several works on Mahomedanism, among others that of William of Tripoli (vol. i. p. 23), Piers Plowman, etc., etc.	<i>Catal. of MSS. in Lib. of Camb. University</i> , I. 22.
11	CAMBRIDGE	University Library, D. d. VIII. 7	Latin		Fragment of <i>Marci Pauli Veneti Historia Tartarorum</i> (probably Pipino's).	<i>Catal. of MSS. in Lib. of Camb. University</i> , I. 22.
12	CAMBRIDGE	Gonville and Caius College, No. 162	Latin		Pipino's; with Odoric, and other works relating to Asia. [<i>H. Corâier, Odoric</i> , p. lxxviii.]	<i>Catal. of MSS. of Gonville and Caius Coll. Library</i> , by Rev. J. J. Smith, 1849.
13	GLASGOW	Hunterian Collection, S. 5. 7	Latin		Pipino's Version, with illuminated initials, in a volume containing <i>Guido Colonna's Hist. destrict. Troje</i> ; <i>De Gestis Alex. Magni</i> ; <i>Turpinus de Gestis Caroli Magni</i> ; M.P.V.; <i>Odericus de Mirabilibus Tartarie</i> . Parchment, 4to.	<i>Note by Rev. Prof. W. P. Dickson, D.D.</i>
14	GLASGOW	Hunterian Collection, Q. 6. 21	Latin		Pipino's, also with illuminated initials, and also followed by Odoric. Parchment, 4to.	<i>Note by Rev. Prof. W. P. Dickson, D.D.</i>
15	IRELAND	Lismore Castle, and a Transcript in Library of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin	Irish		See vol. i., <i>Introduction, Irish Version</i> , pp. 102-103.	<i>O'Curry's Lectures, and special Note by Mr. J. Long, Dublin.</i>

APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known—(continued).

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
16	DUBLIN . . .	Trinity College, No. 632	GREAT <i>Latin</i>	BRITAIN AND IRELAND—(continued). Marco Polo: Itinerarium (ff. 43), 4to; 15th century. In a collection of "Historical and Miscellaneous Treatises" comprising: <i>Leges S. Edwardi per Will. Cong. confirmatae</i> ; <i>De Fundatoribus Eccles. quarundam in Angliā, etc.</i>	<i>Cat. of the MSS. in the Lib. Trinity College, Dublin, . . . by T. K. Abbott, 1900, p. 105.</i>
17	PARIS . . .	Bib. nationale, No. 7367 (now Fr. 1116)	<i>French</i>	FRANCE. This is the most precious of all the MSS. of Polo. It has been fully spoken of (vol. i., <i>Int.</i> , <i>The Old French Text</i>) under the name of the <i>Geographic Text</i> (or G. T.), because it was printed by the Société de Géographie in 1824. [See I, p. 83] A large 4to of thick parchment; 112 ff.; very clearly though not very neatly written in Gothic text.—14th century. A facsimile of this MS. has been made this year (1902) at Karlsruhe. (See <i>App. H.</i> p. 569.)	
18	PARIS . . .	Bib. nationale, No. 8329 (now Fr. 2810)	<i>French</i>	"Ce Liure est des // Mercuilles du Monde. Cest assavoir de la Terre // Sainte. Du Grant Kaan Empereur des tartars. // Et du pays Dynde. Le Quel // Liure Jehan Duc de Bourgoingne donna // a son oncle Jehan	

fils de Roy de // France Duc de Berry et
 Dauvergne, Conte // de Poitou, Detampes,
 de Bouloigne, et Dauvergne. // Et con-
 tient le dit Liure six // Livres. Cest assavoir.
 Marc Pol. Frere Odric de lordre des //
 Freres meneurs. Le Liure fait a la requeste
 du Cardinal Taleran de // Pierregort.
 L'Etat du Grant Kaan. Le Liure de
 Messire Guillaume // de Mandeville. Le
 Liure de Frere Jehan Hayton de lordre de
 premonstre. // Le Liure de Frere Bicul de
 lordre des Freres Prescheurs //—Et sont
 en ce dit Liure Deux cens soixante six //
 hystoires.”

Signed by N. Flamel.

Then follows.

1° *Marco Polo*: “Cy apres commence le
 liure de Marc Paul de merveilles daise la
 grant et dinde la maior et mineur Et des
 diuerses regions du monde.”—“*Begins*:
 “Pour sauoir la pure verite de diuerses
 regions du monde. Si prenez ce liure cy et
 le faictes lire. Si y trouerez les grandismes
 merueilles qui y sont escriptes. . . .”

Ends (Fol. 96 verso): “Et a tant fine messire
 marc pol son liure de la diuision du monde
 et des merueilles dicelluy.”

Of the 266 *histoires* or miniatures in this
 splendid book, 84 belong to the story of
 Polo. We have given engravings of several
 of them. Its value is estimated in the cata-
 logue of the Library of the Duc de Berry
 in 1416 (quoted by Panthier) at 125 *livres*,
 equivalent (if *parisis*) to about 115*l*. This
 is Panthier's MS. B. See vol. 1, *Int.*,
Various Types of the Text.

Large folio on vellum.

[*H. Corâtier, Odoric*, pp. cviii-cxiii.]

APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known—(continued.)

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
19	PARIS . . .	Bib. nationale, No. 10260 (now Fr. 5631)	French	FRANCE—(continued). "Ci commencent les rebriches de cest Livre qui est appellez le Deusement du Monde, lequel je Grigoires contrefais du Livre de Messire Marc Pol le meilleur citoien de Venisse creant Crist." At the beginning of the Text is a coarse drawing of Küblai on his <i>brésische</i> , carried by four elephants (vol. i., p. 337); and after the prologue another apparently representing the Princess Aijaruc wrestling with her wooer (vol. ii. p. 465). This is Pauthier's MS. A. (vol. i, <i>Int.</i> , <i>Various Types of the Text</i>), and also was in the Duc de Berry's Library, valued at 6 livres 5 sols. [Second half of the 14th cent.]	•
20	PARIS . . .	Bib. nationale, No. 10,270 (now Fr. 5649)	French	This is Pauthier's MS. C. (See as before). It is that which has the certificate about the original presented to the Seigneur de Cepoy; see <i>Int.</i> , p. 60. At the end is <i>Bertran Pichart scripsit hoc</i> . Small 4to, parchment, in a clear enough half-current hand; 134 ff. Came from the library of the Archb. of Rheims. [Middle of the 15th century.]	

21	PARIS	Bib. nationale (675)?	<i>French</i>	<p>I know nothing of this MS. except its readings of names given in the Table appended to the Geographic Text. It then belonged to the Comte d'Artois. Lazari has it entered as belonging to the Bibl. Imp., I know not if correctly. [I have been unable to find it in the Bibliothèque nationale.—H. C.]</p>	See preceding column.
22	PARIS	Bib. nationale, Fr. nouv. acq. 1880	<i>French</i>	<p>This is a copy of the time of King Louis XII., made apparently for Admiral Louis Malet de Gravelle, Governor of Honfleur, who died in 1516; it bears the arms of the Urfé family; it is at times modernized, but less is suppressed in it than in MSS. 5631 and 2810. The MS. ends: "<i>Et se aucuns disoient qui a luy . . .</i>" about the middle of ch. cxix. of Pauthier's ed, p. 738, line 4. These are also the last words of the Stockholm MS. of which it is a copy. Purchased in 1870.</p>	<i>L. Delisle, Bib. Ec Chartes,</i> xliii, p. 229.
23	PARIS	Bib. de l'Arsenal, No. 5219	<i>French</i>	<p>Translated by Robert Frescher.—Fol. I. "<i>Prologue du present livre, par maistre Robert Frescher, bachelier formé en theologie translateur.—Berosé, ainsi que Josephé nous a laissé par escript, fut natif de la cité de Babilone . . .</i>"—Fol. 9. Begins: "<i>Pour scavoir la pure verité des diverses regions du monde, lisés ou faictes lire ce livre . . .</i>" Incomplete; ends: "<i>. . . Argon fut fils de Abaga mon frere, et se aucun disoit que a luy.</i>" (See Pauthier's ed., p. 738.)</p>	<i>Cat. des MSS. de l'Arsenal, V.</i> p. 163.

APPENDIX F.—*List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known—(continued).*

NO.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
23	PARIS— <i>continued.</i>	Bib. de l' Arsenal, No. 5219	<i>French</i>	FRANCE—(<i>continued</i>). Parchment; ff. 168; end of 15th or beginning of 16th century. From the libraries of Charles Adrien Picard and de Paulmy. With miniatures some of which are engraved in <i>Moeurs, Usages et Costumes du Moyen Age, par le Bibliophile Jacob</i> , pp. 411-413.	<i>Cat. des MSS. de l' Arsenal</i> , V. p. 163.
24	PARIS . . .	Bib. nationale, No. 3195	<i>Latin</i>	This is the old Latin version published by the Soc. de Géog., and which I have cited as <i>Geographic Latin</i> or G. L. (See vol. i., <i>Int.</i> , <i>Various Types of the Text</i> . [Contains: <i>Petri Amphusi clericalis disciplina; Odoric; Marco Polo; Bernardi cuiusdam ad Raymundum Castri Ambrosii epistola de modo rei familiaris utilis gubernandae</i> . Cf. <i>Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Reg. Pars tertia</i> , t. iii. Paris, 1744, p. 385. Parchment, small fol., 15th century.— <i>H. Cordier, Odoric</i> , p. lxxxiii.—H. C.]	<i>Printed Text.</i> — <i>H. Cordier</i> .
25	PARIS . . .	Bib. nationale, No. 1016	<i>Latin</i>	Pipino's. [Paper; fol. ccvii. <i>et seqq.</i>]	<i>Table in the G. T.</i>
26	PARIS . . .	Bib. nationale, No. 6244 A.	<i>Latin</i>	Pipino's. [Paper.]	<i>Table in the G. T.</i>

27	PARIS	Bib. nationale, Ital., No. 10,259 [now 434]	<i>Italian</i>	Paper, 4to, of 14th century. Seen, but not examined with any care, which I regret, as the readings suggest that it may have been that text from which Pipino translated [pp. 100.] [Begins f. 2 recto: " <i>Signori Imperadori Re e Duci e tutte altre genti che || tolete sapere le diverse generationi delle genti || elle dituersità delle regioni del mondo leggette que || sto libro doue reuouerrete tutte le grandissime marauigle,</i> " etc. Ends: " <i>Explicit Liber de Milione per Messe Marco Polo di Vinegia. Deo gratias.</i> "]	<i>I Manoscritti Italiani . . . della R. Bib. Partigna . . . dal Ant. Marsand, 1835, 4to.</i>
28	PARIS	Former Library of Baron C. Walckenaer	<i>Latin</i>	A miscellaneous volume, containing an imperfect copy of Pipino's version. Present locality not known.	<i>Table in the G. T.</i>
29	LUXEMBURG	City Library, No. 50	<i>Latin</i>	LUXEMBURG. Volume containing several works; and among them <i>Marchi</i> (Pauli) <i>Venetii Liber Narrationum Morum</i> , etc. Paper; written 1448 by Tilman Pluntisch, "canonicus ecclesie SS. Chresanti et Darie monasterii Eyfflic."	<i>Pertz, Archiv, viii. 594.</i>
30	BRUSSELS	Royal Library, No. 9309	<i>French</i>	BELGIUM. Derives from the Paris 5631 and 2810 and the Stockholm MS., 14th century.	<i>G. Raynaud, Romania, xi. pp. 429-430.</i>

APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known.—(continued).

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
31	VENICE . . .	St. Mark's Library, Cl. X. Codd. Lat. 72	<i>Latin</i>	ITALY. Pipino's. Formerly belonged to the Monastery of St. John's in <i>Viridario</i> at Padua, to which it was presented by John Marchanova, Doctor of Arts and Medicine, 1467. Paper, 4to. (It is mentioned by Marsden as at Padua, p. iv.)	<i>Lazari.</i>
32	VENICE . . .	St. Mark's Library, Cl. X. Codd. Lat. 128	<i>Latin</i>	Another of Pipino's. Paper, 4to, of 15th century.	<i>Lazari.</i>
33	VENICE . . .	St. Mark's Library, Cl. VI. Codd. Ital., 56	<i>Italian (Ven. dialect)</i>	A rude translation of Pipino's version, written late in the 15th century Also contains a translation of the same Pipino's Tract, <i>De Locis Terrae Sanctae</i> . Belonged to T. G. Faissetti. Paper, folio.	<i>Lazari.</i>
34	VENICE . . .	St. Mark's Library, Cl. VI. Codd. Ital., 208	<i>Italian (Ven. dialect)</i>	Corresponds to the Venetian edition of 1496, but even more inaccurate, with absurd interpolations. The volume contains also Odoric, A. Ca' da Mosto, V. da Gama, Columbus, etc., being of the beginning of the 16th century. Paper, 4to. Belonged to Morelli.	* <i>Lazari.</i>

35	VENICE	Museo Civico, <i>Coll. Cicogna</i> , No. 2389, now 2408	<i>Latin</i>	<p>†-Paper, large 4to; belonged to Gian-Giuseppe Liruti, and after to E. A. Cicogna; contains also Odoric, published by G. Venni in 1761, and other matter.</p> <p>This is the MS. noticed at vol. i. <i>Int.</i>, <i>Ramusio's Italian Version</i>, p. 102, as containing several passages found in no other text except Ramusio's Italian. Written in 1401 by the Notary Philip, son of Pietro Muleto of Fodan (or Fogan?) † in Friuli, whilst studying Rhetoric at Padua.</p>	* [<i>H. Corâtier, Odoric</i> , pp. xci.-xcii.]
36	VENICE	Library of Count Donà delle Rose	<i>Italian, with a Venetian tinge.</i>	<p>It begins: "Quegli che desiderano d'entendere le maravigliose cose del mondo de l'Asia de Armenia persia e tartaria dell indie et diverse parti del mondo legano questo libro et interderano quello chel nobile cittadino Veneciano Miss. Marcho Polo," etc., and ends: "Explicit liber Millionis civis Veneciarum. Expleto ad CCCCXLVI mensis setembris die vigesimo-octavo."</p> <p>These extracts indicate that it belongs to the same type as the Sloane MS. No. 6. in our list.</p>	Note by Comin. Nicolò Barozzi, Director of the Museo Civico at Venice.
37	FERRARA	Public Library, No. 35n (336, N.B. 5)	<i>Italian, with a Venetian tinge.</i>	<p><i>Incipit prologus Libri qui vulgari hominum dicitur "El Milione,"</i></p> <p>This looks as if it were not Pipino's.</p>	Note by the Abate S. B. Mondino.
38	MILAN	Ambrosian Library, M. 526, Sc. D.	<i>Latin.</i>	<p>Fragments extracted from Pipino's version inserted at end of 2nd part of the <i>Cronica Libri Ymaginis Mundi</i> of Fr. Jacopo d'Acqui. (Vol. i. <i>Int.</i>, <i>Captivity of M. Polo.</i>) Paper, folio. 14th century.</p>	<i>Iazari.</i>

† [Ser Petri de Faganea (Fagnana, in Friuli).—H. C.]

APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known—(continued).

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
39	MODENA . . .	Este Library . . .	<i>Latin</i>	ITALY—(continued). Pipino's Parchment of 14th century. Muratori speaks of this. (<i>Script.</i> VII.) as "fortassis autographum."	<i>Muratori; and Prof. Bianconi, Degli Scritti di Marco Polo, etc.</i>
40	FLORENCE . . .	Bib. Magliabecchiana (now Nazionale), Cl. XIII., Plut. IV. c. 104	<i>Italian</i> (<i>Tuscan</i>)	The Crusca MS., of which an account has been given, vol. i. <i>Int.</i> , <i>Original Language of the Book</i> . Paper, folio, early in 14th century.	*
41	FLORENCE . . .	Bib. Magliabecchiana (now Nazionale), Cl. XIII., Plut. IV. c. 73	<i>Italian</i>	Many liberties taken with the text, and much abridged and disarranged. Thus, after the Prologue it proceeds: " <i>Al nome di Dio io Marco Polo Veneziano racconterò tutte le maravigliose cose ch'io trovai e vidi</i> , etc. etc." It ends at the chapter on Russia with the following impertinence: " <i>E se volete sapere più innanzi dimandatene un altro ch'io Marco Polo non cercai più avanti</i> ." The Khalif is called <i>Largaliffe</i> ; Reobarles, <i>Reubarbe</i> , with a marginal note in an old hand, " <i>Reubarbe città di Persia, donde viene il reubarbero herba medicinale</i> ." Completed by Dolfo Spini, 16th July, 1425. Paper. Belonged to the Strozzi Collection.	•

42	FLORENCE	Bib. Magliabecchiana (now Nazionale), Cl. XIII., Plut. IV., c. 61	<i>Italian</i>	This corresponds to the <i>Pucci</i> MS. noted below (No. 47). It contains the colophon quoted at vol. i. <i>Int.</i> , <i>Some Estimate of Polo and his Book</i> , p. 115, note. Paper, folio, 1392, 100 ff. of which the first 40 contain <i>Polo</i> . Not well written. Ex. Bibl. Gaddianá.	* <i>Baldelli-Boni</i> .
43	FLORENCE	Bib. Magliabecchiana (now Nazionale), Cl. XIII., Plut. IV., c. 136	<i>Italian</i>	Both beginning and end are missing. Slightly different from the Crusca. 14th century.	* <i>Baldelli-Boni</i> .
44	FLORENCE	Riccardian Library	<i>Italian</i>	Ends with chapter on Russia. Followed by an extract of Mandeville and a valuable coll. of geographical documents of 15th century and beginning of 16th. Paper 4to, 16th century.	*
45	FLORENCE	Riccardian Library	<i>Latin</i>	Pipino's; but reaching only to Bk. III. ch. 31. Paper, 14th century.	*
46	FLORENCE	Riccardian Library	<i>Italian</i> (<i>Ven. dialect</i>), No. 1924	Partial and defective transcript under the title of <i>Itinerario di Levante</i> .	<i>G. Uzielli, Note</i> .
47	FLORENCE	Library of Pucci family	<i>Italian</i>	See remarks at vol. i. <i>Int.</i> , <i>Various Types of the Text</i> . Completed 20th Nov. 1391.	*
48	FLORENCE	Bib. Palatina (now united to Nazionale), Cod. 572	<i>Italian</i>	The language differs slightly from that of the Crusca, and, where I have compared it, is less compressed. Ends with <i>Kossra</i> . Paper, small 4to, 14th century. Written somewhat roughly in a very old hand. Rustician is <i>Messer Restazo da Pisa</i> . The Grand Kaan gives the Polo's a "tovaglia d'Oro."	*

APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known—(continued).

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
49	LUCCA . . .	Bib. governativa, Coll. (Lucchesini, Giacomo), No. 36 (now No. 296)	<i>Italian (Ven. dialect)</i>	ITALY—(continued). Corresponds to the corrupt Venice epitome published in 1496. Contains also Odorico. [Ends :—“ <i>Complito el libro de le cose mirabile vedute per lo nobile homo Messer Marco Polo sientelomo de Venesia a di 12 de Marzo 1465 per mi Daniele da Verona in sul Ponte de Berettari al onore e laude dell' Omnipotente.</i> ” Paper, 4to, 75 ff. <i>H. Cordier, Odoric</i> , pp. xcvi.-xcviii.]	<i>Baldelli-Boni.</i>
50	SIENA . . .	Public Library, c. V. 14	<i>Italian</i>	This is a miscellaneous MS. which, among other things, contains a fragment of Polo, “ <i>Qui comicio ellibro di Missere Macho Polo da Vinegia de le cose mauglose che trovo ĩ lo mondo,</i> ” etc. It calls Rusticiano <i>Missere Stacio da Pisa</i> .— <i>N.B.</i> —Baldelli gives a very similar description of a fragment at Siena, but under press mark A. IV. 8. I assume that it is the same that I saw.	•
51	ROME . . .	Vatican Library, Cod. 2207, <i>Ottobontano</i>	<i>French</i>	A fragment, going no further than the chapter on Georgia, and ending thus : “ <i>Autre chose ne vous en seay dire parquoy je vous fois fin en ce livre ; le nom de notre Seigneur soi benoist et de sa benoiste Mere. Amen. Loys de Luxembourg.</i> ” Parchment, 14 cent.	<i>Baldelli-Boni.</i>

52	ROME	Vatican Library, No. 2935	Latin	An old Latin abridgment of Polo, entitled <i>De Mirabilibus Mundi</i> . The same volume contains a tract, <i>De Mirabilibus Romae</i> , to which also Polo's name is given. Paper, 14th cent.	<i>Baldelli-Boni and Lazari.</i>
53	ROME	Vatican Library, No. 3153	Latin	Pipino's. Very neat and clean; apparently of 14th cent. Parchment.	*
54	ROME	Vatican Library, No. 5260	Latin	Pipino's. Very clearly and regularly written. Apparently 15th cent.	*
55	ROME	Barberini Library, XXXIV. 4	Latin	A MS. volume, containing Ricold of Monte Croce; Tractatus divisionis et ambitus Orbis Terrarum, etc.; Liber de divisione Orbis Terrarum; Libellus de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae; and " <i>Incipit de Morum et Gentium Varietatis editus a Marcho Polo Veneto.</i> " It is very cramply written, much compressed, and has no division into books or chapters. Ends with " <i>Roscia, provincia maxima.</i> " " <i>Explicit libellus editus a Dno. Marcho Polo de Venetiis de diversis provinciis et gentibus mundi, et eorum ritibus et moribus diversis et artibus.</i> " Parchment, large thin 4to, 14th cent.	*
56	ROME	Barberini Library, LVIII. 40	Italian (<i>Venetian dial</i>)	This is the fragment spoken of, vol. i. p. 101, note. It is a transcript made apparently in the 17th cent., from a MS. written in 1465.	*
57	ROME	Barberini Library, No. 934	Italian	I give this on Baldelli's authority. I did not see it on my visit to the Barberini.	<i>Baldelli-Boni.</i>

APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known—(continued).

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
58	ROME	Corsini Library, No. 1111	<i>Italian</i> (?) .	ITALY—continued. .	<i>Baldelli-Boni.</i>
59	ROME	Chigi Library, M. VI. 140	<i>Italian</i> .	Bears a note in the handwriting of Pope Alexander VII. (Fabio Chigi of Siena, 1655-1667), which draws attention to Sienese peculiarities in the language, and assigns the date about 1420 Sm. 4to, paper	<i>Baldelli-Boni.</i>
60	ESCURIAL	Library	<i>Latin</i> .	SPAIN. Pipino's.	(?)
61	TOLEDO	Cathedral Library.	<i>Latin</i>	Seems to be different from any of the other Latin versions. It has the prefatory address to <i>Domini Imperatores, Reges, Duces</i> , etc. 8vo, paper. Of 15th century.	<i>Baldelli-Boni.</i>
62	TOLEDO	Cathedral Library.	<i>Italian (Venetian)</i> .	This is a copy of the Soranzo MS., of which Marsden has given an ample notice after Apostolo Zeno, and which has disappeared from knowledge.	<i>Baldelli-Boni.</i>

63	BERN	Canton Library, No. 125	<i>French</i>	<p>SWITZERLAND.</p> <p>I have examined this MS. minutely, and am satisfied that it is a copy of Pauthier's C. <i>z.e.</i>, No. 20, in our List. Like that (and no other), it bears the certificate regarding the Seigneur de Cepoy. (Vol. i., <i>Int.</i>, <i>Notices of Marco in later life.</i>) The MS. is fully described in Sinner's Catalogue. It is in very beautiful condition, very clearly written on parchment, with all the initials filled up in gold and colours, and with numerous flowered scrolls.</p> <p>It belonged to Bongars, whose autograph is on it: "<i>Bongars-La de la courtoisie de Mr. de Superville.</i>"</p> <p>[Parchment, fol., ff. 286, 14th century.—<i>H. Cordier, Odoric</i>, pp. cxiv-cxv.]</p>	•	
64	BERN	Canton Library	<i>Italian (Venetian)</i>	<p>In a neat running hand resembling italic type. It is much abridged, especially in the latter part.</p> <p>Small Paper 4to. It is inscribed: "<i>Bongars, de la courtoisie de Mr. Aurel, tiré de la bibliothèque de Mr. de Vutron (?)</i>."</p>	•	
65	VEVEY	City Museum	<i>French</i>	<p>[A double sheet; parchment, and of 14th century. Fragment: 1st sheet, end of chap. 121 and greater part of chap. 122; 2nd sheet, end of chap. 134, chaps. 135, 136, 137, and beginning of chap. 138 of Pauthier's ed. Very similar to the text of the Stockholm MS. Our No. 84.—H. C.]</p>		<i>Ernest Mauret, Romania</i> , t. xxx, 1901.

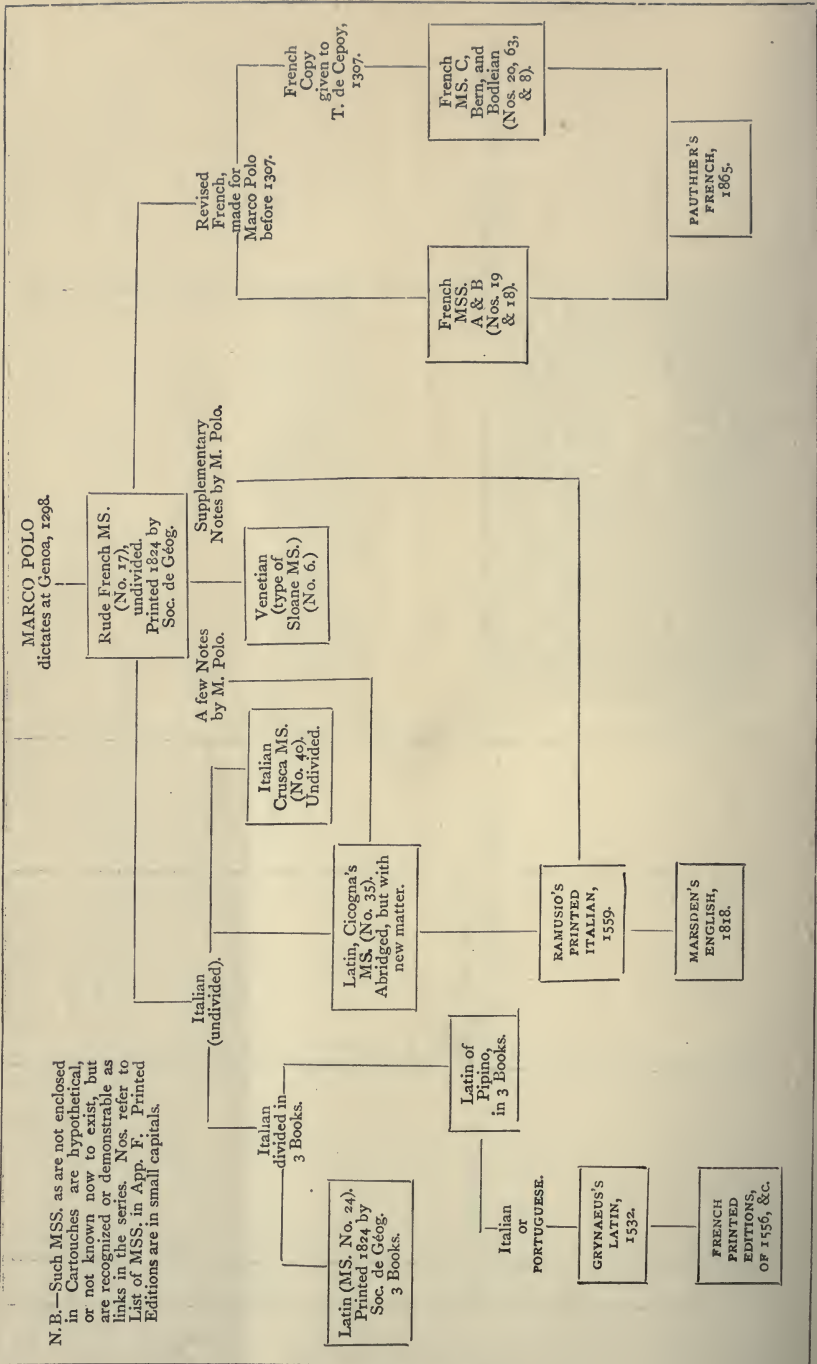
APPENDIX F.—List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book so far as they are known—(continued).

No.	LOCALITIES.	INDICATIONS.	LANGUAGE.	DESCRIPTION OF MSS.	AUTHORITIES.
66	MUNICH . . .	Royal Library, Codd. Lat. 249	Latin	GERMANY. Pipino's Folio, paper, 15th century Also Pipino's tract, <i>De Locis Terrae Setae</i> , and Boccaccio's <i>De Casibus Virorum Illustrum</i> .	<i>Lazari</i> .
67	MUNICH . . .	Royal Library, Codd. Lat. 850	Latin	Pipino's. Paper, 4to, 15th cent. Also Pipino's tract, <i>De Locis Terrae Setae</i> , etc.	<i>Lazari</i> .
68	MUNICH . . .	Royal Library?	Latin	<i>Excerpta de ejus Historia, principaliter Orientalis</i>	<i>Private Memo.</i>
69	MUNICH . . .	Royal Library?	Latin	<i>Narrationes ex ejus libro de partibus transmarinis</i>	<i>Private Memo.</i>
70	MUNICH . . .	Royal Library, Cod. Germ. 696	German	The version published at Nuremberg in 1477. Paper, 4to. [See <i>Bibliography</i> , p. 554.]	<i>Lazari</i> .
71	MUNICH . . .	Royal Library, 252	German	Fragment.	<i>Lazari</i> .
72	MUNICH . . .	? . . .	German	The whole.	<i>Private Memo.</i>
73	MUNICH . . .	? . . .	German	Translated for Duke William of Bavaria, 1582.	<i>Private Memo.</i>
74	WOLFENBÜTTEL . . .	Ducal Library, No 40, Weissemburg	Latin	[Contains: Polo (Pipino's version) f. 1-57 verso; Odoric; Ricold; Boldensel.—Ricold was published by Mr. J. C. Laurent: <i>Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor</i> . Lipsiae, 1864. Paper, 15th cent., fol., ff. 110.]	<i>H. Cordier, Odoric</i> , pp. lxxiv.-lxxv.

75	WOLFENBÜTTEL	Ducal Library, No. 41, Weissemburg	Latin	[Contains: <i>Ciceronis orationes in Verrem; Chronicon Flandriae; R. Bacon, de regionibus ad papam Clementem; Marco Polo, ff. 122-160 verso; Ricold; Jacques de Vitry; Odoric; Plano Carpini.</i> Paper 15th cent. fol., ff. 253.]	H. Cordier, pp. lxxv-vi. Odoric,
76	BERLIN	Royal Library	Latin	Pipino's. Also contains <i>Mappa-Mundi, Expositio Libri Mateorum</i> , etc. I believe this is the Codex Brandenburgensis collated by Andreas Müller in his edition (1671).	Private Memo.
77	BERLIN	Royal Library	German	A modern MS., said to be a copy of the <i>Wiener MS.</i> (?)	Private Memo.
78	WÜRZBURG	Royal Library	Latin	<i>Marcus Paulus de Mirabilibus Mundi.</i> Paper.	Pertz, Archiv., viii. 100.
79	GIESSEN	University Library, No. 218	Latin	<i>M. Paulus de Venetiis de Regionibus Orientis</i> (with other matter), probably Pipino's. Paper, folio, 15th cent. (I know not if it is a second, which is cited by Mr. Major (<i>Notes on Russia</i>) from <i>Catalogus Codd. MSS. Academ. Gissenses</i> , by <i>J. V. Adrian</i> , Frankfurt, 1840, as bound up with Eusebius and entitled <i>M. P. de Ven. de condit. et consuet. Orient. Regionum.</i>	Pertz, Archiv., ix. 576.
80	JENA	University Library	Latin.	Pipino's. Followed by H. of Alexander	Pertz, Archiv., viii. 698.
81	MENTZ	Metropolitan Chapter, No. 52	Latin.	Pipino's. A collection containing in Latin, besides Polo, Odoric, Ricold, and Boldensel. [<i>H. Corâtier, Odoric</i> , pp. lxxii-iv.]	<i>V. F. de Guâcnus, Sylloge I. Variorum Diplomatiariorum, etc.</i> , Frankf. 1728, p. 381.

85	STOCKHOLM.	Royal Library, French, No. 38	<i>French</i>	and 2810. Cf. <i>L. Delisle, Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes</i> , XLIII, 1882, pp. 226-235, 424. It is incomplete, and ends: " <i>Et se aucuns disoit qui a lui.</i> "—Cf. Paris MS., 1880. [Our No. 22.] It belonged to the Library of the French King, Charles V. (1364-1380), and later, as marked on the recto of the last folio, "Pour Symon du Solier demorant à Honnefleu," who was "procureur-syndic des manants et habitants de la ville de Honnefleu."	Translated from the Latin version	G. Raynaud, <i>Romania</i> , XI.
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APPENDIX G.—Diagram showing Filiation of Chief MSS. and Editions of Marco Polo.



N.B.—Such MSS. as are not enclosed in Cartouches are hypothetical, or not known now to exist, but are recognized or demonstrable as links in the series. Nos. refer to List of MSS. in App. F. Printed Editions are in small capitals.

APPENDIX H.—*Bibliography of Marco Polo's Book.*

I.—PRINCIPAL EDITIONS.

We attempt a list of all the editions of Polo ; a task for which Sir Henry Yule had no advantages, and which will be found well done for the time in Lazari's Appendix, based on Marsden. It may be also useful to mention the chief Editions, with their dates.

1477. The first Printed Edition is in German. We give a reduced Facsimile of its Frontispiece. [See p. 555.]
1481. A reproduction of the preceding at Augsburg, in the same volume with the *History of Duke Leopold and his Son William of Austria.*
- About 1490. Pipino's Latin ; the only printed edition of that version. Without place, date, or printer's name. (See p. 558.)
1496. Edition in Venetian Dialect, printed by J. B. da Sessa.
1500. The preceding reproduced at Brescia (often afterwards in Italy).
1502. Portuguese version from Pipino, along with the Travels of Nicolo Conti. Printed at Lisbon by Valentym Fernandez Alemao (see vol. ii. of this work, p. 295). Stated to have been translated from the MS. presented by Venice to Prince Pedro (vol. i. p. 135.)
1503. Spanish version by Rodrigo de Santaella. *Sevilla.*
1529. Ditto. Reprinted at Logroño.
1532. *Novus Orbis—Basileæ.* (See vol. i. p. 95.)
1556. French version from the *Novus Orbis.*
1559. Ramusio's 2nd volume, containing his version of Polo, of which we have spoken amply.
1579. First English Version, made by John Frampton, according to Marsden, from the Spanish version of Seville or Logroño.
1625. Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. iii. contains a very loose translation from Ramusio.
1664. Dutch Version, from the *Novus Orbis.* *Amsterdam.*
1671. Andreas Müller of Greiffenhagen reprints the Latin of the *Novus Orbis*, with a collation of readings from the Pipino MS. at Berlin ; and with it the book of Hayton, and a disquisition *De Chataid.* The Editor appears to have been an enthusiast in his subject, but he selected his text very injudiciously. (See vol. i. p. 96.)
1735. Bergeron's interesting collection of Mediæval Travels in Asia, published in French at the Hague. The *Polo* is a translation from Müller, and hence is (as we have already indicated) at 6th hand.
1747. In Astley's Collection, IV. 580 *seqq.*, there is an abstract of Polo's book, with brief notes, which are extremely acute, though written in a vulgar tone, too characteristic of the time.
1818. Marsden's famous English Edition.
1824. The Publication of the most valuable MS. and most genuine form of the text, by the Soc. de Géographie of Paris. (See vol. i. p. 83.) It also contains the Latin Text (No. 24 in our list of MSS. App. F.)
1827. Baldelli-Boni published the Crusca MS. (No. 40), and republished the Ramusian Version, with numerous notes, and interesting dissertations. The 2 volumes are cumbered with 2 volumes more containing, as a Preliminary, a History of the Mutual Relations of Europe and Asia, which probably no man ever read. *Florence.*
1844. Hugh Murray's Edition. It is, like the present one, eclectic as regards the text, but the Editor has taken large liberties with the arrangement of the Book.

1845. Bürck's German Version, Leipzig. It is translated from Ramusio, with copious notes, chiefly derived from Marsden and Ritter. There are some notes at the end added by the late Karl Friedrich Neumann, but as a whole these are disappointing.
1847. Lazari's Italian edition was prepared at the expense of the late Senator L. Pasini, in commemoration of the meeting of the Italian Scientific Congress at Venice in that year, to the members of which it was presented. It is a creditable work, but too hastily got up.
1854. Mr. T. Wright prepared an edition for Bohn's *Antiq. Library*. The notes are in the main (and professedly) abridged from Marsden's, whose text is generally followed, but with the addition of the historical chapters, and a few other modifications from the Geographic Text.
- 1854-57. *Voyageurs Anciens et Modernes, &c.* Par M. Ed. Charton. Paris. An interesting and creditable popular work. Vol. ii. contains Marco Polo, with many illustrations, including copies from miniatures in the *Livre des Merveilles*. (See list in App. F. p. 528.)
1863. Signor Adolfo Bartoli reprinted the Crusca MS. from the original, making a careful comparison with the Geographic Text. He has prefixed a valuable and accurate Essay on Marco Polo and the Literary History of his Book, by which I have profited.
1865. M. Pauthier's learned edition.
1871. First edition of the present work.
1873. First publication of Marco Polo in Russian.
1875. Second edition of this work.
1882. Facsimile of the French Stockholm MS. by Baron A. E. Nordenskiöld.

II.—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRINTED EDITIONS.*

A.—GERMAN EDITIONS.

1.—I. Nuremberg 1477.

The first translation of Marco Polo's Book was printed in German, at Nuremberg, in 1477.

Collation : 58 ff. folio without pagination and without signatures.

Verso f. 1 : Frontispiece : Portrait of Marco Polo with this inscription round the border : [Top] Das ist der edel Ritter. Marcho polo von [right] Venedig der grost landfarer. der vns beschreibt die grossen wunder der welt [Foot] die er selber gesehen hat. Von dem auffgang [left] pis zu dem nydergäg der sunnē. der gleychē vor nicht meer gehort seyn. [See p. 555.]

Recto f. 2, begins :

¶ Hie hebt sich an das puch dés edelñ Ritters vñ landfarers || Marcho polo.
In dem er schreibt die grossen wunderlichen || ding dieser welt.
Sunderlichen von den grossen künigen vnd || keysern die da herschen
in den selbigen landen | vnd von irem || volck vnd seiner gewonheit da
selbs.

Verso f. 58 : ¶ Hie endet sich das puch des edelñ Ritters und lañdfarers || Marcho polo | das do sagt vō mangerley wunder der landt || vñ lewt | vñ wie er die selbigen gesehen vñ durch faren hat || von dē auffgang piz zu dem nydergang der sunē Seliglich.

¶ Disz hat gedruckt Fricz Creūszner zu Nurm̃berg Nach cristi || gepurd̃t Tausent vierhundert vñ im siben vñ sibenzigtē iar.

* [Sir Henry Yule expressed his regret to me that he had not the facility at Palermo to undertake this Bibliography which I consider as a legacy from the first and illustrious editor of this book.—H. C.]



Frontispiece of the first German Edition.

The copy which I have examined is in the Grenville Library, No. 6787. (Vide *Bib. Grenvilliana*, Part II. p. 305.) When Marsden edited his *Marco Polo*, Grenville did not possess this edition. The only known copy was in the Vienna Imperial Library, but was without the portrait. Grenville had made a transcript spoken of by Marsden, pp. lxx.-lxxi., which we describe *infra*. "When Mr. Marsden," says Grenville in a MS. note at the beginning of this fine volume, "published his translation of this work, the only known copy of this first German Edition was in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and I had a literal transcript made from it: Since that time a second copy was found and sold by Payne and Foss to Lord Spencer: and now I have purchased from Leipsick a third [the present] beautiful copy. I know of no fourth copy. The copy at Vienna wants the portrait."

Vide *Bib. Spenceriana*, vol. vi. p. 176.

Other copies are to be found at the Imperial Library, Vienna, the Royal Library, Berlin, the *Germanisches Museum*, Nuremberg; a sixth copy was in the Crawford Collection (London, June, 1887, 1359) with the portrait, and was purchased by B. Quaritch. [See *H. Cordier, Cent. of Marco Polo*, p. 41.]

— The copy we just spoke of has No. LII. in the Grenville collection, British Museum; it is a folio of 114 pages numbered with a pencil; bound with the arms of the Rt. Honble. Thos. Grenville. Page 114, the exactness of this copy is thus certified: "Apographum collatum cum prototypo, quod in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi adseruatur. illo quidem, qui descripsit, recitante ex prototypo, me vero hoc apographum inspectante. Respondet pagina paginae, versui versus & syllaba syllabae. Vindobonae die 29. Augusti 1817. B. Kopitar, Biblioth. Palatinae Vindobon. scriptor."

With this manuscript is bound a letter addressed to Mr. Grenville by the Chevalier Scotti, who had the copy made; it is dated "Vienne 20 nembre 1817," and ends with this post-scriptum: "N. B. Comme cette Edition fort peu connue du 477. est une édition non seulement précieuse, mais à la vérité fort rare aussi, elle avoit été prise par les Francois et portée à Paris la dernière fois qu'ils ont été à Vienne. Elle y a été rendue avec tout le reste qu'on avoit emporté à la suite des heureux succès des Coilisés, auxquels L'immortel Wellington a tant contribué en y mettant la dernière couronne dont les lauriers resteront à jamais inflétrissables."

2.—2. Augsburg . . . 1481.

— The second German edition of Marco Polo has been reprinted at Augsburg in 1481; it is as scarce as the first edition; I have examined the copy in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.

Collation: 60 ff. folio, without pagination nor signatures.

Recto f. 1: End of the story of William of Austria, after which is printed Marco Polo.

Verso f. 1: Frontispiece: Portrait of Marco Polo coloured with this inscription round the border: [Top] Das ist der edel ritter Marcho polo von Venedig. [right] der gröst landfarer. der vns beschreibet die grossen wunder der welt die er selber gese [foot] hen hat. Von dem auffgang biss zu dem nidergang der [left] sunnen | der geleich vor nit meer gehört seind.

Recto f. 2, begins:

Hie hept sich an das buch des edlẽ ritters vñ landfvarers Marcho polo. in dem er schreibet die grossen wunderlichen ding diser welt. sunderlichen vō den grossen künigen vnd keisern | die da herschen in den selbigen landen vnd von jrem volck vnnnd seiner gewonheýt da selbs.

Recto f. 60: Hie enndet sich herczog Wilhalm von österreich vñ das buch des edeln ritters vñ landfvarers Marcho polo | das da sagt von mengerleý wunder der land vnd leit. vnd wie er die selbigẽ gesehen vñ durch faren hat von dem auffgang biss zu dem nýdergang d'sunnen Seliglich. Diss hat gedruckt Anthonius Sorg zu Augspurg Nach xpi gepurt tausent vier hundert vnd jm lxxxj. jare.

No. fig. in the text.

3.—3. Die New Welt der landschaften vnn Insulen . . . gedruckt zu Strassburg durch Georgen Vlricher . . . An. M.D.XXXIII, folio.

Ff. 103-133; Marr Paulen des Venedigers Erst Buch | von den Morgenländern.—
Ff. 134-152: Haithon des Armeniers Premonstratensis ordens | von den Tartern.

Translated from the *Novus Orbis Regionum*.—See 11-12.

4.—4.* M. Polus. Reise in die Tartarey und zum Grossen Chan von Chatai, uebersetzt. v. H. Megisser. Altenburg, 1609, 8vo.

H. Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque asiatique et africaine*, No. 1031.—[Notwithstanding all my researches, I could not find this edition in any private or public library in Germany.—H. C.]

5.—5. Chorographia Tartariæ: || Oder || Warhafftige Beschreibung der || vberaus wunderbahrlichen Reise | || welche der Edle vnd weit erfahrne Venedigi—|| sche GENTILHUOMO MARCUS POLUS, mit dem || zunahmen MILLION, noch vor vierthalb hundert Jah=||ren | in die Oriental vnd Morgenländer | Sonderlich aber in || die Tartarey | zu dem grossen Can von Cathai | zu || Land vnd Wasser Persönlich verrichtet: || Darinnen ausführlich vnd vmbständ=||lich erzehlet werden | viel zuvor vnbekandte Landschaft=||ten | Königreich vnd Städt | sampt dero Sitten vnd || Gebräuchen | vnd andern seltsamen Sachen: || Die Er | als der erste Erfinder der newen Welt | gegen || Orient | oder den Ost Indien | gesehen vnd erfahren. || In drey vnterschiedliche Bücher abge=||[t]heilet: sampt einem Discurs Herrn Johan Bapti=||stae Rhamusij | der Herrschafft zu Vene=||dig geheimen Secretarij | von dem || Leben des Autoris. || Alles aus dem Original | so in Italianischer || Sprach beschrieben | treulich vnd mit fleis ver=||teuscht | auch mit Kupfferstücken || geziehet | durch || HIERONYMUM MEGISERUM.— || Anno M. DC. XI. || Leipzig | in vorlegung Henning Grossen des Jüngern. Small 8vo. pp. 354 (last page numbered by mistake 351) + 36 prel. ff. for the tit., preface, etc., and 7 ff. at the end for the table.

Plates.—See p. 350: *Alphabetum Tartaricum, et Oratio Dominica Tartarica*.

6.—6. Die Reisen des Marco Polo, oder Marcus Paulus, eines Venetianers, in die Tartarey, im Jahre 1272. (*Allgemeine Historie der Reisen*, Leipzig, 1750, VII, pp. 423 et seq.)

7.—7. Marco Paolo's || Reise in den Orient | || während der Jahre 1272 bis 1295. || — Nach den || vorzüglichsten Original=Ausgaben verdeutsch, || und || mit einem Kommentar begleitet || von || Felix Peregrin. ||—Ronneburg und Leipzig, || bei August Schumann, 1802, 8vo., pp. vi-248.

P. 248: Eisenberg, gedruckt bei Johann Wilhelm Schöne.

8.—8. Die Reisen des Venezianers Marco Polo im dreizehnten Jahrhundert.—Zum ersten Male vollständig nach den besten Ausgaben Deutsch mit einem Kommentar von August Bürck.—Nebst Zusätzen und Verbesserungen von Karl Friedrich Neumann. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1845, 8vo, pp. xvi-631.

— Di un frammento inedito di Marco Foscarini intorno ai Viaggiatori Veneziani e di una nuova traduzione in tedesco dei Viaggi di Marco Polo. [By Tommaso Gar] (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, Appendice, T. IV, Firenze, 1847, pp. 89 et seq.)

- 9.—9. Die Reisen des Venezianers Marco Polo im dreizehnten Jahrhundert.— Zum ersten Male vollständig nach den besten Ausgaben Deutsch mit einem Kommentar von August Bürck. Nebst Zusätzen und Verbesserungen von Karl Friedrich Neumann. Zweite unveränderte Ausgabe.— Leipzig, Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1855, 8vo, pp. xvi-631.

B.—LATIN EDITIONS.

10. — 1. *Commence* ; ☩ In nomine dñi nri ihū xpī filij dei viui et veri amen. Incipit plogus ī libro dñi marci pauli de venecijs de cōsuetudinibus et cōditionibus orientaliū regionū.

Then the declaration of "Frater franciscus pepur. de bononia fr̄m p̄dicatorū" who translated the work from the vulgar language into Latin.

End p. 147 : Explicit liber dñi marci de venecijs Deo gracias.

Collation : 74 f. or 148 pages ; the last is blank, 4to, no title, no pagination ; signatures p. 1, a. 1 = p. 141, k. 3 (*a-h*, par 8 ; *i*, by 4 ; *l*, by 6) ; maximum 33 lines by page ; [1485?].

It is interesting to note that Christopher Columbus had a copy of this edition of Marco Polo, now kept in the Colombina at Seville. The margins of the following folios contain the autograph notes of the great navigator :

9 v.	31 r. & v.	46 v.	55 r. & v.	66 r. & v.
13 v.	36 v.	47 r. & v.	57 r. & v.	67 r. & v.
15 r. & v.	38 v.	48 r. & v.	59 r. & v.	68 r. & v.
17 v.	39 r.	49 r. & v.	60 r. & v.	69 r. & v.
18 r. & v.	40 r. & v.	50 r. & v.	61 r. & v.	70 r. & v.
19 r.	41 r.	51 r. & v.	62 r. & v.	71 r. & v.
23 r. & v.	42 r. & v.	52 r. & v.	63 r.	72 r. & v.
24 r. & v.	43 r. & v.	53 r. & v.	64 v.	73 r. & v.
25 r.	44 r. & v.	54 r.	65 r. & v.	74 r.

Cf. Simón de la Rosa y Lopéz, pp. XXIII, XLIII-XLIV of vol. II, Sevilla, 1891, 4to : *Biblioteca Colombina*.—Catálogo de sus libros impresos publicado por primera vez en virtud de acuerdo del Excmo. é Ilmo. Sr. Déan y Cabildo de la Santa Metropolitana y Patriarcal Iglesia de Sevilla bajo la inmediata dirección de su Bibliotecario el Ilmo. Sr. Dr. D. Servando Arbóly y Faraudo Dignidad de Capellán Mayor de San Fernando.—See also H. Harrisse, *Bibl. americana vetustissima*.—Additions, p. XII.

"Edition fort rare, dit Brunet, et la plus ancienne que l'on ait de cette version latine de Marco Polo, faite par Pipino, vers 1320. Elle est imprimée avec les mêmes caractères, que l'*Itinerarium* de Joan. de Mandeville, c'est-à-dire par Gerard de Leeu, à Anvers, vers 1485, et non pas à Rome et à Venise, comme on l'avait supposé. Vend. 4 liv. 14 sh. 6d. Hanrott ; 7 liv. Libri en 1859. (*Choicer portion*, 1562.)" Brunet writes elsewhere (cf. *Mandeville* par H. Cordier) about Mandeville from the same press : ". . . La souscription que nous allons rapporter semble prouver qu'elle a été imprimée à Venise ; cependant Panzer, IX, 200, la croit sortie des presses de Theodoric Martin, à Alost, et M. Grenville en trouvait les caractères conformes à ceux que Gérard Leeu a employés à Anvers, de 1484-1485. M. Campbell (*Ann. de la typ. néerlandaise*) la donne à Gérard Leeu, et fixe la date de l'impression à la première année du séjour de ce typographe à Anvers, après son départ de Gouda."

It is certain from the use of the signatures a, aa, ſ, and the similitude of the type of the three works, that the *Mandeville*, the *Ludolphe*, and the *Marco Polo* come from the same printing office, and have been printed together as it seems to be proved by the copy of the Sunderland Library, which was complete and contained the three works.

Lazari, p. 460, writes: "Jo. de Mandeville itineraria: Dom. Ludolph. de itinere ad Terram Sanctam: M. Paul. Venet. de regionibus orientalibus. Librariss. Zwollis, 1483, in-4.

"Leggiamo questa nota nell' opera *Bibliotheca Beauclerkiana or Sale catalogue of the books of Topham Beauclerk's Library*, London, 1781, P. II., p. 15, n. 430. Marsden però ritiene celarsi sotto quell'erronea indicazione la seguente prima edizione [s. a., 4to] latina de' viaggi di M. Polo. Egli istituì molt' ricerche per rinvenire in Inghilterra quell' esemplare, ma non gli è stato possibile di averne traccia."

11. — 2. Marci Pavli Veneti, de Regionibus orientalibus Libri III. (*Novus Orbis Regionum*).

Editions of 1532, 1537, 1555.—See 3-3.

12. — 3. Marci Pavli || Veneti Itinerarium, || seu de rebus Orientalibus || Libri tres. || Helmaestadii, || M.D. LXXXV, 4to.

Part of the Collection of Reineccius :

— Reineri Reinecii || Polyhistoris clarissimi || Historia O—|| rientalis : || Hoc est || Rerum in oriente à Christianis, Saracenis, Tur—||cis & Tartaris gestarum diuersorum || Auctorum. || Totum opus in duas partes tributum est, || contenta in singulis sequens || pagina indicat. || Helmaestadii, || Typis Iacobi Lucij, impensis heredum Ludolphi || Brandes. Anno 1602, 4to.

Verse of the title :

Primus Tomus continet:

— Chronicon Hierosolomytanum, cum appen—||dice Reineri Reineccij & Chronologia || Henr. Meibomij.

In Altero sunt:

— Vita Henrici VII. Imp. auctore Conrado Vec—||erio.

— Vita Caroli IIII. Imp. ab ipso Carolo con—||scripta.

— Historia Orientalis Haythoni Armenij.

— Pauli Veneti Itinerarium.

— Fragmentum de reb. orientalibus ex Speculo || Historiali Vincentij Beluacensis.

— Appendix ad Expositiones Haythoni auctore || Rein. Reineccio.

The colophon at the end of the first part has the date of 1584; at the end of the second part, 1585.

— This Marco Polo was reprinted according to Lazari, p. 465, in 1602.

13. — 4. MARCI PAULI VENETI, || Historici fidelissimi juxta ac praestantissimi, || de || REGIONIBUS || orientalibus || libri III. || Cum Codice Manuscripto Biblio—||thecae Electoralis Brandenburgicae collati, exq' ; || eo adjectis Notis plurimum tum suppleti || tum illustrati. || Accedit, propter cognationem materiae, || HAITHONI ARMENI HISTORIA || orientalis : quae & de Tartaris || inscribitur ; || Itemque || ANDREAE MULLERI, Greiffenhagii, || de CHATAJA, cujus praedictorum Auctorum uter—|| que mentionem facit, DISQUISITIO ; inque ipsum || Marcum Paulum Venetum PRAEFATIO, & || locupletissimi INDICES. || Coloniae Brandenburgicae, ||—Ex Officina Georgii Schulzii, Typogr. Elect. || Anno M. DC. LXXI. 4to.

Contains :

Engraved frontispiece.

Dedicatory Epistle, 3 ff. not numbered.

Andreae MÜLLERI Greiffenhagii, in Marci Pauli Veneti Chorographiam, Praefatio, pp. 26.

Doctorum Virorum De hoc Marci Pauli Veneti Opere Testimonia, ac Judicia. . .
(Franciscus Pipinus, etc.) 8 ff. n. ch.

MARCI PAULI Veneti De Regionibus orientalibus Libri III, pp. 167.

Index primus Historicus, Sive alphabetica Recensio omnium eorum, quae Autor passim observavit, atque aliàs memoranda reliquit, 22 ff. not numbered.

Index secundus Chronographicus, qui Annos & cujuslibet anni NOTABILIA (quae quidem Autor designavit) continet, 1 page.

Index tertius Itinerarius, Ubi Loca recensentur, quae auctor pertransiit, & Distantiantiae Locorum, quas ipse annotavit, 2 ff. not numbered.

Index quartus Glossarius, Estque vocum exoticarum, quas Autor ipse interpretatus est, 1 half p.

Emendanda in Marco Paulo Veneto, quaeq; ad hunc pertinent: aut ad eadem Addenda, 1 f. not numbered.

HAITHONI Armeni || Historia ori-entalis: || Quae eadem & De Tartaris || inscribitur. || Anno || CIO. IOC. LXXI, 2 ff. not numbered + pp. 107.

[Errata] 2 pp. not numbered.

Index, 7 pp. not numbered.

Andreae MÜLLERI, || Greiffenhagii, || DISQUISITIO || Geographica & Historica, || De || CHATAJA, || In Quâ || I. Praecipuè Geographorum nobilit || illa Controversia: Quanam CHATAJA sit, & an || sit idem ille terrarum tractus, quem Sinas, & vul-gó Chinam vocant, aut pars ejus aliqua? || latissimè tractatur; || 2. Eâdem verò operâ pleraque rerum, quae unquam || de Chataja, deque Sinis memorabilia || fuerunt, atque etiam nunc sunt, compendiosè || enarrantur. ||—Ecclesiastae I. v. 15. ||: תסתט לא יוכל || Senec. de Beneficiis VI. I. || *Etiam quod discere supervacuum est prodest* || cognoscere. || —Berolini, Typis Rungianis. || Anno M. DC. LXX, 2 ff. not numbered + pp. 115 on 2 col.

C.—ITALIAN EDITIONS.

14.—1. Marco Polo da Venie || sia de le merauegliose || cose del Mondo.

Below this title the mark of the printer SESSA: a cat holding a mouse in its mouth with the initials I and B on the right and on the left of the coat of arms (with a ducal crown above) which exhibits this group, and S at foot. Verso of f. 83:

Finisse lo libro de Marco Polo da Venie || sia dele merauegliose cose del mōdo Im || presso in Venetia per zoanne Baptista || da Sessa Milanese del M. ccccxcvi. || adi. xiii. del mese de Iunio regnā || do lo Illustrissimo Principe Au || gustino Barbadico inclyto || Duce di Venetia.

Recto of folio 84: "Registro. a b c d e f g h i k l Tutti questi sono quaderni excepto l chie duerno"; a-dessous le monogramme de l'imprimeur en blanc sur fond noir. —Verso of folio 84 is blank.

The copy which I have examined is in the Grenville Library, No. 6666. It is in fine condition and complete, notwithstanding what the Sobolewski Sale Catalogue says to the contrary (No. 1730): it is a small 8vo ff. 84; each quire containing, as is indicated by the register, eight sheets, except quire l, which has but four.

Grenville added to his copy the following note: "This appears to be the first edition printed in the original Italian. — The Abbé Morelli who sent me this book from Venice had found great difficulty in procuring a copy for the Library of St. Marc. — Panzer III. 396, refers only to the mention made of it by Denis. Supp. I, p^e 415. I know of no other copy in England. . . ."

Lazari, p. 460, says: "Prima e rarissima edizione del compendio veneziano. Un capitolo che parla di Trebisonda, tratto dal viaggio di Fr. Odorico, precede il testo del Polo mutilo e scorrettissimo: quel capitolo non forma però parte d'esso, come nelle molte ristampe di questo compendio."

See *Odoric de Pordenone*, par Henri Cordier, p. 9.

Ternaux-Compans (29) mentions an edition of Sessa of 1486, which does not seem to exist.

- 15.—2. Marco Polo da Vene || sia de le maraueliose || cose del Mondo. || Small 8vo.; 64 ff. non chif., sig. *a—i*: *a—g* by 8 = 56 ff., *h* and *i* by 4 = 8 ff., total 64 ff.

Collation :

Recto 1st f. : border ; vignette ; above the vig. title ut supra.

Verso 1st f. begins : Tractato delle più maraueliose cose e delle piu notabile : che si ri || trouano nelle pte del mōdo. Re || dutte & raccolte sotto breuita...

Recto f. 64 : Impressa la presente opera per el Venerabile mi || ser pre Batista da Farfengo nella Magnifica cita de || Bressa. adi. xx. December. M. CCCC. ||

“Ristampa dell’ edizione 1496, leggermente modificata nella introduzione. Rarissima.” (Lazari, p. 460.)

- 16.—3. Marco Polo da Venesia || de le marauegliose co = || se del Mondo. small 8vo, 56 ff. not numbered, sig. *a—g* by 8.

Collation : title ut supra : *Printer's mark* : a cat holding a mouse in its mouth, M O on the sides ; S at foot.—Ends, recto f. 56 ; ◀ *Impresso in Venetia per Melchior Sessa. Anno Dñi*. M. CCCC VIII. *Adi*. XXI. zugno.

- 17.—4. Marco Polo || Venetiano || in cvi si tratta le meravi||gliose cose del mondo per lui uedute : del costu = || me di uarij paesi, dello stranio uiuere di || quelli ; della descrizione de diuersi || animali, e del trouar dell’ o = || ro, dell’ argento, e delle || pietre preciose, co = || sa non men utile, che bella. [Vignette.] || In Venetia, 8vo ; 56 ff. n. ch., sig. *a—g* by 8.

At the end : *Finito è lo libro de Marco Polo da Venetia delle : || marauegliose cose del mondo. || In Venetia per Matthio Pagan, in Frezaria, || al segno della Fede*. 1555.

“Ristampa dell’ edizione 1496. La edizione 1555 fu riprodotta dello stesso *Mathio Pagan* senza data.” (Lazari, p. 463.)

A copy *s. d.* exists in the Grenville Library (304. a. 23), this is the title of it :

18. — 5. Marco Polo || Venetiano. || In cvi si tratta le meravi||gliose cose del mondo per lui uedute, del costu || me di uarij paesi, dello stranio uiuere di || quelli ; della descrizione de diuersi || animali, e del trouar dell’ oro || dell’ argento, e delle pie||tre preciose, cosa || non men utile, || che bella. In Venetia. s. d., 8vo., 56 ff. not numbered, sig. *a—g* by 8. At the end : *In Venetia per Mathio Pagan, in Frezaria, al Segno della Fede*.—On the title M. Pagan's mark.

19. — 6. ◀ Opera stampata nouamē||te delle marauigliose co = || se del mondo : comin = || ciādo da Leuante a ponente fin al me||zo di. El mondo nouo & isole & lo = || chi incogniti & siluestri abondā||ti e sterili & doue abōda loro || & largento & Zoglie & p̄ie || tre p̄ciosse & animali & || mōstri spauosi & do||ue manzano car = || ne humana e || i gesti & vi = || uer & co = || stumi || de quelli paesi cosa certamēte molto cu = || riosa de intendere & sapere.

Small 8vo, 56 ff. not numbered, sig. *a—g* by 8. At foot of recto f. 56 : ◀ *Finito lo libro de Marco Polo da Venetia de le || marauegliose cose del mondo. || Stampata in Venetia per Paulo Danza Anno. || Dñi* M. D. xxxij. *Adi*. 10 Febraro. ||

Reprint of the 1496 edition.

- 20.—7. De i Viaggi di Messer Marco Polo Gentil'huomo Venetiano (Ramusio, II, 1606.)
See the former editions of Ramusio.
- 21.—8 Marco Polo || Venetiano, || Delle Merauiglie del Mondo || per lui vedute ; || Del Costume di varij Paesi, & dello stranio || viuer di quelli. || Della Descriptione de diuersi Animali. || Del trouar dell' Oro, & dell' Argento. || Delle Pietre Preciose. || *Cosa non meno vtile, che bella.* || Di nouo Ristampato, & osseruato l'ordine || suo vero nel dire. || In Treuigi, Ad instantia di Aurelio Reghet|tini Libraro. M DXC. 8vo, 57 ff. numbered, $a-g \times 8 = 56$ ff. + $h \times 1 = 57$ ff. ; vignette on the title ; 1 wood-cut, not inserted in the text.
The wood-cut is not to be found in the copy of the British Museum, G bbb 8.
- 22.—9. Marco Polo Venetiano, Delle Merauiglie del Mondo per lui vedute ; Del costume di varij Paesi, & dello stranio viuer di quelli. Della Descriptione de diuersi Animali. Del trouar Dell' Oro, & dell' Argento. Delle Pietre Preciose. *Cosa non meno vtile, che bella,* Di nouo Ristampato, & Osseruato l'ordine suo vero nel dire. In Venetia, Appresso Marco Claseri, M DXCVII, 8vo, pp. 128, no cut.
- 23.—10. Marco Polo || Venetiano, || Delle Maraviglie del Mondo || per lui vedute. || Del costume di varij Paesi, & dello stranio viuer || di quelli. || Della Descriptione de diuersi Animali. || Del trouar dell' Oro, & dell' Argento. || Delle Pietre Pretiose. || *Cosa non meno vtile, che bella.* || Di nuouo ristampato, & osseruato l'ordine suo || vero nel dire. || [fleuron] In Venetia, M DCII. || Appresso Paolo Vgolino, small 8vo pp. 104 ; no cut.
- Page 104 : *Finito è lo Libro di Marco Polo da Venetia delle || Marauigliose cose del Mondo.*
- This edition differs from the following bearing the same date :
- 24.—11. Marco Polo Venetiano, Delle Merauiglie del Mondo per lui vedute. Del costume di varij Paesi, & dello stranio viuer di quelli. Della Descriptione de diuersi Animali. Del trouar Dell' oro, & dell' Argento. Delle Pietre Preciose. *Cosa non meno vtile, che bella.* Di nouo Ristampato, & osseruato l'ordine suo vero nel dire. In Venetia. M DCII. Appresso Paulo Vgolino, 8vo, pp. 128 ; on the title, vig. exhibiting David carrying the head of Goliath ; no cut.
- 25.—12. Marco Polo Venetiano, Delle Merauiglie del Mondo per lui vedute. Del costume di varij Paesi, & dello stranio viuer di quelli. Della Descriptione de diuersi Animali. Dell trouar dell' Oro, & dell' Argento. Delle Pietre Preciose. *Cosa non meno vtile, che bella.* Di nuouo ristampato, & osseruato l'ordine suo vero nel dire. Con licenza de' Superiori, & Priuilegio. In Venetia, M.DC. XXVI. Appresso Ghirardo, & Iseppo Imberti, small 8vo, pp. 128 ; 1 wood-cut, not inserted in the text.
- 26.—13. Marco Polo || Venetiano. || Delle Merauiglie del Mondo per || lui vedute. || Del costume di varij Paesi, & dello stranio viuer di quelli. || De la Descriptione de diuersi Animali. || Del trouar dell' Oro, & de

l'Argento. || Delle Pietre preciose. || *Cosa non meno utile, che bella.* || Di nuouo ristampato, & osseruato l'ordine || suo vero nel dire. || In Venetia, & poi in Treuigi per Angelo Righettini. 1267 [read 1627]. || Con Licenza de' Superiori, small 8vo, pp. 128; 1 wood-cut, not inserted in the text.

27.—14. Marco Polo || Venetiano. || Delle Merauiglie del Mondo per || lui vedute. || Del costume di varij Paesi, & dello stranio viuer di quelli. || De la Descrittione de diuersi Animali. || Del trouar dell' Oro, & de l'Argento. || Delle Pietre preciose. || *Cosa non meno utile, che bella.* Di nuouo ristampato, & osseruato l'ordine suo || vero nel dire. || In Treuigi, Appresso Girolamo Righettini: 1640. || *Con Licenza de' Superiori*, small 8vo, 128 pages with a vignette on the title, printer's mark; wood-cut f. 2 verso.

28.—15.—* In Trevigi M. DC. LVII., appresso Girolamo Righettini, 8vo.

29.—16. Marco Polo Venetiano. Delle Merauiglie del Mondo per lui vedute. I. Del costume di varij Paesi, & dello strano viuer di quelli. II. De la Descrittione de diuersi Animali. III. Del trouar dell' Oro, & dell' Argento. IV. Delle Pietre pretiose. *Cosa non meno utile, che bella.* Si nuouo ristampato, & osseruato l'ordine suo vero nel dire. In Trevigi, Per il Righettini. M. DC. LXV. Con Licenza de' Ssuperiori, small 8vo, 128 pp. with a wood-cut.

30.—17. Marco Polo Venetiano Delle Merauiglie del Mondo per lui vedute. I. Del costume di varij Paesi, & dello strano viuer di quelli. II. Della Descrittione de diuersi Animali. III. Del trouar dell' Oro, & dell' Argento. IV. Delle Pietre pretiose. *Cosa non meno utile, che bella.* Di nuouo ristampato, & osseruato l'ordine suo vero nel dire. In Trevigi, Per il Righettini. M. DC. LXXII. Con Licenza de' Ssuperiori, small 8vo. pp. 128; 1 cut not inserted in the text.

These various editions are reprints of the text of 1496.

31.—18. Il Milione || di Marco Polo || Testo di lingua || del secolo decimoterzo || ora per la prima volta || publicato ed illustrato || dal Conte || Gio. Batt. Baldelli Boni. || Tomo primo || Firenze || Da' Torchi di Giuseppe Pagani || M. DCCCXXVII. || Con approv. e privilegio, 4to, pp. xxxii.-clxxv.-234 + 1 f. not numbered for the index.

INDICE: Vita di Marco Polo, P. I.—Sommario Cronologico della Vita del Polo, P. xxv.—Storia del Milione, P. I.—Illustrazione della Tela del Salone dello Scudo, P. cv.—Descrizione dell' Atlante Cinese, posseduto dalla Magliabechiana, P. cix.—Schiaramento relativo all' età dell' Atlante Cinese, P. cxxi.—Notizia dei Manoscritti del *Milione*, di cui si è fatto uso nell' Opera, o veduti, o fatti riscontrare, P. cxxiii.—Della Porcellana. Discorso, P. cxxxvii.—Del Portulano Mediceo, e delle Scoperte dei Genovesi nell' Atlantico. Discorso, P. clxiii.—Voci del Milione di Marco Polo, citate dal Vocabolario della Crusca, P. clxxiii.—Voci tratte dal Testo del Polo, e da citarsi dal Vocabolario della Crusca, P. clxxiv.—*Il Milione* di Marco Polo, TESTO DELLA CRUSCA, P. I.

— Il Milione || di || Messer Marco Polo || Viniziano || Secondo la lezione Ramusiana || illustrato e comentato || dal Conte || Gio. Batt. Baldelli Boni || Tomo Secondo || Firenze || Da' Torchi di Giuseppe Pagani ||
VOL. II. 2 N 2

M DCCC XXVII. || Con approv. e privilegio, 4to, pp. xxvi.-514 + 2 ff. n. ch.

INDICE: Dichiarazione al Libro Primo, P. 1.—Proemio di Fra Pipino al Milione, P. 3.—TESTO RAMUSIANO del *Milione*. Libro Primo, P. 5—Dichiarazione al Libro Secondo, per rischiarare le Legazioni di Marco Polo, P. 147.—Libro Secondo, P. 153.—Dichiarazione alla parte seconda del Libro Secondo. Della Lingua Cinese, P. 223.—Libro Terzo, P. 357.—Aggiunte e Correzioni, P. 481.

— Storia || delle || Relazioni vicendevoli || Dell' Europa e dell' Asia || dalla Decadenza di Roma || fino alla || distruzione del Califato || del Conte || Gio. Batt. Baldelli Boni. || Parte Prima || Firenze || Da' Torchi di Giuseppe Pagani || M DCCC XXVII. || Con approv. e privilegio, 4to, 4 ff. n. c. for the tit. and the ded. : "A Sua Altezza Imperiale e Reale Leopoldo Secondo Principe Imperiale d'Austria..." + pp. 466.

— Parte Seconda || Firenze || Da' Torchi di Giuseppe Pagani || M DCCC XXVII. || Con approv. e privilegio, 4to, pp. 467 to 1004 + 1 f. n. ch.

Eighty copies of Baldelli-Boni's work were printed on large paper, and two on vellum.

Two maps generally bound apart accompany the work.

32.—19. I Viaggi in Asia in Africa, nel mare dell' Indie descritti nel secolo XIII da Marco Polo Veneziano. Testo di lingua detto *Il Milione* illustrato con annotazioni. Venezia, dalla tipografia di Alvisopoli, M DCCC XXIX, 2 parts, 8vo, pp. XXI + 1-189, 195-397.

"Ristampa del Testo di Crusca procurata da B. Gamba il quale vi appose piccole note a pie di pagina." (Lazari, p. 470.)

"Il en a été tiré 100 exemplaires, in-8, auxquels est jointe la carte géographique qui fait partie de l'ouvrage de Zurla. Il y en a aussi des exemplaires in-8, très grand Pap., et sur des papiers de différentes couleurs." (Brunet.)

33.—20. Il Libro di Marco Polo intitolato il Milione. (*Relazioni di Viaggiatori*, Venezia, co' tipi del Gondoliere, M DCCC XLI, I, pp. 1-231.)

Reprint of the Crusca Text.—See Baldelli-Boni, *supra* 31-18.

Gondoliere's Collection form vol. i. and ii. of the class XI. of the *Biblioteca classica italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti disposta e illustrata da Luigi Carrer*.

34.—21. I Viaggi in Asia in Africa, nel mare dell' Indie descritti nel secolo XIII da Marco Polo Veneziano testo di lingua detto Il Milione illustrato con annotazioni. Volume unico. Parma, per Pietro Fiaccadori, M DCCC XLIII, Small 8vo, pp. iv.-308.

Reprint of the Crusca Text.

35.—22. I Viaggi in Asia, in Africa, nel mare dell' Indie descritti nel secolo XIII da Marco Polo Veneziano. Testo di lingua detto Il *Milione*. Udine, Onofrio Turchetto, Tip. edit. 1851, 16mo, pp. x.-207.

36.—23. I Viaggi || di || Marco Polo || Veneziano || tradotti per la prima volta dall' originale francese || di Rusticiano di Pisa || e corredati d'illustrazioni e di documenti || da Vincenzo Lazari || pubblicati per cura || di

Lodovico Pasini || membro eff. e segretario dell' I. R. Istituto Veneto. || Venezia || M DCCC XLVII, 8vo, pp. LXIV.-484, map.

Verso of the title : "Coi Tipi di Pietro Naratovitch."

See pp. 447-471, *Bibliografia*.—Pp. 473-484, Indice Alfabetico delle Materie.

37.—24. I Viaggi di Marco Polo secondo la lezione del Codice Magliabechiano più antico reintegrati col testo francese a stampa per cura di Adolfo Bartoli. Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1863, small 8vo, pp. LXXXIII.-439.

38.—25. Il Milione ossia Viaggi in Asia, in Africa e nel Mar delle Indie descritti nel secolo XIII da Marco Polo Veneziano. Torino, Tip. dell' oratorio di S. Franc. di Sales, 1873, 32mo, pp. 280.

Biblioteca della Gioventù Italiana.

39.—26. Giulio Verne. I Viaggi di Marco Polo unica versione originale fedelmente riscontrata sub codice Magliabechiano e sulle opere di Charton per cura di Ezio Colombo. Volume Unico. Milano, Serafino Muggiani e Comp., 1878, 16mo, pp. 143.

The frontispiece is a coarse wood-cut exhibiting Marco Polo ; this vol. is part of a popular Collection of Travels.

40.—27. Marco Polo.—I Viaggi secondo la lezione del codice Magliabechiano più antico. Milano, Sonzogno, 1886, 16mo.

See *supra* 37-24.

D.—PORTUGUESE EDITION

41.—1. MARCO || PAULO. ¶ Ho liuro de Nycolao veneto. ¶ O trallado da carta de huñ genoues das ditas terras. ¶ Cõ priuilegio del Rey nosso senhor. ¶ nenhuñ faça a impres || sam deste liuro. nẽ ho venda em todollos se' regnos ¶ senho = || rios sem liçẽça de Valentim fernãdez so pena cõteuda na car || ta do seu preuilegio. Ho preço delle. Cento ¶ dez reaes. folio of 106 ff.

Collation : 8 prel. ff. n. chiff., and 98 ff. numbered.

Recto 1st f. : Titre ut supra.—Vignette showing a sphere.

Verso 2^d f. : ¶ Começase a epistola sobre a tralladaça do liuro de || Marco paulo. Feita per Valêtym fernãdez escudey || ro da excellentissima Raynha Dona Lyanor. Ende || rençada ao Serenissimo ¶ Inuictissimo Rey ¶ Sen || hor Dom Emanuel o primeiro. Rey de Portugal ¶ dos Alguarues. daquẽ ¶ alem mar em Africa. Sen || hor de Buynee. E da conquista da nauagaçom ¶ col||mercio de Ethiopia. Arabia. Persia. ¶ da India.

Recto 7th f. : Começase a tauoa dos capitulos do liuro Primeyro.

Recto 1st f. chif. : ¶ Começase ho Liuro Primeiro de Marco paulo || de Veneza das condiçoẽs ¶ custumes das gẽtes || ¶ das terras ¶ prouincias orientaes. E prime y ralmente de como ¶ em que maneyra Dom Marco = || paulo de Veneza ¶ Dom Maffeo seu irmaõ se pas||sarom aas partes do oriente ; vig. repres. a galley ; border.

Verso f. 77 : End of Marco Polo.

Recto f. 78 : Nicolo Conti.

Verso f. 95 : End of Nicolo Conti.

Recto f. 96 : A Carta do genoues,

Verso f. 98: ¶ Acabase ho liuro de Marco paulo. cõ ho liuro de Nicolao ve=||neto ou veneziano. Ç assi mesmo ho trallado de hũa carta de huũ ||genoues mercador. que todos escreuerõ das Indias. a seruiço || de d's. Ç auisamẽto daquelles q̃ agora vam pera as ditas Indias || Aos quaes rogo Ç peço humilmente q̃ benignamẽte queirã emẽ||dar Ç correger ho que menos achatẽ no escreuer. s. nos vocabul' || das prouincias. regnos. çidades. ylhas. Ç outras cousas muytas || Ç nõ menos em a distãcia das legoas de hũa terra pa outra. *Im=|| primido per Valentym fernãdez alemãõ. Em a muy nobre çida || de Lyxboa. Era de Mil Ç quinhentos Ç dous annos. Aos. qua||tro dias do mes de Feureyro.*—At the top, printer's mark.

A detailed description of this edition is to be found in Figanière's *Bibliographia*, No. 947.

E.—SPANISH EDITIONS.

42.—1. *Cosmographia || breue introdu||ctoria en el libro || d' Marco paulo. ||*
— *El libro del famoso Marco paulo || veneciano d'las cosas marauillosas || q̃ vido en las partes oriẽtales. cõuie || ne saber en las Indias. Armenia. A||rabia. Persia Ç Tartaria. E d'l pode || rio d'l grã Cã y otros reyes. Cõ otro || tratado de micer Pogio florẽtino q̃ || trata delas mesmas tierras Ç yslas.*

Folio ; 2 col. ; 34 ff. numbered and 4 prel ff. not numbered.

On the title page 4 woodcuts exhibiting :

Marc paulo.

Micer pogio.

S. Domingo. ãla ysla Isabela.

Calicu.

—The 4 prelim. ff. contain :

— *Recto 1 f.* : Title.

— *Verso 1 f.* : Prologo primero.

— *F. 2 and 3* : Maestre Rodrigo al lector.

— *F. 4* : Tabla de los capitulos.

—Marco Polo, ff. 1/26.

— *Tratado de Micer Pogio*, ff. 27-recto f. 27 [read 34].

—Last f. v. [numbered xxvij erroneously for xxxiv.]

“Acabase el libro del famoso Marco paulo veneciano el q̃l cuẽta de todas las tierras prouicias Ç islas delas Indias. Arabia || Persia Armenia y Tartaria y d'las cosas marauillosas que en ellas se ha||llan assi mesmo el grã señorío y riquezas del gran Can de Catayo se||ñor delos tartaros | aãadido en fin vn tratado breue de micer Pogio || florentino el qual el mesmo escriuió por mandado de eugenio papa || quarto deste nombre por relacion de vn Nicolao [Conti] veneciano el || qual assi mesmo auia andado las ptidas oriẽtales Ç de otros || testigos dinos d' fe como por el parece fiel mẽte trasladado || en lengua castellana por el reuerẽdo señor maestrẽ Rodri||go de santa ella | Arcediano de reyna y canonigo ãla sã || ta yglesia de Seuilla. El q̃l se ãprimio por Lã [?] alao || polono y Jacome Crõberger alemano ãla muy || noble y muy leal ciudad d'Seuilla. Año de || mil Ç q' niẽtos y tres a. xxviii. dias d'mayo.”

43.—2. ¶ *Libro del famoso Marco || Polo veneciano delas cosas marau||llosas q̃ vido en las partes orien=|| tales : conuiene saber en las || Indias | Armenia | Ara||bia | Persia | Ç Tarta||ria. Edel poderio || del gran Can y || otros reyes. || Con otro || tratado || de mi||cer || Pogio Florentino Ç trata || delas mesmas tie=||rras Ç islas. s. l. n. d., fol.; 2 col. [Logroño, 1529].*

Collation : 4 prel. ff. not numbered + signatures a—d × 8 = 32 ff.; in all 36 ff.

F. 1. v. : Prologo del Interprete.—f. 2 r. *Cosmographia* introductoria.—f. 3. v. : Tabla.—f. 4 v. : Fin dela Tabla.—32 numbered f. follow : F. i.—*Begins* : Libro de

Marco Polo Venciano || (col. 1.) ¶ Aquí comiença vn || libro que trata delas cosas marauillosas || que el noble varon micer Marco Polo de || Venecia vido enlas partes de Oriente.

Ends: recto f. xxxij: La presente obra del famoso Marco || Polo veneciano q̄ fue traduzida fielmēte de lengua veneciana en || castellano por el reuerēdo señor maestre Rodrigo Arcedia||no de reyna y canonigo enla yglesia de Seuilla. || Fue impressa y corregida de nueuo enla || muy constante y leal cívdađ de || Logroño en casa d' Mi||guel de eguía || a treze || de junio de mill Ć qui||nientos y. xx. Ć nueue. ||

"Cette édition de 1529, says Brunet est fort rare : 2 liv. 9 sh. Heber ; 210 flor. Butsch, et 130 fr. en 1859.—Il y en a une plus ancienne de *Séville, Cromberger*, 1520 in-fol., que cite Panzer d'après Vogt."

Lazari says of this edition of 1520, p. 461 : "Di estrema rarità. Questa traduzione è tratta da un antico testo italiano : l'autore n'é Maestro Rodrigo de Santaella."

44.—3. Historia || de las Gran-||dezas y Cosas || marauillosas de las Prouin-||cias Orientales. || Sacada de Marco Pavlo || Veneto, y traduzida de Latin en Romance, y aña-||dida en muchas partes por Don Martin de Bolea || y Castro, Varon de Clamosa, || señor de la Villa de || Sietamo. || Dirigida a Don Beltran de || la Cueba, Duque de Alburquerque, Marques de || Cuellar, Conde de Ledesma y Guelma, Lugar-||teniente, y Capitan General por su Ma-||gestad, en el Reyno de || Aragon. || Con Licencia, en Caragoça. || Por Angelo Tauano, Año. M. DCI, 8vo, 8 ff. n. ch. + 163 ff. + 8 ff. n. ch. for the tab. and errata. Last f. n. ch. *verso*: En Caragoça || Por Angelo Tauano || Año. 1601.

45.—4. Biblioteca universal. Coleccion de los Mejores autores antiguos y modernos, nacionales y extranjeros. Tomo LXVI. Los Viages de Marco Polo veneciano. Madrid. Direccion y administracion, 1880, 16mo, pp. 192.

"La edicion que hemos tenido principalmente à la vista, para formar este volúmen de nuestra *Biblioteca*, es la de Ludovico Pasini, Venecia 1847."

F.—FRENCH EDITIONS.

46.—1. La || description geo-||graphique des Provinces || & villes plus fameuses de l'Inde Orientale, meurs, || loix, & coustumes des habitans d'icelles, mesme-||ment de ce qui est soubz la domination du grand || Cham Empereur des Tartares. || Par Marc Paule gentilhomme Venetien, || Et nouvellement reduict en || vulgaire François. || [*mark*] A Paris, || Pour Vincent Sertenas tenant sa boutique au Palais en la gallerie par || ou on va a la Chacellerie. Et en larue neuue Nostre dame à || l'image saint Iehan l'Euangeliste. || 1556. || Avec Privilège dv Roy, || 4to, 10 prel. f. not numbered + 123 ff. numbered + 1 f. not numbered.

Sommaire dv Privilège du Roy (verso of title).—Epistle "A Adrian de Lavnay sei||gneur de saint Germain le Vieil, Viconte de || saint Siluain, Notaire & Secretaire || du Roy." F. G. L. S.—De Paris ce xviii. iour d'Aoust 1556, 3 pages.—Preface av lectevr par F. G. L., 5 pages.—Table, 8 pages.—Pièces de vers 2 pages at the beginning and an advertisement (1 page) at the end.

Begins page 1: "Lors que Bauldoyn Prince Chre||stien tât fameux & renommé tenoit || l'Empire de Çonstātinople, assauoir || en l'an de l'incarnation de nostre ||

Saulueur mil deux cens soixante & || neuf, deux nobles & prudēs citoyēs || de Venise. . . .

Verso of last f. not numbered, the mark of Vincent Sertenas.

Oldest edition in French.

Marsden and Yule believe that it has been translated from the Latin of the *Novus Orbis*.

47.—2. Same title. A Paris, || Pour Estienne Groulleau, demourant en la rue neuue Nostre || dame, à l'image saint Iehan Baptiste. || 1556. || Avec privilege dv Roy, 4to.

Same edition with a different bookseller.

48.—3. La Description géographique . . . de l'Inde Orientale . . . Par Marc Paule . . . || A Paris, || Pour Jehan Longis tenant sa boutique au Palais en la gallerie par || ou on va à la Chancellerie. || 1556. || Avec Priuilege du Roy. 4to.

Same edition as Sertenas' with the privilege of this bookseller. A copy is marked in the *Catalogue des livres . . . de . . . James de Rothschild*, II, Paris, 1887, No. 1938. M. E. Picot remarks that the Preface by F. G. L., as well as the motto *Inter utrumque* belong to FRANÇOIS GRUGET, *Lochois*, who in the same year edited with the same booksellers the *Dodechedron de Fortune*.

49.—4. Les || Voiages || très-curieux & fort remarquables, || Achevées par toute || l'Asie, Tartarie, Mangi, Japon, || les || Indes orientales, iles adjacentes, || & l'Afrique, || Commencées l'An 1252. || Par Marc Paul, Venitien, || Historien recommandable pour sa fidelité. || Qui contiennent une Relation très-exacte des Païs Orientaux : || Dans laquelle il décrit très exactement plusieurs Païs & Villes, lesquelles || Lui même a Voiagées & vües la pluspart : & où il nous enseigne brièvement || les Mœurs & Coutumes de ces Peuples, avant ce tems là inconnues aux || Européens ; || Comme aussi l'origine de la puissance des Tartares, quand à leurs Conquêtes || de plusieurs Etats ou Païs dans la Chine, ici clairement proposée & expliquée. || Le tout divisé en III. Livres, || Conferé avec un Manuscrit de la Bibliotheque de S. A. E. de Brandebourg, || & enrichi de plusieurs Notes & Additions tirées du dit Manuscrit, || de l'Edition de Ramuzio, de celle de Purchas, || & de celle de Vitriare.

Form a part of 43 and 185 col. in vol. ii. of *Voyages faits principalement en Asie . . .* par Pierre Bergeron. A la Haye, Chez Jean Neaulme M. DCC. XXXV, in-4.

After André Müller Greiffenbag.

Remark on the title-page the date of the voyage 1252! In the text, col. 6, it is marked 1272.

50.—5. Marco Polo—Un Vénitien chez les Chinois avec étude biographique et littéraire par Charles Simond. Paris, Henri Gautier, s. d. [1888], pp^t. 8vo, pp. 32.

Forms No. 122 of *Nouvelle Bibliothèque populaire* à 10 Cent. Besides a short biographical notice, it contains Bergeron's Text.

51.—6. Voyages de Marco Polo. Première partie. Introduction, Texte, Glossaire et Variantes.

Introduction, pp. xi.-liv. [by Roux.]

- Voyage de Marc Pol, pp. 1-288—Table des Chapitres, pp. 289-296. [Published from MS. 7367 of the Bibliothèque nationale.]
- Peregrinatio Marci Pauli. Ex Manuscripto Bibliothecae Regiae, N° 3195 f°, pp. 297-494—Index Caputum, pp. 495-502.
- Glossaire des mots hors d'usage, pp. 503-530 [by Méon].
- Errata, pp. 531-532.
- Variantes et Tableau comparatif des noms propres et des noms de lieux cités dans les voyages de Marco Polo, pp. 533-552.
(Vol. i. 1824, of the *Recueil de Voyages*, de la Société de géographie de Paris.)
- Rapport sur la Publication des Voyages de Marco Polo, fait au nom de la section de publication, par M. Roux, rapporteur. (*Bull. de la Soc. de Géog.*, I. 1822, pp. 181-191.)
- Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux xi^e, xii^e, & xiii^e siècles publiés par Henri Michelant & Gaston Raynaud. Genève, Fick, 1882, in-8.
- Voyage des Polo, pp. xxviii.-xxix.—Ext. of MS. fr. 1116 are given, pp. 201-212, et of the version called after Thiébauld de Cépoï, pp. 213-226.
- The Fr. MS. 1116, late 7367, has been reproduced by photography (including the binding, a poor modern one in calf !) at Karlsruhe this year (1902) under the title :
- Le divisiment dou monde de Messer March Pol de Venece.—Die Handschrift Fonds Français No. 1116 der National bibliothek zu Paris photographisch aufgenommen auf der Gr. Hof-und Landes bibliothek zu Karlsruhe von Dr. A. Steiner.—Karlsruhe. Hof-Buchdruckerei Friedrich Gutsch. 1902, in-4.
- Has No. Impr. 5210 in the National Library, Paris.
52. — 7. Marco Polo. (Charton, *Voy. anc. et mod.*, II. pp. 252-440.)
Modernized Text of the Geographical Society.—Notes, Bibliography, etc.

53-8. 忽必烈樞密副使博羅本書

- Le livre || de || Marco Polo || citoyen de Venise || Conseiller privé et commissaire impérial || de || Khoubilaï-Khaân ; || rédigé en français sous sa dictée en 1298 || par Rusticien de Pise ; || Publié pour la première fois d'après trois manuscrits inédits de la Bibliothèque impériale de Paris, || présentant la rédaction primitive du Livre, revue par Marc Pol lui-même et donnée par lui, en 1307, à Thiébauld de Cépoï, || accompagnée des *variantes*, de *l'explication des mots hors d'usage*, et de *Commentaires géographiques et historiques*, || tirés des écrivains orientaux, principalement chinois, avec une Carte générale de l'Asie ; || par || M. G. Pauthier. || — Paris || Librairie de Firmin Didot. . . . M. DCCC. LXV, 2 parts, large 8vo.
- Polo (Marco) par G. Pauthier.
Extrait de la *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, publiée par MM. Firmin Didot frères et fils. Ppt. 8vo, on 2 col.
- A Memoir of Marco Polo, the Venetian Traveller to Tartary and China [translated from the French of M. G. Pauthier]. (*Chin. & Jap. Rep.*, Sept. & Oct. 1863.)

- 54.—9. Les Récits de Marco Polo citoyen de Venise sur l'histoire, les mœurs et les coutumes des Mongols, sur l'empire Chinois et ses merveilles ; sur Gengis-Khan et ses hauts faits ; sur le Vieux de la Montagne ; le Dieu des idolâtres, etc. Texte original français du XIII^e siècle rajeuni et annoté par Henri Bellenger. Paris, Maurice Dreyfous, s. d., 18mo, pp. iv-280.
- 55.—10. Le Livre de Marco Polo — Facsimile d'un manuscrit du XIV^e siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque royale de Stockholm, 4to, 4 ff. n. c. for the title ut supra and preface + 100 ff. n. c. [200 pages] of text facsimile.

We read on the verso of the title-page: "Photolithographie par l'Institut lithographique de l'Etat-Major — Typographie par l'Imprimerie centrale — Stockholm, 1882."—We learn from the preface by the celebrated A. E. Nordenskiöld, that 200 copies, two of which on parchment have been printed. In the preface is printed a letter, Paris, 22nd Nov. 1881, written by M. Léopold Delisle, which shows that the Stockholm MS. belonged to the library of the King of France, Charles V. (who had five copies of Polo's Book) and had No. 317 in the Inventory of 1411; it belonged to the Louvre, to Solier of Honfleur, to Paul Petau when it was purchased by King Christina.

— Le "Livre de Marco Polo." Facsimile d'un manuscrit du XIV^e siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque royale de Stockholm. Stockholm, 1882, in-4 (Signed: LÉOPOLD DELISLE) — Nogent-le-Rotrou, imp. de Daupeley-Gouverneur. [1882], pp. 8vo.

Extrait de la *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*. t. xliiii. 1882.—

This is a reprint of an article by M. Delisle in the *Bib. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, xliiii. 1882, pp. 226-235.—see also p. 434.—M. G. Raynaud has also given a notice of this edition of Stockholm in *Romania*, xl. 1882, pp. 429-430, and Sir Henry Yule, in *The Athenæum*, 17th June, 1882, pp. 765-766.

— Il libro di Marco Polo facsimile d'un manoscritto del XIV secolo. Nota del prof. G. Pennesi. (*Bol. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, 1882, pp. 949-950.)

— See MURET, Ernest, pp. 547 and 582.

G. — ENGLISH EDITIONS.

- 56.—1. The most noble || and famous trauels of || *Marcus Paulus, one* || of the nobilitie of the state of || Venice, into the East partes || of the world, as *Armenia, Per||sia, Arabia, Tartary*, with || many other kingdoms || and Prouinces. || No lesse pleasant, than || profitable, as appeareth || by the Table, or Contents || of this Booke. || Most necessary for all sortes || of Persons, and especially || for Trauellers. || *Translated into English.* || At London, || Printed by Ralph Nevbery, || *Anno.* 1579. Small 4to. pp. [28]+167+[1]. Sig. *—**** A — X.

Pp. 167 without the 28 first pages which contain the title (2 p.), the epistle of the translator, Iohn Frampton (2 p.). Maister Rotherigo to the Reader: An introduction into Cosmographie (10 pages), the Table of the Chapters (6 p.). The Prologue (8 p.).

- 57.—2. The first Booke of Marcvs Pavlvs Venetvs, or of Master Marco Polo, a Gentleman of Venice, his Voyages. (Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*. London, Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, . . . 1625, Lib. I. Ch. IIII. pp. 65-108.)

After Ramusio.

- 58.—3. The Travels of Marco Polo, or Mark Paul, the Venetian, into Tartary, in 1272. (Astley's *Collection of Travels*, IV. pp. 580-619).
French translation in *l'Hist. Gén. des Voyages*.
- 59.—4. Harris's *Navigantium atque Itin. Bib.*, ed. of 1715 and of 1744.
- 60.—5. The curious and remarkable Voyages and Travels of Marco Polo, a Gentleman of Venice who in the Middle of the thirteenth Century passed through a great part of Asia, all the Dominions of the Tartars, and returned Home by Sea through the Islands of the East Indies. [Taken chiefly from the accurate Edition of Ramusio, compared with an original Manuscript in His Prussian Majesty's Library and with most of the Translations hitherto published.] (*Pinkerton*, VII. p. 101.)
- 61.—6. Marco Polo. Travels into China and the East, from 1260 to 1295. (Robert Kerr, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels*. . . . Edinburgh, 1811-1824, vol. i.)
- 62.—7. The || Travels || of || Marco Polo, || a Venetian, || in the Thirteenth Century : || being a || Description, by that early traveller, || of || remarkable places and things, || in || the || Eastern Parts of the World. || Translated from the Italian, || with || Notes, || by William Marsden, F.R.S., &c. || With a Map. || London : || M. DCCC. XVIII., large 4to, pp. lxxx.-782 + 1 f. n. ch. for the er.
- The first 80 pages are devoted to a remarkable *Introduction*, in which are treated of various subjects enumerated on p. 782 : *Life of Marco Polo ; General View of the Work ; Choice of Text for Translation ; Original Language*, etc. There is an index, pp. 757-781.
- 63.—8. The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian. The Translation of Marsden revised, with a Selection of his Notes. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. M.A., etc. London : Henry G. Bohn, 1854, small 8vo, pp. xxviii.-508.
- 64.—9. The Travels of Marco Polo . . . By Hugh Murray . . . Edinburgh : Oliver & Boyd . . . M. DCCC. XLIV, 8vo, pp. 368.
Vol. 38 of the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, published at 5s.
— Second Edition, . . . Edinburgh : Oliver & Boyd . . . M DCCC XLIV, 8vo.
— The Travels of Marco Polo, greatly amended and enlarged from valuable early manuscripts recently published by the French Society of Geography, and in Italy by Count Baldelli Boni. With copious Notes, illustrating the routes and observations of the author and comparing them with those of more recent Travellers. By Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E. Two Maps and a Vignette. New York, Harper, 1845, 12mo, pp. vi-326.
— 4th ed., Edinburg, s. a.
- 65.—10. The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East. Newly Translated and edited, with Notes. By Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., late of the Royal

Engineers (Bengal), Hon. Fellow of the Geographical Society of Italy. In two volumes. With Maps, and other Illustrations. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1871, 2 vol. 8vo.

- 66.—11. The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East. Newly translated and edited, with Notes, Maps, and other Illustrations. By Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., late of the Royal Engineers (Bengal) . . . In two volumes. Second edition, revised. With the addition of new matter and many new illustrations. London: John Murray, 1875, 2 vols. 8vo.

— Marco Polo e il suo Libro del Colonnello Henry Yule, C.B. Por Guglielmo Berchet. (*Archivio Veneto*, II. 1871, pp. 124-174, 259-350.)

Contains a Translation of the *Introductory Essay*, etc.

— The Story of Marco Polo. With Illustrations. London, John Murray, 1898, 8vo, pp. xiv.-247.

Preface by Noah Brooks. "In his comments . . . the author has made use of the erudite notes of Colonel Henry Yule. . . ."

67.—12. Voyages and Travels of Marco Polo.—London, Cassell, 1886, 16mo, pp. 192.

The Preface is signed H. M[osley].—From Pinkerton.—Popular Edition. *Cassell's National Library*.

H.—DUTCH EDITIONS

— Die nieuwe vveerelt der Landtschappen ende Eylanden . . . Gheprint Thantwerpen . . . Anno. M.D. LXIII. folio.

Marcus Pauwels, f. xxvii.

- 68.—1. MARKUS PAULUS VENETUS || Reisen, || En || Beschryving || Der || oostersche || Lantschappen ; || Daar in hy naukeuriglijk veel Landen en Steden, die hy zelf ten meestendeel || bereist en bezichtigt heeft, beschrijft, de zeden en gewoonten van die Vol-||ken, tot aan die tijd onbekent, ten toon stelt, en d'opkoomst van de Heer-||schappy der Tartaren, en hun verövering van verscheide landen in Sina, || met ander namen genoemt, bekent maakt. || Beneffens de || Historie || Der || oostersche Lantschappen, || Door HAITHON van ARMENIEN te zamen gestelt. || Beide nieuwelijks door J. H. GLAZEMAKER vertaalt. || Hier is noch by gevoegt *De Reizen van Nicolaas Venetus*, en || *Jeronymus van St. Steven* naar d'oostersche Landen, en || naar d'Indien. Door P.P. vertaalt. || Als ook een *Verhaal van de verovering van 't Eilant Formosa, door || de Sinezen*; door J. V. K. B. vertaalt. || Met Kopere Platen verciert. || t' Amsterdam, || Voor Abraham Wolfgang, Boekverkoper, aan d'Opgang van de || Beurs, by de Beurstooren, in 't Geloof, 1664. 4to, 6 ff. not numbered for the tit., prf. + pp. 99 + 4 ff. not numbered for the tab. etc. of Marco Polo.

The other works have a special pagination,

I.—TCHÈQUE EDITION.

- 69.—1. Million Marka Pavlova. Fragment of the tchèque translation of the Berlin Museum. Prague, No. 3 F. 26, xvth cent., by an Anonym, Moravian? (*Výbor z Literatury české*, II. v Praze, 1868.)
- 70.—2. Pohledy do Velkorise mongolské v čas nejmocnejšího rozkvetu jejího za Kublaje kána. Na základe čestopisu Marka Polova podává A. J. Vrtatko. (Výnato z Časopisu Musea král. Českého 1873.) V Praze, J. Otto, 1873, 8vo, pp. 71.

M. A. Jarosl. Vrtatko has translated the whole of Marco Polo, but he has published only this fragment.

J.—RUSSIAN EDITIONS.

- 71.—1. Марко Поло путешествие въ 1286 году по Татаріи и другимъ странамъ востока венеціанскаго дворянина Марко Поло, прозваннаго Милліонеромъ.—Три части.—St. Petersburg, 1873, 8vo, pp. 250.
- 72.—2. И. П. Минаевъ.—Путешествіе Марко Поло переводъ старо-французскаго текста.—Издание Имп. Русскаго Геог. Общества подъ редакціей дѣйствительнаго члена В. В. Бартольда.—St. Petersburg, 1902, 8vo, pp. xxix + 1 f. + pp. 355.

Vol. xxvi. of the *Zapiski* of the Russian Geog. Society, translated from the French.

K.—IRISH EDITION.

- 73.—The Gaelic Abridgment of the Book of Ser Marco Polo. By Whitley Stokes. (*Zeit. f. Celtische Philologie*, 1 Bd., 2 & 3 Hft. Halle a. S. 1896-7, 8vo, pp. 245-273, 362-438.)
- Book of Lismore.—See our *Introduction*, I. p. 103, note.

L.—VARIOUS EDITIONS.

- 74.—1. The edition of Marco Polo in preparation by Klaproth is announced in the part of June, 1824 of the *Journal Asiatique*, pp. 380-381.
- “M. Klaproth vient de terminer son travail sur *Marco Polo*, qui l'a occupé depuis plusieurs années. . . .
- “La nouvelle édition de *Marco Polo*, que notre confrère prépare, contiendra l'italien de Ramusio, complété, et des Notes explicatives en bas des pages. Elle sera accompagnée d'une Carte représentant les pays visités ou décrits par le célèbre Vénitien.”

—See also on this edition of Klaproth, the *Bulletin des Sciences historiques, antiquités*, etc., juin 1824, art. 580; the *Jour. des Savans*, juillet 1824, pp. 446-447,

and the *Jour. As.* of 1824-1828: *Recherches sur les Ports de Gampou*. Klaproth's materials for this edition were sold after his death Fr.200 to the bookseller Duprat; See *Cat. des Livres composant la Bib. de M.K.*, IIe Partie, No. 292.

75.—2. Marco Polos Beskrivelse af det ostlige asiatiske Hoiland, forklaret ved C.V. Rimestad. Forste Afdeling, indeholdende Indledningen og Ost-Turkestan. Indbydelseskraft til den aarlige offentlige Examen i Borgerdydskolen i Kjobenhavn i Juli 1841. Kjobenhavn, Trykt hos Bianco Luno. 1841, 8vo, pp. 80.

76.—3. Marco Polo's Resa i Asien.

Small ppt. square 12mo, pp. 16; on p. 16 at foot: Stockholm, tryckt hos P. G. Berg, 1859.

On the title-page a cut illustrating a traveller in a chariot drawn by elephants.

III.—TITLES OF SUNDRY BOOKS AND PAPERS WHICH TREAT OF MARCO POLO AND HIS BOOK.

1. SALVIATI, Cavalier LIONARDO. *Degli Avvertimenti della Lingua sopra 'l Decamerone*. In Venezia, 1584.

Has some brief remarks on Texts of Polo, and on references to him or his story in Villani and Boccaccio.

2. MARTINI, MARTINO. *Novus Atlas Sinensis*. Amstelodami, 1655.

The Maps are from Chinese sources, and are surprisingly good. The Descriptions, also from Chinese works but interspersed with information of Martini's own, have, in their completeness, never been superseded. This estimable Jesuit often refers to Polo with affectionate zeal, identifying his localities, and justifying his descriptions. The edition quoted in this book forms a part of Blaeu's Great Atlas (1663). It was also reprinted in Thévenot's Collection.

3. KIRCHER, ATHANASIVS. *China Illustrata*. Amstelodami, 1667.

He also often refers to Polo, but chiefly in borrowing from Martini.

4. MAGAILLANS, GABRIEL DE (properly *Magalhaens*). *Nouvelle Description de la Chine, contenant la description des Particularités les plus considérables de ce Grand Empire*. Paris, 1688, 4to.

Contains many excellent elucidations of Polo's work.

5. CORONELLI, VINCENZO. *Atlante Veneto*. Venezia, 1690.

Has some remarks on Polo, and the identity of Cathay and Cambaluc with China and Peking.

6. MURATORI, LUD. ANT. *Perfetta Poesia, con note di SALVINI*. Venezia, 1724.

In vol. ii. p. 117, Salvini makes some remarks on the language in which he supposes Polo to have composed his Book.

7. FOSCARINI, MARCO. *Della Letteratura Veneziana*. Padova, 1752.
Vol. i. 414 *seqq.*

8. FOSCARINI, MARCO. *Frammento inedito di, intorno ai Viaggiatori Veneziani*; accompanied by Remarks on Bürck's German edition of Marco Polo, by TOMMASO GAR (late Director of the Venice Archives). In *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Append. tom. iv. p. 89 seqq. [See *Bibliography, supra* 8-8, p. 557.]
9. ZENO, APOSTOLO, *Annotazioni sopra la Biblioteca dell' Eloquenza Italiana di Giusto Fontanini*. Venezia, 1753.
See Marsden's Introduction, *passim*.
10. TIRABOSCHI, GIROLAMO. *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*. Modena, 1772-1783.
There is a disquisition on Polo, with some judicious remarks (iv. pp. 68-73).
11. TOALDO, GIUSEPPE. *Saggi di Studj Veneti nell' Astronomia e nella Marina*. Ven. 1782.
This work, which I have not seen, is stated to contain some remarks on Polo's Book. The author had intended to write a Commentary thereon, and had collected books and copies of MSS. with this view, and read an article on the subject before the Academy of Padua, but did not live to fulfil his intention (d. 1797).
[See *Cicogna*, II. p. 386 ; vi. p. 855.]
12. LESSING. *Marco Polo, aus einer Handschrift ergänzt, und aus einer andern sehr zu verbessern: (Zur Geschichte und Litteratur . . . von G. E. Lessing. II. Beytrag. Braunschweig, 1773, 8vo, pp. 259-298.)*
13. FORSTER, J. REINHOLD. *H. des Découvertes et des Voyages faits dans le Nord*. French Version. Paris, 1788.
14. SPRENGEL, MATHIAS CHRISTIAN. *Geschichte der wichtigsten geographischen Entdeckungen, &c.* 2nd Ed. Halle, 1792.
This book, which is a marvel for the quantity of interesting matter which it contains in small space, has much about Polo.
15. ZURLA, Abate PLACIDO. Life of Polo, in *Collezione di Vite e Ritratti d' Illustri Italiani*. Padova, 1816.
This book is said to have procured a Cardinal's Hat for the author. It is a respectable book, and Zurla's exertions in behalf of the credit of his countrymen are greatly to be commended, though the reward seems inappropriate.
16. ———, ———. *Dissertazioni di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani, &c.* Venezia, 1818-19, 4to.
- 17, 18, 19. QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. xxi. (1819), contains an Article on Marsden's Edition, written by John Barrow, Esq.; that for July, 1868, contains another on Marco Polo and his Recent Editors, written by the present Editor; and that for Jan. 1872, one on the First Edition of this work, by R. H. Major, Esq.
20. ASIA, *Hist. Account of Discovery and Travels in*. By HUGH MURRAY Edinburgh, 1820.

21. STEIN, C. G. D. Rede des Herrn Professor Dr. Christian Gottfried Daniel Stein. (Gesprochen den 29sten September, 1819.) *Ueber den Venetianer Marco Polo.* Pages 8-19 of *Einladung zur Gedächtnisfeier der Wohlthäter des Berlinisch-Köllnischen Gymnasiums . . .* von dem Direktor Johann Joachim Bellermann. Sm. 8vo, s.d. [1821].
22. KLAPROTH, JULIUS. A variety of most interesting articles in the *Journal Asiatique* (see sér. I. tom. iv., tom. ix. ; sér. II. tom. i. tom. xi. etc.), and in his *Mémoires Relatifs à l'Asie.* Paris, 1824.
Klaproth speaks more than once as if he had a complete Commentary on Marco Polo prepared or in preparation (e.g., see *J. As.*, sér. i. tom. iv. p. 380). But the examination of his papers after his death produced little or nothing of this kind.—[Cf. *supra*, p. 573.]
23. CICOGNA, EMMANUELE ANTONIO. *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane, Raccolte ed Illustrate.* Venezia, 1824-1843.
Contains valuable notices regarding the Polo family, especially in vol. ii.
24. RÉMUSAT, JEAN PIERRE ABEL. *Mélanges Asiatiques.* Paris, 1825-
Nouveaux Mélanges As. Paris, 1829.
The latter contains (i. 381 *seqq.*) an article on Marsden's *Marco Polo*, and one (p. 397 *seqq.*) upon Zurla's Book.
25. ANTOLOGIA, edited by VIEUSSIEUX. Tom. xix. B. pp. 92-124.
Firenze, 1825.
A review of the publication of the old French Text by the Soc. de Géographie.
26. ANNALI UNIVERSALI DI STATISTICA. Vol. xvi. p. 286. Milano.
1828. Article by F. CUSTODI.
27. WALCKENAER, Baron C. *Vies de plusieurs Personnages Célèbres des temps anciens et modernes.* Laon, 1830, 2 vol. 8vo.
This contains a life of Marco Polo, vol. ii. pp. 1-34.
28. ST. JOHN, JAMES AUGUSTUS. *Lives of Celebrated Travellers.*
London (circa 1831).
Contains a life of Marco Polo, which I regret not to have seen.
29. COOLEY, W. D. *Hist. of Maritime and Inland Discovery.* London,
(circa 1831).
This excellent work contains a good chapter on Marco Polo.
30. RITTER, CARL. *Die Erdkunde von Asien.* Berlin, 1832, *seqq.*
This great work abounds with judicious comments on Polo's Geography, most of which have been embodied in Bürcck's edition.
31. DELECLUZE, M. Article on Marco Polo in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1st July, 1832. Vol. vii. 8vo, pp. 24.
32. PAULIN PARIS. Papers of much value on the MSS. of Marco Polo, etc., in *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie* for 1833, tom. xix. pp. 23-31; as well as in *Journal Asiatique*, sér. II. tom. xii. pp. 244-54; *L'Institut, Journal des Sciences, &c.*, Sect. II. tom. xvi. Jan. 1851.

33. MALTE-BRUN. *Précis de la Géog. Universelle*, 4^{ème} Ed. par HUOT. Paris, 1836.
Vol. i. (pp. 551 *seqq.*) contains a section on Polo, neither good nor correct.
34. DE MONTÉMONT, ALBERT. *Bibliothèque Universelle des voyages*. In vol. xxxi. pp. 33-51 there is a Notice of Marco Polo.
35. PALGRAVE, Sir FRANCIS. *The Merchant and the Friar*. London, 1837.
The Merchant is Marco Polo, who is supposed to visit England, after his return from the East, and to become acquainted with the Friar Roger Bacon. The book consists chiefly of their conversations on many subjects.
It does not affect the merits of this interesting book that Bacon is believed to have died in 1292, some years before Marco's return from the East.
36. D'AVEZAC, M. Remarks in his most valuable *Notice sur les Anciens Voyages de Tartarie, &c.*, in the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie*, tom. iv. pp. 407 *seqq.* Paris, 1839. Also article in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géog., &c.*, for August, 1841; and in *Journal Asiat.* sér. II. tom. xvi. p. 117.
37. PARAVEY, Chev. DE. Article in *Journ. Asiatique*, sér. II. tom. xvi. 1841, p. 101.
38. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géog.*, tom. iii. No. 21, p. 45.
39. QUATREMÈRE, ÉTIENNE. His translations and other works on Oriental subjects abound in valuable indirect illustrations of M. Polo; but in *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. xvi. Pt. i. pp. 281-286, Paris, 1843, there are some excellent remarks both on the work itself and on Marsden's Edition of it.
40. MACFARLANE, CHARLES. *Romance of Travel*. London. C. Knight. 1846.
A good deal of intelligent talk on Marco Polo.
41. MEYER, ERNST H. F. *Geschichte der Botanik*. Königsberg, 1854-57. In vol. iv. there is a special chapter on Marco Polo's notices of plants.
42. THOMAS, Professor G. M. *Zu Marco Polo, aus einem Cod. ital. Monacensis* in the *Sitzungsberichten der Münchner Akademie*, 4th March, 1862, pp. 261-270.
43. KHANIKOFF, NICOLAS DE. *Notice sur le Livre de Marco Polo, édité et commenté par M. G. Pauthier*. Paris, 1866. Extracted from the *Journal Asiatique*. I have frequently quoted this with advantage, and sometimes have ventured to dissent from it.
44. CAHIER, Père. Criticism of Pauthier's *Marco Polo*, and reply by G. Pauthier, in *Études Littéraires et Religieuses* of 1866 and 1867. Paris.
45. BARTHÉLEMY ST. HILAIRE. A series of articles on Marco Polo in the *Journal des Savants* for January-May, 1867, chiefly consisting of a reproduction of Pauthier's views and deductions.
46. DE GUBERNATIS, Prof. ANGELO. *Memoria intorno ai Viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie Orientali, dal secolo XIII. a tutto il XVI.* Firenze, 1867.

47. BIANCONI, Prof. GIUSEPPE. *Degli Scritti di Marco Polo e dell'Uccello RUC da lui menzionato*. 2 parts large 8vo. Bologna, 1862 and 1868, pp. 64, 40.

A meritorious essay, containing good remarks on the comparison of different Texts.

48. KINGSLEY, HENRY. *Tales of Old Travel renarrated*. London, 1869.

This begins with Marco Polo. The work has gone through several editions, but I do not know whether the author has corrected some rather eccentric geography and history that were presented in the first. Mr. Kingsley is the author of another story about Marco Polo in a Magazine, but I cannot recover the reference.

49. NOTES AND QUERIES for CHINA AND JAPAN. This was published from January, 1867, to November, 1870, at Hong-Kong under able editorship, and contained some valuable notes connected with Marco Polo's chapters on China.

50. GHICA, Princess ELENA (*Dora d'Istria*). *Marco Polo, il Cristoforo Colombo dell'Asia*. Trieste, 1869, 8vo, pp. 39.

51. BUFFA, Prof. GASPARE. *Marco Polo, Orazione commemorativa, Letta nel R. Liceo Cristoforo Colombo il 24 marzo 1872*. Genova, 8vo, pp. 18.

52. EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1872, pp. 1-36. A review of the first edition of the present work, acknowledged by SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, and full of Oriental knowledge. (See also No. 19 *supra*.)

53. OCEAN HIGHWAYS, for December, 1872, p. 285. An interesting letter on Marco Polo's notices of Persia, by Major OLIVER ST. JOHN, R.E.

54. RICHTHOFEN, Baron F. VON. *Das Land und die Stadt Caidu von Marco Polo*, a valuable paper in the *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*. No. 1 of 1874, p. 33.

55. BUSHELL, Dr. S. W., Physician to H.M.'s Legation at Peking. *Notes of a Journey outside the Great Wall of China*, embracing an account of the first modern visit to the site of Kúblái's Palace at Shang-tu. Appeared in *J. R. G. S.* vol. xlv. An abstract was published in the *Proc. R. G. S.* xviii., 1874, pp. 149-168.

56. PHILLIPS, GEORGE, of H.M.'s Consular Service in China.—*Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta in Fookien (Chinese Recorder, .III., 1870-1871, pp. 12, 44, 71, 87, 125)*; *Notices of Southern Mangi, with Remarks by COLONEL HENRY YULE, C.B.* (from the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*); *Notices of Southern Mangi [Abridgment] (Proc. R. Geog. Soc., XVIII., 1873-1874, pp. 168-173)*; *Zaitun Researches (Chin. Rec., V. pp. 327-339; VI. 31-42; VII. pp. 330-338, 404-418; VIII. 117-124)*; *Changchow, the Capital of Fuhkien in Mongol Times*, read before the Society, 19th November, 1888 (*Jour. C. B. R. A. S., XXIII. N.S., n° 1, 1888, pp. 23-30*); *The Identity of Marco Polo's Zaitun with Chang-chau, with a sketch-map of Marco-Polo's route (Toung Pao, I., Oct. 1890, pp. 218-238)*; *Two Mediæval Fuh-kien Trading Ports, Chiän-chow and Chang-*

chow.—Part I. *Chang-chow (T'oung-Pao*, VI. No. 5, déc. 1895, pp. 449/463).—Part II. *Chiän-Chow (Ibid.*, VII. No. 3, Juillet 1896 pp. 223/240, with 3 photog.).

57. WHEELER, J. TALBOYS. *History of India* (vol. iii. pp. 385-393) contains a résumé of, and running comment on, Marco Polo's notices of India.

Mr. Wheeler's book says; "His travels appear to have been written at Comorin, the most southerly point of India" (p. 385). The words that I have put in Italics are evidently a misprint, though it is not clear how to correct them.

58. DE SKATTSCHKOFF, CONSTANTIN. *Le Vénitien Marco Polo, et les services qu'il a rendus en faisant connaître l'Asie*. Read before the *Imp. Geog. Society* at St. Petersburg, 1^{er} October, 1865; translated by M. Emile Durand in the *Journ. Asiatique*, sér. VII. tom. iv. pp. 122-158 (September, 1874).

The Author expresses his conviction that Marco Polo had described a number of localities after Chinese written authorities; for in the old Chinese descriptions of India and other transmarine countries are found precisely the same pieces of information, neither more nor fewer, that are given by Marco Polo. Though proof of this would not be proof of the writer's deduction that Marco Polo was acquainted with the Chinese language, it would be very interesting in itself, and would explain some points to which we have alluded (*e.g.*, in reference to the frankincense plant, p. 396, and to the confusion between Madagascar and Makdashau, p. 413). And Mr. G. Phillips has urged something of the same kind. But M. de Skattschkoff adduces no proof at all; and for the rest his Essay is full of inaccuracy.

59. CANTÙ, CESARE. *Italiani Illustri Ritratti*, 1873, vol. i. p. 147.

60. MARSH, JOHN B. *Stories of Venice and the Venetians . . . illustrated* by C. Berjeau. London, 1873, 8vo, pp. vii-418.

Chaps. VI., VII. and VIII. are devoted to Marco Polo.

61. KINGSMILL, THOS. W. *Notes on the Topography of some of the Localities in Manji, or Southern China mentioned by Marco Polo*. (*Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. i. pp. 52-54.)

————— *Notes on Marco Polo's Route from Khoten to China*. (*Chin. Recorder*, VII. 1876, pp. 338-343.)

62. PAQUIER, J. B. *Itinéraire de Marco Polo à travers la région du Panir au XIII^e siècle*. (*Bull. Soc. Géog.*, 1876, août, pp. 113-128.)

63. PALLADIUS, ARCHIMANDRITE. *Elucidations of Marco Polo's Travels in North-China, drawn from Chinese Sources*. (*Jour. N. C. Br. R. As. Soc.*, x. 1876, pp. 1-54.)

Translated into English by A. Wylie and E. Bretschneider. The Russian text has just been published (T. xxxviii. 1902, of the *Isviestiya*) by the Imp. Russian Geog. Society.

Sir Henry Yule wrote in the *Addenda* of the second edition :

"And I learn from a kind Russian correspondent, that an early number of the *J. N. China Branch R. Asiatic Society* will contain a more important paper, viz. : *Remarks on Marco Polo's Travels to the North of China, derived from Chinese Sources*; by the ARCHIMANDRITE PALLADIUS. This celebrated traveller and scholar says (as I am informed): 'I have followed up the indications of Marco Polo from

Lobnor to Shangdu, and in part to Peking. . . . It would seem that I have been so fortunate as to clear up the points that remained obscure to Yule.' I deeply regret that my book cannot now profit by these promised remarks. I am not, however, without hope, that in the present edition, with its Appendices, some at least of the Venerable Traveller's identifications may have been anticipated."

The greater part of the notes of my late friend, the Archimandrite Palladius Katharov, have been incorporated in the present edition of Marco Polo.—II. C.

64. JIREČEK, JOSEF. *Báseň o pobití Tataruv a "Million" Marka Pavlova*, (*Časopis Musea království českého*, 1877, pp. 103-119).

65. GEBAUER, J. *Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der Königinhofer Handschrift*. (J. Gebauer, in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, Berlin, 1877, ii. pp. 143-155.)

66. ZANETTI, V. Quattro Documenti inediti dell' Archivio degli Esposti in Venezia (Marco Polo e la sua Famiglia—Marin Falier). Por V. Zanetti. (*Archivio Veneto*, xvi. 1878, pp. 95-110.)

See *Calendar*, Nos. 6, 19, and 20 for the three Documents relating to the Polo Family.

— Marco Polo e la sua famiglia. (*Ibid.*, xvii. 1879, pp. 359-362.)

Letters of Comm. G. Berchet and Yule regarding these documents.

67. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER, Gen. *Notes on Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia (Chapters xvi. to xxi., Col. Yule's Translation)*. (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiii. Art. XX. Oct. 1881, pp. 490-497.)

————— *Marco Polo's Camadi*. (*Ibid.*, Jan. 1898, pp. 43-46.)

68. THOMSON, J. T. *Marco Polo's Six Kingdoms or Cities in Java Minor*, identified in translations from the ancient Malay Annals, by J. T. T., Commissioner of Crown Lands, Otago, 1875. (*Proc. R. G. Soc.*, XX. 1875-1876, pp. 215-224.)

Translation from the "Salafat al Salatin perturan segala rajaraja," or Malay Annals.

69. K. C. AMREIN. *Marco Polo: Oeffentlicher Vortrag, gehalten in der Geographisch-Kommerziellen Gesellschaft in St. Gallen*. Zurich, 1879, 8vo.

70. VIDAL-LABLACHE, PAUL. *Bibliothèque des Écoles et des Familles.—Marco Polo, son temps et ses voyages*. Paris, 1880, 8vo, pp. 192.

There is a second edition.

71. G. M. URBANI DE GHELTOF. *III. Congresso Geografico Internazionale in Venezia.—La Collezione del Doge Marin Faliero e i tesori di Marco Polo*. Venezia, 1881, 8vo, pp. 8.

From the *Bulletino di Arti, industrie e curiosità veneziane* III. pp. 98-103.—See *Int.* p. 79.

72. SEGUSO, L. *La Casa dei Milioni o l'abitazione di Marco Polo*. (Venezia e il Congresso, 1881.)

73. CORDIER, HENRI. *Maison de Marco Polo [à Venise.]* (*Revue de l'Extrême-Orient*, i. No. 1, p. 157); *Statue de Marco Polo*. (*Revue de l'Extrême-Orient*, i. No. 1, pp. 156-157.)

- 74.—*Illustrazione Italiana*, No. 38, Sept. 18, 1881.
- 75.—YULE, Sir HENRY. *Marco Polo*. (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1885, 9th ed., xix. pp. 404-409.)
76. SCHUMANN, Dr. K. *Marco Polo, ein Weltreisender des XIII. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1885. 8vo, pp. 32.
Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge, herausgegeben von Rud. Virchow und Fr. von Holtzendorff. XX. Serie. Heft 460.
77. *Marco Polo*. (*Blackwood's Mag.*, clxii. Sept. 1887, pp. 373-386.)
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APPENDIX K.—*Values of certain Moneys, Weights, and Measures, occurring in this Book.*

FRENCH MONEY.

The **Livre Tournois** of the period may be taken, on the mean of five valuations cited in a footnote at p. 87 of vol. i., as equal in *modern silver value* to 18'04 *francs.*
 Say English money 14s. 3'8d.

The **Livre Parisis** was worth one-fourth more than the *Tournois*,* and therefore equivalent in silver value to 22'55 *francs.*
 Say English money 17s. 10'8d.

(Gold being then to silver in relative value about 12 : 1 instead of about 15 : 1 as now, one-fourth has to be added to the values based on silver in equations with the gold coin of the period, and one-fifth to be deducted in values based on gold value. By oversight, in vol. i. p. 87, I took 16 : 1 as the present gold value, and so exaggerated the value of the livre Tournois as compared with gold.)

M. Natalis de Wailly, in his recent fine edition of Joinville, determines the valuation of these *livres*, in the reign of St. Lewis, by taking a mean between a value calculated on the present value of silver, and a value calculated on the present value of gold,† and his result is :

Livre Tournois = 20'26 *francs.*
Livre Parisis = 25'33 ,,

Though there is something arbitrary in this mode of valuation, it is, perhaps, on the whole the best; and its result is extremely handy for the memory (as somebody has pointed out) for we thus have

One **Livre Tournois** = One Napoleon.
 ,, ,, **Parisis** = One Sovereign.

* See (*Dupré de St. Maur*) *Essai sur les Monnoies, &c.* Paris, 1746, p. xv; and *Donet d'Areg*, pp. 5, 15, &c.

† He takes the *silver value* of the gros Tournois (the *sol* of the system) at 0'8924 *fr.*, whence the *Livre* = 17'849 *fr.* And the *gold value* of the golden *Agnel*, which passed for 12½ *soles Tournois*, is 14'1743 *fr.* Whence the *Livre* = 22'6789 *fr.* Mean = 20'2639 *fr.*

VENETIAN MONEY.

The **Mark** of Silver all over Europe may be taken fairly at 2*l.* 4*s.* of our money in modern value; the Venetian mark being a fraction more, and the marks of England, Germany and France fractions less.*

The Venice **Gold Ducat** or **Zecchin**, first coined in accordance with a Law of 31st October 1283, was, *in our gold value*, worth . . . 11'82 *francs*.†
or English 9*s.* 4'284*d.*

The Zecchin when first coined was fixed as equivalent to 18 *grossi*, and on this calculation the **Grosso** should be a little less than 5*d.* sterling.‡ But from what follows it looks as if there must have been another *grosso*, perhaps only of account, which was only $\frac{2}{3}$ of the former, therefore equivalent to 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ *d.* only. This would be a clue to difficulties which I do not find dealt with by anybody in a precise or thorough manner; but I can find no evidence for it.

Accounts were kept at Venice not in ducats and grossi, but in *Lire*, of which there were several denominations, *viz.* :

1. **Lira dei Grossi**, called in Latin Documents *Libra denariorum Venetorum grosorum*.§ Like every *Lira* or Pound, this consisted of 20 *soldi*, and each *soldo* of 12 *denari* or *deniers*.|| In this case the *Lira* was equivalent to 10 golden ducats; and its *Denier*, as the name implies, was the *Grosso*. The *Grosso* therefore here was $\frac{1}{10}$ of 10 ducats or $\frac{1}{2}$ of a ducat, instead of $\frac{1}{8}$.
2. **Lira ai Grossi** (*L. den. Ven. ad grossos*). This by decree of 2nd June, 1285, went two to the ducat. In fact it is the *soldo* of the preceding *Lira*, and as such the *Grosso* was, as we have just seen, its *denier*; which is perhaps the reason of the name.
3. **Lira dei Piccoli** (*L. den. Ven. parvulorum*). The ducat is alleged to have been at first equal to three of these *Lire* (*Romanin*, I. 321); but the calculations of Marino Sanudo (1300-1320) in the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* show that he reckons the Ducat equivalent to 3'2 *lire* of *piccoli*.¶

In estimating these *Lire* in modern English money, on the basis of their relation to the ducat, we must reduce the apparent value by $\frac{1}{3}$. We then have :

1. **Lira dei Grossi** equivalent to nearly 3*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* (therefore exceeding

* The Mark was $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound. The English Pound Sterling of the period was in silver value=3*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* Hence the Mark=2*l.* 3*s.* 5'44*d.* The Cologne Mark, according to Pegolotti, was the same, and the Venice Mark of silver was=1 English Tower Mark + $\frac{3}{4}$ sterlings (*i.e.* pence of the period),=therefore to 2*l.* 4*s.* 4'84*d.* The French Mark of Silver, according to Dupré de St. Maur, was about 3 Livres, presumably Tournois, and therefore 2*l.* 2*s.* 11'4*d.*

† *Citrario*, *Pol. Ec. del Med. Evo.* III. 228. The Gold Florin of Florence was worth a fraction more=9*s.* 4'85*d.*

§ Sign. Desimoni, of Genoa, obligingly points out that the changed relation of Gold ducat and silver *grosso* was due to a general rise in price of gold between 1284 and 1302, shown by notices of other Italian mints which raise the equation of the gold florin in the same ratio, *viz.* from 9 *sols tournois* to 12.

‡ For $\frac{1}{3}$ of the florin will be 6'23*d.*, and deducting $\frac{1}{3}$, as pointed out above, we have 4'99*d.* as the value of the *grosso*.

¶ I have a note that the *grosso* contained 42 $\frac{5}{8}$ Venice grains of pure silver. If the Venice grain be the same as the old Milan grain (0'51 *grammes*) this will give exactly the same value of 5*d.*

§ Also called, according to Romanin, *Lira d'impresidi*. See *Introd. Essay* in vol. i. p. 66.

|| It is not too universally known to be worth noting that our *l. s. d.* represents *Livres, sols, deniers*.

¶ He also states the *grosso* to have been worth 32 *piccoli*, which is consistent with this and the two preceding statements. For at 3'2 *lire* to the ducat the latter would = 768 *piccoli*, and $\frac{1}{3}$ of this=32 *piccoli*. Pegolotti also assigns 24 *grossi* to the ducat (p. 151).

The tendency of these *Lire*, as of pounds generally, was to degenerate in value. In Uzzano (1440) we find the Ducat equivalent to 100 *soldi*, *i.e.* to 5 *lire*.

Everybody seems to be tickled at the notion that the Scotch Pound or Livre was only 20 Pence. Nobody finds it funny that the French or Italian Pound is only 20 halfpence, or less!

by nearly 10s. the value of the Pound sterling of the period, or *Lira di Sterlini*, as it was called in the appropriate Italian phrase).*

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| 2. <i>Lira ai Grossi</i> | 3s. 9d. |
| 3. <i>Lira dei Piccoli</i> | 2s. 4d. |

The *Tornese* or *Tornesel* at Venice was, according to Romanin (III. 343) = 4 Venice deniers: and if these are the *deniers* of the *Lira ai Grossi*, the coin would be worth a little less than $\frac{2}{3}$ d., and nearly the equivalent of the denier Tournois, from which it took its name.†

The term *Bezant* is used by Polo always (I believe) as it is by Joinville, by Marino Sanudo, and by Pegolotti, for the Egyptian gold *dīnār*, the intrinsic value of which varied somewhat, but can scarcely be taken at less than 10s. 6d. or 11s. (See *Cathay*, pp. 440-441; and see also *J. As. sér. VI. tom. xi. pp. 506-507.*) The exchange of Venice money for the Bezant or Dinar in the Levant varied a good deal (as is shown by examples in the passage in *Cathay* just cited), but is always in these examples a large fraction ($\frac{1}{3}$ up to $\frac{1}{2}$) more than the Zecchin. Hence, when Joinville gives the equation of St. Lewis's ransom as 1,000,000 *bezants* or 500,000 *livres*, I should have supposed these to be *livres Parisis* rather than *Tournois*, as M. de Wailly prefers.

There were a variety of coins of lower value in the Levant called Bezants,‡ but these do not occur in our Book.

The Venice *Saggio*, a weight for precious substances was $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ounce, corresponding to the weight of the Roman gold *solidus*, from which was originally derived the Arab *Miskāl*. And Polo appears to use *saggio* habitually as the equivalent of *Miskāl*. His *pois* or *peso*, applied to gold and silver, seems to have the same sense, and is indeed a literal translation of *Miskāl*. (See vol. ii. p. 41.)

For measures Polo uses the *palm* rather than the foot. I do not find a value of the Venice palm, but over Italy that measure varies from 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches to something over 10. The Genoa Palm is stated at 9.725 inches.

Jal (*Archéologie Nav.* I. 271) cites the following Table of

Old Venice Measures of Length.

4 fingers	=	1 handbreadth.
4 handbreadths	=	1 foot.
5 feet	=	1 pace.
1000 paces	=	1 mile.
4 miles	=	1 league.

* *Uzzano in Della Decima*, IV. 124.

† According to Galliccioli (II. 53) *piccoli* (probably in the vague sense of small copper coin) were called in the Levant *ropvéra*.

‡ Thus in the document containing the autograph of King Hayton, presented at p. 13 of Introductory Essay, the King gives with his daughter, "Damoiselle Femie," a dowry of 25,000 *bezans sarrazinas*, and in payment 4 of his own bezants *staurats* (presumably so called from bearing a cross) are to count as one Saracen Bezant. (*Cod. Diplomat. del S. Mil. Ord. Gerosolim.* I. 134.)

APPENDIX L.—*Sundry Supplementary Notes on Special Subjects.*—(H. C.)

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|--------------------------------|--|
| 1.— <i>The Polos at Acre.</i> | 8.— <i>La Couvade.</i> |
| 2.— <i>Sorcery in Kashmir.</i> | 9.— <i>Alacan.</i> |
| 3.—PAONANO PAO. | 10.— <i>Champa.</i> |
| 4.— <i>Pamir.</i> | 11.— <i>Ruck Quills.</i> |
| 5.— <i>Number of Pamirs.</i> | 12.— <i>A Spanish Edition of Marco Polo.</i> |
| 6.— <i>Site of Pein.</i> | 13.— <i>Sir John Mandeville.</i> |
| 7.— <i>Fire-arms.</i> | |

1.—THE POLOS AT ACRE. (Vol. i. p. 19. *Int.*)

M. le Comte Riant (*Itin. à Jérusalem*, p. xxix.) from various data thinks the two sojourns of the Polos at Acre must have been between the 9th May, 1271, date of the arrival of Edward of England and of Tedaldo Visconti, and the 18th November, 1271, time of the departure of Tedaldo. Tedaldo was still in Paris on the 28th December, 1269, and he appears to have left for the Holy Land after the departure of S. Lewis for Tunis (2nd July, 1270).—H. C.

2.—SORCERY IN KASHMIR. (Vol. i. p. 166.)

In *Kalhana's Rājataranginī, A Chronicle of the Kings of Kāśmīr translated by M. A. Stein*, we read (Bk. IV. 94, p. 128): "Again the Brahman's wife addressed him: 'O king, as he is famous for his knowledge of charms (*Khārkhodavidyā*), he can get over an ordeal with ease.'" Dr. Stein adds the following note: "The practice of witchcraft and the belief in its efficiency have prevailed in Kāśmīr from early times, and have survived to some extent to the present day; comp. *Bühler, Report*, p. 24. . . . The term *Khārkhoda*, in the sense of a kind of deadly charm or witchcraft, recurs in v. 239, and is found also in the *Vijayésvaramāh* (Adipur.), xi. 25. In the form *Khārkoṭa* it is quoted by the *N. P. W.* from *Caraka*, vi. 23. *Khārkoṭa* appears as the designation of a sorcerer or another kind of uncanny persons in *Haracar.*, ii. 125, along with *Kṛtyās* and *Vetālas*. . . ."

3.—PAONANO PAO. (Vol. i. p. 173.)

In his paper on *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythians' Coins (Babylonian and Oriental Record*, August, 1887, pp. 155-166; rep. in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1888), Dr. M. A. Stein has demonstrated that the legend PAONANO PAO on the coins of the Yue-Chi or Indo-Scythian Kings (Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva), is the exact transcription of the old Iranian title *Shāhanān Shāh* (Persian *Shāhan-shāh*), "King of Kings"; the letter P, formerly read as P(r), has since been generally recognised, in accordance with his interpretation as a distinct character expressing the sound *sh*.

4.—PAMIR. (Vol. i. pp. 174-175.)

I was very pleased to find that my itinerary agrees with that of Dr. M. A. Stein; this learned traveller sends me the following remarks: "The remark about the

absence of birds (pp. 174-175) *might* be a reflex of the very ancient legend (based probably on the name zend *Upairi-saena*, pehlevi *Apārsin*, 'higher than the birds') which represents the *Hindu Kush* range proper as too high for birds to fly over. The legend can be traced by successive evidence in the case of the range north of Kabul."—Regarding the route (p. 175) from the *Wakhjir* (sic) Pass down the Taghdumbash Pamir, then *viâ* Tāsh-kurghan, Little Karakul, Bulun Kul, Gez Daria to Tashmalik and Kashgar, Dr. Stein says that he surveyed it in July, 1900, and he refers for the correct phonetic spelling of local names along it to his map to be published in *J. R. G. S.*, in December, 1902. He says in his *Prel. Report*, p. 10: "The *Wakhjir* Pass, only some 12 miles to the south-west of *Kök-török*, connects the Tāghdumbāsh Pāmīr and the Sarikol Valleys with the head-waters of the Oxus. So I was glad that the short halt, which was unavoidable for survey purposes, permitted me to move a light camp close to the summit of the Wakhjir Pass (circ. 16,200 feet). On the following day, 2nd July, I visited the head of *Ab-i-Panja* Valley, near the great glaciers which Lord Curzon first demonstrated to be the true source of the River Oxus. It was a strange sensation for me in this desolate mountain waste to know that I had reached at last the eastern threshold of that distant region, including Bactria and the Upper Oxus Valley, which as a field of exploration had attracted me long before I set foot in India. Notwithstanding its great elevation, the Wakhjir Pass and its approaches both from west and east are comparatively easy. Comparing the topographical facts with Hiuen-Tsiang's account in the *Si yu-ki*, I am led to conclude that the route followed by the great Chinese Pilgrim, when travelling about A.D. 649 from Badakshān towards Khotan, through 'the valley of Po-mi-lo (Pamir)' into Sarikol, actually traversed this Pass."

Dr. Stein adds in his notes to me that "Marco Polo's description of the forty days' journey to the E.N.E. of *Vokhan* as *through tracts of wilderness* can well be appreciated by any one who has passed through the Pamir Region, in the direction of the valleys W. and N. of Muztagh Ata. After leaving Tāshkurghan and Tagharma, where there is some precarious cultivation, there is no local produce to be obtained until the oasis of Tashmalik is reached in the open Kashgar plains. In the narrow valley of the Yamanyar River (Gez Defile) there is scarcely any grazing; its appearance is far more desolate than that of the elevated Pamirs."—"Marco Polo's praise (p. 181) of the gardens and vine-yards of Kashgar is well deserved; also the remark about the trading enterprise of its merchants still holds good, if judged by the standard of Chinese Turkestan. Kashgar traders visit Khotan far more frequently than *vice versa*. It is strange that no certain remains of Nestorian worship can be traced now."—"My impression [Dr. Stein's] of the people of the Khotan oasis (p. 188) was that they are certainly a meeker and more docile race than *e.g.* the average 'Kashgarlik' or Yarkandi. The very small number of the Chinese garrison of the districts Khotan and Keria (only about 200 men) bears out this impression."

We may refer for the ancient sites, history, etc., of Khotan to the *Preliminary Report* of Dr. Stein and to his paper in the *Geographical Journal* for December, 1902, actually in the press.

5.—NUMBER OF PAMIRS. (Vol. i. p. 176.)

Lord Curzon gives the following list of the "eight claimants to the distinction and title of a Pamir": (1) Taghdumbash, or Supreme Head of the Mountains Pamir, lying immediately below and to the north of the Kilik Pass. (2) The Pamir-i-Wakhan. (3) The Pamir-i-Khurud, or Little Pamir. (4) The Pamir-i-Kalan, or Great Pamir. (5) The Alichur Pamir. (6) The Sarez Pamir. (7) The Rang Kul Pamir. (8) The Khargosh or Hare Pamir, which contains the basin of the Great Kara Kul. See this most valuable paper, *The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus*, reprinted from the *Geographical Journal* of 1896, in 1896, 1898, and 1899.

574^d



Some of the objects found by Dr. M. A. Stein, in Central Asia.

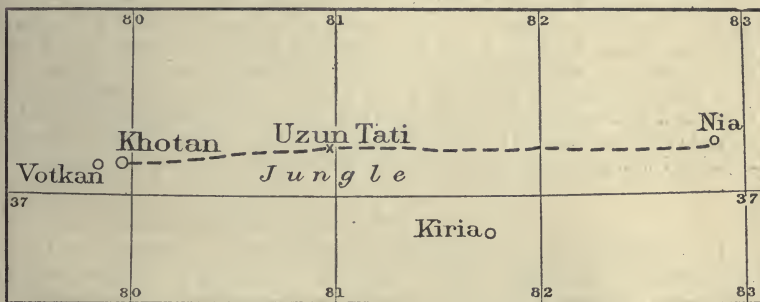
[To face p. 595, vol. ii

6.—PEIN. (Vol. i. p. 192.)

Dr. M. A. Stein, of the Indian Educational Service, appears to have exactly identified the site of Pein, during his recent archæological researches in Central Asia; he writes (*Prel. Report on a Journey of Archæological and Topog. Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, Lond., 1901, pp. 58-59): "Various antiquarian and topographical considerations made me anxious to identify the position of the town of *Pi-mo*, which Hiuen-Tsiang describes as some 300 *li* to the east of the Khotan capital. It was probably the same place as the *Pein*, visited by Marco Polo. After marching back along the Keriya River for four days, I struck to the south-west, and, after three more marches, arrived in the vicinity of Lachin-Ata Mazar, a desolate little shrine in the desert to the north of the Khotan-Keriya route. Though our search was rendered difficult by the insufficiency of guides and the want of water, I succeeded during the following few days in tracing the extensive ruined site which previous information had led me to look for in that vicinity. 'Uzun-Tati' ('the distant Tati,') as the *dbris*-covered area is locally designated, corresponds in its position and the character of its remains exactly to the description of *Pi-mo*. Owing to far-advanced erosion and the destruction dealt by treasure-seekers, the structural remains are very scanty indeed. But the *dbris*, including bits of glass, pottery, china, small objects in brass and stone, etc., is plentiful enough, and in conjunction with the late Chinese coins found here, leaves no doubt as to the site having been occupied up to the Middle Ages."

Our itinerary should therefore run from Khotan to Uzun Tati, and thence to Nia, leaving Kiria to the south; indeed Kiria is *not* an ancient place.—H. C.

MARCO POLO'S ITINERARY CORRECTED



Mr. E. J. Rapson, of the British Museum, with the kind permission of Dr. Stein, has sent me a photograph (which we reproduce) of coins and miscellaneous objects found at Uzun Tati. Coin (1) bears the *nien-hao* (title of reign) *Pao Yuen* (1038-1040) of the Emperor Jen Tsung, of the Sung Dynasty; Coin (2) bears the *nien-hao*, *K'ien Yuen* (758-760) of the Emperor Su Tsung of the T'ang Dynasty; Coin (3) is of the time of the Khan of Turkestan, Muhammad Arslan Khan, about 441 A.H. = 1049 A.D. From the description sent to me by Mr. Rapson and written by Mr. Andrews, I note that the miscellaneous objects include: "Two fragments of fine Chinese porcelain, highly glazed and painted with Chinese ornament in blue. That on the left is painted on both sides, and appears to be portion of rim of a bowl. Thickness $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch. That to the right is slightly coarser, and is probably portion of a larger vessel. Thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ inch (nearly). A third fragment of porcelain, shown at bottom of photo, is decorated roughly in a neutral brown colour, which has imperfectly 'fluxed.' It, also, appears to be Chinese. Thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ inch (nearly).—A brass or bronze object, cast. Probably portion of a clasp or buckle.—A brass finger ring containing a piece of mottled green glass held loosely in place by a turned-over denticulated rim. The metal is very thin."—H. C.

7.—FIRE-ARMS. (Vol. i. p. 342.)

From a paper on *Siam's Intercourse with China*, published by Lieutenant-Colonel Gerini in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1902, it would appear that fire-arms were mentioned for the first time in Siamese Records during the Lāu invasion and the siege of Swankhalōk (from 1085 to 1097 A.D.); it is too early a date for the introduction of fire-arms, though it would look "much more like an anachronism were the advent of these implements of warfare [were] placed, in blind reliance upon the *Northern Chronicles*, still a few centuries back. The most curious of it all is, however, the statement as to the weapons in question having been introduced into the country from China." Following W. F. Mayers in his valuable contributions to the *Jour. North-China B. R. A. S.*, 1869-1870, Colonel Gerini, who, of course, did not know of Dr. Schlegel's paper, adds: "It was not until the reign of the Emperor Yung Lê, and on occasion of the invasion of Tonkin in A.D. 1407, that the Chinese acquired the knowledge of the propulsive effect of gunpowder, from their vanquished enemies."

8.—LA COUVADE. (Vol. ii. p. 91.)

Mr. H. Ling Roth has given an interesting paper entitled *On the Signification of Couvade*, in the *Journ. Anthropological Institute*, XXII. 1893, pp. 204-243. He writes (pp. 221-222):—"From this survey it would seem in the first place that we want a great deal more information about the custom in the widely isolated cases where it has been reported, and secondly, that the authenticity of some of the reported cases is doubtful in consequence of authors repeating their predecessors' tales, as Colquhoun did Marco Polo's, and V. der Haart did Schouten's. I should not be at all surprised if ultimately both Polo's and Schouten's accounts turned out to be myths, both these travellers making their records at a time when the Old World was full of the tales of the New, so that in the end, we may yet find the custom is not, nor ever has been, so widespread as is generally supposed to have been the case."

I do not very well see how Polo, in the 13th and 14th centuries could make his record at a time when the *Old World was full of the tales of the New*, discovered at the end of the 15th century! Unless Mr. Ling Roth supposes the Venetian Traveller acquainted with the various theories of the Pre-Columbian discovery of America!

9.—ALACAN. (Vol. ii. pp. 255 and 261.)

Dr. G. Schlegel writes, in the *T'oung Pao* (May, 1898, p. 153): "*Abakan* or *Abachan* ought to be written *Alahan*. His name is written by the Chinese *At's'zehan* and by the Japanese *Asikan*; but this is because they have both confounded the character *lah* with the character *ts'ze*; the old sound of [the last] character [of the name] was *kan* and is always used by the Chinese when wanting to transcribe the title *Khan* or *Chan*. Marco Polo's *Abakan* is a clerical error for *Alacan*."

10.—CHAMPA. (Vol. ii. p. 268.)

In Ma Huan's account of the Kingdom of Siam, transl. by Mr. Phillips (*Jour. China B. R. A. S.*, XXI. 1886, pp. 35-36) we read: "Their marriage ceremonies are as follows:—They first invite the priest to conduct the bridegroom to the bride's house, and on arrival there the priest exacts the 'droit seigneurial,' and then she is introduced to the bridegroom."

11.—RUCK QUILLS. (Vol. ii. p. 421.)

Regarding Ruck Quills, Sir H. Yule wrote in the *Academy*, 22nd March, 1884, pp. 204-405:—

"I suggested that this might possibly have been some vegetable production, such

as a great frond of the Ravenala (*Urania speciosa*) cooked to pass as a ruc's quill. (*Marco Polo*, first edition, ii. 354; second edition, ii. 414.) Mr. Sibree, in his excellent book on Madagascar (*The Great African Island*, 1880) noticed this, but said:

"It is much more likely that they [the ruc's quills] were the immensely long midribs of the leaves of the rofia palm. These are from twenty to thirty feet long, and are not at all unlike an enormous quill stripped of the feathering portion" (p. 55).

In another passage he describes the palm, *Sagus ruffia* (? *raphia*):

"The rofia has a trunk of from thirty to fifty feet in height, and at the head divides into seven or eight immensely long leaves. The midrib of these leaves is a very strong, but extremely light and straight pole. . . . These poles are often twenty feet or more in length, and the leaves proper consist of a great number of fine and long pinnate leaflets, set at right angles to the midrib, from eighteen to twenty inches long, and about one and a half broad," etc. (pp. 74, 75).

When Sir John Kirk came home in 1881-1882, I spoke to him on the subject, and he felt confident that the rofia or raphia palm-fronds were the original of the ruc's quills. He also kindly volunteered to send me a specimen on his return to Zanzibar. This he did not forget, and some time ago these arrived at the India Office not one, but four of these ruc's quills. In the letter which announced this despatch Sir John says:—

"I send to-day per s.s. *Arcot* . . . four fronds of the Raphia palm, called here 'Moale.' They are just as sold and shipped up and down the coast. No doubt they were sent in Marco Polo's time in exactly the same state, *i.e.* stripped of their leaflets, and with the tip broken off. They are used for making stages and ladders, and last long if kept dry. They are also made into doors, by being cut into lengths, and pinned through. The stages are made of three, like tripods, and used for picking cloves from the higher branches."

The largest of the four midribs sent (they do not differ much) is 25 feet 4 inches long, measuring 12 inches in girth at the butt, and 5 inches at the upper end. I calculate that if it originally came to a point the whole length would be 45 feet, but, as this would not be so, we may estimate it at 35 to 40 feet. The thick part is deeply hollowed on the upper (?) side, leaving the section of the solid butt in form a thick crescent. The leaflets are all gone, but when entire, the object must have strongly resembled a Brobdignagian feather. Compare this description with that of Padre Bolivar in Ludolf, referred to above.

"In aliquibus . . . regionibus vidi pennas alae istius avis prodigiosae, licet avem non viderim, Penna illa, prout ex formâ colligebatur, erat ex mediocribus, longitudine 28 palmorum, latitudine trium. Calamus vero a radice usque ad extremitatem longitudine quinque palmorum, densitatis instar brachii moderati, robustissimus erat et durus. Pennulae inter se aequales et bene compositae, ut vix ab invicem nisi cum violentiâ divellerentur. Colore erant valdè nigro, calamus colore albo." (*Ludolfi, ad suam Hist. Aethiop., Comment., p. 164.*)

The last particular, as to colour, I am not able to explain: the others correspond well. The palmus in this passage may be anything from 9 to 10 inches.

I see this tree is mentioned by Captain R. F. Burton in his volume on the Lake Regions (vol. xxix. of the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, p. 34),* and probably by many other travellers.

I ought to mention here that some other object has been shown at Zanzibar as part of the wings of a great bird. Sir John Kirk writes that this (which he does not describe particularly) was in the possession of the Roman Catholic priests at Bagamoyo, to whom it had been given by natives of the interior, who declared that they had brought it from Tanganyika, and that it was part of the wing of a gigantic

* "The raphia, here called the 'Devil's date,' is celebrated as having the largest leaf in the vegetable Kingdom," etc. In his translation of Lacerda's journey he calls it *Raphia vinifera*.

bird. On another occasion they repeated this statement, alleging that this bird was known in the Udoe (?) country near the coast. These priests were able to communicate directly with their informants, and certainly believed the story. Dr. Hildebrand, also, a competent German naturalist, believed in it. But Sir John Kirk himself says that "what the priests had to show was most undoubtedly the whalebone of a comparatively small whale."

12.—A SPANISH EDITION OF MARCO POLO.

As we go to press we receive the newly published volume, *El Libro de Marco Polo—Aus dem vermächtnis des Dr. Hermann Knust nach der Madrider Handschrift herausgegeben von Dr. R. Stuebe*. Leipzig, Dr. Seele & Co., 1902, 8vo., pp. xxvi.-114. It reproduces the old Spanish text of the manuscript Z-I-2 of the Escorial Library from a copy made by Señor D. José Rodriguez for the Society of the Spanish Bibliophiles, which, being unused, was sold by him to Dr. Hermann Knust, who made a careful comparison of it with the original manuscript. This copy, found among the papers of Dr. Knust after his death, is now edited by Dr. Stuebe. The original 14th century MS., written in a good hand on two columns, includes 312 leaves of parchment, and contains several works; among them we note: 1°, a Collection entitled *Flor de las Ystorias de Oriente* (fol. 1-104), made on the advice of Juan Fernandez de Heredia, Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (1377), of which *Marco Polo* (fol. 50-104) is a part; 2° and *Secretum Secretorum* (fol. 254 r-fol. 312 v.); this MS. is not mentioned in our List, *App. F.*, II. p. 546, unless it be our No. 60.

The manuscript includes 68 chapters, the first of which is devoted to the City of Lob and Sha-chau, corresponding to our Bk. I., ch. 39 and 40 (our vol. i. pp. 196 *seqq.*); ch. 65 (p. 111) corresponds approximately to our ch. 40, Bk. III. (vol. ii. p. 451); chs. 66, 67, and the last, 68, would answer to our chs. 2, 3, and 4 of Bk. I. (vol. i., pp. 45 *seqq.*). A concordance of this Spanish text, with Pauthier's, Yule's, and the Geographic Texts, is carefully given at the beginning of each of the 68 chapters of the Book.

Of course this edition does not throw any new light on the text, and this volume is but a matter of curiosity.

13.—SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE.

One of the last questions in which Sir Henry Yule* took an interest in, was the problem of the authorship of the book of Travels which bears the name of SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE, the worthy Knight, who, after being for a long time considered as the "Father of English Prose" has become simply "the name claimed by the compiler of a singular book of Travels, written in French, and published between 1357 and 1371."†

It was understood that "JOHAN MAUNDEUILLE, chiualer, ia soit ceo qe icio ne soie dignes, neez et norriz Dengleterre de la ville Seint Alban," crossed the sea "lan millesme ccc^{me} vintisme et secund, le iour de Seint Michel,"‡ that he travelled since across the whole of Asia during the 14th century, that he wrote the relation of his travels as a rest after his fatiguing peregrinations, and that he died on the 17th of November, 1372, at Liège, when he was buried in the Church of the Guillemins.

No work has enjoyed a greater popularity than Mandeville's; while we describe but eighty-five manuscripts of Marco Polo's, and I gave a list of seventy-three manu-

* MANDEVILLE, Jehan de [By Edward Byron Nicholson, M.A., and Colonel Henry Yule, C.B.] Ext. from the *Encyclopæd. Britan.* 9th ed., xv. 1883, ppt. 4to., pp. 4.

† *Encyclop. Brit.* xv. p. 473.

‡ British Museum, Harley, 4383, f. 1 verso.

scripts of Friar Odoric's relation,* it is by hundreds that Mandeville's manuscripts can be reckoned. As to the printed editions, they are, so to speak, numberless; Mr. Carl Schönborn† gave in 1840, an incomplete bibliography; Tobler in his *Bibliographia geographica Palaestinae* (1867),‡ and Röhrich§ after him compiled a better bibliography, to which may be added my own lists in the *Bibliotheca Sinica* || and in the *T'oung-Pao*.¶

Campbell, *Ann. de la Typog. néerlandaise*, 1874, p. 338, mentions a Dutch edition: *Reysen int heilige lant*, s.l.n.d., folio, of which but two copies are known, and which must be dated as far back as 1470 [see p. 600]. I believed hitherto (I am not yet sure that Campbell is right as to his date) that the first printed edition was German, s.l.n.d., very likely printed at Basel, about 1475, discovered by Tross, the Paris Bookseller.** The next editions are the French of the 4th April, 1480,†† and 8th February of the same year, ‡‡ Easter being the 2nd of April, then the Latin, §§

* *Les Voyages en Asie au XIV^e siècle du Bienheureux frère Odoric de Pordenone*. Paris, 1891, p. cxvi.

† Bibliographische Untersuchungen über die Reise-Beschreibung des Sir John Maundeville.—Dem Herrn Samuel Gottfried Reiche, Rector und Professor des Gymnasiums zu St. Elisabeth in Breslau und Vice-Präsident der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur, Ritter des rothen Adlerordens, zur Feier Seines Amts-Jubelfestes am 30. October 1840 im Namen des Gymnasiums zu St. Maria Magdalena gewidmet von Dr. Carl Schönborn, Director, Rector und Professor.—Breslau, gedruckt bei Grass, Barth und Comp., ppt. 4to. pp. 24.

‡ *Bibliographia geographica Palaestinae*. Zunächst kritische Uebersicht gedruckter und ungedruckter Beschreibungen der Reisen ins heilige Land. Von Titus Tobler.—Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1867, 8vo., pp. iv.-265, =: C. 1336 (1322-1356). Der englische ritter John Maundeville, pp. 36-39.

§ *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae*. Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie. Herausgegeben von Reinhold Röhrich. Berlin, H. Reuther, 1890, 8vo, pp. xx-742.

|| *Bibliotheca Sinica*.—Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatif à l'empire chinois par Henri Cordier. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1878-1895, 3 vol. 8vo. col. 943-959, 1921-1927, 2201.

¶ *Jean de Mandeville*. Ext. du *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ii. No. 4, Leide, E. J. Brill, 1891, 8vo, pp. 38.

** Jch Otto von diemeringen ein || Thümherre zū Metz in Lothingen . han dises bûch verwandelsz || welsch vnd vsz latin zū tûtsch durch das die tûtschen lûte och mögent || dar inne lesen von menigen wunderlichen sachen die dor inne geschribē || sind . von fremden landen vñ fremden tieren von fremden lûten vnd von || irem glauben . von iren wesen von iren kleidern . vnd vō vil andern wun || deren als hie noch in den capiteln geschriben stat. Und ist das bûch in || fünf teil geteilt vnd von den || das erst bûch von den landen vnd von den we || gen vsz tûtschen nider landen gen Jerusalem zū varen . vnd zū sant Ka || therinē grab vnd zū dem berg Synai . vnd von den landen vnd von den || wunden die man vnterwegen do zwischen vinden mag. Jtem von des || herren gewalt vnd herrschafft der do heisset der Soldan vnd von sinem || wesen. Das ander bûch saget ob ymant wolt alle welt vmbfaren was || lands vnd was wunders er vinden möcht. In manchen steten vn in vil || insulen dor inne er kame . vnd saget och von den wegen vnd von den lā || den vn lûten was in des grossen herrē land ist. 3 do heisset zū latin Ma || gnus canis | das ist zū tûtsch der grosz hunt. Er ist so gar gewaltig vnd || so rich das im vf erden an gold an edlem gestein vñ andern richthū || nieman gelichen mag . on allein priester Johann von India. Das drit || bûch saget von des vor genannten herren des grossen hûnds glauben vñ || gewonheit vnd wie er von erst her komen ist vnd von andern sachen vil || Das vierde bûch saget von india vnd von priester Johann vnd von siner || herrschafft . von sinem vrsprung vnd von siner heiligkeit von sinem glou || ben von siner gewonheit vnd vil andern wunden die in sinem lande sind || Das fünftē bûch saget von manchen heydichsen glauben vnd ir gewon || heit vñ och von menigerlei cristen glauben die gensit mers sint die doch || nit gar vnsern glauben hand. Jtem von menigerlei Jûden glauben vnd || wie vil cristen land sint vnd doch nicht vnsern glauben haltend noch re || che cristen sind. Folio; black letter.

†† Ce liure est eppelle ma || deuille et fut fait i compose || par monsieur iehan de man || deuille cheualier natif dagle || terre de la uille de saict alef || Et parle de la terre de pro || mission cest assauoir de ieru || salem et de plusieurs autres || isles de mer et les diuerses i || esanges choses qui sont es || dites isles.

Ends recto f. 88: Cy finist ce tres plaisant || liure nome Mandeville par || lanc moult autentique- ment || du pays et terre d'oultre mer || Et fut fait Lā Mil cccc || lxxx le iiii iour dauril, s.l., without any printer's name; small folio; ff. 88; sig. a (7 ff.)—l. (9 ff.); others 8 ff.—Grenville Library, 6775.

‡‡ *F. 1 recto*: Ce liure est appelle || mandeuille et fut fait et || compose par monsieur || iehan de mandeuille che || ualier natif dangleterre || de la uille de saint alein || Et parle de la terre de || promission cest assauoir || de iherusalem et de plu || seurs autres isles de mer || et les diuerses et estran || ges choses qui sont esd' || *Ends verso* f. 93: Cy finist ce tresplai || sant liure nome Mandē || uille parlāt moult antē || tiquement du pays r'tre || doultre mer Jmprime a || lyō sur le rosne Lan Mil cccclxxx le viii iour de || freuier a la requeste de || Maistre Bartholomieu || Buyer bourgeois du dit || lyon. Small folio.

§§ *F. 1 recto*. Jtinerarius domini || Johānis de mā||deuille militis.—*F. 2 recto*: Tabula capitulorum in || itinerarium ad partes Jhe || rosolimitanas. ¶ ad vterio || res trāsmarinās domini Jo||hannis de Mandeville mili||tis Jncipit feliciter.—*F. 4. recto*: Jncipit Itinerarius a ter||ra Anglie in ptes Jherosoli || =/mitanas. ¶ in vteriores trās/marinās. *editus* primo in li||gua gallicana a milite suo au||tore Anno incarnatōnis dñi || M. ccc. lv. in ciuitate Leodi || ensi. ¶ paulo post in eadē ciui||tate trāslatus in hanc formā || latinam. ||

Ends f. 71 verso: Explicit itinerarius domini || Johannis de Mandeville || militis. Small 4to, black letter, ff. 71 on 2 col., sig. a-i iij; a-h by 8=64 ff.; i, 7 ff.

Dutch,* and Italian† editions, and after the English editions of Pynson and Wynkin de Worde.

In what tongue was Mandeville's Book written?

The fact that the first edition of it was printed either in German or in Dutch, only shows that the scientific progress was greater and printing more active in such towns as Basel, Nuremberg and Augsburg than in others. At first, one might believe that there were three original texts, probably in French, English, and vulgar Latin; the Dean of Tongres, Radulphus of Rivo, a native of Breda, writes indeed in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, 1616, p. 17: "Hoc anno Ioannes Mandeuilius natione Anglus vir ingenio, & arte medendi eminens, qui toto fere terrarum orbe peragrato, *tribus linguis* peregrinationem suam doctissime *conscripsit*, in alium orbé nullis finibus clausum, lógeque hoc quietiorem, & beatiorem migravit 17. Nouembris. Sepultus in Ecclesia Wilhelmitarum non procul á moenibus Ciuitatis Leodiensis." The Dean of Tongres died in 1483; † Mr. Warner, on the authority of the *Bulletin de l'Inst. Archéol. Liégeois*, xvi. 1882, p. 358, gives 1403 as the date of the death of Radulphus. However, Mandeville himself says (*Warner, Harley*, 4383) at the end of his introduction, p. 3:—"Et sachez qe ieusse cest escript mis en latyn pur plus briefment deuiser; mes, pur ceo qe plusours entendent mieldt romantz qe latin, ieo lay mys en romance, pur ceo qe chescun lentende et luy chiualers et les seignurs et lez autres nobles homes qi ne sciuent point de latin ou poy, et qount estee outre meer, sachent et entendent, si ieo dye voir ou noun, et si ieo erre en deuisant par noun souenance ou autrement, qils le puissent adresser et amender, qar choses de long temps passez par la veue torment en obly, et memorie de homme ne puet mye tot retenir ne comprendre." From this passage and from the Latin text: "Incipit itinerarius a terra Angliæ ad partes Iherosolimitanas et in ultiores transmarinas, editus primo in lingua gallicana a milite suo autore anno incarnationis Domini m. ccc. lv, in civitate Leodiensi, et paulo post in eadem civitate translatus in hanc formam latinam." (P. 33 of the *Relation des Mongols ou Tartars par le frère Jean du Plan de Carpin*, Paris, 1838). D'Avezac long ago was inclined to believe in an unique French version. The British Museum, English MS. (Cott., Titus. C. xvi.), on the other hand, has in the Prologue (cf. ed. 1725, p. 6): "And zee schulle undirstonde, that I have put this Boke out of *Latyn* into *Frensche*, and translated it azen out of *Frensche* into *Englyssche*, that every Man of my Nacion may undirstonde it . . . §"

But we shall see that—without taking into account the important passage in French quoted above, and probably misunderstood by the English translator—the English version, a sentence of which, not to be found in the Latin manuscripts, has just been given, is certainly posterior to the French text, and therefore that the

* Reysen.—s.l.n.d., without printer's name; fol. 108 ff. on a col. black letter, without sig., etc. F. 1 recto: Dit is die tafelen // desen boecke // (D)at eerste capittel van // desen boeck is Hoe dat Jan vā//mandauille schyvet wt enghel//lat. . . . f. 108 v° 26th line: regneert in allen tiden // Amen// ¶ *Laus deo in altissimo* //.

See Campbell, *supra*, p. 599.

† F. 1 verso: Tractato de la piu marauegliose cosse e piu notabile che // se trouano in le parte del módo redute ¶ collecte soto bre//uita in el presente cōpédio dal strenuissimo cauallèr sperò // dorò Johanne de Mandauilla anglico nato ne la Citá // de sancto albanò el quale secódo dío pñcialmente uisi // tato quali tute le parte habitabel de el módo cossi fidelím // te a notato tute quelle piu degue cosse che la trouato e ve//duto in esse parte ¶ chi bene discorre qsto libro auerra p // facta cognitione de tutti li reami puincine natione e popu//li gente costumi leze hystorie ¶ degne antiquitate cō bre//uitate de le parte de altri non sono tractate ¶ parte piu // cōsumamète d'alchú gran ualente homini son state tocate ¶ amagiore fede el psato auctore in psona e stato nel 1322. in//yerusalem Jn Asia menore chiamata Turchia i Arme//nia grande e in la picola. Jn Scythia zoe in Tartaria in // persia Jn Syria o uero suria Jn Arabia in egipto alto // ¶ in lo inferiore in libia in la parte grande de ethiopia in // Caldea in amazonia in india mazore in la meza ¶ in la // menore in diu'se sette de latini greci iudei e barbari chri//stiani ¶ infideli ¶ in molte altre prouincie como appare nel // tractato de sotto.—*Ends* f. 114 verso: Explicit Johannes d' Mädeuilla impressus Medio//lani ductu ¶ auspicijs Magistri Petri de corneno pri // die Callendas augusti m.cccclxxx. Joha//ne Galeazo Maria Stortia Vicecomite Duce non // stro inuitissimo ac principe Jucondissimo. Small 4to; ff. 114; sig. a-o×8=112 ff.; 1 f. between a and b.

† *Gesta Pont. Leodiensium*.—Vita Radvlphi de Rivo ex eius scriptis: "Objt Radulphus anno, 1483."

§ This passage is not to be found in the Egerton MS. 1982, nor in the Latin versions.

abstract of Titus C. xvi, has but a slight value. There can be some doubt only for the French and the Latin texts.

Dr. Carl Schönborn* and Herr Eduard Mätzner,† “respectively seem to have been the first to show that the current Latin and English texts cannot possibly have been made by Mandeville himself. Dr. J. Vogels states the same of unprinted Latin versions which he has discovered in the British Museum, and he has proved it as regards the Italian version.” ‡

“In Latin, as Dr. Vogels has shown, there are five independent versions. Four of them, which apparently originated in England (one manuscript, now at Leyden, being dated in 1390) have no special interest; the fifth, or vulgate Latin text, was no doubt made at Liège, and has an important bearing on the author's identity. It is found in twelve manuscripts, all of the 15th century, and is the only Latin version as yet printed.” §

The universal use of the French language at the time would be an argument in favour of the original text being in this tongue, if corrupt proper names, abbreviations in the Latin text, etc., did not make the fact still more probable.

The story of the English version, as it is told by Messrs. Nicholson and Warner, is highly interesting: The English version was made from a “mutilated archetype,” in French (Warner, p. x.) of the beginning of the 15th century, and was used for all the known English manuscripts, with the exception of the Cotton and Egerton volumes—and also for all the printed editions until 1725. Mr. Nicholson|| pointed out that it is defective in the passage extending from p. 36, l. 7: “And there were to ben 5 Soudans,” to p. 62, l. 25: “the Monkes of the Abbeye of ten tyme,” in Halliwell's edition (1839) from Titus C. xvi. which corresponds to Mr. Warner's Egerton text, p. 18, l. 21: “for the Sowdan,” and p. 32, l. 16, “synges oft tyme.” It is this bad text which, until 1725,¶ has been printed as we just said, with numerous variants, including the poor edition of Mr. Ashton** who has given the text of East instead of the Cotton text under the pretext that the latter was not legible. ††

Two revisions of the English version were made during the first quarter of the 15th century; one is represented by the British Museum Egerton MS. 1982 and the abbreviated Bodleian MS. e. Mus. 116; the other by the Cotton MS. Titus C. xvi. This last one gives the text of the edition of 1725 often reprinted till Halliwell's (1839 and 1866). ‡‡ The Egerton MS. 1982 has been reproduced in a magnificent volume edited in 1889 for the Roxburghe Club par Mr. G. F. Warner, of the British Museum; §§ this edition includes also the French text from the Harley MS. 4383

* *Bib. Untersuchungen.*

† *Altenglische Sprachproben nebst einem Wörterbuche unter Mitwirkung von Karl Goldbeck herausgegeben von Eduard Mätzner. Erster Band: Sprachproben. Zweite Abtheilung: Prosa. Berlin. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. (Vol. i. 1869, large 8vo, pp. 415; vol. i., John Maundeville, pp. 152-221.)*

‡ *Encyclopædia Brit.*, p. 475.

§ *Nat. Biog.* p. 23-24.

|| *The Academy*, x. p. 477.—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., XV., p. 475.

¶ *The // Voiage // and // Travaile // of // Sir John Maundevile, kt. // Which Treateth of the // Way to Hierusalem; and of // Marvayles of Inde, // With other // Ilands and Countreys. // — Now publish'd entire from an Original MS. // in the Cotton Library. // — London: // Printed for J. Woodman, and D. Lyon, in // Russel-Street, Covent-Garden, and C. Davis, // in Hatton-Garden. 1725, 8vo, s. ff. n. c. + pp. xvi.—384+4 ff. n. c.*

** *The Voiage and Travayle of Sir John Maundeville Knight which treateth of the way towards Hierosallun and of marvayles of Inde with other lands and countreys. Edited, Annotated, and Illustrated in Facsimile by John Ashton. . . . London, Pickering & Chatto, 1887, large 8vo, pp. xxiv.-289.*

†† *L.c.* p. vi.

‡‡ *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Kt. which treateth of the way to Hierusalem; and of Marvayles of Inde, with other lands and countreys. Reprinted from the Edition of A.D. 1725. With an introduction, additional notes, and Glossary. By J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.A.S. London: Published by Edward Lumley, M.D.CCC.XXXIX., 8vo, pp. xvii.-xii.-326.*

§§ *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile . . . By J. O. Halliwell, London: F. S. Ellis, MDCCCLXVI., 8vo, pp. xxxi.-326.*

¶¶ *The Buke of John Maundeull being the Travels of sir John Mandevile, knight 1322-1356 a hitherto unpublished english version from the unique copy (Egerton Ms. 1982) in the British Museum edited together with the French text, notes, and an introduction by George F. Warner, M.A., F.S.A., assistant-keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Illustrated with twenty-eight miniatures reproduced in facsimile from the additional MS. 24,189. Printed for the Roxburghe Club, Westminster, Nichols and Sons. . . . MDCCCLXXXIX., large 4to, pp. xlvi.+232-†28 miniatures.*

which, being defective from the middle of chap. xxii. has been completed with the Royal MS. 20 B. X. Indeed the Egerton MS. 1982 is the only complete English manuscript of the British Museum,* as, besides seven copies of the defective text, three leaves are missing in the Cotton MS. after f. 53, the text of the edition of 1725 having been completed with the Royal MS. 17 B.†

Notwithstanding its great popularity, Mandeville's Book could not fail to strike with its similarity with other books of travels, with Friar Odoric's among others. This similarity has been the cause that occasionally the Franciscan Friar was given as a companion to the Knight of St. Albans, for instance, in the manuscripts of Mayence and Wolfenbüttel.‡ Some Commentators have gone too far in their appreciation and the Udine monk has been treated either as a plagiarist or a liar! Old Samuel Purchas, in his address to the Reader printed at the beginning of Marco Polo's text (p. 65), calls his countryman! Mandeville the greatest Asian traveller next (if next) to Marco Polo, and he leaves us to understand that the worthy knight has been pillaged by some priest!§ Astley uses strong language; he calls Odoric a *great liar!* ||

Others are fair in their judgment, Malte-Brun, for instance, marked what Mandeville borrowed from Odoric, and La Renaudière is also very just in the *Biographie Universelle*. But what Malte-Brun and La Renaudière showed in a general manner, other learned men, such as Dr. S. Bormans, Sir Henry Yule, Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson,¶ Dr. J. Vogels,** M. Léopold Delisle, Herr A. Bovenschen,†† and last, not least, Dr. G. F. Warner, have in our days proved that not only has the book bearing Mandeville's name been compiled from the works of Vincent of Beauvais, Jacques of Vitry, Boldensel, Carpini, Odoric, etc., but that it was written neither by a Knight of St. Albans, by an Englishman, or by a Sir John Mandeville, but very likely by the physician John of Burgundy or John a Beard.

In a repertory of *La Librairie de la Collégiale de Saint Paul à Liège au XV^e. Siècle*, published by Dr. Stanislas Bormans, in the *Bibliophile Belge*, Brussels, 1866, p. 236, is catalogued under No. 240: *Legenda de Joseph et Asseneth ejus uxore, in papiro. In eodem itinerarium Johannis de Mandevilla militis, apud guilhelmitanos Leodienses sepulti.*

Dr. S. Bormans has added the following note: "Jean Mandeville, ou Manduith, théologien et mathématicien, était né à St. Alban en Angleterre d'une famille noble.

* There are in the British Museum twenty-nine MSS. of Mandeville, of which ten are French, nine English, six Latin, three German, and one Irish. Cf. *Warner*, p. x.

† Cf. *Warner*, p. 61.

‡ Mayence, Chapter's Library: "Incipit Itinerarius fidelis Fratris ODERICI, socii Militis Mendavil, per Indiam."—Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library, No. 40, Weissesburg: "Incipit itinerarius fratris ODERICI socii militis Mandavil per Indiam."—HENRI CORDIER, *Odoric de Pordenone*, p. lxxii. and p. lxxv.

§ *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, 3rd Pt., London, 1625: "and, O that it were possible to doe as much for our Countriman Mandeuil, who next (if next) was the greatest Asian Traueller that euer the World had, & hauing falne amongst theeues, neither Priest, nor Leuite can know him, neither haue we hope of a Samaritan to releuee him."

|| *Astley* (iv. p. 620): "The next Traveller we meet with into *Tartary*, and the Eastern Countries, after *Marco Polo*, is Friar *Odoric*, of *Udin* in Friuli, a *Cordelier*; who set-about the Year 1318, and at his Return the Relation of it was drawn-up, from his own Mouth, by Friar *William of Solanga*, in 1330. *Ramusio* has inserted it in *Italian*, in the second Volume of his Collection; as *Hakluyt*, in his Navigations, has done the *Latin*, with an *English* Translation. This is a most superficial Relation, and full of *Lies*; such as People with the Heads of Beasts, and Valleys haunted with Spirits: In one of which he pretends to have entered, protected by the Sign of the Cross; yet fled for Fear, at the Sight of a Face that grinned at him. In short, though he relates some Things on the *Tartars* and *Manci* (as he writes *Manji*) which agree with *Polo's* Account; yet it seems plain, from the Names of Places and other Circumstances, that he never was in those Countries, but imposed on the Public the few Informations he had from others, mixed with the many Fictions of his own. He set out again for the East in 1337; but warned, it seems, by an Apparition a few Miles from *Padua*, he returned thither, and died." And a final blow in the index: "*Odoric, Friar, Travels of*, iv. 620 a. *A great liar!*"

¶ E. B. Nicholson.—Letters to the *Academy*, 11th November, 1876; 12th February, 1887. E. B. N. and Henry Yule, MANDEVILLE, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., 1883, pp. 472-475.

** Die ungedruckten Lateinischen Versionen Mandeville's. (Beilage zum Programm des Gymnasiums zu Crefeld.) 1886.

†† Untersuchungen über Johan von Mandeville und die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung. Von Albert Bovenschen. (*Zeitschrift d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, XXIII. Bd., 3 u. 4 Hft. No. 135, 136, pp. 177-306.)

On le surnomma pour un motif inconnu, *ad Barbam et magnovillanus*. En 1322, il traversa la France pour aller en Asie, servit quelque temps dans les troupes du Sultan d'Égypte et revint seulement en 1355 en Angleterre. Il mourut à Liège chez les Guilhemins, le 17th Novembre, 1372. Il laissa au dit monastère plusieurs MSS. de ses œuvres fort vantés, tant de ses voyages que de la médecine, écrits de sa main ; il y avait enore en ladite maison plusieurs meubles qu'il leur laissa pour mémoire. Il a laissé quelques livres de médecine qui n'ont jamais été imprimés, des *tabulae astronomicae*, de *chorda recta et umbra*, de *doctrina theologica*. La relation de son voyage est en latin, français et anglais ; il raconte, en y mêlant beaucoup de fables, ce qu'il a vu de curieux en Égypte, en Arabie et en Perse."

Then is inserted, an abstract from Lefort, *Liège Herald*, at the end of the 17th century, from *Jean d'Outremeuse*, which we quote from another publication of Dr. Bormans' as it contains the final sentence : "Mort enfin, etc." not to be found in the paper of the *Bibliophile Belge*.

In his introduction to the *Chronique et geste de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse*, Brussels, F. Hayez, 1887 (*Collection des Chroniques belges inédites*), Dr. Stanislas Bormans writes, pp. cxxxiii.-cxxxiv. : "L'an M.CCC.LXXII, mourut à Liège, le 12 Novembre, un homme fort distingué par sa naissance, content de s'y faire connoître sous le nom de Jean de Bourgogne dit à la Barbe. Il s'ouvrit néanmoins au lit de la mort à Jean d'Outremeuse, son compère, et institué son exécuteur testamentaire. De vrai il se titra, dans le précis de sa dernière volonté, messire *Jean de Mandeville, chevalier, comte de Montfort en Angleterre, et seigneur de l'isle de Campdi et du château Perouse*. Ayant cependant eu le malheur de tuer, en son pays, un comte qu'il ne nomme pas, il s'engagea à parcourir les trois parties du monde. Vint à Liège en 1343. Tout sorti qu'il étoit d'une noblesse très-distinguée, il aima de s'y tenir caché. Il étoit, au reste, grand naturaliste, profond philosophe et astrologue, y joint en particulier une connoissance très singulière de la physique, se trompant rarement lorsqu'il disoit son sentiment à l'égard d'un malade, s'il en reviendroit ou pas. Mort enfin, on l'enterra aux F. F. Guillelmins, au faubourg d'Avroy, comme vous avez vu plus amplement cydessus."

It is not the first time that the names *Jean de Mandeville* and *Jean à la Barbe* are to be met with, as Ortelius, in his description of Liège, included in his Itinerary of Belgium, has given the epitaph of the knightly physician :¹⁾

"Leodium primo aspectu ostentat in sinistra ripa (nam dextra vinetis plena est,) magna, & populosa suburbia ad collium radices, in quorum iugis multa sunt, & pulcherrima Monasteria, inter quae magnificum illud ac nobile D. Laurentio dicatum ab Raginaldo episcopo, vt habet Sigebertus, circa ann. sal. M.CXXV aedificatum est in hac quoq. regione Guilelmitarū Coenobium in quo epitaphiū hoc Ioannis à Mandeuille excepimus: *Hic iacet vir nobilis Dñs Ioēs de Mandeville al Dcus ad barbam miles dñs de Cāpdi natus de Anglia medicē p̄fessor devotissimus orator et bonorum largissimus pauperibus erogator qui toto quasi orbe lustrato leodii diem vite sue clausit extremum āno Dni M CCC LXXI*"²⁾ *mēnsis novēbr die XVII.*³⁾

"Haec in lapide, in quo caelata viri armati imago, leonem calcantis, barba bifurcata, ad caput manus benedicens, & vernacula haec verba : *vos ki p̄seis svr mi pour lamour deix proies for mi*. Clypeus erat vacuus, in quo olim laminam fuisse dicebant æream, & eius in ea itidem caelata insignia, leonem videlicet argenteum, cui ad pectus lunula rubea, in campo caeruleo, quem limbus ambiret denticulatus ex auro, eius nobis ostendebat & cultros, ephippiaque, & calcaria, quibus vsum fuisse asserebat in peragrando toto fere terrarum orbe, vt clarius eius testatur itinerarium, quod typis etiam excusum passim habetur."*

* (1) Itinerarium // per nonny las // Gallia Belgicae partes, // Abrahami Ortelii et // Ioannis Viviani.

// Ad Gerardum Mercatorem, // Cosmographum. // Antverpiae, // Ex officina Christophori Plantini. // cl. 15. lxxxiv. // small 8vo, pp. 15-16.

(2) Read 1372.

(3) *Furcas, His Pilgrimes*, 3rd Pt., Lond., 1625, reproduces it on p. 128: "Hic iacet vir nobilis, D. Ioannes de Mandeville, aliter dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, Medicinæ Professor, deotissimus, orator, & bonorum largissimus pauperibus erogator qui toto quasi orbe lustrato, *Leodij* diem vitæ suæ clausit extremum. Anno Dom. 1371, Mensis Nouembris, die 17.

Dr. Warner writes in the *National Biography*:

"There is abundant proof that the tomb of the author of the *Travels* was to be seen in the Church of the Guillemins or Guillemites at Liège down to the demolition of the building in 1798. The fact of his burial there, with the date of his death, 17th November, 1372, was published by Bale in 1548 (*Summarium*, f. 149 b), and was confirmed independently by Jacob Meyer (*Annales rerum Flandric.*, 1561, p. 165) and Lud. Guicciardini. (*Paesi Bassi*, 1567, p. 281.)"

In a letter dated from Bodley's Library, 17th March, 1884, to *The Academy*, 12th April, 1884, No. 623, Mr. Edward B. Nicholson drew attention to the abstract from Jean d'Outremeuse, and came to the conclusion that the writer of Mandeville's relation was a *profound liar*, and that he was the Liège Professor of Medicine, John of Burgundy or *à la Barbe*. He adds: "If, in the matter of literary honesty, John a Beard was a bit of a knave, he was very certainly no fool."

On the other hand, M. Léopold Delisle,* has shown that two manuscripts, Nouv. acq. franç. 4515 (Barrois, 24) and Nouv. acq. franç. 4516 (Barrois, 185), were part formerly of one volume copied in 1371 by Raoulet of Orleans and given in the same year to King Charles V. by his physician Gervaise Crestien, *viz.* one year before the death of the so-called Mandeville; one of these manuscripts—now separate—contains the Book of Jehan de Mandeville, the other one, a treatise of "la preservacion de epidimie, minucion ou curacion d'icelle faite de maistre Jehan de Bourgoigne, autrement dit à la Barbe, professeur en médecine et cytoien du Liège," in 1365. This bringing together is certainly not fortuitous.

Sir Henry Yule traces thus the sources of the spurious work: "Even in that part of the book which may be admitted with probability to represent some genuine experience, there are distinct traces that another work has been made use of, more or less, as an aid in the compilation, we might almost say, as a framework to fill up. This is the itinerary of the German knight William of Boldensele, written in 1336 at the desire of Cardinal Talleyrand de Perigord. A cursory comparison of this with Mandeville leaves no doubt of the fact that the latter has followed its thread, using its suggestions, and on many subjects its expressions, though digressing and expanding on every side, and too often eliminating the singular good sense of the German traveller. After such a comparison we may indicate as examples Boldensele's account of Cyprus (*Mandeville*, *Halliwel's* ed. 1866, p. 28, and p. 10), of Tyre and the coast of Palestine (*Mandeville*, 29, 30, 33, 34), of the journey from Gaza to Egypt (34), passages about Babylon of Egypt (40), about Mecca (42), the general account of Egypt (45), the pyramids (52), some of the particular wonders of Cairo, such as the slave-market, the chicken-hatching stoves, and the apples of Paradise, *i.e.* plantains (49), the Red Sea (57), the convent on Sinai (58, 60), the account of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (74-76), etc."

He adds: "It is curious that no passage in Mandeville can be plausibly traced to Marco Polo, with one exception. This is (*Halliwel's* ed., p. 163) where he states that at Ormus the people, during the great heat, lie in water,—a circumstance mentioned by Polo, though not by Odoric. We should suppose it most likely that this fact had been interpolated in the copy of Odoric used by Mandeville; for, if he had borrowed it direct from Polo, he would have borrowed more." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, p. 474.)

"Leaving this question, there remains the more complex one whether the book contains, in any measure, facts and knowledge acquired by actual travels and residence in the East. We believe that it may, but only as a small portion of the whole, and that confined entirely to the section of the work which treats of the Holy Land, and of the different ways of getting thither, as well as of Egypt, and in general of what we understand by the Levant." (*Ibid.* p. 473.)

Dr. Warner deals the final blow in the *National Biography*: "The alphabets

* *Bibliothèque nationale*:—*Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois*. Paris, 1888. 8vo. cf. pp. 251-253.

which he gives have won him some credit as a linguist, but only the Greek and the Hebrew (which were readily accessible) are what they pretend to be, and that which he calls Saracen actually comes from the *Cosmographia* of Æthicus! His knowledge of Mohammedanism and its Arabic formulæ impressed even Yule. He was, however, wholly indebted for that information to the *Liber de Statu Saracenorum* of William of Tripoli (*circa* 1270), as he was to the *Historiæ Orientis* of Hetoum, the Armenian (1307), for much of what he wrote about Egypt. In the last case, indeed, he shows a rare sign of independence, for he does not, with Hetoum, end his history of the sultanate about 1300, but carries it on to the death of En-Násir (1341), and names two of his successors. Although his statements about them are not historically accurate, this fact and a few other details suggest that he may really have been in Egypt, if not at Jerusalem, but the proportion of original matter is so very far short of what might be expected that even this is extremely doubtful."

With this final quotation, we may take leave of John of Mandeville, aliàs John a Beard.

H. C.

- AÁS, Asu, *see* Alans
 Abacan, a Tartar general, ii. 255, 261*n*,
 596*n*
 Ábah, *see* Ávah
 Abaji, Kúblái's son, i. 361*n*
 Abáka (Abaga), Khan of Persia, i. 33*n*,
 36*n*, 91*n*, 103*n*, ii. 465-467, 474,
 475, 477*n*, 495*n*
 Abano, Pietro of, his notice of Polo, 119
 Abash (Habsh), *see* Abyssinia
 Abba Gregory, ii. 433*n*
 Abbás, Sháh, i. 90*n*
 Abbott, Consul Keith E., i. 81*n*, 82*n*,
 89*n*, 92*n*, 96*n*, 99*n*, 106*n*, 111*n*,
 113*n*, 114*n*, 125*n*
 Abdul Kuri islands, ii. 405*n*
 — Mejid, i. 175*n*
 Abeskun (Baxon), on the Caspian, i. 59*n*
 Abher, i. 38*n*, 82*n*
 Abkashian forests, boxwood of the, i. 57*n*
Abnis, ebony, ii. 272*n*
 Abraha, ruler of Yemen, ii. 434*n*
 Abraïman, *see* Brahmans
 Abubakr, Atabeg of Fars, i. 85*n*,
 ii. 348*n*
 — Ibrahim, and Mahomed, engineers
 employed by Kúblái, ii. 168*n*
 Abu'l Abbas Ahmed VII., Khalif of
 Baghdad, i. 69*n*
 — Fází, i. 103*n*, 168*n*, 169*n*, ii.
 367, 374*n*
 Abulfeda, his geography, 4, i. 3*n*, 6*n*,
 9*n*, 53*n*, 57*n*, 58*n*, 75*n*, 81*n*, 110*n*,
 385*n*, ii. 237*n*, 286*n*, 367*n*, 377*n*,
 486*n*, 489*n*; at the siege of Acre,
 165*n*
 Abulfiez Khan, king of Bokhara, i. 88*n*
 Abu Nasr Mohammed IX., Khalif of
 Baghdad, i. 69*n*
 — Saïd, i. 86*n*, ii. 347*n*
 Abyssinia (Abash), ii. 427 *seqq.*, 431*n*; its
 king's punishment of Soldan of Aden,
 428-430; dominion on the coast, mediæ-
 val history and chronology, 434*n*-
 437*n*; table of kings, 435*n*; wars with
 Mahomedan states, 436*n*
 Acbalec Manzi, "White City of the
 Manzi frontier," ii. 33, 34*n*, 35*n*
- Acbalec or Acbaluc (Cheng-ting fu), ii.
 13, 14*n*
 Accambale, king of Champa, ii. 267,
 270*n*
 Achan, i. 66*n*
 Achin, Acheh, Achem, ii. 283*n*, 286*n*,
 295*n*, 296*n*, 300*n*, 303*n*, 305*n*, 307*n*; its
 gold and lign-aloes, 287*n*; conversion
 of, 288*n*; its great power at one time,
 289*n*; elephants at, 289*n*
 — Head, ii. 300*n*, 307*n*
 Achmath, the Bailo, *see* Ahmad
 Acomat Soldan (Ahmad Sultan), seizes
 throne of Tabriz, ii. 467; goes to
 encounter Argon, 468; rejects his
 remonstrance, 469; defeats and takes
 him, 470; hears of Argon's escape, is
 taken and put to death, 473; notes on
 the history, 470*n*, 474*n*
 Acorn bread, i. 122*n*
 Acqui, Friar Jacopo d', his notice of Polo,
 54, 67, 119
 Acre, i. 17, 22; Broils at, between Venetians
 and Genoese, 42; plan of, 18*n*;
 captured by Saracens, ii. 165*n*, 441*n*;
 wickedness of, 442*n*; Polos at, 593*n*
 Adam, Bishop and Pope of China,
 ii. 28*n*
 — Seth, and the Tree of Life,
 legend of, i. 135*n*
 Adamodana, Castle of, i. 58*n*
 Adam's Apple, i. 99*n*
 — sepulchre on mountain (Adam's
 Peak) in Ceylon, ii. 316, 328*n*; rubies,
 316*n*; its teeth, hair, etc., 319-320;
 the footmark, 321*n*-322*n*
 Adel, apparently confused with Aden,
 ii. 433*n*, 435*n*, 440*n*
 Aden, Horse and other Trade with
 India, ii. 340, 348*n*, 390, 407, 427,
 431, 438; Soldan's treatment of a
 bishop, 428; Vengeance of King of
 Abyssinia on him, 430; confused with
 Adel, 433*n*; account of Kingdom, 438,
 439*n*-440*n*; the Sultan, 438-439, 440*n*;
 intercourse and trade with China,
 tanks, 440*n*; view of, 441
 Adoration of the Emperor, i. 391
 607

- Adulis*, ii. 432*n*; inscription of, 434*n*
 Aegae, Ayas on the site of ancient,
 i. 16*n*
 Aepyornis and its eggs, ii. 416*n*-417*n*
 Aëtius, his prescription of musk, i. 279*n*,
 ii. 302*n*; of camphor, 302*n*
 Afghans, their use of the fat-tailed sheep,
 i. 100*n*
 Africa, Sea surrounding to the South,
 ii. 415*n*
 Agassiz, Professor, i. 100*n*
 Agathocles, Coins of, i. 163*n*
 Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, island, ii. 310*n*
 Agha Ali Sháh, present representative of
 the Old Man of the Mountain, i. 148*n*
 — Khan Meheláti, late representative
 of the Old Man, i. 147*n*
 Aghrukji or Ukuruji, Kúblái's son, i.
 361*n*
 Agricola, Governor of Cappadocia, etc.,
 i. 45*n*
 Aguil, Mongol general, ii. 136, 138*n*
 Ahmad (Achmath), the Bailo, of F'enaket,
 his power, oppressions, death, etc.,
 i. 415 *seqq.*, 421*n*
 — Sultan, Khan of Persia, *see* Acomat
 Ahwaz, province, i. 65*n*
 Aidhab, ii. 439*n*
 Aidhej, or Mal-Amir, i. 85*n*
 Aijaruc, Kaidu's daughter, ii. 463; her
 strength and prowess, 463 *seqq.*; her
 name, 463
 Aikah Nowin, Engineer in Chief of
 Chinghiz, ii. 168*n*
 Ai-lao (afterwards Nan-chao), ancient
 name of the Shans, ii. 79*n*
Ain Akbari (*Ayeen Akbery*), i. 65*n*, 99*n*,
 101*n*, 103*n*, 409*n*, ii. 116*n*
 Ajmir, ii. 426*n*
 Akbar and Kúblái, a parallel, i. 349*n*
 Ak Bulák salt mines, i. 154*n*
 Akhaltziké (Western Georgia), i. 58*n*
 Akhtuba River, i. 5*n*, 6*n*
 Ak-khoja, ii. 470*n*
 Aksarai, or Ghorí River, i. 152*n*
 Aksu River, i. 172*n*, 175*n*
 Aktár, i. 96*n*
 Aktásh Valley, i. 172*n*, 175*n*
Alabastri, ii. 432*n*
 Alacou, *see* Hulákú
Aladja, striped cotton cloth, i. 44*n*
 Alamút, Castle of the Ismailites, i. 141*n*,
 142*n*, 145*n*, 148*n*
 Alan country, Alania, i. 57*n*, ii. 490, 491*n*
 Alans, or Aas, massacre at Chang-chau
 of, ii. 178; employed under Mongols,
 179*n*
 Alaone, the name, 56
 Alarm Tower, at Cambaluc, i. 375,
 378*n*; at Kinsay, ii. 189
Alatcha, cotton stuff with blue and red
 stripes, i. 190*n*
 Alau, *see* Hulákú
 Alá'uddin (Alaodin), *see* Old Man of the
 Mountain
 — (Alawating of Mufali), an engineer
 in Kúblái's service, ii. 167*n*
 — Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, i. 104*n*,
 ii. 163*n*, 169*n*, 333*n*, 398*n* 400*n*
 Albenigaras, Mt., ii. 362*n*
 Al Biruni, i. 104*n*, 174*n*, ii. 400*n*
 Albuquerque, *see* D'Albuquerque.
 Alchemy, Kúblái's, i. 423
 Aleppo, i. 23*n*
 Alexander the Great, allusions to legends
 and romances about, 113, i. 14*n*,
 129*n*-133*n*, ii. 322*n*, 485*n*; his ram-
 part (Iron Gate), i. 50, 53*n*, 56*n*, 57*n*;
 the curtains at a banquet given by,
 66*n*; and the *ferrum candidum*,
 93*n*; site of his battle with Darius,
 128, 138*n*; his wife Roxana, 151;
 kills a lion, 152*n*; Princes claiming
 descent from (Zulcarnaiin), 157,
 160*n*; his horse Bucephalus, 158;
 fixes chains on Adam's Peak, ii. 322*n*;
 said to have colonised Socotra, 409*n*;
 his tower on the border of Darkness,
 485*n*
 Alexander III., Pope, i. 231*n*
 Alexander IV., Pope, i. 8*n*
 Alexandria, 9, ii. 235; trade from India
 to, 390, 438
Alhinde, Alfinde, Alinde, Al-hint, i. 93*n*
 'Ali and Aliites, i. 140*n*-141*n*
 Alidada, i. 452*n*
 Alihaiya, Kúblái's general, ii. 167*n*
 Alinak, ii. 474*n*
 Alligator, in Carajan, ii. 76, 81*n*; mode
 of killing, 77; eaten, 78, 81*n*; pro-
 phesy of Bhartpúr about, 149*n*
 Almalik, ii. 462*n*
 Almanacs, Chinese (Tacuin), i. 447, 448*n*
 Almonds, i. 153, 155*n*
 Aloes, Socotrine, ii. 409*n*
 — wood, *see* Lign-aloes
Alor, war cry, 43
 Al-Ramni, Al-Ramin, *see* Sumatra
 Altai (Altay) Mountains, i. 212, 215*n*;
 the Khan's burial-place, 246, 269;
 used for the Khingan range, 247*n*,
 306*n*
 Altun-Khan, Mountain, i. 247*n*
 — sovereign, ii. 19*n*
 Amazons, fable of, ii. 405*n*
 Ambergis, i. 308*n*, 406, 411, 423,
 424*n*; how got, 408*n*
Amber-rosolli, i. 114*n*
 Amda Zion, king of Abyssinia, his wars
 v. Mahomedans, ii. 435*n* *seqq.*; not the
 king mentioned by Polo, 436*n*
 Ament, Rev. W. S., i. 361*n*, 421*n*,
 ii. 6, 11, 12
Ameri, a kind of Brazil wood, ii. 301*n*,
 380*n*
 Amhara, ii. 436*n*

- Amien, Mien (Burma), ii. 98, 99ⁿ
 Amita Buddha, i. 460ⁿ
 Ammianus Marcellinus, ii. 180ⁿ
 Amoy, ii. 231ⁿ, 232ⁿ; harbour, ii. 240ⁿ, 241ⁿ; languages, 244ⁿ
Amphora, *Anfóra*, ii. 417ⁿ
 Amu, Aniu, *see* Anin
Amuki, devoted comrades of the king, ii. 347ⁿ
Anamis (Minao) River, i. 114ⁿ
 Ananda, Kúblái's grandson, ii. 29ⁿ, 31ⁿ
 Anár, i. 90ⁿ
 Anaurahta, king of Burma, ii. 99ⁿ, 329ⁿ
 Ancestor Worship, ii. 85, 96ⁿ
 Anchors, Wooden, ii. 386, 388ⁿ
Andaine, *andena*, *andanicum*, *see* Ondanique
 Andaman (Angamanain) islands, ii. 306; described, 307ⁿ, 309-312ⁿ; people, 308ⁿ, 309, 311ⁿ; form of the word, 310ⁿ
Andan, *andun*, Wotiak for steel, i. 94ⁿ
 Andragiri, ii. 301ⁿ
 Andreas, king of Abyssinia, ii. 435ⁿ, 436ⁿ
 Andrew, Bishop of Zayton, ii. 237ⁿ
 — Grand Duke of Rostof and Susdal, i. 7ⁿ
Andromeda ovalifolia, poisonous, i. 218ⁿ
 Angamanain, *see* Andaman
 Angan, or Hamjám, i. 115ⁿ
'Angka, gryphon, *see* Ruc
 Angkor, ruins of, 13
 Ani in Armenia, i., 234ⁿ
 Animal Patterns, *see* Patterns
 Anin, province, ii. 119, 120ⁿ, 121ⁿ, 123, 128ⁿ, 129ⁿ, 266ⁿ
 Annals of the Indo-Chinese States, ii. 106ⁿ
 'An-nam, or Tong-king, ii. 120ⁿ
 Anselmo, Friar, i. 131ⁿ
Anthropoides Virgo, the demoiselle, i. 297ⁿ
 Antioch, i. 24ⁿ
 Antongil Bay, Madagascar, ii. 414ⁿ
 Aotonomoff, Spasski, his ascent of Ararat, i. 49ⁿ
Apostuille, word used for Pope, i. 12ⁿ
 Apples of Paradise (Konars), i. 97, 99ⁿ, ii. 365
 Apricots, ii. 210ⁿ
'Apukota (Kapukada?), ii. 380ⁿ
 Apushka (Apuska), Tartar envoy from Persia, i. 32, 33ⁿ
 Arababni, ii. 436ⁿ
 Arab geography, 132
 — colonies in Madagascar, ii. 414ⁿ
 — horses, early literary recognition of, ii. 349ⁿ; trade in, *see* Horses
 — merchants, in Southern India, ii. 376
 — Seamen's Traditions about Java, ii. 274ⁿ
 Arabi (Arabs), i. 60
 Arabia, ii. 438-451
 Arabic character, i. 29ⁿ
Arachostá, *arachoti*, ii. 329ⁿ, 402ⁿ
Araines, ii. 461, 462ⁿ
 Arakan, ii. 100ⁿ, 286ⁿ, 290ⁿ, 298ⁿ
 Aram (Harám), Place of the, i. 139, 141ⁿ
 Ararat, Mount, i. 46; ascents of, 49ⁿ
 Arblasts, crossbows, ii. 78, 82ⁿ, 161ⁿ
 Arbre Sol, or Arbre Sec, Region of the (Khorasan), 113, i. 38ⁿ, 83, 127, 128ⁿ-139ⁿ, ii. 466, 474, 475; tree described — *Chlnár* or Oriental plane, i. 127, 128ⁿ-138ⁿ; various readings, 129ⁿ; *Arbre seul*, a wrong reading, i. 129ⁿ, 138ⁿ; Tree of the Sun legend, 129ⁿ-131ⁿ; Christian legend of the Dry Tree, 131ⁿ; engrafted on legends of Alexander, 132ⁿ; Trees of Grace in Persia, 134ⁿ; Dry Trees in Mahomedan legend, 135ⁿ; in Rabbinical and Buddhist stories, and legends of the Wood of the Cross, 135ⁿ-136ⁿ; Polo's *Arbre Sec* to be sought near Damghan, 138ⁿ; Sabaean apologue, 138ⁿ; clue to the term *Arbre Sec*, 148ⁿ
 Arcali, Arculin, *see* Erculin
 Architectural remains in Indo-China, 13
 Ardeshfr Bábekán, first Sassanian king, i. 91ⁿ
 Ardeshfr, last sovereign of Shabánkára, i. 86ⁿ
 Areca, ii. 309ⁿ, 374ⁿ
Areng Saccharifera, ii. 297ⁿ
 Arezzo, i. 21ⁿ
 Argæus, Mount, i. 44ⁿ
 Argali, ii. 483ⁿ
 Arghún, Khan of Persia (Polo's Argon, Lord of the Levant), 23-24, i. 14ⁿ, ii. 50, 466-467; sends an embassy to Kúblái for a wife, i. 32, 33ⁿ; is dead when she arrives, 35, 36ⁿ, 38ⁿ, 101ⁿ; his unhappy use of the elixir vitae, ii. 369ⁿ; advances against his uncle Ahmad, 467; harangues his chiefs, 468; sends Ahmad a remonstrance, 469; is taken prisoner, 470; released by certain chiefs, 471; obtains sovereignty, 472; his death, 474; his beauty, 478ⁿ
 Argons (Arghún), half-breeds, i. 101ⁿ, 284, 290ⁿ
 Arii, Ariana, ii. 402ⁿ
 Arikbuga, Kúblái's brother, i. 334ⁿ
 Arimaspa, ii. 419ⁿ
 Arimaspan gold, ii. 419ⁿ
 Ariora - Keshimur, i. 86ⁿ, 98, 104ⁿ; meaning of *Ariora*, 104ⁿ
 Ariosto, i. 17ⁿ
 Aripo, ii. 335ⁿ, 337ⁿ
 Aristotle, 130, i. 87ⁿ, 130ⁿ, ii. 409ⁿ
 Arjish (Arjizi), i. 45, 49ⁿ

- Arkasun Noian, ii. 474ⁿ
Arkhaiun, applied to Oriental Christians or their Clergy, i. 290ⁿ
 Armenia, Greater, i. 45, 98
 Armenia (Hermenia), Lesser or Cilician, 10, i. 16, 20, 22, 23ⁿ, 41
 Armenian Christians, i. 290ⁿ
 Armenians, i. 43, 45, 75
 Armillary Zodiacal Sphere, i. 450ⁿ
 Armour of boiled leather, *see* Cuirbouly
 Arms of Kerman, i. 90, 96ⁿ; of the Tartars, i. 260, 263ⁿ, ii. 460
 Arredon River, i. 54ⁿ
 Arrow Divination, i. 243ⁿ
 Arrows, Tartar, ii. 460
 Artacki, i. 281ⁿ
 Arts, the Seven, i. 13, 14ⁿ
 Aru, Cumahā, ii. 303ⁿ
 Arucki, i. 281ⁿ
 Aruk, ii. 474ⁿ
 Arulun Tsaghan Balghasun (Chagan-Nor), i. 297ⁿ, 306ⁿ
 Arya Chakravarti, ii. 316ⁿ
 Aryavartta, the Holy Lands of Indian Buddhism, i. 104ⁿ
 Arzinga (Erzangan), i. 45, 46ⁿ
 Arziron (Erzrum), i. 45, 48ⁿ
 Arzizi (Arjsh), i. 45, 49ⁿ
 Asbestos, and the Salamander, i. 212, 216ⁿ-217ⁿ
 Asceticism of the Sensin, i. 303; of the Jogis, ii. 365
 Asedin Soldan (Ghaiassuddin Balban, Sultan of Delhi), i. 99, 104ⁿ, 105ⁿ
 Ashar (Asciar), king of Cail, ii. 370, 373ⁿ
 Ashishin, *see* Assassins
 Ashod, founder of the Bagratid dynasty, i. 53ⁿ
 Ashurada, i. 59ⁿ
 Asikan, Mongol general, ii. 260ⁿ
 Asoka, ii. 328
Asper, or *akché*, about a goat, ii. 22, 23ⁿ
 Assai River, i. 54ⁿ
 Assassins (Ashishin, Hashishin), Ismailites, i. 84ⁿ, 140; how the Old Man trained them, 142; murders by, 144ⁿ; their destruction, 145; survival and recent circumstances of the sect, 146ⁿ
 Asses, in Persia, i. 83, 87ⁿ, 88, 89ⁿ, 123, 225ⁿ; in Mongolia, 224, 225ⁿ, 397; in Madagascar, ii. 413, 421ⁿ; in Abyssinia, 431; in Far North, 479, 481ⁿ
 Asterius, Bishop of Amasia in Pontus, i. 66ⁿ
 Astrakhan (Gittarchan), i. 5ⁿ, 6ⁿ
 Astrolabe, i. 446
 Astrology, -ers, in Tangut, i. 205; of Chinghiz, 241; at Kúblái's Court, 301, 391; at Cambaluc, 446; of Tibet, ii. 49; at Kinsay, 191, 203; in Maabar, 344; in Coilum, 376
 Astronomical instruments, ancient Chinese, i. 378ⁿ, 449ⁿ-454ⁿ
 Atabegs, of Mosul, i. 61ⁿ; of Lúr, 85ⁿ; of Fars, 85ⁿ, 121ⁿ; of Yezd, 88; of Kerman, 91ⁿ
 Atjeh, *see* Achin
 Atkinson's Narratives, and their credibility, i. 214ⁿ, 215ⁿ
 Atlas, Chinese, in Magliabecchian Library, ii. 193ⁿ
 'Attaçás (Black Partridge), i. 99
 Attalus, King, i. 66ⁿ
 At-Thaibi family, i. 121ⁿ
 Auberoche, Siege of, ii. 163ⁿ, 165ⁿ
 Audh (Oudh), ii. 427ⁿ
 Aufat, Ifat, ii. 435ⁿ
 Augury, *see* Omens
 Lung Khan (Unc Can), *see* Prester John
 Aurangzib, i. 168ⁿ
 Aurora, Ibn Fozlán's account of, i. 8ⁿ
 Aussa, ii. 435ⁿ
 'Avah, Abah, Ava, one of the cities of the Magi, i. 80, 81ⁿ
 Avarian, epithet of S. Thomas, ii. 353, 355ⁿ-356ⁿ
 Avebury, Lord, on *cowade*, ii. 93ⁿ
 Avicenna's classification of Iron, i. 94ⁿ
Avigi, 'afçi (*falco montanus*), i. 50, 57ⁿ
 Axum, Inscription, ii. 432ⁿ; Church of, 433ⁿ; Court of, 434ⁿ
 Ayas (Layas, Aiazzo, etc.), port of Cilician Armenia, 19, i. 16, 17ⁿ, 20, 22, 41; Sea fight at, 43, 46, 54
 Ayuthia, 13, ii. 278ⁿ, 279ⁿ
Azumiti, ii. 432ⁿ
 Azure, Ultramarine (*lapis armenus*) Mines in Badakhshan, i. 157, 162ⁿ; in Tenduc, 284; ore, 365, 370ⁿ
- BABA Buzurg, worshipped by the Lurs, i. 85ⁿ
 Baber, E. C., on Ch'êng-tú, ii. 38ⁿ; on wild oxen of Tibet, 52ⁿ; Lolos, 61ⁿ-63ⁿ; Gold River (Brius), 67ⁿ; the word Caidu, 70ⁿ; Talifu, 80ⁿ; Mekong River, 88ⁿ; Zardandan, 89ⁿ; site of battle between Kúblái and king of Mien, 105ⁿ; descent of Mien, 108ⁿ
 Baboons, etymology, ii. 385ⁿ, 431
 Báb-ul-abwáh, "The Gate of Gates," Pass of Derbend, i. 53ⁿ
 Babylon, Babylonia (Cairo or Egypt), i. 22, 24ⁿ, ii. 226, 230ⁿ; Sultan of, i. 22, ii. 439, 473
 Babylonish garments, i. 66ⁿ
Baccadeo, indigo, ii. 382ⁿ
 Baccanor, ii. 386ⁿ
 Bacon, Roger, i. 94ⁿ, 426ⁿ; as geographer, 114, 131
 Bacsí, *see* Bakhshi
 Bactria, its relation to Greece, i. 160ⁿ

Bacu, Sea of (Caspian), i. 59n
 Badakhshan (Badashan), i. 98, 104n, 154, 157; its population, 155n, 160n; capitals of, 156n; Mirs of, 156n, 160n; legend of Alexandrian pedigree of its kings, 157, 160n; depopulation of, 156n, 163n; scenery, 158n; dialects, 160n; forms of the name, 161n; great river of (Upper Oxus), 170
 Badáún, ii. 427n
 Badger, Rev. Dr. G. P., i. 65n, ii. 444n
 Badghís, i. 150n, ii. 467
Badgir, Wind-catchers, ii. 452, 453n
 Badruddín Lú-lú, last Atabeg of Mosul, i. 61n
Báfk (Báft), i. 89n, 111n, 122n
 Baghdad (Baudas), Baldac, taken by Alaú, Hulákú, i. 63; its Khalif, 63, 64; the miracle of the mountain, 69
 — Archbishop of, ii. 407
 — its indigo (*baccadeo*), ii. 382n
 Bagratidae, of Armenia, i. 42n; of Georgia, 52n
 Bagration-Mukransky, Prince, i. 53n
 Bahar, ii. 427n
 Bahárák, plain, i. 156n
 Bahá-úddin Ayaz, Wazir of Kalhát, i. 120n
 Bahá-ul-hakh, the Saint of Multán, ii. 82n
 Bahrámábád, i. 90n, 122n
 Bahránjird Village, i. 113n
 Bahrein, ii. 348n
 Baiberdon, i. 49n
 Baiburt (Paipurth), Castle of, i. 48n, 49n
 Baidu Khan, i. 142n, ii. 475n; seizes throne of Persia, 476; displaced and killed by Gházán, 476; alleged to be a Christian, 476, 477n
 Bailo, the title, i. 417; etymology of, 421n
 Bakhshi (Bacsi), Lamas, i. 414, 445; their enchantments, 301, 302, 314n-318n; various meanings of the word, 314n
 Bakhtyáris of Luristán, the, i. 87n
 Baku, oil fields of, i. 46, 49n; Sea of (Caspian), i. 59n
Balad-ul-Falfal (Malabar), ii. 377n
Baladí, ii. 381n
Balalaika, a two-stringed Tartar instrument, i. 339n
Balánjariyah, devoted lieges, ii. 347n
 Bala-Sagun, i. 232n
 Balas rubies, i. 157, 161n, ii. 362n
 Baldac, *see* Baghdad
Baldachini (*Baudekins*), brocades made at Baghdad, i. 63, 65n
 Baldwin II. (de Courtenay), last Latin Emperor of Constantinople, i. 2, 3n
 Bali, Island of, ii. 287n
 — in Abyssinia, ii. 436n
Balios, i. 421n
Balish (a money of account), ii. 218n

Balista, always a crossbow in mediæval times, ii. 161n
 Balkh (Balc), i. 151
 Balkhash Lake, ii. 459n
 Ballads, Genoese, on sea-fights at Ayas and Curzola, 43 *seqq.*
 Ballard, Mr., ii. 382n, 387n
 Balor, Balaur, Bilaur, Malaur, Bolor, i. 172, 178n-179n
Bdlos, Malacca boats with two rudders, i. 119n
Balsamodendron Mukul, ii. 397n
 Balthazar, of the Magi, i. 78, 82n
 Bálti, i. 160n, 178n
Balustrate, etymology of the word, 38
 Bamboo (always called canes by Polo) its multifarious uses, i. 299, 307n; Kúblái's Chandu Palace made of, 299, 306n; great, on banks of Caramoran river, ii. 220; explode loudly when burning, 42, 43, 46n; large in Tibet, 48n; ropes of, 171, 174n; in Che kiang, 221n
 Bamian, caves at, i. 156n; huge recumbent image at, 221n
Bám-i-Duniah, "Roof of the World," i. 171, 174n
 Bamm, i. 113n
 Bandar Abbás (Bandar-Abbási), i. 86n, 89n, 106n, 122n
 Bandith, i. 98, 100n, 151
 Bangala, *see* Bengal
 Banzaroff, Dorji, on Shamanism, i. 258n
 Baptism, accompanied by branding, in Abyssinia, ii. 427, 432n
 Bara, ii. 305n
 Barac (Borrak), Khan of Chagatai, i. 9, 10n, 103n; his war with Arghán, ii. 458n, 467
 Baradaeus, Jacob, or James Zanzale, Bishop of Edessa, i. 61n
 Barbaro, Josafat, i. 49n, 53n, 100n, 426n, 427n
 Barbarossa, Frederic, 36, i. 82n
 Barberino, Francesco da, 36, 118, i. 117n
Bard'at, saddle-cloths, i. 61n
 Bardesir, i. 112n
 Bardshír, Bardsír, Bard-i-Ardeshír, i. 92n
 Bargu (Barguchin Tugrum, or Barguti), plain, i. 269, 270n
Barguerlac, *Syrhaptés Pallasii*, a kind of sand grouse, i. 269, 272n; its migration into England, 273n
 Barguzinsk, i. 270n
 Barin, Mongol tribe, ii. 148n
 Bark, money made from, 108, i. 423; fine clothes from, ii. 124, 127n
 Barka (Barca), Khan, ruler of Kipchak, i. 4, 5n, 103n, ii. 491; his war with Hulákú, i. 4, ii. 494 *seqq.*
 Barkul, i. 345n

- Barkút, búrgút* (*bearcoote*), eagle trained to the chase, i. 397, 399ⁿ
- Barlaam and Josaphat, *Story of Saints*, from *Legend of Buddha*, ii. 323ⁿ *seqq.*
- Barley, huskless, i. 158, 162ⁿ
- Baroch, ii. 367ⁿ
- Baron-tala*, name applied by Mongols to Tibet, i. 214ⁿ
- Barons (Shieng or Sing), Kaan's twelve, 430
- Barozzi, Nicolo, 30, 70
- Barros, John de, i. 110ⁿ, 120ⁿ; geography of, 3
- Barsauma (St. Barsamo), i. 77
- Barskul (Barscol), "Leopard Lake," i. 343, 345ⁿ
- Bartizan, Kúblái's wooden, i. 337, 339ⁿ
- Barus, Barros (Sumatra), its camphor, ii. 302ⁿ-303ⁿ, 304ⁿ
- Barussae insulæ*, ii. 310ⁿ
- Barygasa*, ii. 397ⁿ, 408ⁿ
- Bashai (Pashai), i. 165ⁿ
- Bashkirds, (Hungarians), i. 57ⁿ; ii. 492ⁿ
- Bashpah, Lama, and the Mongol character called after him, i. 28ⁿ, 353ⁿ, ii. 46ⁿ
- Basma, *see* Pasei
- Basmuls* (Guasmuls), half-breeds, i. 284, 292ⁿ
- Basra (Bastra), noted for its date-groves, i. 63, 65ⁿ
- Bathang, ii. 45ⁿ, 48ⁿ, 56ⁿ, 67ⁿ, 70ⁿ
- Baths, natural hot, near Hormuz, i. 110-122ⁿ; in Cathay, 442; public at Kinsay, ii. 189, 198ⁿ
- Batigala, Batticalla, ii. 426ⁿ, 443ⁿ
- Batochina, ii. 302ⁿ
- Bats, large, in India, ii. 345
- Battas of Sumatra, and cannibalism, ii. 288ⁿ, 298ⁿ
- Batthala, Bettelar (Patlam in Ceylon), ii. 337ⁿ
- Battles, Kúblái *v.* Nayan, i. 336; Tartars *v.* king of Mien, ii. 101; Caidu *v.* Khan's forces, 461; Borrak and Arghún, 467; Arghún and Ahmad, 470ⁿ; Hulákú and Barka, 496; Toktai and Nogai, 499
- Bátú, Khan of Kipchak, founder of Sarai, 11, i. 5ⁿ, 6ⁿ, 245, 247ⁿ; invades Russia, 490, 493ⁿ; made by Polo into two kings—Sain and Patu, 491, 492ⁿ; his character and cruelty, 492ⁿ
- Baudas, *see* Baghdad
- Baudekins* (baldacchini), brocades made at Baghdad, i. 63, 65ⁿ
- Bauduin de Sebourc*, 121 *seqq.*, ii. 141, 144, 189, 216
- Bavaria, Duke Ernest of, a mediæval Romance, ii. 418ⁿ
- Bawárij, corsairs, ii. 410ⁿ
- Bayan Chingsian, Kúblái's greatest Captain, i. 10ⁿ, 334ⁿ, 361ⁿ, ii. 138ⁿ, 208ⁿ, 462ⁿ; prophecy connected with his name, 145, 150ⁿ; his conquest of Manzi or South China, 146; his history and character, 148ⁿ, 149ⁿ; his exceptional cruelty at Chang-chau, 179, 180ⁿ
- Bayan, Khagan of the Avars, ii. 148ⁿ
- Bayan (Baian), Kúblái's Master of the Hounds, i. 400, 401ⁿ
- Bayan, son of Nasruddin, ii. 104ⁿ
- Bayezid Ilderim, i. 45ⁿ
- Bdellium, ii. 397ⁿ
- Beads, Hindu, ii. 338, 347ⁿ
- Bears, i. 396, 397, 401, ii. 31, 37, 42, 78, 382, 411, 431; white in Far North, 479, 481ⁿ
- Beast and bird patterns, *see* Patterns
- Beaten gold, i. 387, 388ⁿ
- Beaujeu, William de, Master of the Temple, i. 25ⁿ
- Beauty of—Georgians, i. 50, 53ⁿ; Khorasan women, 128; Kashmir women, 166; Sinju women, 276; *Argons*, or half-breeds, 284; the Ungrat or Kungurat tribe, 357; people of Coloman, ii. 122; Kinsay women, 186; Kaidu's daughter, 463; Arghún Khan, 478; the Russians, 487
- Beds, their arrangement in India, ii. 346, 352ⁿ
- Beef, not eaten in Maabar, except by the Govi, ii. 341, 350ⁿ; formerly eaten in India, 350ⁿ
- Bejas of the Red Sea Coast, ii. 425, 432ⁿ, 434ⁿ
- Belgutai, Chinghiz's stepbrother, i. 334ⁿ
- "Belic" for "Melic," ii. 470ⁿ
- Bell at Cambaluc, great, i. 375, 378ⁿ, 414
- Bellal Rajas, ii. 367ⁿ
- Belledi, balladi*, ginger so called, ii. 381ⁿ; Spanish use of the word, *ib.*
- Benares, brocades of, i. 66ⁿ
- Bendocquedar, *see* Bundúkdári, Bfbars
- Benedict XII., Pope, ii. 179ⁿ
- Bengal (Bangala), 12, king of Mien (Burma) and, ii. 98; why Polo couples these, 99ⁿ; relations between Burma and, 99ⁿ, 114; claim asserted by king of Burma to, 100ⁿ; alleged Mongol invasion of, 115ⁿ; its distance from Caugigu, 120; its currency, 123; confused with Pegu by Polo, 128ⁿ, 131ⁿ
- Beni Búya dynasty, i. 91ⁿ
- Benjamin of Tudela, on Alexander's Rampart, i. 54ⁿ; on the Gryphon, ii. 418ⁿ
- Benzoin, etymology of, ii. 286ⁿ, 396ⁿ
- Berard, Thos., Master of the Temple, i. 23, 24ⁿ
- Berbera, Sea of, ii. 415ⁿ
- Berchet, G., 27, ii. 507ⁿ

- Bereké, Bátu Khan's brother, i. 5ⁿ
 Bernier, on Kashmir women's beauty, i. 169ⁿ
Berrie, the Arabic Bārīya, a desert, i. 237ⁿ
 Bettelar, rendezvous of Pearl Fishers, ii. 331, 337ⁿ
Beyamini, wild oxen of Tibet, ii. 50, 52ⁿ
 Bezant, i. 405, 424, 425, 426ⁿ, 427ⁿ, 444, ii. 41ⁿ, 186, 218ⁿ, 346ⁿ, 349ⁿ, 479; value of, 592ⁿ
Bhagavata, ii. 346ⁿ
 Bhamó, and River of, ii. 70ⁿ, 105ⁿ, 107ⁿ, 108ⁿ, 113ⁿ
 Bhartpúr, prophecy about, ii. 149ⁿ
 Bhattis, the, i. 104ⁿ
 Bháwalpúr, i. 104ⁿ
 "Bhim's Baby," colossal idol at Dhamnár caves, i. 221ⁿ
 Bianco's, *Andræa*, maps, i. 133ⁿ
 Biar, ii. 305ⁿ
 Bibars Bundúkdári, *see* Bundúkdári
 Bielo Osero, ii. 486ⁿ
Bigoncio, a firkin, i. 384ⁿ
 Bilúchis, i. 101ⁿ; their robber raids, 106ⁿ; Lumri or Numri, 114ⁿ
 Binh Thuan (Champa), ii. 268ⁿ
 Binkin, ii. 230ⁿ
 Bintang (Pentam), ii. 280, 284
 Birch-bark vessels, i. 309ⁿ; books, ii. 124, 127ⁿ
 Bír-dhúl, or Bujardawal, cap. of Ma'bar, ii. 335ⁿ
 Bird-hunts, i. 269, 272ⁿ
 Birdwood, Sir G., ii. 396ⁿ, 446ⁿ, 449ⁿ
 Birhòrs of Chuta Nagpúr, ii. 298ⁿ
 Bir-Pandi, or Pira-Bandi, ii. 333ⁿ, 334ⁿ
 Birthday, celebration of Kúblái's, i. 387
 Bishbalik (Urumtsi), i. 214ⁿ, 440ⁿ
 Bishop, of Male Island, ii. 404; story of an Abyssinian, 428
 Bitter bread, i. 110, 122ⁿ,
 — water, i. 110, 122ⁿ, 194
 Blac, Blachia (Lac, Wallach), ii. 489ⁿ
Black-bone, Chinese name for Lolos, ii. 63ⁿ
 Black Crane (Kará Togorü), i. 296, 297ⁿ
 — Saints, White Devils in India, ii. 355, 359ⁿ
 — Sea, *M. Maurum v. Nigrum*, i. 2, 3ⁿ, 57ⁿ
 — Sect of Tibet, i. 324ⁿ
 Blacker, the more beautiful, ii. 355
 Blaeuw, map, i. 102ⁿ
 Blochmann, Professor H., i. 114ⁿ, ii. 116ⁿ
 Block-books, supposed to have been introduced from China, 139
 Block-printing in Persia, i. 429ⁿ
 Blood-sucking, Tartar, i. 261, 264ⁿ
Blous, bloies, i. 327ⁿ
 Boar's tusks, huge (Hipp.), ii. 413
Bocassini, i. 62ⁿ
 Bode, Baron de, i. 85ⁿ
 Bodhisatva Avalok., ii. 265ⁿ
 Bodleian MS. of Polo, 18, 92, 94; list of miniatures in, ii. 528ⁿ
 Boeac, mistake for Locac, and its supposed position, ii. 280ⁿ
 Boemond, Prince of Antioch and Tripoli, letter of Bibar to, i. 24ⁿ
 Boga (Bukā), a great Mongol officer, delivers Arghún, ii. 471, 472, 474ⁿ
 Boghra Khan, i. 188ⁿ
 Bohea country, ii. 222ⁿ, 224ⁿ
 Bohra, sect of W. India, i. 148ⁿ
 Boikoff, Russian Envoy, i. 218ⁿ
 Bokhara (Bocara), i. 9, 10
 Boleyn, Anne, her use of buckram, i. 47ⁿ
 Bolgana, Queen, *see* Bulughán
 Bolgarskoze (called also Uspenskoze), i. 7ⁿ
Bolghar, borgal, borghal, Russia leather, i. 6ⁿ, 394, 395ⁿ
 Bolghar (Bolgara), on the Volga, i. 4, 6ⁿ, ii. 481ⁿ, 486ⁿ, 493ⁿ; ruins of, i. 7ⁿ; court of, 384ⁿ
 Bolivar, Padre, S. J., his account of the Condor (*Rukh*) of Africa, ii. 420ⁿ, 597ⁿ
 Bolor, i. 172, 178ⁿ, 179ⁿ
 Bombay, ii. 396ⁿ, 449ⁿ
 Bonaparte, Prince Roland, *Recueil des Documents de l'Époque Mongole*, i. 14ⁿ, 28ⁿ
 Bonga, ii. 96ⁿ
 Bonheur, Rosa, i. 277ⁿ
 Boniface VIII., Pope, 44, 52, 54, i. 23ⁿ
 Bonin, C. E., i. 203ⁿ, 249ⁿ, 276ⁿ, 282ⁿ, 286ⁿ
 Bonoccio di Mestro, 67
 Bonpos, old Tibetan Sect, i. 314ⁿ, 321ⁿ, 323ⁿ
 Bonús, ebony, ii. 268, 272ⁿ
 Bonvalot, i. 200ⁿ
 Book of Marco Polo, its contents, 80; original language, French, 81; oldest Italian MS., 82; "Geographic Text," in rude French, 83 *seqq.*; various types of Text—(1) "Geographic," 90; (2) Pauthier's MSS., 92; (3) Pipino's Latin, 95; Preface to, ii. 525ⁿ; Grynaeus' Latin, 95; Müllers' reprint, 96; (4) Ramusio's Italian edition, its peculiarities, 96-101; probable truth about it, 99; bases of it, 100; MS. and some of its peculiarities, 101; general view of the relations of the texts, 101; notice of an old Irish version, 102; geographical data, 109; how far influenced in form by Rustician, 112; perhaps in description of battles, 113; diffusion and number of MSS., 116; basis of present version, 141 *seqq.*; specimens of different recensions of text, ii. 522ⁿ-524ⁿ; distribution of MSS. 526ⁿ; miniatures in, 527ⁿ, 529ⁿ; list of MSS., 532ⁿ.

- Book of Marco Polo (*continued*)—
 552*n*; Tabular view of the filiation of chief MSS., 552; Bibliography, 553*n*—582*n*; titles of works cited, 582*n*—590*n*; Spanish edition, 598*n*
- Bore in Hang-chau Estuary, ii. 208*n*
- Borgal*, see *Bolghar*
- Bormans, Stanislas, ii. 602*n*, 603*n*
- Born, Bertram de, 44
- Borneo, camphor, see Camphor
 —tailed men of, ii. 302*n*
- Boro Bodor, Buddhist Monument, Java, 13, ii. 275*n*
- Borak, Amir, Prince of Kerman (Kutluğh Sultan?), i. 91*n*
 —Khan of Chaghatai, see Barac
- Borùs, the, ii. 310*n*
- Bostam, i. 138*n*
- Boswellia thurifera*, ii. 396*n*, 446*n*, 448*n*; *serrata*, 446*n*; *Carterii*, 448*n*; *Bhaudajiana*, 448*n*; *papyrifera*, 448*n*; *Frereana*, 448*n*; *glabra*, 396*n*
- Bouqueran, see Buckram
- Bourne, F. S. A., ii. 60*n*, 131*n*
- Boxwood forests in Georgia, i. 50, 57*n*
- Bozzl*, i. 212*n*
- Bra, the word, 45
- Bracelets, in Anin, ii. 119
- Bragadino, Marco, husband of Marco Polo's daughter, Fantina, 76
 —Pietro, 76
- Brahmanical thread, ii. 363
- Brahmans (Abraimau), fish-charmers to the pearl fishery, ii. 332, 337*n*; their character and virtues, 363, 367*n*; their king, 364; their omens, 364, 368*n*, 369*n*; longevity, 365; *Chughî*, 365; Palladian legend of, 405*n*
- Brahma's temple, Hang-chau, ii. 212*n*, 213*n*
- Brahuis, i. 101*n*
- Brakhimof, early capital of Bulgaria, i. 7*n*
- Brambanan, ruins at, 13
- Bran (Tibetan *tsamba*), parched barley, i. 303, 321*n*
- Brazil wood, in Locac, ii. 276, 279*n*; in Sumatra, 299; manner of growth, *ib.*, 309*n*; in Ceylon, 313, 315*n*; in Coilum (*Coilumin*), 375, 380*n*; different kinds, *ib.*; vicissitudes of the word, 380*n*; its use prohibited by Painters' Guild, 382*n*
- Bread, bitter, i. 110, 122*n*
- Brephung monastery, i. 319*n*
- Bretesche*, i. 339*n*
- Bretschneider, Dr. Emil (*Medical Researches*), ruins of Bolghar, i. 7*n*; the Uighur character, 28*n*; Caucasian Wall, 54*n*; use of muslin in Samarkand, 62*n*; on *nakh* and *nachetti*, 65*n*; Hùlakù's expedition to West Asia, 66*n*, 85*n*, 146*n*, 148*n*; an extract from the *Yüan Si*, 115*n*; Badakhshan, 161*n*; Kashgar, 183*n*; Shachau, 206*n*;
- Kamul, 211*n*; Chingintalas, 214*n*; the *Stipa inebrians*, 219*n*; the Utiken Uighurs, 227*n*; Erdeniso Monastery, 228*n*; Belasagun, 232*n*; death of Chinghiz, 248*n*; *tung lo* or *kumiz*, 259*n*; Kùblái's death, 334*n*; Peking, 366*n*, 368*n*, 370*n*, 372*n*, 376*n*—378*n*, ii. 5*n*, 6*n*, 8*n*; *verniques*, i. 384*n*; clepsydra, 385*n*; the Bularguchi, 408*n*; Achmath's biography, 421*n*; paper-money, 430*n*; post stations, 437*n*; Chinese intoxicating drinks, 441*n*; regulations for time of dearth, 444*n*; Lu-Ku-K'iao Bridge, ii. 8*n*; introduction of plants from Asia into China, 16*n*; *morus alba*, 25*n*; Tibet, 46*n*; bamboo explosions, 46*n*; the Si-fans, 60*n*; Cara-jang and Chagan-jang, 73*n*; Nasr-uddin, 104*n*; the Alans, 180*n*; rhubarb in Tangut, 183*n*; Polo's "large pears," 210*n*; on galangal, 229*n*; on sugar, 230*n*; on Zayton, 238*n*; on wood-oil, 252*n*; on ostrich, 437*n*; on Si-la-ni, 316*n*; on frankincense, 449*n*; on Magyars, 492*n*; on Mongol invasion of Poland and Silesia, 493*n*
- Brichu (Brius, the Upper Kiang), ii. 67*n*
- Bridges of Pulisanghin, ii. 3; Sindafu (Ch'engtù), 37; Suchau, 181; Kinsay, 185, 187, 194*n*, 201, 212; Kien-ning fu, 225, 228*n*; Fuchau, 233*n*, 234*n*; Zayton, or Chinchau, 241*n*
- Brine-wells, see Salt
- Brius River (Kin-sha Kiang, Gold River), ii. 36, 40*n*, 56, 67*n*
- Brown, G. G., ii. 35*n*
 —Sir Thomas, ii. 420*n*, 424*n*; on Polo, 115
- Bruce's Abyssinian Chronology, ii. 435*n* *seqq.*
- Brunetto Latini's Book, *Li Tresor*, 88, 117
- Brunhilda, ii. 466*n*
- Bruun, Professor Ph., of Odessa, i. 6*n*, 54*n*, 232*n*—235*n*
- Bucephala, of Alexander, i. 105*n*
- Bucephalus, breed of, i. 158, 162*n*
- Buckrams, of Arzinga, i. 45; described, 47*n*; etymology, 48*n*; at Mardin, 61, 62*n*; in Tibet, ii. 45; at Mutfil, 361, 363*n*; Malabar, 389, 395, 398, 431
- Buddha, see Sakyá Muni
- Buddhism, Buddhists, see Idolatry, Idolaters
- Buddhist Decalogue, i. 170*n*
- Buffaloes in Anin, ii. 119
- Buffet and vessels of Kùblái's table, i. 382, 384*n*
- Bugaei*, ii. 432*n*
- Buka (Boga), a great Mongol chief, ii. 471, 472, 474*n*
- Buka Bosha, 1st Mongolian Governor of Bokhara, i. 10*n*

- Búkú Khan, of the Hoi-Hu, or Uighúrs, i. 227ⁿ
- Bularguji (Bularguchi), "The Keeper of Lost Property," i. 403, 407ⁿ
- Bulgaria, Great, ii. 286ⁿ
- Bulughán (Bolgana), Queen, 23, i. 32, 33ⁿ, 38ⁿ, ii. 474ⁿ
- another, ii. 475ⁿ
- Bundúkdár, Amír Aláuddín Aidekín ("The Arblaster"), i. 24ⁿ
- Bundúkdári, Malik Dáhir Ruknuddín Bfbars (Bendocquedar), Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, i. 22, 23ⁿ-25ⁿ, 145ⁿ, ii. 424ⁿ, 433ⁿ, 436ⁿ, 494ⁿ; killed by kumiz, 259ⁿ
- Buraets, or Burgats, the, i. 258ⁿ, 283ⁿ
- Búrkán Káldún, i. 247ⁿ
- Burma (or Ava), King of, ii. 98, 99ⁿ. (See also Mien.)
- Burnell, Arthur, ii. 335ⁿ, 359ⁿ, 386ⁿ
- Burning the Dead, see Cremation
- heretical books, i. 321ⁿ
- paper-money, etc., at funerals, i. 204, 208ⁿ, 267, 268ⁿ, ii. 191
- Widows in South India, ii. 341, 349ⁿ
- Burrough, Christopher, i. 9ⁿ
- Burton, Captain R. F., ii. 597ⁿ
- Bushell, Dr. S. W., his visit to Shang-tu, i. 26ⁿ, 304ⁿ, 305ⁿ, 412ⁿ; on the Khitan Scripts, 28ⁿ; Tangut rulers, 205ⁿ; orders for post-horses, 353ⁿ
- Butchers, in Kashmir, i. 167; Tibet, 170ⁿ; S. India, ii. 342
- Butiflis (Mutfili), ii. 362ⁿ
- Butler, *Hudibras*, ii. 92ⁿ
- Buyid dynasty, i. 86ⁿ
- CA' POLO, CA' MILION, CORTE DEL MILLIONI, the house of the Polos at Venice, 4, 26 *seqq.*, 53, 70, 77
- Caaju, castle of, i. 244
- Cabs, Peking, ii. 211ⁿ
- Cacanfu (Hokiang-fu), ii. 127, 132
- Cachanfu (P'uchau-fu, Ho-chung-fu), ii. 22, 25ⁿ
- Cachar Modun, i. 404, 408ⁿ
- Cachilpatnam, ii. 387ⁿ
- Cadmia*, i. 126ⁿ
- Caesalpinia, ii. 380ⁿ; and see Brazil
- Caesarea of Cappadocia (Casaria, Kaisaríya), i. 43, 44ⁿ
- Caichu, castle of (Kiai-chau, or Hiai-chau?), ii. 17, 19ⁿ, 26ⁿ
- Caidu, see Kaidu
- Caiju, on the Hwang-Ho, ii. 142
- on the Kiang, Kwachau, ii. 171, 174
- Cail (Káyal), ii. 370, 372ⁿ, 273ⁿ; a great port of Commerce, 370, 373ⁿ; the king, *ib.*; identified, 372; meaning of name, *ib.*; remains of, *ib.*
- Caindu (K'ien-ch'ang), a region of Eastern Tibet, ii. 53, 70ⁿ
- Caingan (Ciangan, Kiahing), ii. 184ⁿ, 185ⁿ
- Cairo, ii. 439ⁿ; museum at, 424ⁿ; ventilators at, 452ⁿ. (See Babylon.)
- Caïton, see Zayton
- Cala Ataperistan (Kala' Atishparastán), "Castle of the Fire Worshipers," i. 78
- Calachan (Kalaján), i. 281, 282ⁿ
- Calaiate, Calatu, see Kalhat
- Calamanz, the word, ii. 272ⁿ
- Calamina, city, ii. 357ⁿ
- Caldwell, Rev. Dr. R., on devil-dancing among the Shanars, ii. 97ⁿ; on name of Ceylon, 314ⁿ; on Shahr-Mandi and Sundara Pandi, 333ⁿ; on the Tower at Negapatam, 336ⁿ; etymology of Chilaw, 337ⁿ; on Pacauta, 346ⁿ; Govis, 349ⁿ; singular custom of arrest, 350ⁿ-351ⁿ; rainy season, 351ⁿ; food of horses, *ib.*; Shanar devil-images, 359ⁿ; *choiach*, 368ⁿ; Cail, or Kayál city, 372ⁿ, 373ⁿ; *Kolkhot*, 373ⁿ; King Ashar of Cail, *ib.*; *Kollam*, 377ⁿ; *Pinati*, 380ⁿ; etymology of Sapong, *ib.*; Cape Comorin, 383ⁿ
- Calendar, Ecclesiastical Buddhist, i. 220, 222ⁿ; the Tartar, 447, 448ⁿ; of Brahmans, ii. 368ⁿ-369ⁿ; of Documents relating to Marco Polo and his family, 505ⁿ *seqq.*
- Calicut, ii. 380ⁿ, 381ⁿ, 388ⁿ, 391ⁿ, 440ⁿ; King of, and his costume, 346ⁿ
- Calif, see Khalif
- Caligine, Calizene (Khálíj, a canal from Nile), ii. 439ⁿ
- Camadi (City of Dakiánús) ruined, i. 97, 113ⁿ
- Cambaluc (Khanbaligh, or Peking), capital of Cathay, 12, i. 38ⁿ, ii. 3, 132, 213ⁿ, 320; Kúblái's return thither after defeating Nayan, i. 348; the palace, 362; the city, 374; its size, walls, gates, and streets, the Bell Tower, etc., 375ⁿ-378ⁿ; period of khan's stay there, 411; its suburbs and hostleries, 412; cemeteries, women, patrols, 414; its traffic, 415; the Emperor's Mint, 423; palace of the Twelve Barons, 431; roads radiating from, 433; astrologers of, 446
- Cambay (Cambaet, Cambeth, Kumbáyat), kingdom of, ii. 394ⁿ, 397, 398ⁿ, 403ⁿ, 426ⁿ, 440ⁿ, 443ⁿ
- Cambuscan, of Chaucer, corruption of Chinghiz, i. 247ⁿ
- Camel-bird, see Ostrich
- Camels, mange treated with oil, i. 46; camlets from wool of, 281, 284; white, 281, 283ⁿ; incensing, 309ⁿ; alleged to be eaten in Madagascar, ii. 411; really eaten in Magadodox, 413ⁿ; ridden in war, 423, 425ⁿ
- Camexu, Kamichu, see Campichu

- Camlets (cammellotti), i. 281, 283*n*, 284
 Camoens, ii. 266*n*
 Camphor (*Laurus Camphora*) trees in
 Fo-kien, ii. 234, 237*n*
 — of Sumatra, ii. 287*n*; Fansuri,
 299, 302*n*; earliest mention of, 302*n*;
 superstitions regarding, 303*n*; descrip-
 tion of the tree, *Dryabalanops Cam-*
phora, 303*n*-304*n*; value attached by
 Chinese to, 304*n*; recent prices of, *ib.*;
 its use with betel, 371, 374*n*
 — oil, ii. 304*n*
 Campichu (Kanchau), city of, i. 219,
 220*n*
 Camul (Kamul), province, i. 209, 211*n*,
 214*n*
Camul, fine shagreen leather, i. 394,
 395*n*
 Canal, Grand, of China, ii. 132, 139,
 140, 141*n*, 143*n*, 152*n*, 154*n*, 209*n*,
 222*n*; construction of, 174, 175*n*
 Canale, Cristoforo, MS. by, 34, 37
 — Martino da, French Chronicle of
 Venice by, 88
 Cananor, kingdom, ii. 388*n*
 Cananore, ii. 386*n*, 387*n*
 Canara, ii. 390*n*, 397*n*
 Cancamum, ii. 397*n*
Canela brava, ii. 390*n*
 Canes, Polo's name for bamboos, *q.v.*
 Cannibalism, ii. 293, 294, 298*n*, 311*n*,
 312*n*; ascribed to Tibetans, Kash-
 miris, etc., i. 301, 312*n*, 313*n*;
 to Hill-people in Fo-kien, ii. 225,
 228*n*; to islanders in Seas of China
 and India, 264; in Sumatra, 284,
 288*n*; regulations of the Battas, 288*n*,
 ascribed to Andaman islanders, 309,
 311*n*
 Cannibals, *i.e.* Caribs, ii. 311*n*, 405*n*
 Canonical Hours, ii. 368-369*n*
 Cansay, *see* Kinsay
 Canton, 3, ii. 199*n*, 237*n*
 Cape Comorin, *see* Comari; Temple at,
 76
 — Corrientes (of Currents), ii. 415*n*,
 417*n*, 426*n*
 — Delgado, ii. 424*n*
 — of Good Hope, ii. 417*n*
Capidoglio (*Capdoille*), sperm-whale, ii.
 414*n*
 Cappadocian horses, i. 44*n*
 Capus, G., i. 129*n*, 162*n*
 Caracoron (Kará Korum), i. 66*n*, 226,
 227*n*, 269, ii. 460, 462*n*
 Carajan (Caraian, Karájang, or Yun-nan),
 province, 21, ii. 64, 66, 67*n*, 72*n*, 76,
 86
 Caramoran River (Hwang-Ho), ii. 142,
 143*n*, 144*n*, 151
 Carans, or Scarans, i. 100*n*
 Caraoanas (Karaunahs), a robber tribe,
 i. 98, 101*n*, 121*n*
- Carats, i. 359*n*
Carbine, etymology of, i. 101*n*
 Cardinal's Wit, i. 21*n*
 Caribs, *i.e.* cannibals, ii. 311*n*, 405*n*
 Carpets, of Turcomania (Turkey), i.
 43, 44*n*; Persian, 66*n*; Kerman,
 96*n*
 Carriages, at Kinsay, ii. 205, 206;
 Chinese, 211*n*
 Carrion, shot from engines, ii. 163*n*
Carta Catalana, Catalan Map of 1375,
 134, i. 57*n*, 59*n*, 82*n*, 161*n*, ii.
 221*n*, 243*n*, 286*n*, 362*n*, 386, 396*n*,
 494*n*
Carte, à la, ii. 486*n*
 Carts, Mongol, i. 254*n*
 Casan, *see* Gházán Khan
 Casaria (Caesarea of Cappadocia), i. 43,
 44*n*
 Cascar (Kashgar), i. 180, 182*n*;
Chaukans of, 193*n*
 Casem, *see* Kishm
 Caspian Sea (Sea of Ghel or Ghelan),
 ancient error about, 2, 120; its numerous
 names, i. 52, 58*n*, 59*n*, ii. 494*n*
 Cassay, *see* Kinsay
 Cassia, ii. 59*n*, 60*n*, 390*n*, 391*n*
 — buds, ii. 59*n*, 391*n*
 — fistula, ii. 398*n*
 Castaldi, Panfilo, his alleged invention
 of movable types, 139-140
 Castambol, i. 45*n*
 Castelli, P. Cristoforo di, i. 52*n*, 53*n*
 Casvin (Kazvin), a kingdom of Persia, i.
 83, 84*n*, 101*n*, 141*n*
 Catalan Navy, 38-39
 Cathay (Northern China), 3; origin of
 name, 11, 15, i. 60, 76*n*, 285, 414,
 418, 441, ii. 10, 127, 132, 135, 139,
 140, 192, 391*n*, 457; coal in, i. 442;
 idols, ii. 263; Cambaluc, the capital
 of, *see* Cambaluc
 Cathayans, v. Ahmad, i. 403 *et seqq.*;
 their wine, 441; astrologers, 446;
 religion, 456; politeness, filial duty,
 gaol deliveries, gambling, 457
 Catholics, ii. 407; Catholicos, of Sis, i.
 42*n*; of the Nestorians, 61*n*, 62*n*
 Cators (*chakors*), great partridges, i.
 296, 297*n*
 Cat's Head Tablet, i. 356*n*
 Cats in China, ii. 350*n*
 Caucasian Wall, i. 53*n*, 54*n*
 Caugigu, province, ii. 116, 120, 123,
 128*n*, 131*n*
 Caulking, of Chinese ships, ii. 250, 251*n*
 Cauly, Kauli (Corea), i. 343, 345*n*
 Causeway, south of the Yellow River, ii.
 153*n*
 Cauterising children's heads, ii. 432*n*
 Cave-houses, i. 154, 156*n*, ii. 150*n*
 Cavo de Eli, ii. 386*n*
 — de Diab, ii. 417*n*

- Cayu (Kao-yu), ii. 152
 Celtic Church, ii. 370ⁿ
 Census, of houses in Kinsay, ii. 192; tickets, *ib.*
 Ceremonial of Mongol Court, *see* Etiquette
 Ceylon (Seilan), ii. 312-314; circuit of, 310ⁿ; etymology of, 314ⁿ; customs of natives, 315; mountain of Adam's (*alias* Sagamoni Borcan's) Sepulchre, 316, 321ⁿ; history of Buddha, 317; origin of idolatry, 318 *seqq.*; subject to China, 392ⁿ
 Ceylon, King of, his pearl-ponds, ii. 337ⁿ
 Chachan (Charchan, Charchand), i. 192ⁿ, 194, 195ⁿ, 196ⁿ
 Chagatai (Sigatay), Kúblái's uncle, son of Chinghiz, 10, i. 10ⁿ, 14ⁿ, 98, 102ⁿ, 183, 186ⁿ, ii. 457, 458ⁿ, 459
 Chaghán-Jáng, ii. 72ⁿ, 73ⁿ
 Chaghan-Kuren, ii. 23ⁿ
 Chaghan-Nor ("White Lake"), N.E. of Kamul, i. 214ⁿ
 — (Chaghan, or Tsaghan Balghasun), site of Kúblái's palace, i. 296, 297ⁿ, 306ⁿ, 422ⁿ, ii. 14ⁿ
 Chairs, silver, i. 351, 355ⁿ
 Chakor (*cator*), great partridges, i. 296, 297ⁿ
 Chalcedony and jasper, i. 191, 193ⁿ
 Chalukya Malla kings, ii. 336ⁿ
 Champa (Chamba), kingdom of, ii. 266, 268ⁿ, 424, 426ⁿ, 596ⁿ; Kúblái's expedition *v.*, 267; the king and his wives, 268, 271ⁿ; products, 268, 271ⁿ-272ⁿ; locality, 269-270ⁿ; invaded by king of Lukyn, 279ⁿ
 Chandra Banu, ii. 315ⁿ
 Chandu (Shangtu), city of peace of Kúblái, i. 25, 298, 304ⁿ, 410-411, 435
 Changan, ii. 182, 184ⁿ
 Chang-chau (Chingjinju), ii. 178, 179ⁿ
 — in Fo-kien, ii. 233ⁿ, 238ⁿ; Zayton(?), 238ⁿ; Christian remains at, 240ⁿ-241ⁿ
 Ch'ang Ch'un, *travels*, i. 62ⁿ
 Changgan (Chang-ngan), ii. 27-29ⁿ
 Chang-kia-Kau, the gate in the Great Wall, i. 56ⁿ
 Chang K'ien, ii. 16ⁿ
 Chang-shan (Chanshan), ii. 198ⁿ, 199ⁿ, 219, 221ⁿ, 222ⁿ, 224ⁿ
 Ch'ang Te (the Chinese traveller), *Si Shi Ki*, i. 64ⁿ, 66ⁿ
 Chang Te-hui, a Chinese teacher, i. 309ⁿ
 Chang-y (Chenchu), i. 417-419, 422ⁿ
 Chang Yao, Chinese general, i. 211ⁿ
 Cháo de Bux (*Cavo di Bussi*), boxwood, i. 57ⁿ
 Chaohien, Sung Prince, ii. 150ⁿ
 Cháo - K'hánahs, bank-note offices in Persia, i. 429ⁿ
 Cháo Naiman Sumé Khotan, or Shangtu, "city of the 108 temples," i. 304ⁿ
 Cháo, paper-money, i. 426ⁿ, 429ⁿ
 Cháo, title of Siamese and Shan Princes, ii. 73ⁿ
 Chaotong, ii. 130ⁿ
 Chapu, ii. 199ⁿ
 Characters, written, four acquired by Marco Polo, i. 27; one in Manzi, but divers spoken dialects, ii. 236
 Charchan (Chachan of Johnson, Charchand), i. 192ⁿ, 194, 195ⁿ, 196ⁿ
 Charcoal, store in Peking, palace garden of, i. 370ⁿ
 Charities, Kúblái's, i. 439, 443, 444; Buddhist and Chinese, 446ⁿ; at Kinsay, ii. 188, 198ⁿ
 Charles VIII., of France, i. 398ⁿ
 Chau dynasty, i. 347ⁿ
 Chaucer, quoted, i. 3ⁿ, 5ⁿ, 17ⁿ, 161ⁿ, 247ⁿ, 386ⁿ, ii. 11ⁿ
 Chaukans, temporary wives at Kashgar, i. 193
 Chaul, ii. 367ⁿ
 Cheapness in China, ii. 202
 Cheetas, or hunting leopards, i. 397, 398ⁿ
 Cheh-kiang, cremation common during Sung dynasty in, ii. 135ⁿ; roads into Fo-kien from, 224ⁿ
 Cheinan, Gulf of, ii. 266
 Chenchau, or Iching hien, ii. 173ⁿ, 174ⁿ
 Chenching (Cochin-China), ii. 268ⁿ-269ⁿ, 277ⁿ
 Chenchu (Chang-y), conspires with Vanchu *v.* Ahmad, i. 417-419, 422ⁿ
 Ch'eng-ting fu, ii. 13, 14ⁿ
 Ch'eng-Tsu (Yung-lo), Emperor, ii. 392ⁿ
 Ch'eng-tu (Sze-ch'wan), ii. 32ⁿ, 34ⁿ, 35ⁿ
 Ch'engtu-fu (Sindafu), ii. 36, 37ⁿ
 Cheu, the Seven, ii. 277ⁿ
 Chibai and Chiban, ii. 459, 462ⁿ
 Chichiklik Pass, i. 172ⁿ, 175ⁿ
 Chien-ch'ang (Caindu), ii. 70ⁿ. (*See* K'ien ch'ang.)
 Chihli, plain of, ii. 14ⁿ
 Chilaw, ii. 337ⁿ
 Chilianwála, battlefield of, i. 105ⁿ
 Chilu-ku, last Karakhitai king, ii. 20ⁿ
 Chin, Sea of, ii. 264, 265, 266ⁿ, 270ⁿ
 China, 134; *Imperial Maritime Customs Returns for 1900*, ii. 173ⁿ; Dominicans in, 240ⁿ; paved roads in, 189, 198ⁿ; relations with Korea and Japan, 262ⁿ; the name, 265ⁿ; king of Malacca at Court of, 282ⁿ; trade from Arabia to, 348ⁿ; from Sofala in Africa, 400ⁿ. (*See* also Cathay and Manzi.)
 Chinangli (T'sinan-fu), ii. 133, 135, 137ⁿ
 Chindir, Oriental planes, i. 128ⁿ, 138ⁿ
 Chinchau, Chincheo, Chinchew, Chwan-chew, Tswanchau, *see* Zayton

- Chinese, Polo ignorant of the languages, 110, i. 29*n*; epigrams, 170*n*; funeral and mourning customs, 207*n*, ii. 191; feeling towards Kúblái, i. 481, 421*n*; religion and irreligion, 456, 458*n*; their politeness and filial piety, 457, 462*n*; gambling, 457; character for integrity, ii. 204, 210*n*; written character and varieties of dialect, 236; ships, 249 *seqq.*; pagodas at Negapatam and elsewhere, 336*n*; coins found in Southern India, 337*n*; pottery, 372*n*-373*n*; trade and intercourse with Southern India, 373*n*, 378*n*, 386, 390, 392*n*
- Chinghian-fu (Chinkiang-fu), ii. 175, 176, 177*n*
- Chinghiz Khan, 10, 11, i. 5*n*, 10*n*, 12*n*, ii. 458*n*, 479, 481*n*; reported to be a Christian, i. 14*n*; Aung Khan's saying of, 27*n*; his use of Uighúr character, 28*n*; Erzrum taken by, 49*n*; harries Balkh, 151*n*; captures Talikan, 154*n*; ravages Badakhshan, 163*n*; his respect for Christians, 186*n*, 242*n*, 543*n*; subjugates Kutchluk Khân, 189*n*; his campaigns in Tangut, 206*n*, 218*n*, 225*n*, 281*n*; Rubruquis' account of, 237*n*, 239*n*; made king of the Tartars, 238; his system of conquests, 238; and Prester John, 239-241; divining by twigs—presage of victory, 241; defeats and slays Prester John, 244; his death and burial-place, 244, 245*n*, 249*n*; his aim at conquest of the world, 245*n*; his funeral, 250*n*; his army, 262, 265*n*; defeats the Merkits, 270*n*; relations between Prester John's and his families, 284, 288*n*; the Horiad tribe, 300, 308*n*; his prophecy about Kúblái, 331*n*; rewards his captains, 351*n*; captures Peking, ii. 8*n*; defeats and slays Taiyang Khan, 20*n*; his alleged invasion of Tibet, 46*n*; his mechanical artillery, 168*n*; his cruelty, 181*n*; Table of Genealogy of his House, 505*n*
- Chinghiz Tora, ii. 481*n*
- Ching-hoang tower at Hangchau-fu, ii. 214*n*
- Chingju (Chang-chau), ii. 178
- Chingintalas, province, i. 212; its identification, 214*n*, 215*n*
- Chingkim, Chinkin, Chimkin, Kúblái's favourite son and heir-apparent, i. 38*n*, 359, 360*n*, 418, 422*n*; his palace, 366, 372*n*
- Chingsang, Ching-siang (Chinisan), title of a Chief Minister of State, i. 432*n*, ii. 145, 148*n*, 150*n*, 218*n*
- Chingting-fu (Acbaluc), ii. 13, 14*n*
- Chingsu, or Yung-lo, Emperor, ii. 392*n*
- Chini*, coarse sugar, ii. 230*n*
- Chinju (Tinju), ii. 153, 154*n*
- Chin-tan*, or *Chinasthana*, Chinese etymology of, ii. 119*n*
- Chinuchi, Cunichi, Kúblái's Masters of the Hounds, i. 400, 401*n*
- Chipangu (Japan), ii. 253, 256*n*; account of Kúblái's expedition *v.*, 255, 258; its disasters, 255-256; history of expedition, 260*n seqq.*; relations with China and Korea, 262*n*
- Chitral, i. 154*n*, 160*n*, 165*n*, 166*n*
- Chloroxylon Dupada*, ii. 397*n*
- Cho-chau (Juju), ii. 10, 11*n*, 131*n*
- Choiach*, the term, ii. 364, 368*n*
- Chola, or Sola-desam (Soli, Tanjore), ii. 335*n*, 336*n*, 364, 368*n*
- Chonka (Fo-ken), kingdom of, ii. 231, 232*n*, 236; explanation of name, 232*n*
- Chonkwé, ii. 232*n*
- Chorcha, *see* Churchin
- Christian, astrologers, i. 241, 446; churches in China, early, ii. 27*n*; inscription of Singanfu, 28*n*; Alans in the Mongol service, ii. 178, 179*n*
- Christianity, attributed to Chinghizide princes, i. 14*n*, ii. 476, 477*n*; Kúblái's views on, i. 344*n*
— former, of Socotra, ii. 410*n*
- Christians, of the Greek rite, Georgians, i. 50; and Russians, ii. 486; Jacobite and Nestorian, at Mosul, i. 46, 60, 61*n*; among the Kurds, 60, 62*n*; and the Khalif of Baghdad—the miracle of the mountain and the one-eyed cobbler, 68-73; Kashgar, 182, 183*n*; in Samarkand, 183, 186*n*; the miracle of the stone removed, 185; Yarkand, 187; Tangut, 203, 207*n*; Chingintalas, 212; Suh-chau, 217; Kan-chau, 219; in Chinghiz's camp, 241; Erguul and Sinju, 274; Egrigaia, 281; Tenduc, 285; Nayan and the Khan's decision, 339, 344; at Kúblái's Court, 388; in Yun-nan, ii. 66, 74*n*; Cacanfu, 132; Yang-chau, 154*n*; churches at Chin-kiang fu, 177; at Kinsay, 192; St. Thomas', 353-354; Coilum, 375; Male and Female Islands, 404; Socotra, 406; Abyssinia and fire baptism, 427, 432*n*; of the Girdle, 432*n*; in Lac (Wallachia), 487
- Chrocho*, the Rukh (*q.v.*), ii. 415*n seqq.*
- Chronology and chronological data discussed, first journey of the Polos, i. 3*n*; war between Barka and Húlakú, 8*n*; Polos' stay at Bokhara, 10*n*; their departure and their second journey from Acre, 23*n*; their return voyage and arrival in Persia, 38*n*; story of Nigudar, 103*n*; Hormuz princes, 120*n*; destruction of Ismailites, 146*n*; history of Chinghiz, 239*n*, 242*n*, 247*n*; Kúblái's birth and accession, 334*n*; Nayan' rebellion, 334*n*, 346*n*; Polo's

Chronology (*continued*)—

visit to Yun-nan, ii. 81*n*; battle with the king of Mien, 104*n*; wars between China and Burma, 104*n*-106*n*, 111*n*, 114*n*; value of Indo-Chinese, 106*n*; conquest of S. China, 148*n*, 149*n*; capture of Siang-yang, 167*n*; Kúblái's dealings with Japan, 260*n*-261*n*; with Champa, 270*n*; Marco's visit to Japan, 271*n*; Kúblái's Java expedition, 275*n*; review of the Malay, 282*n*; events in Ma'bar, 333*n*; King Gondophares, 357*n*; cessation of Chinese navigation to India, 391*n*; Abyssinia, 434*n* *seqq.*; Kaidu's wars, 462*n*, 467*n*; Mongol revolutions in Persia, notes from, 470*n*-475*n*; wars of Toktai and Noghai, 497. (*See also Dates.*)

Chrysostom, i. 81*n*

Chuchu, in Kiang-si, ii. 224*n*, 229*n*

Chughis, *see* Jogis

Chung-Kiang, ii. 40*n*

Chungkwé, "Middle Kingdom," ii. 232*n*

Chung-tu, or Yen-King (Peking, *see* Cambaluc)

Ch'ura, i. 265*n*

Churches, Christian, in Kashgar, i. 182;

Samarkand, 185; Egrigaia, 281; Tenduc, 287*n*; early, in China, ii.

27*n*; Yang-chau, 154*n*; Chin-kiang fu, 177; Kinsay, 192; Zayton, 238*n*,

240*n*; St. Thomas's, 354-355, 356*n*;

Coilum, 377*n*; Socotra, 409*n*-410*n*

Churchin, or Niuché, Churché, Chorcha (the Manchu Country), i. 231*n*, 343,

344*n*

Cielstan, Suolstan (Shúlístán), i. 83, 85*n*

Cinnamon, Tibet, ii. 49, 52*n*; Caidu, 56,

59*n*; Ceylon, 315*n*; story in Herodotus of, 363*n*; Malabar, 389, 390*n*

Circumcision of Socotrans, ii. 409*n*; forcible, of a bishop, 429; of Abyssinians, 432*n*

Cirophanes, or Syrophenes, story of, ii. 328*n*

Civet, of Sumatra, ii. 295*n*

Clement IV., Pope, i. 17, 18*n*, 21*n*

Clepsydra, i. 378*n*, 385*n*, ii. 214

Cloves, ii. 272, 306; in Caidu, 56, 59*n*

Coal (Polo's blackstone), i. 442; in Scotland in Middle Ages, 443*n*; in Kinsay, ii. 216

Cobbler, the one-eyed, and the miracle of the mountain, i. 70

Cobinan (Koh-Banáń), i. 125

Cocachin (Kúkáchin), the Lady, 23-24,

i. 32, 33*n*, 36, 38*n*

Cochin-China, the mediæval Champa (*q.v.*)

Coco-nut (Indian nut), i. 108, ii. 293,

306, 308*n*, 309*n*, 354, 389

Coco Islands, of Hiuen T'sang, ii. 307*n*

Cocos Islands, ii. 309*n*

Cœur de Lion, his mangonels, ii. 165*n*, 166*n*

Coffins, Chinese, in Tangut, i. 205, 209*n*

Cogachin (Hukaji), Kúblái's son, King of Carajan, i. 361*n*, ii. 76

Cogatai, i. 419

Cogatal, a Tartar envoy to the Pope, i. 13, 15

Coiganju (Hwaingan-fu), ii. 142, 148, 151

Coilum (Kollam, Kaulam, Quilon), kingdom of, ii. 375, 382*n*, 403*n*, 413*n*, 426*n*,

440*n*; identity of meaning of name, 377*n*;

Church of St. George at, 377*n*;

modern state of, 377*n*;

Kúblái's intercourse with, 378*n*

Coilumin, *columbino*, *colomni*, so-called Brazil-wood, ii. 375; ginger, 375, 381*n*

Coins of Cilician Armenia, i. 42*n*; of

Mosul, 61*n*; Agathocles and Pantaleon, 163*n*;

Seljukian with Lion and Sun, 352*n*;

found at Siang-Yang, ii. 169*n*;

King Gondophares, 357*n*;

Tartar heathen princes with Mahomedan and Christian formulae, 477*n*

Coja (Koja), Tartar envoy from Persia to the Khan, i. 32-33*n*, 38*n*

Cold, intense, in Kerman, i. 91, 111*n*,

113*n*; in Russia, ii. 487

"Cold Mountains," i. 114*n*

Coleridge, verses on Kúblái's Paradise, i. 305*n*

Coloman, province, ii. 122, 128*n*-131*n*

Colombino, *see* Coilumin

Colon, *see* Coilum

Colossal Buddhas, recumbent, i. 219,

221*n*

Columbum, *see* Coilum

Columbus, Polo paralleled with, 3; remarks on, 105-106

Comania, Comonians, i. 50, ii. 382,

383*n*, 490, 491*n*

Comari, Comori (Cape Comorin, Travancore), ii. 333*n*, 382, 384, 385, 403*n*

426*n*; temple at, 383*n*

Combermere, Lord, prophecy applied to, ii. 149*n*

Comercque, Khan's custom-house, ii. 37, 41*n*

Compartments, in hulls of ships, ii. 249,

251*n*

Compass, Mariner's, 138

Competitive Examinations in beauty, i. 359*n*

Conchi, King of the North, ii. 479

Concubines, how the Khan selects, i. 357

Condor, its habits, ii. 417*n*;

Temple's account of, 417*n*;

Padre Bolivar's of the African, 420*n*

Condur and Sondur, ii. 276, 277*n*

Condux, sable or beaver, i. 410*n*

Conia, Coyne (Iconium), i. 43

Conjeveram, ii. 334*n*

- Conjurers, the Kashmirian, i. 166, 168*n* ; weather, 98, 105*n*, 166, 168*n*, 301, 309*n*-311*n* ; Lamas' ex-feats, 315*n*-318*n*. (See also Sorcerers.)
- Conosalmi (Kamasal), i. 99, 106*n*
- Constantinople, i. 2, 19*n*, 36, ii. 165*n*, 487 ; Straits of, 488, 490
- Convents, see Monasteries
- Cookery, Tartar horse-, i. 264*n*
- Cooper, T. T., traveller on Tibetan frontier, ii. 45*n*, 48*n*, 52*n*, 59*n*, 67*n*
- Copper, token currency of Mahomed Tughlak, i. 429*n* ; imported to Malabar, ii. 390 ; to Cambay, 398
- Coral, valued in Kashmir, Tibet, etc., i. 167, 170*n*, ii. 49, 52*n*
- Corea (Kauli), i. 343, 345*n*
- Corn, Emperor's store and distribution of, i. 443
- Coromandel (Maabar), see Mabar
- Corsairs, see Pirates
- Corte del Milione, see Ca' Polo.
- Sabbionera at Venice, 27 *seqq.*
- Cosmography, mediæval, 130
- Costus, ii. 397*n*
- Cotan, see Khotan
- Cotton, stuffs of, i. 44*n*, 45, 47*n*, 48*n*, 60, ii. 225, 228*n*, 361, 363*n*, 395, 398, 431 ; at Merdin, i. 60 ; in Persia, 84 ; at Kashgar, 181 ; Yarkand, 187 ; Khotan, 188, 190*n* ; Pein, 191 ; Bengal, ii. 115 ; bushes of gigantic size, 393, 394*n*
- Counts in Vokhan, i. 171, 173*n* ; at Dofar, ii. 444
- Courts of Justice, at Kinsay, ii. 203
- Couvade, custom of, ii. 85, 91*n*-95*n*, 596*n*
- Cow-dung, its use in Maabar, ii. 341, 365
- Cowell, Professor, i. 105*n*
- Cowries (porcelain shells, pig shells), used for money, etc., ii. 66, 74*n*, 76, 123 ; procured from Locac, 276, 279*n*
- Cralantur, its meaning (?), i. 71*n*
- Cramoisy (quermesis), i. 44*n*, 63, 65*n*
- Cranes, five kinds of, i. 296, 297*n*
- Crawfurd, John, ii. 277*n*
- Cremation, i. 204, 208*n*, ii. 122, 132, 134*n*, 135, 140, 141, 151, 152, 191, 218, 221*n* ; in Middle Ages, ii. 133*n*
- Cremesor, Hot Region (Garmsir), i. 75, 99*n*, 112*n*, 114*n*
- Çrihbōja (Çrihbōdja), country, ii. 283*n*
- Crocodiles, see Alligators
- Cross, legend of the Tree of the, i. 135 ; gibes against, on Nayan's defeat, 343 ; on monument at Singanfu, ii. 27*n*
- Crossbows, ii. 78, 82*n*, 161*n*
- Cruelties, Tartar, i. 151*n*, 265*n*, 266*n*, ii. 180*n*
- Crusca MS. of Polo, 82, i. 18*n*, 38*n*, 85*n*, 297*n*, 358*n*, 384*n*, ii. 34*n*, 72*n*
- Cubeb pepper, ii. 272, 391*n*
- Cubits, astronomical altitude estimated by, ii. 382, 389, 392
- Cublay, see Kúblái
- Cucintana, ii. 396*n*
- Cudgel, Tartars' use of, i. 266, 267*n*, 414
- Cuiju (Kwei-chau), province, ii. 124, 127*n*
- Cuinet, Vital, on Turkman villages, i. 44*n* ; on Mosul Kurds, 62*n*
- Cuirbouly, i. 260, 263*n*, ii. 78, 82*n*
- Cuju, ii. 219, 221*n*, 224*n*
- Cuncun (Han-Chung) province, ii. 31, 32*n*
- Cunningham, General A., i. 12*n*, 104, 156*n*, 173*n*, 178*n*, 283*n*, 290*n*, ii. 357*n*
- Cups, flying, i. 301, 314*n*, 349*n*
- Curds and Curdistan, i. 9*n*, 60, 62*n*, 83*n*, 84*n*, 85*n*, 102*n*, 143*n*, 145*n*
- Currency, copper token, in India, i. 429*n* ; salt, ii. 45, 54, 57*n* ; leather, i. 429*n* ; Cowrie, see Cowries
- Currency, paper, in China, i. 423, 426*n* ; attempt to institute in Persia, 428*n* ; alluded to, ii. 124, 127, 132, 135, 138, 140, 141, 152, 154, 170, 174, 176, 178, 181, 187, 218
- Current, strong south along East Coast of Africa, ii. 412, 415*n*
- Currents, Cape of, or Corrientes, ii. 415*n*, 417*n*, 426*n*
- Curtains, Persian, i. 66*n*
- Curzola Island, Genoese victory at, 6, 45 *seqq.* ; Polo's galley at, 49 ; map of, 50
- Curzon, Lord, i. 64*n*, 84*n*, 86*n*, 128*n* ; list of Pamirs, ii. 594*n*
- Hon. R., on invention of printing, 138, 139
- Customs, Custom-houses, ii. 37, 41*n*, 170, 204, 215, 216
- Cutch pirates, ii. 410*n*
- Cuxstac, Kuhstec, i. 110*n*
- Cuy Khan (Kuyuk), i. 14*n*, 245, 247*n*
- Cycle, Chinese, i. 447, 454*n*
- Cynocephali, the, ii. 228*n*, 309, 311*n*
- Cypresses, sacred, of the Magians, i. 131*n*
- Cyprus, i. 65*n*
- Cyrus, his use of camels in battle near Sardis, ii. 104*n*
- DABUL, ii. 443*n*
- Dadián, title of Georgian kings, i. 53*n*
- Da Gama, ii. 386*n*, 391*n*
- Dagroian, kingdom of, in Sumatra, ii. 293 ; probable position of, 297*n*
- Dailiu (Tali), ii. 81*n*
- Daitu, Taidu, Tatu (Peking), Kúblái's new city of Cambaluc, i. 305*n*, 306*n*, 374, 375*n*
- Dakíanus, city of (Camadi), i. 113*n*
- Dalada, tooth relique of Buddha, ii. 329*n*-330*n*
- Dalai Lama, with four hands, ii. 265*n*

- D'Albuquerque, ii. 281*n*, 382*n*, 409*n*, 451*n*
- Dalivar, Dilivar, Diláwar (Lahore), a province of India, i. 99, 104*n*, 105*n*
- Dalmian, ii. 297*n*
- Damas, i. 65*n*
- Damascus, i. 23*n*, 143; siege of, ii. 166*n*
- Damasks, with *cheetas* in them, i. 398*n*; with giraffes, ii. 424*n*. (See also Patterns.)
- Damghan, i. 138*n*, 148*n*
- Dancing dervishes, ii. 97*n*
- Dancing girls, in Hindu temples, ii. 345, 351*n*
- Dandolo, Andrea, Admiral of Venetian fleet at Curzola, 6, 46; his captivity and suicide, 48; funeral at Venice, 50
- D'Anghieria, Pietro Martire, 36, 120
- Dantapura, ii. 329*n*
- Dante, number of MSS. 117; does not allude to Polo, 118; *Convito*, i. 14*n*
- D'Anville's Map, i. 25*n*, 88*n*, 155*n*, 224*n*, 228*n*, 297*n*, 408*n*, ii. 69*n*, 72*n*, 141*n*
- Darábjird, i. 86*n*
- Darah, ii. 436*n*
- Daráptír, i. 104*n*, 105*n*
- Dardás*, stuff embroidered in gold, i. 65*n*
- Dariel, Pass of (Gate of the Alans), i. 53*n*, 54*n*
- Darius, i. 128, 138*n*, 151, 157; the Golden King, ii. 17
- Dark Ocean of the South, ii. 417*n*
- Darkness, magical, i. 98, 105*n*, 166
- land of, ii. 484, 485*n*; how the Tartars find their way out, 484; the people and their peltry, 484; Alexander's legendary entrance into, 485; Dumb trade of, 486*n*
- Darráj*, black partridge, its peculiar call, i. 99*n*
- Darúná, salt mines, i. 154*n*
- Darwaz, i. 160*n*
- Dasht, or Plain, of Baharak, i. 156*n*
- Dashtáb, hot springs, i. 122*n*
- Dasht-i-Lut (Desert of Lút), i. 124*n*, 127, 128*n*
- Dashtistan tribe and district, i. 86*n*
- Dates (chronology) in Polo's book, generally erroneous, i. 2, 17, 36, 63, 145, 238, 332, ii. 98, 114, 145, 177, 259, 267, 268, 319, 354, 428, 459, 464, 474, 494
- (trees or fruit), Basra, 63, 65*n*; Bask, 88, 89*n*; Reobarles, province, 97, 111*n*; Formosa Plain, 107; Hormos, 109, 116*n*; wine of, 107, 115*n*; diet of fish, etc., 107, 116*n*, ii. 450
- Daughters of Marco Polo, 69, 71, 73, 76, ii. 506*n*
- D'AVEZAC, M., i. 23*n*, 48*n*, 66*n*, 231*n*, 271*n*
- David, king of Abyssinia, ii. 435*n*, 436*n*
- David, king of Georgia (Dawith), i. 50, 53*n*
- Davids, Professor T. W. Rhys, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, ii. 326*n*
- Davis, Sir John F., ii. 139*n*, 142*n*, 152*n*, 173*n*, 175*n*, 176*n*, 182*n*
- Dawaro, ii. 435*n*, 436*n*
- Daya, ii. 300*n*, 305*n*
- Dead, disposal of the, in Tangut, i. 205, 209*n*; at Cambaluc, 414; in Coloman, ii. 122; in China, 133*n*; in Dagroian, 293; by the Battas, 298*n*
- burning of the, see Cremation; eating the, see Cannibalism
- De Barros, ii. 239*n*, 283*n*, 287*n*, 300*n*, 410*n*; on Java, 274*n*; Singhapura, 281*n*; Janifs, 286*n*
- Debt, singular arrest for, ii. 343, 350*n*
- Decima*, or Tithe on bequest, 71
- Decimal organisation of Tartar armies, i. 261, 264*n*
- Decius, Emperor, i. 113*n*
- Dehgháns, Dehgáns, i. 152*n*
- Dehánah, village, i. 152*n*
- Deh Bakri, i. 111*n*, 112*n*
- De la Croix, Pétis, i. 9*n*, 155*n*, 183*n*, 239*n*, 243*n*, 281*n*, 410*n*
- Delhi, Sultans of, 12, ii. 426*n*
- D'Ely, Mount, see Eli
- Demoiselle Crane, *anthropoides virgo*, i. 297*n*
- Deogir, ii. 426*n*
- Derbend, Wall of, i. 53*n*, ii. 495. (See also Iron Gate of.)
- Deserts, haunted, i. 197, 201*n*, 274
- Deserts of Kerman or of Lút, i. 123, 124*n*; of Khorasan, 149; of Charchan, 194; Lop (Gobi), 196, 197, 198*n*-203*n*, 210, 212, 214*n*, 223, Kharakorum, 224, 226, 237*n*
- Desgodins, Abbé, ii. 57*n*
- Despina Khatun, ii. 477*n*
- Devadási, ii. 351*n*
- Devapattan, ii. 400*n*
- Devéria, G., i. 29*n*, 225*n*, 291*n*, ii. 60*n*, 63*n*, 70*n*, 89*n*, 108*n*, 122*n*, 124*n*
- Devil-dancing, i. 315*n*, ii. 86, 97*n*
- Devil trees, i. 136*n*
- Devils, White, ii. 355, 359*n*
- D'Evreux, Father Yves, ii. 94*n*
- Dhafar (Dofar, Thafar), ii. 340, 348*n*, 444; its incense, 445; two places of the name, 445*n*-446*n*
- Dhárani*, mystic charms, i. 315
- Dhúlkarnain (Alex.), see Zulkarnain
- Dialects, Chinese, ii. 236, 243*n*-244*n*
- Diamonds in India, how found, ii. 360-361; mines of, 362*n*; diffusion of legend about, *ib.*
- “Diex Terrien,” i. 141*n*
- Diláwar, Polo's Dihar, i. 104*n*
- Dimitri II., Thawdadebuli, king of Georgia, i. 53*n*

- Dínár, *see* Bezant
 Dínár of Red Gold, ii. 348ⁿ, 349ⁿ
 Dinh Tiên-hwàng, king of An-nam, i. 264ⁿ
 Diocletian, i. 14ⁿ
Dioscorides insula, ii. 408ⁿ
 Dir, chief town of Panjkora, i. 104ⁿ, 164ⁿ, 165ⁿ
 Dirakht-i-Fazl, i. 135ⁿ, 138ⁿ
 Dirakht-i-Kush, i. 135ⁿ
 Diráwal, ancient capital of the Bhattis, i. 104ⁿ
 Dirhem-Kub, Shah Mahomed, founder of Hormuz dynasty, i. 115ⁿ, 121ⁿ
 Dish of Sakya or of Adam, ii. 328ⁿ, 330ⁿ
 Diu City, ii. 392ⁿ
 Diul-Sind, Lower Sind, i. 86ⁿ
 Divination by twigs or arrows, i. 241, 242ⁿ
 Dixon, branding with cross at, ii. 433ⁿ
 Dizabulus, pavilion of, i. 384ⁿ
 Dizful River, i. 85ⁿ
 Djao (Chao) Namian Sumé (Kaipingfu), i. 25ⁿ
 Djaya, turquoises, ii. 56ⁿ
 Doctors at Kinsay, ii. 203
 Dofar, *see* Dhafar
 Dogana, i. 151; conjectures as to, 152ⁿ, 156ⁿ
 Doghábah River, i. 152ⁿ
 Dog-headed races, ii. 309, 311ⁿ
 Dogs, the Khan's mastiffs, i. 400; of Tibet, ii. 45, 49, 52ⁿ; fierce in Cuiju, 126
 Dog-sledging in Far North, ii. 480, 481ⁿ, 482; notes on dogs, 483ⁿ
 Dolfino, Ranuzzo, husband of Polo's daughter, Moreta, 76
 Dolonnúr, i. 26ⁿ
 Dominicans, sent with Polos but turn back, i. 22, 23
D' or plain, the expression, i. 269ⁿ
 Dorah Pass, i. 165ⁿ
 Doria, family at Meloria, 56
 — Lampa, 6; Admiral of Genoese Fleet sent to Adriatic, 45; his victory, 48; his tomb and descendants, 51; at Meloria with six sons, 56
 — Octaviano, death of, 48
 — Tedisio, exploring voyage of, 51
 Dorjé, i. 360ⁿ
 D'Orléans, Prince Henri, i. 200ⁿ, 277ⁿ
 Douglas, Rev. Dr. C., ii. 232ⁿ, 237ⁿ, 240ⁿ, 241ⁿ, 244ⁿ
 Doyley, Sir Fulke, ii. 166ⁿ
 Dragoian (Ta-hua-Mien), ii. 297ⁿ, 306ⁿ
Drafs entaillez, i. 392
 Drawers, enormous, of Badakhshan women, i. 160, 163ⁿ
 Dreams, notable, i. 305ⁿ
 Drums, sound of in certain sandy districts, 197, 202ⁿ
Dryabalanops Camphora, ii. 303ⁿ
 Dua Khan, i. 121ⁿ, ii. 459ⁿ, 462ⁿ
 Du Bose, Rev. H. C., ii. 182ⁿ-184ⁿ
 Ducat, or sequin, i. 426ⁿ, 591ⁿ
 Dudley, *Arcano del Mare*, ii. 266ⁿ
 Duel, mode in S. India of, ii. 371
 Dufour, on mediæval artillery, ii. 161ⁿ, 163ⁿ
 Duhalde, Plan of Ki-chau, ii. 26ⁿ; or T'si-ning chau, ii. 139ⁿ
 Dukúz Khatun, i. 288ⁿ
 Dulcarnon (Zulkarnain), i. 161ⁿ
 Dulites, ii. 432ⁿ
 Dumas, Alexander, i. 53ⁿ
 Dumb trade, ii. 486ⁿ
 Duncan, Rev. Moir, ii. 28ⁿ
Dungen (Tungáni), or converts, i. 291ⁿ
 Duplicates in geography, ii. 409ⁿ
Dupu, ii. 397ⁿ
 Dürer's Map of Venice, so-called, 29, 30
 Durga Temple, ii. 383ⁿ
 Dursamand, ii. 427ⁿ
Dúsháb, sweet liquor or syrup, i. 87ⁿ
 Dust-storms, i. 105ⁿ
 Duties, on Great Kiang, ii. 170; on goods at Kinsay and Zayton, 189, 215, 216, 235; on horses, 438; at Hormuz, 450. (*See* also Customs.)
 Dutthagamini, king of Ceylon, i. 169ⁿ
 Dwara Samudra, ii. 294ⁿ, 367ⁿ, 427ⁿ
 Dzegun-tala, name applied to Mongolia, i. 214ⁿ
 Dzungaria, i. 214ⁿ
 EAGLE mark on shoulder of Georgian kings, i. 50
 Eagles, trained to kill large game, i. 397, 399ⁿ
 — white, in the Diamond Country, ii. 360-361
 Eagle-wood, origin of the name, ii. 271ⁿ. (*See* Lign-aloes.)
 Earth honoured, ii. 341
 East, its state, *circa*, 1260, 8 *et seqq.*
 Ebony (bonus), ii. 268, 272ⁿ
 Edkins, Rev., ii. 199ⁿ
 Edward I., 59, 62, 63, i. 21ⁿ, ii. 593ⁿ
 Edward II., correspondence with Tartar princes, i. 36ⁿ, ii. 477ⁿ
 Effeminacy, in Chinese palaces, ii. 17, 20ⁿ, 145, 207, 208
 Eggs of Ruc and Aepyornis, ii. 416ⁿ, 417ⁿ
 Egrigaia, province, i. 281, 282ⁿ
 Ela (cardamom), ii. 388ⁿ
 Elchidai, ii. 471, 474ⁿ
 Elenovka, i. 58ⁿ
 Elephantiasis, i. 187, 188ⁿ, ii. 350ⁿ
 Elephants, Kúblái carried on a timber bartizan by four, i. 337, 404, 408ⁿ; Kúblái's, 391, 392ⁿ, ii. 104; the king of Mien's, 99; numbers of men alleged to be carried by, 100ⁿ; how the Tartars routed, 102; wild, 107,

- Elephants (*continued*)—
 111, 117, 119*n*; in Caugigu, 117;
 Champa, 268, 271*n*; Locac, 276, 279*n*;
 Sumatra, 285, 289*n*, 290*n*; Mada-
 gascar and Zanghibar, 411, 422; trade
 in teeth of, *ib.*; carried off by the
 Ruc, 412, 417*n*, 419*n*, 421*n*; in
 Zanghibar, 422, 423; used in war,
 429, 433*n*-434*n*; an error, 433*n*;
 Nubian, 424*n*; fable about, *ib.*; not
 bred in Abyssinia, 431; training of
 African, 434*n*; war of the, *ib.*
- Eli, Ely, Elly (Hili), kingdom of, ii.
 385, 386*n* *seqq.*, 403*n*, 426*n*
- Elias, Ney, i. 215*n*, 225*n*, 278*n*, 288*n*,
 291*n*, ii. 23*n*, 144*n*
- Elixir vitæ of the Jogis, ii. 365, 369*n*
- Elliot, Sir Walter, i. 38*n*, 48*n*, 56*n*, 65*n*,
 96*n*, 102*n*, 104*n*, 105*n*, 121*n*, 165*n*,
 265*n*, ii. 295*n*, 333*n*, 334*n*, 336*n*,
 350*n*, 367*n*, 369*n*, 370*n*, 372*n*, 400*n*,
 410*n*, 419*n*
- Emad, Ed-din Abu Thaher, founder of
 the Kurd dynasty, i. 85*n*
- Embroidery of silk at Kerman, i. 90,
 96*n*; leather in Guzerat, ii. 394, 395*n*
- Empoli, Giovanni d', ii. 239*n*
- Empusa*, the Arabian Nesnás, i. 202*n*
- Enchanters, at Socotra, ii. 407
- Enchantments, of the Caraoas, i. 98.
 (See also Conjurers, Socerers.)
- Engano Island, legend, ii. 406*n*
- Engineering feat, 50
- Engineers, their growing importance in
 Middle Ages, ii. 166*n*
- England, Kúblái's message to king of,
 i. 34; correspondence of Tartar
 princes with kings of, 36*n*, ii. 477*n*
- English trade and character in Asia, ii.
 368*n*
- Enlightenment, Land of, i. 460*n*
- Erba*, poisonous plant or grass, i. 217,
 218*n*
- Erculin, Arculin (an animal), ii. 481,
 483*n*, 484, 487
- Erdeni Tso (Erdenidsu), or Erdeni Chao
 Monastery, i. 228*n*-230*n*
- Eremites (Rishis), of Kashmir, i. 166,
 169*n*
- Erguiul, province, i. 274, 282*n*
- Erivan, i. 58*n*
- Erkeun*, (*Ye li ke un*), Mongol for
 Christians, i. 291*n*
- Ermine, i. 257, 405, 410*n*, ii. 481, 484,
 487
- Erzinjan, Erzinga, Eriza (Arzinga), i. 45
- Erzrum (Arziron), i. 45, 48*n*
- Eschiel*, the word, ii. 390*n*
- Esher (Shehr, Es-shehr), ii. 442; trade
 with India, incense, Ichthyophagi, 442,
 443, 444*n*; singular sheep, 443, 444*n*
- Essentemur (Isentimur), Kúblái's grand-
 son, king of Carajan, ii. 64, 80*n* 98
- Estimo*, Venetian, or forced loan, 47, 76
- Etchmiadzin Monastery, i. 61*n*
- Ethiopia and India, confused, ii. 432*n*
- Ethiopian sheep, ii. 422, 424*n*
- Etiquette of the Mongol Court, i. 382,
 385*n*, 391, 393*n*, 457
- Etymologies, *Balustrade*, 38; buckram,
 i. 47*n*-48*n*; Avigi, 57*n*; Geliz (Ghellé),
 59*n*; Jatolic, 61*n*; muslin, 62*n*; bau-
 dekings, 65*n*; cramoisy, 65*n*; onda-
 nique, 93*n*; zebu, 99*n*; carbine, 101*n*;
 Dulcarnon, 161*n*; balas, 161*n*; azure
 and lazuli, 162*n*; None, 173*n*; Maw-
 met and Mummery, 189*n*; salamander,
 216*n*; berrie, 237*n*; barguerlac, 272*n*;
 S'ling, 276*n*, 283*n*; sicaltoun, 283*n*;
 Argon, 290*n*; Tungani, 291; Guasmul,
 292*n*; chakór, 297*n*; Jádú and Yadah,
 309*n*-310*n*; Tafur, 313*n*; Bacsí, 314*n*;
 Sensin, 321*n*; P'ungyi, 325*n*; *carquois*
 366*n*; Keshikán, 380*n*; vernique,
 384*n*; camut, borgal, shagreen, 395*n*;
 Chinuchi or Chunchi, 401*n*; Toscaol,
 407*n*; Bularguchi, 407*n*; Fondaco,
 415*n*; Bailo, 421*n*; comerque, ii.
 41*n*; porcelain, 74*n*; Sangon, 138*n*;
 Faghfur, 148*n*; Manjanik, mangonel,
 mangle, etc., 163*n*-164*n*; galingle,
 229*n*; Chini and Misri, 230*n*; Satin,
 241*n*, 242*n*; eagle-wood, aloes-wood,
 271*n*-272*n*; Bonús, Calamanz, *ib.*;
 benzoni, 286*n*; china pagoda, 336*n*;
 Pacauca, 346*n*; Balanjar, a-muck,
 347*n*-348*n*; Pariah, 349*n*; Govi, *ib.*;
 Avarian, 355*n*-356*n*; Abraiaman, 367*n*;
 Choiach, 368*n*; proques, 370*n*; Tem-
 bul and Betel, 374*n*; Sappan and
 Brazil, 380*n*-381*n*; Balladi, *ib.*; Bel-
 ledi, 381*n*; Indigo baccadeo, 382*n*;
 Gatpaul, baboon, 383*n*-385*n*; Salami
 cinnamon, 391*n*; *кыраков*, *ib.*; rook
 (in chess), 419*n*; Aranie, 462*n*; Erculin
 and Vair, 483*n*; Miskál, 592*n*
- (of Proper Names), Curd, i.
 62*n*; Dzungaria, 214*n*; Chingintalas,
ib.; Cambuscan, 247*n*; Oirad, 308*n*;
 Kungurat, 358*n*; Manzi, ii. 144*n*;
 Bayan, 148*n*; Kinsay, 193*n*; Japan,
 256*n*; Sornau, 279*n*; Narkandam,
 312*n*; Ceylon, 314*n*; Ma'bar, 332*n*;
 Chilaw, 337*n*; Mailapúr, 359*n*; Sóna-
 garpattanam, 372*n*; Punnei - Káyal,
 Káyal, *ib.*; Kollam (Coilum), 377;
 Hili (Ely), 386*n*; Cambaet, 398*n*;
 Mangla and Nebila, 405*n*; Socotra,
 408*n*; Colesseeah, 410*n*; Caligine,
 439*n*; Ajaruc, 463; Nemej, 493*n*
- Chinese, ii. 119*n*
- Etzina, i. 223
- Eunuchs, i. 356; procured from Bengal,
 ii. 115*n*
- Euphrates, i. 43*n*; said to flow into the
 Caspian, 52, 59*n*

- Euphratesia*, i. 43*n*
 Euxine, *see* Black Sea
 Evelyn's *Diary*, i. 136*n*
 Execution of Princes of the Blood, mode of, i. 67*n*, 343, 344*n*
 Eyrcayá, i. 281*n*
- FACEN, Dr J., 139
- Faghfur (Facfur, Emperor of Southern China), ii. 145; meaning of title, 148*n*; his effeminate diversions, 207; decay of his palace, 208
- Faizabad in Badakhshan, i. 156*n*, 163*n*, 173*n*, 175*n*
- Fakanúr, ii. 440*n*
- Fakata, ii. 260*n*
- Fahrudin Ahmad, Prince of Hormuz, i. 121*n*, ii. 333*n*
- Falconers, Kúblái's, i. 335, 402, 407*n*
- Falcons, of Kerman, i. 90, 96*n*; Saker and Lanner, 158, 162*n*; peregrine, 269; Kúblái's, 402
- Famine, horrors, 313*n*
- Fanchán*, *P'ingchang*, title of a second class Cabinet Minister, i. 432*n*, ii. 179*n*
- Fanchan Lake, ii. 29*n*
- Fan-ching, siege of, ii. 167*n*
- Fandaraina, ii. 386*n*, 391*n*, 440*n*
- Fang*, *see* Squares
- Fansur, in Sumatra, kingdom of, ii. 299, 302*n*
- Fansuri camphor, ii. 299, 302*n*
- Fan Wen-hu, or Fan-bunko, a General in Japanese Expedition, ii. 260*n*, 261*n*
- Fariab, or Pariab, i. 106*n*
- Faro of Constantinople, ii. 490
- Farriers, none in S. India, ii. 340, 450
- Fars, province, i. 85*n*, 92*n*, ii. 333*n*, 348*n*, 377*n*, 402*n*
- Fashiyah, Atabeg dynasty, i. 85*n*, 86*n*
- Fassa, i. 86*n*
- Fasting days, Buddhist, i. 220, 222*n*
- Fattan, in Ma'bar, ii. 333*n*, 336*n*
- Fatteh, 'Ali Sháh, i. 146*n*, 179*n*
- Fausto, Vettor, his Quinquere, 33
- Fazl, Ibn Hassan (Fazluieh-Hasunieh), i. 86*n*
- Feili, Lurs dynasty, i. 84*n*
- Female attendants on Chinese Emperors, ii. 17, 20*n*, 147, 207, 208
- Ferlec, in Sumatra, kingdom of (Parlák), ii. 284, 287*n*, 294*n*, 295*n*, 305*n*; Hill people, 284, 288*n*
- Fernandez, or Moravia, Valentine, ii. 295*n*
- Ferrier, General, i. 68*n*, 100*n*, 106*n*
- Festivals, Order of the Kaan's, i. 386, 388*n*
- Fiag, or Pog River, i. 54*n*
- Ficus Vasta*, i. 129*n*
- Fidáwí*, Ismailite adepts, i. 144*n*, 145*n*
- Filial Piety in China, i. 457, 462*n*
- Filippi, Professor F. de, Silk industry in Ghlán, i. 59*n*
- Finn, i. 122*n*
- Fiordelisa, daughter of younger Maffeo Polo, 17, 65
- supposed to be Nicolo Polo's second wife, 17, 26, 27
- wife of Felice Polo, 27, 65
- Firando Island, ii. 260*n*
- Firdús, Ismailite Castle, i. 148*n*
- Firdúsf, i. 93*n*, 130*n*
- Fire, affected by height of Pamir Plain, i. 171, 178*n*; regulations at Kinsay, ii. 189
- Fire-baptism, ascribed to Abyssinians, ii. 427, 432*n*
- Fire-*Pao* (cannon?), i. 342*n*, ii. 596*n*
- Fire-worship, or rockets, in Persia, i. 78, 80; by the Sensin in Cathay, 303, 325*n*
- Firishta, the historian, i. 104*n*, 169*n*
- Fish miracle in Georgia, i. 52, 57*n*, 58*n*; in the Caspian, 59*n*; and date diet, 107, 116*n*, ii. 450; supply at Kinsay, 202; food for cattle, 443, 444*n*; stored for man and beast, 443
- Fish-oil, used for rubbing ships, i. 108, 117*n*
- Florin, or ducat, ii. 215, 591*n*
- Flour (Sago), trees producing, ii. 300, 304*n*, 305*n*
- Flückiger, Dr., ii. 226*n*
- Fog, dry, i. 105*n*
- Fo-kien, *see* Fu-chau
- Folin (Byzantine Empire), ii. 405*n*
- Fondaco, i. 415*n*, ii. 238*n*
- Foot-mark on Adam's Peak, *q.v.*
- Foot-posts in Cathay, i. 435
- Forg, i. 86*n*
- Formosa, Plain (Harmuza), i. 107, 115*n*
- Forsyth, Sir T. Douglas, i. 193*n*, 194*n*, 216*n*, 400*n*
- Fortune, R., ii. 182*n*, 198, 220*n*, 222*n*, 224*n*, 229*n*, 233*n*
- Foundlings, provision for, ii. 147, 151*n*
- Four-horned sheep, ii. 443, 444*n*
- Fowls with hair, ii. 126, 129*n*
- Foxes, black, ii. 479, 481*n*, 484, 487
- Fozlán, Ibn, i. 7*n*, 8*n*, ii. 348*n*, 488*n*
- Fra terre* (Interior), i. 43*n*
- Fracastoro, Jerome, 2
- Franciscan converts, in Volga region, i. 5*n* 9*n*, ii. 491*n*; at Yang-chau, 154*n*; Zayton, 237*n*
- Francolin (darráj of the Persians), black partridge, i. 97, 99*n*, 107, 297*n*
- Frankincense, *see* Incense
- Frederic II., Emperor, his account of the Tartars, i. 56*n*; story of implicit obedience, 144*n*; his *cheetas*, 398*n*; his leather money, 429*n*; his giraffe, ii. 424*n*

- French, the original language of Polo's Book, *8r seqq.*; its large diffusion in that age, *86 seqq.*, *122*
- French Expedition up the Kamboja River, ii. *57n*, *67n*, *80n*, *90n*, *120n*
- Frenchmen, riding long like, ii. *78*
- French mission and missionaries in China, ii. *38n*, *48n*, *52n*, *57n*, *63n*, *96n*, *97n*, *127n*
- Frère charnel, i. *187n*
- Frere, Sir B., i. *96n*, *117n*, *147n*, ii. *395n*, *424n*
- Froissart, i. *17n*, *42n*, *68n*
- Fu-chau (Fo-kien, Fuju), ii. *220n-222n*, *224n*, *226*, *230*, *231*, *232n*, *233n*, *238n*, *251n*; paper-money at, i. *428n*; wild hill people of, *225*, *228n*; its identity, *232n*, *238n*; language of, *243n*; tooth relique at, *330n*
- Fuen (Fen) ho River, ii. *17n*
- Funeral rites, Chinese, in Tangut, i. *204*; of the Kaans, *246*, *250n*; at Kinsay, ii. *191*. (*See also Dead.*)
- Fungul, city of, ii. *124*, *127n*
- Furs, of the Northern Regions, i. *257*, *405*, *410n*, ii. *481*, *483n*, *484*, *487*
- Fusang, Mexico (?), ii. *405n*
- Fuyang, ii. *220n*
- Fuzo, *see* Fu-chau
- GABALA, Bishop of, i. *231n*
- Gagry, maritime defile of, i. *54n*
- Gaisue, officer of Kúblái's Mathematical Board, i. *449n*
- Galeasse, Venetian gallery, *36*, i. *119n*
- Galingale, ii. *225*, *229n*, *272*
- Galletti, Marco, *27*, *512n*
- Galleys of the Middle Ages, war, *31 seqq.*; arrangement of rowers, *31-32*; number of oars, *32*, *311*; dimensions, *33* *34*; tactics in fight, *38*; toil in rowing, *ib.*; strength and cost of crew, *39*; staff of fleet, *39-40*; Joinville's description of, *40*; customs of, *41*
- Galley-slaves not usual in Middle Ages, *39*
- Gambling, prohibited by Kúblái, i. *457*
- Game, *see* Sport
- Game Laws, Mongol, i. *396*, *406*, ii. *13*
- Game, supplied to Court of Cambaluc, i. *396*, *401*
- Ganapati Kings, ii. *362n*
- Gandar, Father, ii. *139n*, *153n*
- Gandhára, ii. *114n*, *329n*, *330n*; Buddhist name for Yun-nan, ii. *73n*
- Ganfu, port of Kinsay, ii. *189*
- Ganja, gate of, i. *57n*
- Gan-p'u, ii. *238n*
- Gantanpouhoa, Kúblái's son, i. *361n*
- Gantûr, ii. *362n*
- Gardenia, fruit and dyes, ii, *226n*
- Gardiner's (misprinted Gardner's) *Travels*, i. *160n*, *179n*
- Gardner, C., ii. *196n*, *198n*
- Garmsir, Ghermseer (Cremesor), Hot Region, i. *75n*, *99n*, *112n*, *114n*
- Garnier, Lieut. Francis (journey to Talifu), ii. *38n*, *48n*, *57n*, *58n*, *60n*, *64n*, *67n*, *74n*, *80n*, *90n*, *91n*, *95n*, *99n*, *117n*, *120n*, *122n*, *123n*, *128n*, *130n*, *198n*, *278n*
- Garrisons, Mongol, in Cathay and Manzi, i. *336n*, ii. *190*, *200n*; disliked by the people, *205*
- Garuda, ii. *351n*, *415n*, *419n*
- Gate of Iron, ascribed to Derbend, i. *57n*
- Gates, of Kaan's palace, i. *363*, *368n*; of Cambaluc, *374*, *377n*; of Somnath, ii. *400-401*
- Gat-pauls, Gatopaul, Gatos-paulas, ii. *382*, *383n*, *385n*
- Gatto maimone, ii. *383n*
- Gauenispola Island, ii. *300*, *307n*
- Gaur (*Bos Gaurus*, etc.), ii. *114n*
- Gauristan, i. *86n*
- Gavraz villages, *45n*
- Gazaria, ii. *490*, *492n*
- Gedrosi, ii. *402n*
- Gelath in Imeretia, Iron Gate at, i. *57n*
- Geliz, Spanish for silk dealer, i. *59n*
- Genealogy of Polos, *13*; errors as given by Barbaro, etc., in, *77-78*; tabular, ii. *506n*; of House of Chinghiz, *505n*
- Genoa, Polo's captivity at, *6*, *48-55*
- and Pisa, rivalry, and wars of, *41*, *56 seqq.*
- and Venice, rivalry and wars of, *41 seqq.*
- Genoese, their growth in skill and splendour, *42*; character as seamen by poet of their own, *43*; character by old Italian author, *48*; capture of Soldaia, i. *4n*; their navigation of the Caspian, *52*, *59n*; trade in box-wood, *57n*; their merchants at Tabriz, *75*; in Fo-kien, ii. *238n*
- Gentile Plural names converted into local singulars, i. *58n*
- Geographical Text of Polo's Book constantly quoted, its language, *83*; proofs that it is the original, *84 seqq.*; tautology, *85*; source of other texts, *ib.*
- George (Jirjis, Yurji, Gurgán), king of Tenduc, of the time of Prester John, i. *284*, *287n*; a possible descendant of, *288n*, ii. *460*
- Georgia (Georgiana), beauty of, and its inhabitants, i. *50-53n*; their kings, *50*, *52n*
- Gerfalcons (Shonkár), i. *270*, *273n*, *299*, *402*, *404*; tablets engraved with, *35*, *351*, *355n*, ii. *487*
- Gerini, Colonel, ii. *596n*

- German Follower of the Polos, ii. 159
 Ghaisuddin Balban (Asedin Soldan),
 Sultan of Delhi, i. 99, 104*n*, 105*n*
 Gháran country, ruby mines in, i. 161*n*
 Gházán (Casan) Khan of Persia, son of
 Arghún, i. 14*n*, 29*n*, 88*n*, 103*n*, 121*n*,
 138*n*, 429*n*, ii. 50, 166*n*, 466*n*; his
 regard for the Polos, i. 35; marries
 the Lady Kukachin, 36, 38*n*, ii.
 465*n*; his mosque at Tabriz, i. 76*n*;
 set to watch the Khorasan frontier,
 474, 475*n*; obtains the throne, 476;
 his object and accomplishments, 478*n*
 Ghel, or Ghelan (Ghel-u-chelan), Sea of,
 Caspian Sea, i. 52, 58*n*
 Ghellé (Gflá), silk of the Gfl province, i.
 52, 59*n*
 Ghes, or Kenn (formerly Kish or Kais), i.
 63, 64*n*
 Ghez tree, i. 89*n*
 Ghiuju, ii. 219, 221*n*, 222*n*
 Ghiyas ed-din, last Prince of Kurd
 dynasty, i. 85*n*
 Ghori, or Aksarai River, i. 152*n*
 Ghúls, goblins, i. 202*n*
 Ghúr, i. 102*n*
 Giglioli, Professor H., 51
 Gil, or Gflán, province, i. 59*n*
 Gilgit, i. 160*n*
 Gill, Captain (*River of Golden Sand*), i.
 408*n*, ii. 40*n*, 57*n*, 59*n*, 80*n*-82*n*, 84*n*,
 88*n*, 91*n*, 109*n*, 169*n*, 221*n*
 Ginao, Mt. and Hot Springs, i. 122*n*
 Gindanes of Herodotus, ii. 48
 Ginger, ii. 22; Shan-si, 33; Caindu, 56;
 alleged to grow in Kiangnan, 181,
 183*n*; Fuju, 224, 325; Coilum,
 375, 381*n*; different qualities and
 prices of, 381*n*; Ely, 385, 388*n*;
 Malabar, 389; Guzerat, 393
 Giraffes, ii. 413, 421*n*, 422, 431; mediæval
 notices of, 424*n*
 Girardo, Paul, 70, ii. 511*n*
 Girdkuh, an Ismailite fortress, its long
 defence, i. 146*n*, 148*n*
 Girls, consecrated to idols in India, ii.
 345-346
 Gittarchan, *see* Astrakhan
 Glaza (Ayas, *q.v.*), 54
 Gleemen and jugglers, conquer Mien, ii.
 110
 Goa, ii. 358*n*, 451*n*
 Gobernador, Straits of, ii. 281*n*
 Goës, Benedict, 20, i. 175*n*, 218*n*
 Gog and Magog (Ung and Mungul),
 legend of, i. 56*n*, 57*n*; rampart of,
 57*n*; country of, 285; name sug-
 gested by Wall of China, 292*n*
 Gogo, ii. 398*n*
 Gótre at Yarkand, i. 187, 188*n*
 Golconda diamond mines, ii. 362*n*
 Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh, their
 mystic meaning, i. 79, 81*n*
 Gold dust in Tibet, ii. 49, 52*n*; ex-
 changed for salt in Caindu, 54, 57*n*;
 Brius River, 56; in Kin-shia-Kiang,
 72*n*; and nuggets in Carajan, 76;
 abundant in Yun-nan, 95*n*, 106; Cau-
 gigu, 116; Coloman, 123; infinite in
 Chipangu, 253, 256; in Sea of Chin
 Islands, 264; dust in Gulf of Cheinan
 Islands, 266; not found in Java, 274*n*;
 in Locac, 276; the Malayo-Siamese
 territories, 179*n*; Sumatra, 284, 287*n*;
 vast accumulations in South India, 12,
 340, 348*n*; imported into Malabar,
 390; and into Cambay, 398; pur-
 chased in Socotra, 407
 Gold and silver towers of Mien, ii. 110
 — cloths of, i. 41, 50, 60, 63, 65*n*,
 75, 84, 285, 387, ii. 23. (*See* Silk and
 Gold.)
 — of the Gryphons in Herodotus, ii.
 419*n*
 — Teeth (Zardandan), Western Yun-
 nan, ii. 84, 88*n*-91*n*
 — to silver, relative value of, i. 426*n*,
 ii. 95*n*, 256*n*, 591*n*
 Golden King and Prester John, tale of
 the, ii. 17-22
 — Island, ii. 174*n*, 175, 176*n*, 310*n*
 — Horde (kings of the Ponent), ii.
 486*n*, 492*n*
 Golfo, *Indigo di*, ii. 382*n*
 Gomispolá, Gomispoda, *see* Gauenispola
 Gomushtapah, Wall of, i. 57*n*
 Gomuti palm, ii. 297*n*
 Gondophares, a king in the St.
 Thomas legends, ii. 357*n*
 Gordon's "Ever Victorious Army," ii.
 179*n*
 Gordun Sháh, i. 120*n*
 Göring, F., i. 74*n*
 Goriosan, ii. 260*n*
 Gor Khar, wild ass, i. 89*n*
 Goshawks, i. 50, 57*n*, 96*n*, 252, 402;
 black, ii. 285, 345
 Gothia (Crimean), ii. 490; its limit and
 language, 492*n*
 Govy, a low caste in Maabar, ii. 341,
 349*n*, 355
 Goza, i. 38*n*
 Gozurat, *see* Guzerat
 Grail, Buddhist parallel to the Holy, ii.
 328*n*, 330*n*
 Granaries, Imperial, i. 443
 Grapes in Shan-si, ii. 13, 15*n*, 16*n*
 Grass-cloths, ii. 127*n*
 Grasso, Donato, 25
 Great Bear (Meistre), ii. 292, 296*n*; and
 Little, force of, and application of these
 epithets, 286*n*
 Great, or Greater Sea (Black Sea), i. 3*n*,
 ii. 487, 488, 490
 Greece, Bactria's relation to, i. 160*n*
 Greek fire, 38, ii. 165*n*

- Greeks, in Turcomania, i. 43; and Greek tongue in Socotra, ii. 408ⁿ, 409ⁿ; possible relic of, 410ⁿ
- Green, Rev. D. D., ii. 193ⁿ
- Island, legendary, ii. 381ⁿ
- Islands, ii. 417ⁿ
- Mount, Cambaluc, i. 365, 370ⁿ
- R., *see* Tsien Tang
- Gregorieff, his excavations at Sarai, i. 6ⁿ
- Gregory X., Pope, *see* Theobald of Piacenza
- Grenard, i. 189ⁿ, 190ⁿ, 193ⁿ, 195ⁿ, 200ⁿ, 203ⁿ, 276ⁿ, 310ⁿ, 324ⁿ, 409ⁿ, ii. 5ⁿ, 27ⁿ
- Griani, Zanino, ii. 517ⁿ
- Griut* (*kurut*), sour-curd, i. 265ⁿ
- Groat, Venetian *grosso*, i. 424, 426ⁿ, ii. 22, 66, 153, 181, 201, 225, 236, 354, 591ⁿ
- Groot, Professor, J. J. M. de, i. 209ⁿ, 251ⁿ, 268ⁿ, ii. 135ⁿ
- Grote, Arthur, ii. 444ⁿ
- Grueber and Dorville, Jesuit travellers, i. 276ⁿ
- Grus*, *cinerea*, *antigone*, *leucogeranus*, *monachus*, i. 297ⁿ
- Gryphon, *see* Ruc
- Guasmul (Basmul), half-breeds, i. 284, 292ⁿ
- Guchluk, i. 161ⁿ
- Gudar (village), i. 113ⁿ
- Gudderi*, musk animals, Tibet, ii. 45, 49ⁿ
- Gudran, i. 126ⁿ
- Guebers, the, i. 88ⁿ, 96ⁿ
- Gujáh, Húlákú's chief secretary, i. 33ⁿ
- Gugal*, bdellium, ii. 397ⁿ
- Guilds of craftsmen at Kinsay, ii. 186
- Venetian, 72
- Guinea-fowl, ii. 431, 437ⁿ
- Guions, a quasi-Tibetan tribe, ii. 60ⁿ
- Gumish-Khának, silver mines, i. 49ⁿ
- Gunpowder, 138
- Gurgan, a Tartar chief, ii. 474ⁿ
- Gurgan*, son-in-law, a title, i. 288ⁿ
- Gur-Khan of Karacathay, i. 233ⁿ
- Gutturals, Mongol elision of, i. 8ⁿ, 64ⁿ
- Guz* = 100, i. 261, 263ⁿ
- Guzerat (Gozurat), ii. 389, 390, 392, 394ⁿ; products, mediæval architecture and dress, 393; work, 393-394, 395ⁿ
- HAAST, Dr., discovers a fossil Ruc, ii. 417ⁿ
- Habíb-ullah of Khotan, i. 189ⁿ
- Habsh (Abash), *see* Abyssinia
- Hadhramaut (*Sessania Adrumetorum*), i. 82ⁿ
- Hadhah, ii. 436ⁿ
- Haffer, ii. 445ⁿ
- Hai-nan, Gulf of, ii. 266ⁿ
- language of, ii. 244ⁿ
- Hairy men in Sumatra, ii. 301ⁿ
- Hajji Mahomed, i. 211ⁿ, 221ⁿ
- Hakeddin, ii. 436ⁿ
- Half-breeds, *see* Argon
- Hamd Allah Mastaufi, the geographer, i. 76ⁿ, 81ⁿ, 84ⁿ, 92ⁿ, 135ⁿ
- Hamilton, Captain Alexander, i. 106ⁿ, 122ⁿ
- Hammer-Purgstall on Marco Polo, 115
- Hamúm Arabs, ii. 443ⁿ
- Hamza of Ispahan, i. 101ⁿ
- Hamza Pantsúri, or Fantsúri, ii. 303ⁿ
- Hanbury, D., ii. 183ⁿ, 226ⁿ, 229ⁿ
- Han-chung (Cuncun), ii. 31, 32ⁿ, 34ⁿ, 35ⁿ
- Hang-chau fu, *see* Kinsay
- Han dynasty, i. 193ⁿ, 347ⁿ, ii. 32ⁿ, 35ⁿ, 70ⁿ
- River, ii. 34ⁿ, 35ⁿ, 149ⁿ, 167ⁿ
- Hanjam, i. 115ⁿ
- Han-kau, ii. 183ⁿ
- Hansi, ii. 427ⁿ
- Han Yü, ii. 81ⁿ
- Harám*, i. 141ⁿ
- Harhaura, W. Panjáb, i. 104ⁿ
- Harlez, Mgr. de, i. 305ⁿ
- Hármozeta*, i. 114ⁿ
- Harpagornis*, fossil Ruc, ii. 417ⁿ
- Harran, i. 23ⁿ
- Harshadeva, king of Kashmir, i. 169ⁿ
- Harsuddi, temple of, ii. 349ⁿ
- Haru, or Aru, ii. 303ⁿ
- Hashfishín, *see* Assassins
- Hasik, ii. 444ⁿ
- Hassán Kalá, hot springs at, i. 47ⁿ
- Hassan, son of Sabah, founder of the Ismailites, i. 141ⁿ
- Hastings, Warren, letter of, i. 57ⁿ
- Hatan, rebellion of, i. 346ⁿ
- Haunted deserts, i. 197, 201ⁿ, 274
- Havret, Father H., ii. 155ⁿ, 212ⁿ
- Hawdrly* (Avarian), the term, ii. 356ⁿ
- Hawks, hawking in Georgia, i. 50, 57ⁿ; Yezd and Kerman, 88, 90, 96ⁿ; Badakhshan, 158, 162ⁿ; Etzina, 223; among the Tartars, 252; on shores and islands of Northern Ocean, 269, 273ⁿ; Kúblái's sport at Chagannor, 296; in mew at Chandu, 299; trained eagles, 397, 399ⁿ; Kúblái's establishment of, 402, 403, 407ⁿ, ii. 13; in Tibet, 50; Sumatra, 285; Maabar, 345
- Hayton I. (Hethum), king of Lesser Armenia, 11, i. 25ⁿ, 42ⁿ, ii. 592ⁿ; his autograph, 13
- Házaras, the, Mongol origin of, i. 102ⁿ; lax custom ascribed to, 212ⁿ, ii. 56ⁿ
- Hazbana, king of Abyssinia, ii. 436ⁿ
- Heat, great at Hormuz, i. 108, 109, 119ⁿ, ii. 452; in India, 343, 375-376
- Heaven, City of (Kinsay), ii. 182, 184ⁿ, 185, 203
- Hedin, Dr. Sven, i. 188ⁿ, 190ⁿ, 193ⁿ, 198ⁿ, 203ⁿ, 225ⁿ, 276ⁿ

- Heibak, caves at, i. 156ⁿ
 Height, effects on fire of great, i. 171, 178ⁿ
 Heikel, Professor Axel, on Buddhist monasteries in the Orkhon, i. 228ⁿ
 Hei-shui (Mongol Etsina) River, i. 225ⁿ
 Hel, Ela (Cardamom), ii. 388ⁿ
 Helena, Empress, i. 82ⁿ
 Helli, *see* Eli
 He-lung Kiang, ii. 35ⁿ
 Hemp of Kwei-chau, ii. 127
 Henry II., Duke of Silesia, ii. 493ⁿ
 Henry III., i. 27ⁿ, 56ⁿ
 Heraclius, Emperor, said to have loosed the shut-up nations, i. 56ⁿ
 Herat, i. 150ⁿ, ii. 402ⁿ
 Hereditary trades, ii. 186, 196ⁿ
 Hereford, Map, 132, i. 134ⁿ
 Hermenia, *see* Armenia
 Hermits of Kashmir, i. 166, 169ⁿ
 Herodotus, i. 135ⁿ, ii. 104ⁿ, 109ⁿ
 Hethum, *see* Hayton
 Hiai- or Kial-chau (Caichu?), ii. 19ⁿ
 Hides, ii. 398. (*See* Leather.)
 Hili, Hili-Marawi, *see* Ely
 Hill-people of Fo-kien, wild, ii. 225, 228ⁿ
 Hinaur, *see* Hunáwar
 Hind, ii. 402ⁿ
 Hindu character, remarks on frequent eulogy of, ii. 367
 ———— Kush, i. 104ⁿ, 164ⁿ, 165ⁿ, ii. 594ⁿ
 Hindus, their steel and iron, i. 93ⁿ
 ———— in Java, ii. 283ⁿ
 Hing-hwa, language of, ii. 244ⁿ
 Hippopotamus' teeth, ii. 413, 421ⁿ
 Hips, admiration of large, i. 160
 Hirth, Dr. F., ii. 27ⁿ, 28ⁿ, 89ⁿ, 194ⁿ, 199ⁿ
 Hiuan-Tsung, Emperor, ii. 28ⁿ
 Hiuen Tsang, Dr., a Buddhist monk, i. 164ⁿ-165ⁿ, 169ⁿ, 174ⁿ, 189ⁿ-193ⁿ, 197ⁿ, 202ⁿ, 221ⁿ, 222ⁿ, 306ⁿ, 446ⁿ, ii. 28ⁿ, 60ⁿ, 594ⁿ, 595ⁿ
 Hochau, in Sze-chwan, Mangku Khan's death at, i. 245ⁿ
 ———— in Kansuh, ii. 29ⁿ
 Hochung-fu (Cachanfu), ii. 25ⁿ
 Hodgson, Mr., ii. 116ⁿ
 Hoernle, Dr., i. 190ⁿ
 Hojos, ii. 262ⁿ
 Hoken-fu (Cacanfu), ii. 133ⁿ
 Hokow, or Hokeu, ii. 224ⁿ
 Holcombe, Rev. C., on Hwai-lu, ii. 15; on Yellow River, 23; on Piau-chau fu, 25; on road from T'ung-kuan to Singan fu, 27
 Hollingworth, H. G., ii. 144ⁿ
 Holy Sepulchre, ii. 429; oil from lamp of, i. 14, 19, 26
 Homeritae, ii. 432ⁿ
 Homi-cheu, or Ngo-ning, ii. 122ⁿ, 128ⁿ, 129ⁿ, 131ⁿ
Homme, its technical use, i. 27ⁿ, 342ⁿ
 Hondius map, i. 102ⁿ
 Ho-nhi, or Ngo-ning (Anin) tribe, ii. 120ⁿ, 121ⁿ. (*See* Homi-cheu.)
 Hooker, Sir Joseph, on bamboo explosion, ii. 46ⁿ
 Horiad (Oirad, or Uirad) tribe, i. 300, 308ⁿ
 Hormuz (Hormos, Curmosa), i. 83, 107, 110ⁿ, ii. 340, 348ⁿ, 370, 402ⁿ, 449, 451; trade with India, a sickly place, the people's diet, i. 107, ii. 450; ships, 108; great heat and fatal wind, 108, 109, 119ⁿ, 120ⁿ; crops, mourning customs, i. 109; the king of, 110; another road to Kerman from, 110, 122ⁿ; route from Kerman to, 110ⁿ; site of the old city, *ib.*; foundation of, 115ⁿ; history of, 120ⁿ; merchants, ii. 340; horses exported to India from, 348ⁿ; the Melik of, 449, 450, 451
 ———— Island, or Jerun, i. 110ⁿ, 111ⁿ, ii. 451ⁿ; Organa of Arian, i. 115ⁿ, 121ⁿ
 Hormuzdia, i. 111ⁿ
 Horns of *Ovis Poli*, i. 171, 176ⁿ
 Horoscopes, in China, i. 447, ii. 191; in Maabar, 344
 Horse-posts and Post-houses, i. 433, 437ⁿ
 Horses, Turkish, i. 43, 44ⁿ; Persian, 83, 86ⁿ; of Badakhshan, strain of Bucephalus, 158, 162ⁿ; sacrificed at Kaans' tombs, 246; Tartar, 260, 264ⁿ; and white mares, 300, 308ⁿ; presented to Kaan on New Year's Day, 390; of Carajan, ii. 64, 78, 81ⁿ; their tails docked, 82ⁿ; of Anin, 119; tracking by, 174ⁿ; decorated with Yaks' tails, 355; now bred in S. India, 340, 342, 348ⁿ, 350ⁿ, 438, 450
 ———— great trade and prices in importing to India from Persia, i. 83, 86ⁿ; modes of shipment, 108, 117ⁿ; from Carajan, ii. 78; from Anin, 119; from Kis, Hormuz, Dofar, Soer, and Aden, 340, 348ⁿ, 370, 395, 438; Esher, 442; Dofar, 444; Calatu, 450, 451ⁿ
 ———— duty on, 438; captured by pirates, 395; their extraordinary treatment and diet in India, 340, 345, 348ⁿ-349ⁿ, 351ⁿ, 450
 Horse-stealing, Tartar laws *v.*, i. 266
 Hosie, A., ii. 131ⁿ; on Ch'eng-tu, 40ⁿ; brine-wells of Pai-yen-ching, 58ⁿ; on the Si-fan, 60ⁿ, 61ⁿ; on Caidu Lake, 72ⁿ
 Hospitals, Buddhist, i. 446ⁿ
 Hostelries, at Cambaluc, i. 412; on the Cathay post-roads, 434; ii. 32ⁿ; at Kinsay, 193
 Hot springs in Armenia, i. 45, 46ⁿ; near Hormuz, 110, 122ⁿ
 Hounds, Masters of Kaan's, i. 400-401ⁿ
 Hours, struck from Cambaluc bell-tower, i. 373, 414; at Kinsay, ii. 188; un-

Hours (*continued*)—

lucky, 364, 368*n*; canonical, 368*n*, 369*n*

Hsi Hsia dynasty, i. 205*n*

Hsiang-chên, *Hsiang*, wood, ii. 301*n*

Hu-chau fu (Vuju), ii. 184*n*

Hui-hui, white and black capped, two Mohammedan sects, ii. 30*n*

Hukaji (Hogáchi, Cogachin), Kúblái's son, i. 361*n*, ii. 76, 80*n*

Hukwan-hien, ii. 230*n*

Húalákú Khan (Alau, Alacon), Kúblái's brother, and founder of Mongol dynasty in Persia, 10, i. 5, 10, 61*n*, 64*n*, 334*n*; war with Barka Khan, 8*n*, 103*n*; takes Baghdad and puts Khalif to death, 63, 66*n*, 85*n*, 86*n*; the Ismailites and the Old Man, 145, 245, 247*n*

— his treachery, ii. 181*n*; his descendants, 477; battle with Barca, 494; his followers, 495

Hullukluk, village, near Sivas, i. 45*n*

Human fat, used for combustion in war, ii. 180*n*

— sacrifices, i. 208*n*

Humáyún, Emperor, i. 155*n*, 277*n*

Humboldt, 106, 107, 110, 120, i. 178*n*

Hunáwar (Onore, Hinaur), ii. 390*n*, 440*n*

Hundred Eyes, prophecy of the, ii. 145, 146, 149*n*

Hundáwniy (ondanique), Indian steel, i. 93*n*

Hungary, Hungarians, ii. 286*n*, 492*n*

Hung Hao, Chinese author, i. 212*n*

Hun-ho (Sanghin River), ii. 5*n*, 6*n*

Hunting equipment and Expedition, Kúblái's, i. 397, 398*n*, 404; Kang-hi's, 407*n*

— preserves, ii. 13. (*See* also Sport.)

Hutton, Captain, i. 100*n*

Hwa-chau, ii. 29*n*

Hwai-lu, or Hwo-lu-h'ien (Khavailu), the Birmingham of N. Shansi, ii. 15*n*

Hwai-ngan-fu (Coiganju), ii. 152*n*

Hwai River, ii. 143*n*, 152*n*

Hwang-ho (Yellow River), i. 245*n*, 282*n*, 286*n*, ii. 23*n*, 25*n*, 27*n*; changes in its courses, 137*n*, 142*n*, 143*n*; its embankments, 143*n*

Hwan-ho, ii. 6*n*

Hyena, i. 378*n*

Hyrkania, king of, i. 57*n*

IABADIU, ii. 286*n*

Ibn-al-Furât, i. 67*n*

Ibn Batuta (Moorish traveller, *circa* A.D. 1330-1350), i. 4*n*-9*n*, 37*n*, 44*n*, 46*n*, 65*n*, 75*n*, 76*n*, 85*n*, 101*n*, 110*n*, 111*n*, 116*n*, 120*n*, 148*n*, 150*n*, 151*n*, 161*n*, 165*n*, 202*n*, 247*n*, 294*n*, 346*n*, 396*n*-410*n*, ii. 116*n*, 163*n*, 214*n*, 282*n*, 286*n*, 312*n*, 322*n*, 337*n*, 346*n*, 380*n*, 391*n*, 413*n*, 440*n*, 444*n*, 445*n*, 465*n*; his

account of Chinese juggling, i. 316*n*; his account of Khansa (Kinsay), ii. 214*n*; of Zayton, 238*n*; in Sumatra, 289*n*, 294*n*; on Camphor, 303*n*; in Ceylon, 315*n*, 322*n*, 337*n*; at Kaulam, 377*n*, 380*n*; in Malabar, 391*n*; sees Rukh, 419*n*; his account of Maldives, 425*n*; dog-sledges, 481*n*, 483*n*; Market in Land of Darkness, 486*n*; on Silver Mines of Russia, 488*n*

Ibn Fozlán, *see* Fozlán

Ichin-hien, ii. 154*n*, 168*n*, 173*n*

Ichthyophagous cattle and people, ii. 442, 443, 444*n*

Icon Amlac, king of Abyssinia, ii. 434*n*-436*n*

Iconium (Kunyah, Conia), i. 43, 44*n*

Idolatory (Buddhism) and Idolaters, in Kashmir, i. 166, 168*n*; their decalogue, 167, 170*n*; Pashai, 172; Tangut, 203, 207*n*; Kamul, 210; Kanchau, 219, 221*n*; Chingintalas, 212; Suhchau, 217; Etzina, their fasting days, 220, 222*n*, 223; Tartars and Cathayans, 263, 343, 445, 456; Erguiul, 274; Egrigaia, 281; Tenduc, 284, 285; Chandu, 300-303; at Kúblái's birthday feast, 387; Cachanfu, ii. 23; Kenjanfu, 24; Achalec Manzi, 33; Sindafu, 37; Tibet, 45, 49; Caindu, 53; Yachi, 66; Carajan, 76; Zardandan, 84; Mien, 109; Caugigu, 116; Coloman, 122; Cuiju, 124; Cacanfu, 132; Chinangli, 135; Sinjumatu, 138; Coiganju, 151; Paukin, 152; Tiju, 153; Nanghin, 157; Chinghianfu, 176; Tanpiju, 218; Chipangu, 253; Chamba, 266; Sumatra, 284, 292, 299; Nicobars, 306; Mutfli, 360; Coilum, 375; Eli, 385; Malabar, 389; Tana, 395; Cambaet, 397; Semenat, 398; Far North, 479

— Origin of, ii. 318, 319; of Brahmans, 364; of Jogis, 365

Idols, Tartar, i. 257, 258*n*, 456, ii. 479; Tangut, 203-207*n*; colossal, 219, 221*n*; of Cathay, 263; of Bacci or Lamas, 302; of Sensin, 303, 323*n*-326*n*; of East generally, 263, 265*n*; in India, 340, 345

Ἰερὸδωλοι, ii. 351*n*

Ieu, Gnostics of, ii. 321*n*

Ifat, Aufat, ii. 435*n*

Ig, Ij, or Irej, capital of the Shawánkars, i. 86

Igba Zion, Iakba Siun, king of Abyssinia, ii. 435*n*

Ilchi, commissioner, i. 30*n*

Ilchi, modern capital of Khotan, i. 189*n*, 190*n*

Ilchigadai Khan, i. 186*n*

Ilija, hot springs at, i. 47*n*

Ilkhan, the title, 10

- Ilyáts, nomads of Persia, i. 85
 Imáms of the Ismailites, i. 146*n*
 Im Thurn, Everard, on *Couvade*, ii. 94*n*
 Incense, Sumatran, ii. 286; brown in West India, 395, 396*n*; white (*i.e.* frankincense), in Arabia, 396*n*, 442, 443*n*, 445, 446*n*-449*n*
 India, 12, i. 1, 107, 109, 167, 414, ii. 76, 78, 107, 115, 119, 236, 249; horse trade to, i. 83, 86*n*; trade to Manzi or China from, ii. 190, 216, 390, 395; believed to breed no horses, 340, 342, 438, 450; trade with Persia and Arabia, 370; western limits of, 401, 402*n*; islands of, 423, 425*n*; division of, 424; sundry lists of States, 426*n*-427*n*; trade with Aden and Egypt, 438; with Arabian ports, 442, 444, 450; confusion of Ethiopia and, 432*n*
 India, the Greater, ii. 331 *seqq.*, 401, 424
 — its extent, ii. 425*n*, 426*n*
 — the Lesser, ii. 424, 425*n*-426*n*
 — Middle (Abyssinia), ii. 423, 427
 — remarks on this title, ii. 431*n*
 — Maxima, ii. 426*n*
 — Tertia, ii. 425*n*
 — Superior, ii. 426*n*
 — Sea of, i. 35, 63, 108, 166, ii. 265, 424
 Indian drugs to prolong life, ii. 370*n*
 — geography, dislocation of Polo's, ii. 377*n*, 390*n*, 396*n*, 403*n*, 426*n*
 — nuts, *see* Cocoa-nuts
 — steel (ondanique), i. 93*n*
 Indies, the Three, and their distribution, ii. 424, 426*n*
 Indifference, religious, of Mongol Emperors, i. 14*n*, 349*n*
 Indigo, mode of manufacture at Coilum, ii. 375, 381*n*, 382*n*; in Guzerat, 393; Cambay, 398; prohibited by London Painters' Guild, 382*n*
 Indo-China, ii. 426*n*; States, 42-123, 266-277
 Indragiri River, ii. 283*n*
 Infants, exposure of, ii. 147, 151*n*
 Ingushes of Caucasus, i. 268*n*
 Innocent IV., Pope, i. 62*n*
 Inscription, Jewish, at Kaifungfu, i. 346*n*
 Insult, mode of, in South India, ii. 371
 Intramural interment prohibited, i. 414
 Invulnerability, devices for, ii. 259, 263*n*
 'Irák, i. 74, 84*n*, 86*n*, 145*n*
 Irghai, i. 281*n*
 Irish, accused of eating their dead kin, ii. 298*n*
 — M.S. version of Polo's Book, 102-103
 Iron, in Kerman, i. 90, 92*n*, 93*n*, 94*n*; in Cobinan, 125
 Iron Gate (Derbend Pass), said to have been built by Alexander, i. 53*n*, 54*n*; gate ascribed to, 57*n*, ii. 494
 Irtysh River, ii. 493*n*
 Isaac, king of Abyssinia, ii. 432*n*, 433*n*
 Isabel, queen of Little Armenia, i. 42*n*
 Isabeni, ii. 432*n*
 Isentemur (Sentemur, Essentemur), Kúblái's grandson, ii. 64, 80*n*
 Ish, the prefix, i. 156*n*
 'Ishin, i. 119*n*
 Ish-Káshmi, i. 156*n*, 172*n*; dialect, 160*n*, 173*n*
 Iskandar, Shah of Malacca, ii. 282*n*
 Islands, of the Indian Sea, ii. 249, 424, 426*n*; of China, 251, 264; in the Gulf of Cheinan, 266*n*; Male and Female, 404 *seqq.*
 Isle d'Orleans, ii. 277*n*
 Isle of Rubies (Ceylon), ii. 314*n*
 Ismaíl, Shah of Persia, i. 61*n*
 Ismailites, *see* Assassins
 Ispahan (Istanit, Istan, Spaan), kingdom of Persia, i. 83*n*, 85*n*
 Israel in China, *see* Jews
 Iteration, wearisome, ii. 133*n*
 P'tsing, ii. 283*n*
 Ivongo, ii. 414*n*
 Ivory trade, ii. 423, 424*n*
 Izzuddin Muzaffar, suggests paper-money in Persia, i. 428*n*, 429*n*
 JACINTH, ii. 362*n*
 Jacobite Christians, at Mosul, i. 46, 60, 61*n*, ii. 409*n*, 432*n*-433*n*; at Tauris, i. 75, 77*n*; Yarkand, 187; perhaps in China, 291*n*
 Jacobs, Joseph, Barlaam and Josaphat, ii. 327*n*
Jadah, or *Yadah-Tásh*, i. 309*n*
 Jade stone (jasper) of Khotan, i. 191, 193*n*, 194
 Jaeschke, Rev. H. A., i. 209*n*, 243*n*, 314*n*, 324*n*
 Jaffa, Count of, his galley, 40, 49
 Jaipál, Raja, ii. 346*n*
 Jáj Nagar, ii. 427*n*
 Jaláúddín of Khwarizm, i. 91*n*, 236*n*
 Jamáúddín-al-Thaibi, Lord of Kais, i. 65*n*, ii. 333*n*, 348*n*
 Jamaluddin, envoy from Ma'bar to Khanbaligh, ii. 337*n*
 Jambi River, ii. 283*n*
 James of Aragon, king, i. 273*n*, ii. 163*n*
 Jámisfulah (Gauenispola), ii. 307*n*
 Jamú Khátún, Kúblái's favourite Queen, her kindness to the captured Chinese princesses, i. 38*n*, 358*n*, ii. 151*n*
 Jangama sect, ii. 370*n*
 Janibeg, Khan of Sarai, i. 6*n*, 264*n*, 352*n*
 Japan, *see* Chipangu

- Japanese paper-money, i. 428*n*
 Jaroslavl, ii. 489*n*
Javae, stitched vessel, i. 117*n*
 Jaspas (Gaspar), one of the Magi, i. 78, 82*n*
 Jasper and chalcedony, i. 191, 193*n*
 Jatolic, Játhalk, Jaselic, Gáthalk (καθολικός), i. 60, 61*n*
 Jauchau, ii. 243*n*
 Jaúzgún, former captain of Badakhshan, i. 156*n*
 Java, the Great, 13; described, ii. 272; circuit, empires in, 275*n*; Kúblái's expedition against, *ib.*
 Java, the Greater and Lesser, meaning of these terms, ii. 286*n*
 Java, the Less, *see* Sumatra
 Jawa, Jáwi, applied by Arabs to islands and products of the Archipelago generally, ii. 286*n*
 Jaya-Sinhavarman II., king of Champa, ii. 271*n*
 Jazirah, i. 61*n*
 Jehangír (Jehan, Shah), i. 168*n*
 Jenkinson, Anthony, i. 9*n*, 218*n*
 Jerún (Zarun), island, site of the later Hormuz, i. 110*n*, 111*n*, 115*n*, 121*n*
 Jerusalem, 130, i. 19
 Jesuit maps, i. 408*n*
 Jesujabus, Nestorian Patriarch, ii. 377*n*, 409*n*
 Jews, their test of Mahomed's prophetic character, i. 56*n*; shut up by Alexander, *ib.*; their connection with the Tartars, 57*n*; in China, their inscription at Kaifungfu, 343, 346*n*, 347*n*; in Coilum, ii. 375; in Abyssinia, 427, 431*n*, 434*n*
 Jibal, i. 81*n*
 — Nakús, or "Hill of the Bell," Sinai desert, i. 202*n*
 Jibal-ul-Thabúl, "Hill of Drums," near Mecca, i. 202*n*
 Jiruft, i. 92*n*, 106*n*, 111*n*, 112*n*
 Jogis (Chughi), ii. 365, 369*n*
 John XXII., Pope, i. 4*n*, 5*n*, 186*n*
 Johnson, his visit to Khotan, i. 189*n*, 190*n*, 192*n*, 195*n*, 198*n*
 Johnston, Keith, i. 81*n*, ii. 67*n*
 Johore, Sultan of, ii. 281*n*, 282*n*
 Jon (Jihon, or Oxus) River, ii. 458, 466
 Jordanus, Friar, i. 37*n*
 Jor-fattan (Baliapatan), ii. 386*n*
 Josephus, i. 49*n*, 57*n*, 66*n*
 Jubb River, ii. 424*n*
 Judi, Mount, i. 62*n*
 Jugglers, at Khan's feasts, i. 383, 386*n*, 392; and gleemen conquer Mien, ii. 110, 114*n*
 Juggling extraordinary, i. 316*n*, 318 *et seq.*
 Juji, eldest son of Chinghiz, 10, i. 5*n*, 239*n*
 Juju (Cho-chau), ii. 10, 11*n*, 127, 131*n*
 Julman, ii. 485*n*
 Junghuhu, on Batta cannibalism, ii. 288*n*; on camphor trees, 303*n*
 Junks, ii. 252*n*, 333*n*. (*See also* Ships.)
 Jupár, i. 113*n*
 Justice, administration of Tartar, i. 266
 Justinian, Emperor, i. 49*n*
 Juzgána (Dogana), i. 152*n*
 KAAAN, and Khan, the titles, 10
 Kaan, the Great, *see* Kúblái
 Kaans, the series of, and their burial place, i. 245, 247*n*-250*n*; massacre of all met by funeral party, 246, 250*n*
 Kabul, i. 104*n*, 165*n*, ii. 402*n*
 Kachkár (*Ovis Vignei*), wild sheep, i. 158, 163*n*
 Kadapah, ii. 362*n*
 Kafchi-kúe, ii. 128*n*
 Káfirs of Hindu Kush, i. 165*n*; their wine, 87*n*, 155*n*
 Kahgyur, Tibetan Scripture, ii. 347*n*
 Kahn-i-Panchur, i. 106*n*
 Kaidu (Caidu) Khan, Kúblái's cousin and life-long opponent, 11, i. 183, 186*n*, 187, 214*n*, ii. 148*n*; plots with Nayan, i. 333, 334*n*, 348; his differences with Kúblái, ii. 457; and constant aggressions, 457-458; his death, 459*n*; his victorious expedition *v.* Kúblái, 459; Kúblái's resentment, 463; his daughter's valour, 463 *seqq.*, 465*n*; sends a host *v.* Abaga, 467
 Kaifung-fu, Jews and their synagogues there, i. 346*n*, 347*n*; siege of, ii. 158*n*
 Kaikhátu (Kiacatu), Khan of Persia, seizes throne, i. 35, 38*n*; his paper-money scheme, 428*n*; his death, 428, ii. 475; his dissolute character, i. 91*n*, ii. 475
 Kaikhosru I. and III., Seljukian dynasty, i. 44*n*
 Kaikobad I. and III., i. 44*n*
 Kaikus, Izz ed-din, i. 44*n*
 Káil, *see* Cal
 Káin (Gháin), a city of Persia, i. 86*n*, 124*n*, 141*n*
 Kaipingfu (Keibung, Kaiminfu, Kemen-fu), i. 25, 227*n*, 304*n*, 306*n*
 Kairat-ul-Arab, i. 112*n*
 Kais, *see* Kish
 Kaisariya (Caesarea, Casaria), i. 43, 44*n*, 49*n*
 Kajjala, or Khajlak, a Mongol leader, i. 104*n*
 Kakateya, dynasty, ii. 362*n*
 Kakhyens, Kachyens, tribe in Western Yun-nan, ii. 74*n*, 82*n*, 90*n*, 120*n*
 Kakula, ii. 279*n*
 Kala' Atishparastan (Cala Ataperistan), "The Castle of the Fire-Worshippers"), i. 78, 82*n*
 Kala' Safed, i. 85*n*

- Kalajan (Calachan), i. 281, 282*n*
 Kalámúr, ii. 427*n*
 Kalantan, ii. 279*n*
 Kalchi, Kalakchi, i. 380*n*
 Kales Devar, king of Ma'bar, ii. 333*n*,
 335*n*; his enormous wealth, 333*n*
 Kalgan, or Chang-kia-keu, i. 295*n*
 Kalhát (Kalhátú, Calatu, Calaiate), i.
 120*n*, ii. 348*n*; described, 449-450,
 451*n*; idiom of, 451*n*
 Kalidása, the poet, on the Yak, i. 278*n*
 Kálikút, ii. 386*n*, 391*n*, 440*n*
 Kálin, marriage prices, i. 256*n*, 392*n*
 Kalinga, ii. 329*n*, 330*n*
 Kalinjar, ii. 426*n*
Kalmia angustifolia, poisonous, i. 219*n*
 Kamál Malik, i. 68*n*
 Kamárah, Komar, ii. 279*n*
 Kamasal (Conosalmi), Kahn-i-asal, "The
 honey canal," i. 99, 106*n*
 Kambala, Kúblái's grandson, i. 361*n*
 Kambáyat (Cambay), ii. 398*n*
 Kamboja (Chinla), ii. 134*n*, 278*n*, 374*n*
 Kampar, district and River, Buddhist
 ruins, ii. 283*n*
 Kamul (Komal, Camul), the Mongol
 Khamil, Chinese Hami, i. 209, 211*n*,
 214*n*
Kanat, or *Karez*, underground stream,
 i. 123, 124*n*
 Kanát-ul-Shám (Conosalmi), i. 106*n*
 Kanauj, ii. 427*n*
 Kanbalu Island, ii. 414*n*
 Kancháu (Campichu), i. 219, 220*n*
 Kandahár, Kandar, Ghandhára, ii. 72*n*,
 73*n*, 329*n*, 402*n*
 Kandy, ii. 328*n*
 Kanerkes, or Kanishka, king, i. 168*n*;
 coins of, 173*n*
 Kang-hi, Emperor, i. 251*n*, 407*n*, ii.
 8*n*, 182*n*
 Kank, i. 194*n*, 195*n*
 Kanp'u (Ganpu), old Port of Hang-chau,
 ii. 198*n*, 199*n*
 Kansan, *see* Shensi
 Kansuh, i. 206*n*, 220*n*
 Kao Hoshang, i. 422*n*
 Kao-Tsung, Emperor, ii. 28*n*
 Kao-yu (Cayu), ii. 153*n*
 Kapilavastu, ii. 322*n*
 Kapukada, Capucate, ii. 380*n*
Karábughá, *Carabya*, *Calabra*, a military
 engine, ii. 168*n*
 Kará Hulun, ii. 485*n*
 Karájáng (Carajan, or Yun-nan), ii. 64,
 67*n*, 72*n*, 73*n*, 80*n*
 Karákásh ("black jade") River, i.
 193*n*
 Karákhitaian Empire, i. 231*n*
 — Princes of Kerman, i. 91*n*
 Kará Khoja, i. 214*n*
 Karakorum (Caracoron), i. 66*n*, 226,
 227*n*, 269, ii. 460

- Kara Kumiz*, special kind of *Kumiz*,
 i. 259*n*
 Karámúren (Caramoran) River, Mongol
 name for the Hwang-ho, or Yellow
 River, i. 245*n*, 282*n*, 286*n*, ii. 22, 23*n*
Karana, meaning of, i. 101*n*
 Karáni (vulgo Cranny), i. 101*n*
 Karanút, a Mongol sept, i. 101*n*
 Karaún Jidun, or Khidun, i. 101*n*
 Karaunahs (Caraoonas), a robber tribe,
 i. 98, 101*n*, 121*n*
Karavat, an instrument for self-decolla-
 tion, ii. 349*n*
 Karens, ii. 74*n*
 Karmathian, heretics, i. 187*n*
 Karnúl, ii. 362*n*
 Karrah, ii. 427*n*
 Karra-Mánikpúr, i. 86*n*
 Kartazōnon, Karkaddan, rhinoceros, ii.
 291*n*
 Kašaidi Arabs, ii. 443*n*
Kash, jade, i. 193*n*
 Kasha, i. 81*n*
 Káshgar (Cascar), i. 180, 182*n*;
 Chankans of, 193*n*, ii. 594*n*
Kashísh (*Casses*), i. 70*n*, ii. 409*n*
 Kashmír (Keshimur), i. 104*n*, 164*n*, 166;
 Buddhism, 166, 168*n*; beauty of the
 women, 166, 169*n*; conjurers, 166,
 168*n*; the language of, 168*n*; sorcery
 in, ii. 593
 Kashmiris, i. 76*n*, 166
 Kasia, people and hills, ii. 59*n*
 Kasyapa Buddha, ii. 356*n*
 Kataghan, breed of horses, i. 162*n*
 Katar pirates, ii. 409*n*
 Katif, ii. 348*n*
 Kattiawár, ii. 395*n*; pirates, 400*n*
 Kaulam, *see* Coilum
 Kaulam-Malé, ii. 377*n*
 Kauli (Cauly), Corea, i. 343, 345*n*
 Kaunchi (Conchi), Khan, ii. 479, 481*n*
 Káveripattanam, ii. 335*n*
 Káveri River, delta of, ii. 335*n*
Kávir, saline swamp, i. 124*n*
 Kavváyi, ii. 388*n*
 Káyal, Káil, *see* Cail
 — Pattanam, ii. 372*n*
 — Punnei-, ii. 372*n*
 Kayten, ii. 234*n*
 Kazan, i. 6*n*, 7*n*
 Kazáwinah, i. 101*n*
 Kazbek, i. 54*n*
 Kazvín (Casvin), i. 83, 84*n*, 101*n*, 141*n*
 Keary, C. F., i. 429*n*
Kebleul, night-watch, i. 381*n*
 Kehran, ii. 426*n*
 Keiaz tribe, i. 179*n*
 Keibung (Kaipingfu), i. 25, 227*n*, 304*n*,
 306*n*
 Kelinfu (Kienning-fu), City, its bridges,
 ii. 225, 228*n*, 229*n*, 234*n*
 Kemenfu, *see* Kaipingfu

- Kenjanfu (Si-ngan fu), ii. 24, 25ⁿ, 27ⁿ-29ⁿ
- Keraits, a great Tartar tribe, i. 236ⁿ, 237ⁿ, 271ⁿ, 287ⁿ, 288ⁿ
- Kerala, ii. 390ⁿ
- Keria, *see* Kiria
- Keriza River, ii. 595ⁿ
- Kermán, i. 89ⁿ, 90, 109, 110, ii. 452; route to Hormus from, i. 91, 107, 110; steel manufacture, its industries, 96ⁿ; king of, Atabeg of, 107, 110; stitched vessels of, 117ⁿ; desert of, 123, 124ⁿ
- Kerulen (K'i-lien) valley, the Khans' burial-ground, i. 248ⁿ
- Keshican (Keshikten), Kúblái's life-guard, i. 379, 380ⁿ, 381ⁿ, 394ⁿ
- Kesmacorán (Kij Makrán), i. 86ⁿ, ii. 401, 402ⁿ; Kij-Makrán, 402ⁿ
- Keuyung Kwan, village, i. 28ⁿ
- Khakán, the word, 10
- Khalif (Calif) Mosta'Sim Billah of Baghdad, i. 63; taken by Ilúlakú and starved to death, 64; plot *v.* the Christians laid by a former — the miracle of the mountain, 69-73; becomes secretly a Christian, 73
- Khálij*, ii. 439ⁿ
- K'hám*, stuff made with cotton thread, i. 190ⁿ
- Khambavati (Cambay), ii. 398ⁿ
- Khanabad (Dogana?), i. 156ⁿ
- Khán Bádshah of Khotan, i. 189ⁿ
- Khánbalk, *see* Cambaluc
- Khanfu, ii. 199ⁿ
- Khanikoff, N. de (travels in Persia), i. 49ⁿ, 53ⁿ, 58ⁿ, 74ⁿ, 89ⁿ, 91ⁿ, 92ⁿ, 96ⁿ, 101ⁿ, 106ⁿ, 114ⁿ, 121ⁿ, 124ⁿ, 141ⁿ, 150ⁿ, 193ⁿ
- Khanjár-i-Hundwán*, hanger of Indian steel, i. 93ⁿ
- Khán-khánán*, a title, 10
- Khanoolla (Mount Royal), site of Ching-hiz's tomb, i. 247ⁿ
- Khansá, ii. 199ⁿ, 214ⁿ
- Kharesem, Mount, i. 155ⁿ
- Khato-tribe, ii. 120ⁿ
- Khátun-gol, or "Lady's River," *i.e.* Hwang-ho, i. 245ⁿ, 249ⁿ
- K'hátun*, title of Khan's wives, 10
- Khavailu (Hwo-lu h'ien), ii. 15ⁿ
- Khazars, the, i. 7ⁿ, ii. 492ⁿ
- Khilak, i. 54ⁿ
- Khimka, ii. 238ⁿ
- Khinsa, Khingsai, Khinzai, ii. 144ⁿ, 175ⁿ, 214ⁿ. (*See* Kinsay.)
- Khitán, Khitai, 11
- character, i. 28ⁿ
- dynasty of Liao, i. 232ⁿ, 288ⁿ, ii. 20ⁿ
- Khmer, ii. 279ⁿ
- Khodabanda, Ilkhan of Kermán, i. 91ⁿ 103ⁿ
- Khojas, name of modern Ismailite sect, i. 146ⁿ, 163ⁿ
- Khorasan, province, i. 38ⁿ, 128ⁿ, 131ⁿ, 135ⁿ, 150ⁿ, ii. 467ⁿ, 474ⁿ; turquoises of, i. 92ⁿ
- Khormuzda, supreme deity of the Tartars, i. 257ⁿ
- Khotan (Cotan), i. 188, 195ⁿ, 197ⁿ, ii. 594ⁿ, 595ⁿ; fruits, i. 190ⁿ; routes between China and, 191ⁿ; buried cities of, 192ⁿ; its jade, 193ⁿ
- Khumbavati (Cambay), ii. 398ⁿ
- Khumdán, ii. 27ⁿ
- Khusrú, Amfr, Indian poet, i. 48ⁿ, 96ⁿ, 104ⁿ
- Khutuktai Setzen, Prince of the Ordos, i. 257ⁿ
- Khwarizm, i. 9ⁿ
- Kiacatu, *see* Kaikhátu
- Kiahing (Ciangan, Canigan), ii. 185ⁿ
- Kiai- or Hiai-chau (Caichu), ii. 19ⁿ
- Kiakhta, i. 56ⁿ, 218ⁿ
- Kia-k'ing, Emperor, ii. 143ⁿ
- Kiang, the Great (Kian and Kian-Suy, and in its highest course Brius, the Kinsha Kiang), ii. 36, 56, 59ⁿ, 60ⁿ, 64, 67ⁿ, 69ⁿ, 70ⁿ, 72ⁿ, 129ⁿ-131ⁿ, 149ⁿ, 154ⁿ; its vastness, and numerous craft, 170, 171, 173ⁿ; steamers on, 173ⁿ, 174ⁿ; its former debouchure to the south, and changes, i. 199ⁿ
- Kiang-Ché, ii. 157ⁿ, 217ⁿ, 224ⁿ; limits of, 218ⁿ
- Kiang-Hung, Xieng-Hung, ii. 117ⁿ, 127ⁿ-129ⁿ, 131ⁿ
- Kiangka, ii. 48ⁿ
- Kiang-mai, Xieng-mai, Zimmé, ii. 117ⁿ, 128ⁿ, 279ⁿ
- Kiangshan, ii. 224ⁿ
- Kiangsi, ii. 228ⁿ
- Kiang-su, ii. 135ⁿ
- Kiang-suy (-shui) River, ii. 36, 40ⁿ
- Kiangtheu, ii. 105ⁿ, 111ⁿ, 113ⁿ
- Kiang-Tung, ii. 117ⁿ, 279ⁿ
- Kiao-chi (Tungking), Chinese etymology of, ii. 119ⁿ, 128ⁿ
- Kia Tsing, Emperor, a great bridge builder, ii. 6ⁿ
- Kichau Castle, ii. 26ⁿ
- Kieh-Ch'a, ii. 283ⁿ
- K'ien-ch'ang, Kiung-tu (Caindu), ii. 70ⁿ-72ⁿ
- Kien-chau, ii. 232ⁿ
- Kien-kwé, ii. 232ⁿ
- Kien-lung, Emperor, ii. 8ⁿ, 196ⁿ
- Kien-ning fu (Kelinfu), ii. 228ⁿ
- Kiepert, *Map of Asia*, i. 197ⁿ
- Kij-Makrán (Kesmacorán), i. 86ⁿ
- Kila'-i-Gabr, "Gueber Castle," i. 81ⁿ, 82ⁿ
- Kilimanchi River, ii. 424ⁿ
- Kiming shan Mountains, gold and silver mines, i. 295ⁿ

- Kimiz*, *kumiz* (*kemis*), mare's milk, —Tartar beverage, i. 257, 259ⁿ
- Kin, or Golden Dynasty in N. China, *12*, i. 28ⁿ, 231ⁿ, 288ⁿ, ii. 8ⁿ, 19ⁿ, 168ⁿ, 190ⁿ; their paper-money, i. 426ⁿ, 430ⁿ; story of their Golden King, ii. 17-22
- Kincha, Chinese name for Kipchak, ii. 179ⁿ
- Kin-Chi, or Gold-Teeth (Zardandan), ii. 84-90ⁿ
- King of the Abraiaman, ii. 364
- of England, Kúblái's message to, i. 34; intercourse with Mongol princes, 36ⁿ, ii. 177ⁿ
- of France, Kúblái's message to, i. 34
- of Spain, Kúblái's message to, i. 34, ii. 477ⁿ
- Rev. C. W., i. 370ⁿ
- Kings of Maabar, the five brothers, ii. 331, 333ⁿ, 334ⁿ, 337ⁿ, 338-339, 370 371; their mother's efforts to check their broils, 371
- subordinate, or Viceroy, in China, i. 360, 361ⁿ, ii. 24, 64, 76, 79ⁿ, 190, 199ⁿ
- Tartar, of the Ponent, ii. 490, 492ⁿ
- Kingsmill, T. W., ii. 154ⁿ, 184ⁿ, 194ⁿ, 220ⁿ
- King-té-chên, porcelain manufacture, ii. 243ⁿ
- K'ing-yüan (Ning-po), ii. 238ⁿ
- Kin-hwa fu, ii. 222ⁿ
- Kinki, Kimkhá, ii. 238ⁿ
- Kinsay (King-szé, or "Capital," Khansá, Khinsá, Khingsai, Khanzai, Cansay, Campsay), formerly Lin-ngan now Hang-chau fu, *11*, ii. 146, 149ⁿ, 193ⁿ; its surrender to Bayan, 146, 149ⁿ; extreme public security, 147; alleged meaning of the name, 182, 184ⁿ, 185; described, 185-208; bridges, 185, 187, 194ⁿ; hereditary trades, guilds and wealthy craftsmen and their dainty wives, 186, 196ⁿ; the lake, islands and garden-houses, 186, 187, 196ⁿ; stone-towers—inhabitants' clothing and food, 187, 197ⁿ-198ⁿ; guards and police regulations, 187-188; fires, 188; alarm towers, paved streets, 189; revenue, 189, 190, 215, 216, 217ⁿ, 218ⁿ; pavements, public baths, port of Ganfu, 189, 198ⁿ, 199ⁿ; the province and other provinces of Manzi, garrisons, 190, 200ⁿ; horoscopes, funeral rites, 191, 200ⁿ; palace of the expelled king, 192; church, house registers, 192, 200ⁿ; hostel regulations, 193; canals, 200; markets and squares, 201, 209ⁿ; fruits and fish shops, 202, 210ⁿ; women of the town, physicians and astrologers, courts of justice, 203; vast consumption of pepper, 204, 210ⁿ; inhabitants' character—their behaviour to women and foreigners, 204, 210ⁿ, 211ⁿ; hatred of soldiers, 205; pleasures on the lake and in carriage excursions, 205, 211ⁿ; palace of the king, 206; the king's effeminacy and ruin, 207-208, 211ⁿ; tides, 208ⁿ; plan of, 209ⁿ; notices by various writers of, 213ⁿ; wealth of, 245ⁿ; ships, 255, 260ⁿ
- Kin-sha Kiang, "River of Golden Sands" (upper branch of Great Kiang, Brius), ii. 36, 56, 64, 67ⁿ, 69ⁿ, 70ⁿ, 72ⁿ
- Kinshan, *see* Golden Island
- Kinto, or Hintu, Mongol general, ii. 260ⁿ
- Kipchak (Ponent), Southern Russia, events related by Polo in, *23*, i. 5, 6ⁿ, ii. 490 *seqq.*; sovereigns, 492ⁿ; people of, 493ⁿ; extent of empire, *ib.*
- Kirghiz Kazak, i. 313ⁿ
- Kirghiz, the, i. 162ⁿ, 176ⁿ, 309ⁿ, ii. 362ⁿ
- Kiria, i. 192ⁿ, 195ⁿ, ii. 595ⁿ
- Kirk, Sir John, and Raphia palm, ii. 597ⁿ
- Kis, Kish, or Kais (Kisi), now Ghes, or Kem, island in Persian Gulf, i. 63, 64ⁿ, 83, 452; merchants, ii. 340; described, 453ⁿ
- Kishik, Kishikan, Kizik, Keshikchi, *see* Keshican
- Kishm (Casem), i. 153, 155ⁿ, 156ⁿ, 173ⁿ
- or Brakht (Oaracta), island in the Persian Gulf, i. 115ⁿ, 121ⁿ
- Kistna River, ii. 362ⁿ
- Kitubuka, General, i. 85ⁿ
- Kiu-chau, ii. 222ⁿ
- Kiulan (Quilon), *see* Coilum
- Kizil Irmak, the, i. 45ⁿ
- Kizil River, i. 54ⁿ
- Kneeling oxen, i. 97, 99ⁿ
- Kobad, the Sassanian, i. 53ⁿ
- Kobdo, i. 215ⁿ
- Koh-Banán (Cobinan), i. 125
- Koja (Coja), a Tartar envoy from Persia, i. 32, 33ⁿ, 38ⁿ
- Kokcha River, i. 154ⁿ-156ⁿ, 162ⁿ
- Kok-Tash*, greenstone of Samarkand, i. 187ⁿ
- Kolastri, or Kolatiri Rajas, ii. 387ⁿ
- Ko-li-ki-sze, i. 289ⁿ
- Kolkhoi of Ptolemy, identified, ii. 373ⁿ
- Kollam, *see* Coilum
- Koloman, *see* Coloman
- Kolyma, bird-hunting at, i. 272ⁿ
- Κόμακον*, ii. 391ⁿ
- Komár, ii. 279ⁿ, 383ⁿ
- Κομάρια άκρον*, ii. 382ⁿ
- Konár tree, Marco Polo's apples of Paradise, i. 99ⁿ
- Kondachi, ii. 337ⁿ
- Konkan, Konkan-Tana, ii. 367ⁿ, 390ⁿ, 396ⁿ

- Korano*, epithet on Indo-Scythic coins, i. 101*n*
- Korea*, *History of*, ii. 262*n*
- Koresh king, i. 82*n*
- Kornish*, or K'o-tow (Khén-théu), i. 391, 393*n*
- Kosakio, a general against Japan, ii. 260*n*
- Kosseir, ii. 439*n*
- Kotcheres, Kurds of Mosul, i. 62*n*
- Kotlogh, or Kutlugh, Sultan of Kerman, i. 91*n*
- Kotlogh Shah, the Chaghataian prince, i. 104*n*, 121*n*
- Kotrobah Island, ii. 409*n*
- Kouyunjik, sculptures at, i. 100*n*
- Kozlov, Lieutenant K. P., on the Lob-nor, i. 199*n*
- Kuang-chou, ii. 239*n*
- Kúbenán (Cobinan), a Kuh-banán "Hill of the Terebinths or Wild Pistachios," i. 123, 124*n*
- Kúblái (Cublay), Káán, the Great Khán, i. 8*n*, 10, 11, 12, 15; his envoys meet the two elder Polos, 10; receives and questions the Polos, 11, 12; sends them as envoys to the Pope, 13; his desire for Christian teachers, and for oil from the lamp in the Holy Sepulchre, 13, 14; gives them a Golden Tablet, 15; his reception of the three Polos, 26; sends Marco on an embassy, 27; Marco grows in favour, 30; allows the Polos to depart with Tablets of Authority, 33-35; rumour of his death, 38*n*; sends a napkin of asbestos to the Pope, 213; his greatness and power, 246, 247*n*, 331; his milk libations, 300; his inscription at Shangtu, 304*n*; Chinghiz's prophecy, 331*n*; his lineage, age, and accession, 332; Nayan's revolt, 333; Nayan's defeat and death, 336-343; rebukes anti-Christian gibes, 344; returns to Cambaluc, 348; treats four religions with equal respect, 348*n*; his views on Christianity, 349*n*; how he rewards his captains, 350; his personal appearance, 356; his wives and ladies-in-waiting, 356-358; his palace at Cambaluc, 362; builds Cambaluc city, 374; his bodyguard, 379; order of his feasts, 381; celebration of his birthday, 387; his distribution of robes, 387, 394; his New Year's feast, 390; his elephants, 391; the *K'o-tow*, 391, 393*n*; adopts Chinese ancestor-worship, 392*n*; his game laws, 396; his hunting establishment, 397; his masters of hounds, 400; how he goes a-hunting, 402; how his year is spent, 410; Ahmad's influence, oppression, and death, 416-420; his treatment of Mahomedans, 422*n*; his mint and paper-money, 423; his purchase of valuables, 425; his twelve great Barons, 430; his posts and runners, 433; remission of taxes, 439, 443; his justice, 440*n*; a tree planter, 440; his store of corn, 443; charity to the poor, 445; his astrologers, 446; gaol deliveries, and prohibition of gambling, 457; his early campaign in Yun-nan, ii. 46*n*, 79, 80*n*; and the king of Mien and Bangala, 98, 110, 114*n*; Litan's plot, 136; sends Bayan to invade Manzi, 145; his dealings with Bayan, 148*n*, 149*n*; satisfied with the Polo's mangonels, 159; appoints Mar Sarghis governor of Chinghian-fu, 177; the city of Kinsay, 186-190; his revenue from Kinsay, 215; from Zayton, 235; his expedition against Chipangu (Japan), 255; sends force against Chamba, 267, 270*n*; attempts to gain Java, 272, 275*n*; his death, 275*n*; sends to buy Ceylon ruby, 313, 315*n*; sends for religions of Sakya, 319; testifies to miraculous powers of Sakya's dish, 320; intercourse with Ma'bar, 337*n*; with Kaulam, 378*n*; missions to Madagascar, 412-413; Kaidu's wars with him, 457 *seqq.*
- Khan, territories and people subject to (Turkistan), i. 180, 188, 191, 196; (Tangut and Mongolia), 203, 212, 217, 269, 274, 281, 284, 285; (Tibetan frontier and Yun-nan), ii. 50, 53, 64, 109, 116, 119, 122; (Western China), 124, 127; (N. Eastern China), 132, 135, 138, 140, 141; (Manzi), 151-153; (Sinju), 170; (Caiju), 174; Chinghian-fu, 176; (Chingjinju), 178; (Sujü), 181; (Tanpigu), 218; (Chonka), 231; (Zayton), 234; (Chamba), 267; (Sumatra), 272, 285, 292, 299
- Kuché character, i. 211*n*
- Kudatku Bilik*, an Uighúr poem, i. 28*n*
- Kuhistan, or Hill country of Persia, i. 86*n*
- Kúkachin, *see* Cocachin
- Kukin-Tána, ii. 396*n*
- Kukju (Genkju), Kúblái's son, i. 361*n*
- Kuku-Khotan (Blue Town), depôt for Mongolian trade with China, i. 278*n*, 286*n*, 287*n*
- Ku-kwan, Customs' Barrier, ii. 14*n*
- Kuláb, lions in, i. 152*n*; Salt Mines, 154*n*
- Kulán, *Asinus Onager*, the Gor Khar of Persia, i. 89*n*
- Kulasaikera, ii. 335*n*
- Kumár, *see* Komár
- Kumhari, Kumari, *see* Comari
- Kumiz, kimiz (kemiz), Mare's milk, Tartar beverage, i. 257, 259*n*, 300; sprinkling of, 308*n*, 309*n*, 385*n*, 411

- Kummájar, ii. 491*n*
 Kúnbúrn Monastery, i. 319*n*
 Kunduz, i. 152*n*, 154*n*
Kunduz (beaver or sable), i. 410*n*
 Kunduz-Baghlán, i. 86*n*
 Kung-ki-cheng (Fei-ch'eng), ii. 6*n*, 8*n*
 Kunguráts, Kunkuráts (Ungrat), a Mongol tribe, i. 38*n*, 101*n*, 359*n*, 360
Kunichi (Cunichi, or Chinuchi), "The Keepers of the Mastiff Dogs," i. 400
 Kuniyah (Conia), Iconium, Koniah, i. 43, 44*n*, 356*n*
 Kunlun (Pulo Condore), ii. 277*n*
 Kurd dynasty, i. 85*n*
 Kurdistan (Curdistan), i. 9*n*, 62*n*, 83, 84*n*,
 Kurds, the, i. 60, 62*n*, 85*n*
 Kúreh-i-Ardeshr (Kuwáshfr), i. 91*n*
 Kuria Maria Islands, ii. 405*n*
 Kuridai, Kúblái's son, i. 361*n*
Kúrkah, great drum, i. 340*n*, 341*n*
 Kurmishi, ii. 474*n*
 Kurshids of Lüristán, i. 85*n*
Kurut (Curd), i. 262, 265*n*
 Kus, Cos (in Egypt), ii. 439*n*
 Kushluk, the Naiman, ii. 20*n*
 Kutan, son of Okkodai, ii. 32*n*
 Kutchluk Khan (Buddhist), Chief of the Naimans, i. 188*n*
 Kutuktemur, Kúblái's son, i. 361*n*
 Kutulun, Princess, ii. 465*n*
 Kuwinji, *see* Kaunchi
 Kuyuk Khan, i. 14*n*, 245, 247*n*
 Kwa-chau (Caiju), at mouth of Great Canabon Yang-tse-Kiang, ii. 144*n*, 175*n*
 Kwan Hsien, ii. 41*n*
 Kwansinfu, ii. 221*n*, 224*n*
 Kwawa, *i.e.* Java, etymology, ii. 119*n*
 Kwei-chau (Cuiju), ii. 82*n*, 124*n*, 127*n*, 129*n*
 Kwei-hwa-ch'eng, or Kuku Khotan, i. 278*n*, 286*n*, 287*n*
 Kweilei River, i. 345*n*
 Kyüng-sang province, ii. 262*n*
- LAC (Wallachia), Lacz, i. 54*n*, ii. 487, 489*n*, 490, 491*n*
 Ladies' dresses in Badakhshan, i. 160, 163*n*
 Ladies of Kinsay, ii. 186
 Lagong, ii. 279*n*
 Lahore (Daliyar, Dilivar), i. 99, 104*n*, 105*n*, ii. 426*n*, 427*n*
 Lahsa, ii. 348*n*
 Lájwurd mines, i. 162*n*
 Lake, Caidu, ii. 53, 72*n*
 — Fanchau, ii. 29*n*
 — Kinsay, ii. 186, 196*n*, 200, 214*n*
 — of Palace at Cambaluc, i. 365, 370*n*
 — Pleasure parties on, ii. 205, 211*n*
 — Talifu, ii. 80
 — Yunnan-fu, ii. 66
 Laknaoti, ii. 427*n*
- Lakshamana Deva, king of Kashmír, i. 104*n*
 Lamas of Tibetan Buddhism, i. 28*n*; their superstitions and rites, 204, 207*n*, 220, 221*n*-223*n*, 301, 302, 314*n*, 315*n*; their monasteries, 303, 319*n*; marriage, 303, 319*n*. (*See* also Bakhshi.)
 Lambri, kingdom of, ii. 299, 300*n*, 306, 307*n*; situation of, 301*n*
 Lances of Sago Palm, ii. 305*n*
 Lanchang, ii. 279*n*
 Land of Darkness, ii. 484 *seqq.*; market in, 486*n*
 Langdarma, i. 168*n*, 170*n*
 Langting Balghasun, i. 306*n*
 Languages used in Mongol Court and administration, i. 27, 28*n*-30*n*
 Lan-Ho, i. 305
 Lanja Bálús, or Lankha bálús, ii. 308*n*
 Lanka (Ceylon), ii. 320*n*
 Lan Ki Hien (Nan-Che-hien), ii. 222*n*, 224*n*
 Lanner Falcons, i. 158, 162*n*, ii. 50
 Lan-tsang kiang (Mekong) River, ii. 88*n*, 128*n*
 Lao-Kiun, or Lao-Tseu, the Philosopher, i. 322*n*, 325*n*, 326*n*
 Laos, people of, ii. 91*n*, 117*n*, 120*n*, 128*n*
 Lar, or Lát-Desa, ii. 367*n*
 — province, ii. 363, 367*n*, 403*n*
 Latin version of Polo's Book, 63, 81, 90, 95, 100
 Latins, the term, i. 10, 12, 32
 Latsé, Tibetan for musk, i. 279*n*
 Lauredano, Agnes, ii. 520*n*
Laurus Camphora, ii. 237*n*
 Lawek, *Lawáki*, ii. 278*n*-279*n*
 Laxities of marriage customs, *see* Marriage
 Layard, Mr., i. 85*n*
 Layas, *see* Ayas
 — Gulf of, i. 17*n*
 Leather, i. 395, 398; embroidered mats of Guzerat, 393-394, 395*n*
 Leaves, used for plates, ii. 365; green leaves said to have a soul, 366
 Lecomte on Chinese war vessels, i. 37*n*
 Lembeser, Ismaelite fortress, i. 146*n*
 Lenzin, ii. 141*n*
 Leon I., king of Lesser Armenia, i. 42*n*
 Leon II., king of Lesser Armenia, i. 44*n*
 Leon III., king of Lesser Armenia, i. 25*n*
 Leon VI., last king of Lesser Armenia, i. 42*n*
 Leopards, ii. 282, 411, 431; taught to sit on horseback, i. 299; (Cheetas) kept for the Chase by Kúblái, 397
 Lepechin, Professor, i. 9*n*
 Le Strange, Guy, i. 67*n*, 92*n*
 Leung Shan, i. 245*n*
 Levant, term applied by Polo to the kingdom of the Mongol Khans, i. 1, 5, 8*n*

- Levant (*continued*)—
 10, 32, 36, 44, 63, 84, 246, 270, ii.
 50, 376, 466, 477, 491, 494
 Lewchew, ii. 391*n*
 Lewis, *see* St. Lewis
 Lewis XI. and XII. (France), i. 398*n*
 Lew-sha, old Chinese name for Lop
 Desert, i. 198*n*, 201*n*
 Leyes, *see* Ayas
 Lhása, ii. 45*n*, 70*n*, 74*n*; *Labrang*
 Monastery at, i. 319*n*
Li, Chinese measure, supposed to be
 founded with miles, ii. 193*n*, 194*n*,
 209*n*
 Liampo (Ningpo), ii. 228*n*, 239*n*
 Liang, or tael, i. 426*n*, 427*n*
 Liang-chau in Kansuh, i. 29*n*, 276*n*,
 281*n*
 Liao dynasty, 12, i. 232*n*, 288*n*,
 Liao-tong, i. 289*n*, 334*n*, 345*n*
 Libanos, Λιβανοφόρος and Λιβανωτοφόρος
 χώρα, ii. 445*n*-446*n*
Libro d'Oro, 14
 Licinius, Emperor, i. 45*n*
 Lidé (Litú), ii. 297*n*, 305*n*
 Lieuli Ho, ii. 6*n*
 Lign-aloes (eagle-wood), ii. 87, 268;
 etymology, 271*n*; in Sumatra, 284,
 287*n*
 Ligor, ii. 278*n*
Ligurium, the precious stone, *Liguire*, i.
 398*n*
 Li H'ien, Tartar ruler of Tangut, i. 206*n*
Likamankwa of Abyssinian kings, ii.
 348*n*
 Li-kiang fu, ii. 73*n*, 90*n*
Limyrice, ii. 408*n*
 Lindley, i. 99*n*
 Lindsay, Hon. R., ii. 46*n*, 74*n*
Linga, ii. 370*n*
 Linju, ii. 140, 141*n*
 Lin-ngan (Hang-chau), ii. 149*n*, 195*n*
 Lin-ngan in Yun-nan, ii. 120*n*, 121*n*,
 129*n*
 Lintching-y, or Linchingien, ii. 141*n*
 Lin-t'ing chau, ii. 139*n*
 Lion and Sun, i. 352*n*
 Lions, black, ii. 376, 382*n*, 422
 — on the Oxus, i. 151; Chinese
 notion of, i. 399*n*
 — (apparently for tigers) kept for the
 chase by Kúblái, i. 397, ii. 31, 42,
 56, 214, 219; skins of striped, i. 405;
 how hunted with dogs, ii. 126. (*See*
 also *Tigers*.)
 Lion's Head Tablets, i. 35, 350, 352*n*
Lire, various Venetian, 66, 71, ii. 591*n*-
 592*n*
 — of gold, 73
 Lisbon, ii. 391*n*
 Lissu, or Lisau tribe, ii. 60*n*, 90*n*
 Litai, ii. 301*n*
 Litán, rebellion of, i. 131*n*, ii. 136, 138*n*
- Lithang, ii. 48*n*, 56*n*, 67*n*
 Little Orphan Rock, ii. 174*n*
 Liu Pang, founder of 1st Han dynasty,
 ii. 32*n*
 Liu Pei (Luo Pé), of the Han dynasty,
 ii. 32*n*, 38*n*
Livre des Merveille, 121, ii. 527*n*
 Livres of gold, ii. 442
 — Paris, 90, ii. 590*n*
 — Tournois, i. 83, 86*n*, ii. 590*n*
 Li Yuan-hao, founder of the Hsi Hsia
 dynasty, Tangut, i. 206*n*
 Lo, tribes of S.W. China so-called, ii.
 123*n*, 124*n*, 129*n*
 — Chinese name of part of Siam, ii.
 278*n*
 Lob, *see* Lop
 Locac, kingdom of, ii. 276, 277*n*-280*n*
 Lockhart, Dr. W., i. 372*n*, 377*n*, ii. 8*n*,
 27*n*, 82*n*, 124*n*
Lokok, ii. 278*n*-280*n*
 Lolo tribes, ii. 60*n*-63*n*, 69*n*, 70*n*, 123*n*
 Longevity of Brahmins and Jogis, ii. 365,
 369*n*
 Longfellow, i. 67*n*
 Lop, city and lake, i. 194, 196; desert,
 196, 197
 Lopháburi, ii. 278*n*
 Loping, ii. 129*n*, 130
 Lor, *see* Lúristan
 Lord, Dr. Percival, i. 160*n*
 Löss, brownish-yellow loam, ii. 14*n*
 Loups cerviers (lynx), i. 398*n*
 Low castes, ii. 349-350*n*
 Lowatong River, ii. 130*n*
 Loyang, Bridge of, ii. 241*n*
 Lubán, ii. 446*n*, 449*n*
 Lubán-Jáwi, ii. 286*n*
 Lubán-Shehri, ii. 449*n*
 Lubbies, ii. 372*n*
 Lucky and unlucky hours and days, ii.
 364, 368*n*
 Luddur Deo, ii. 362*n*
 Luh-ho-ta Pagoda, Hang-chau, ii. 193*n*,
 194*n*
 Lukon-Kiao (Hun-ho, Pulisanghin River),
 ii. 5*n*, 6*n*, 8*n*
 Lukyn Port, ii. 279*n*, 280*n*
 Lung-yin, ii. 224*n*
 Lúristan (Lor, Lur), kingdom of Persia,
 i. 83, 84*n*; Great and Little, 85*n*;
 character of Lurs or people of, 87*n*
 Lusignan, John de, i. 42*n*
 Lút, Desert of (Dasht-i-Lut), i. 124*n*,
 127, 128*n*
 Lu-tzú tribe, ii. 82*n*
 Lynxes, trained to hunt, i. 397, 398*n*; in
 Cuncun, ii. 31
- MA TWAN-LIN, the Chinese Pliny, i.
 100*n*, 201*n*
 Maaden, turquoise mines at, i. 92*n*
 Maatum, or Nubia, ii. 431*n*

- Ma'bar (Maabar, *i.e.* Coromandel coast), province of India, ii. 331, 332*n*, 338; its brother kings, 331, 333*n*, 335*n*, 370, 371; pearl fishery, 331, 335*n*, 337*n*; etymology, 332*n*; limits, 333*n*; obscurity of history, 334*n*; port visited by Polo, 335*n*; nakedness of people, king, his jewels, 338-346; his wives, "Trusty Lieges," treasure, 339, 347*n*; horses imported, 340; superstitious customs, 340; ox-worship, 341; Govis, *ib.*; no horses bred, 342, 350*n*; other customs, 342; mode of arrest for debt, 343, 350*n*; great heat, 343; regard for omens, 344, 351*n*; astrology, treatment of boys, 344; birds, girls consecrated to idols, 345, 351*n*; customs in sleeping, 346, 352*n*; ships at Madagascar, 412
- Macartney's Map, i. 173*n*, 292*n*
- Macgregor, Sir C., "Journey through Khorasan," i. 86*n*, 89*n*
- Máchin, city of (Canton), ii. 175*n*
- Máchin, Maháchin (Great China), used by Persian writers as synonymous with Manzi, ii. 35*n*, 144*n*, 175*n*
- Maclagan, Major-General (R.E.), i. 105*n*, 155*n*
- Madagascar (Madeigascar), ii. 411, 413*n*; confused with Magadoxo, 414*n*; etymology, 414*n*; traces of ancient Arab colonisation, 414*n*
- Mádái, Madavi, Maudoy, ii. 387*n*, 388*n*
- Madjgars, ii. 491*n*-492*n*
- Madar-Des, Eastern Pánjáb, i. 104*n*
- Madras, ii. 355*n*, 403*n*
- Madura, ii. 333*n*, 334*n*, 335*n*
- Maestro, or Great Bear, said to be invisible in Sumatra, ii. 292, 296*n*
- Magadha, ii. 356*n*
- Magadoxo, confused with Madagascar, ii. 414*n*
- Magapatana, near Ceylon, ii. 283*n*
- Magi, the three, i. 78-80; legend as told by Mas'udi, 82*n*; source of fancies about, 82*n*; names assigned to, 83*n*
- Magic, of Udyana, i. 164*n*; Lamaitic, 301, 314*n*. (*See* also Sorcerers.)
- Magical darkness (dry fog and dust storms), i. 98, 105*n*
- Magnet, Mount, ii. 418*n*
- Magyars, ii. 491*n*-492*n*
- Mahar Amlak, king of Abyssinia, ii. 436*n*
- Mahavan, ii. 426*n*
- Mahmúd Kalhátí, prince of Hormuz, i. 121*n*
- Mahmúd of Ghazni, i. 106*n*
- Mahmudiah Canal, ii. 439*n*
- Mahomed (Mahommet), his account of Gog and Magog, i. 56*n*; his Paradise, 140; his alleged prophecy of the Mongols, 265*n*; his use of mangonels, ii. 164*n*
- Mahomed, supposed worship of idols of, i. 189*n*
- II., uses the old engines of war, ii. 163*n*, 166*n*
- Tarahi, i. 106*n*
- Tughlak of Delhi, his copper token currency, 429*n*
- Shah of Malacca, ii. 282*n*
- Mahomedan revolts in China, ii. 29*n*, 74*n*, 80*n*
- conversion of Malacca, 282*n*
- conversion of states in Sumatra, 284, 288*n*, 294*n*, 295*n*, 300*n*-303*n*
- butchers in Kashmir, i. 167
- butchers in Maabar, ii. 342
- king of Kayal, 374*n*
- merchants at Kayal, 372*n*
- settlements on Abyssinian coast, 434*n*
- Mahomedans (Saracens), i. 414, 418; in Turcomania, 43; in and near Mausul, 60; their universal hatred of Christians, 68, 72; in Tauris, 75; in Persia, 84; their hypocrisy about wine, 87*n*; at Yezd, 88; Hormuz, 108; Cobinan, 125; Tonocain, 128; Sapurgan, 149; Taican, 153; Badakhshan, 157; Walkhan, etc., 170; Kashgar, 180; strife with Christians in Samarkand, 183; Yarkand, 187; Khotan, 188; Pein, 191; Charchan, 194; Lop, 196; Tangut, 203; Chingintalas, 212; Kanchau, 219, 263; Sinju, 274; Egrigaia, 281; Tenduc, their half-breed progeny, 284; in northern frontier of China, alleged origin of, 288*n*; their gibes at Christians, 343; Kúblái's dislike of, 420, 422*n*; in Yun-nan, ii. 66, 67*n*, 74*n*; in Champa, 268*n*; in Sumatra, 284, 288*n*, 294*n*, 295*n*, 300*n*, 303*n*; troops in Ceylon, 314; pilgrims to Adam's Peak, 319; honour St. Thomas, 353; in Kesmacoran, 401; in Madagascar, 411; in Abyssinia, 427; in Aden, 428, 438; outrage by, 428 *seqq.*; at Esher, 442; Dufar, 444; Calatu, 449; Hormuz, 452; Ahmad Sultan one, 467
- Mailapúr (Shrine of St. Thomas), ii. 355*n*
- Maiman, i. 86*n*
- Maître*, the word, ii. 296*n*
- Maitreya Buddha, ii. 330*n*
- Majapahit, empire of (Java), ii. 275*n*
- Majar (Menjar), ii. 491*n*
- Major, R. H., on Australia, ii. 280*n*
- Makdashan, *see* Magadoxo
- Malabar, Melibar, Malibar, Manibar, ii. 389, 390; fleets, 389; products, 389, 390*n*; imports, Chinese ships in, 390, 391*n*
- Malacca, ii. 281*n*; foundation of, 282*n*; chronology, 282*n*

- Malacca, Straits of, ii. 281*n*
 Malaur, island and city, ii. 280, 281*n*, 283*n*, 305-306*n*
 Mal-Amir, or Aidhej, i. 85*n*
 Malasgird, i. 145*n*
 Malay Peninsula, ii. 277*n*; invasion of Ceylon, 215*n*; chronicle, 279*n*, 282*n*, 287*n*, 288*n*, 294*n*, 300*n*; language, 286*n*; origin of many geographical names, 314*n*
 Malayo, or Tana Malayu, ii. 281*n*, 283*n*
 Malcolm, Sir John, ii. 351*n*
 Maldive Islands, ii. 425*n*
 Malé in Burma, ii. 113*n*
 Male and Female Islands, ii. 401, 404 *seqq.*; legend widely diffused, 405*n*-406*n*, 415*n*
 Malifattan, ii. 333*n*
 Malik al Dháhir, king of Samudra, ii. 288*n*, 294*n*
 — al Mansúr, ii. 288*n*, 294*n*
 — al Sálil, king of Samudra, ii. 288*n*, 294*n*, 295*n*
 — Kafur, ii. 333*n*
 Malli, the, i. 92*n*
 Malpiero, Gasparo, 4
 Malte-Brun, 112, i. 86*n*, ii. 602*n*
 Malwa, ii. 426*n*, 427*n*
 Mamaseni, i. 85*n*
 Mamre, tree of, i. 131*n*, 132*n*, 135*n*
 Mán, barbarians, ii. 60*n*, 123*n*, 144*n*, 228*n*
 Man, Col. Henry, ii. 308*n*, 312*n*
 Manchu dynasty, i. 29*n*
 Mancopa, ii. 300*n*, 305*n*
 Mandalé in Burma, ii. 329*n*
 Mandarin language, ii. 243*n*
 Mangalai, third son of Kúblái, 21, i. 361*n*, ii. 24; his palace, 24, 25, 31*n*
 Mangalore, ii. 386*n*
 Mangla and Nebila Islands, ii. 405*n*
 Mangonels made by Polos for attack of Saianfu, ii. 159; etymology, 164*n*; account of, 168*n*; a barbarous lubricant for, 180*n*
 Mangu (Mangká, Mongu) Khan, Kúblái's elder brother, 10, 11, i. 8*n*, 14*n*, 61*n*, 103*n*, 146*n*, 210, 227*n*, ii. 32*n*, 42, 46*n*; his death, i. 245*n*; reign, massacre at his funeral, 246, 250*n*, 334*n*
 Mangu-Temur (Mungultemur), ii. 491, 496, 497*n*
 Manjánfk (Manjaniki), ii. 164*n*
 — Kumghá, ii. 168*n*
 Manjanikis (Mangonellas), ii. 168*n*. (*See* Mangonels.)
 Manji, *see* Manzi
 Manjushri, Bodhisatva, ii. 265*n*
 Manphul, Pandit, i. 154*n*, 156*n*, 160*n*, 162*n*, 163*n*
 Mansur Shah, i. 25*n*
 Mantzé, Man-tzu, Mantszi, Aborigines, ii. 60*n*, 64*n*, 144*n*
 Manuel, Comnenus, Emperor, i. 82*n*
 Manufactures, Kúblái's, i. 412, 415*n*
 Manuscripts of Polo's Book, 81 *seqq.*, 90 *seqq.* ii. 526*n*-552*n*
 Manzi (Facfur), king of, i. 36, ii. 145, 148; his flight, 146; his charity, 147, 207-208; his effeminacy, 147; his death, 148; his palace at Kinsay, 191-192, 206-207. (*See* Faghfur.)
 — (Mangi) province, 3, ii. 10; White City of the Frontier, 33, 34*n*, 36, 49, 139, 141, 144*n*, 151, 176; entrance to, 142, 152; conquest of, 145-146, 148, 158, 178; character of the people, 181, 204; its nine kingdoms, 1200 cities and squares, 190, 213; its bamboos, 219; no sheep in, 219; dialects, 236, 243*n*; called Chin, 264, 265*n*; ships and merchants in India, 386, 390, 391*n*
 — queen of, surrenders, ii. 146, 150*n*; her report of Kinsay, 185
 Map, constructed on Polo's data, 109, 110; Hereford, 127; Roger Bacon's, 132; Marino Sanudo's, 133; Medicean, 134; Catalan, 135, 136; Fra Mauro's, 135; Ruysch's, 135; Mercator's, 137; Sanson's, 137
 Mapillas, or Moplals, ii. 372*n*, 380*n*
 Maps, allusions to, in Polo's book, ii. 245*n*, 312, 424; early mediæval, 132; of the Arabs, 132; in the palace at Venice, 110
 Marabia, Maravia, Maravi, ii. 386*n*-387*n*
 Marah Silu, ii. 294*n*
 Mámangalam, site of Kolkhoi, ii. 373*n*
 Marash, i. 23*n*
 Maratha, ii. 426*n*
 Mardin (Merdin), i. 60, 62*n*
 Mare's milk, *see* Kumiz
 Margaritone, i. 22*n*
 Marignolli, John, ii. 23*n*, 144*n*, 180*n*, 193*n*, 194*n*, 213*n*, 239*n*, 321*n*, 356*n*, 358*n*
 Market days, i. 154*n*, ii. 106, 107*n*
 Markets in Kinsay, ii. 201, 202
 — Squares in Kinsay, ii. 201, 210*n*, 213*n*
 Marks of Silver, i. 83, ii. 394, 591*n*
 Marriage customs in Khotan, i. 191, 193*n*
 — customs in Kanchau, i. 220, 223*n*
 — customs of the Tartars, 252-253, 256*n*
 — (posthumous) amongst Tartars 267, 268*n*
 — laxities of different peoples, i. 191, 193*n*
 — laxities in Thibet, ii. 44, 48*n*, 53-54, 56*n*, 66, 76*n*
 Mar Sarghis, ii. 157*n*, 177
 Marsden's edition of Polo, 115 and *passim*

- Martin, Dr. Ernest, of French Legation at Peking, ii. 93*n*
- Martini, ii. 5*n*, 15*n*, 29*n*, 32*n*, 35*n*, 137*n*, 211*n*, 228*n*, 229*n*, 237*n*; his *Atlas Sinensis*, i. 42*n*, ii. 69*n*; his account of Kinsay, i. 214*n* and *passim*
- Martyns, Franciscan, ii. 396*n*
- Masáhlak-al-Absár, i. 5*n* 86*n*, ii. 214, 348*n*
- Mashhad (Meshed), or Varsach River, i. 150*n*, 155*n*, 156*n*, 193*n*
- Mashiz, i. 92*n*
- Maskat, ii. 451*n*
- Mastiff Dogs, Keepers of the, i. 400, 401*n*
- Mastiffs of Tibet, *see* Dogs
- Mastodon, bogged, ii. 290*n*
- Mas'ud II., Ghiath ed-din-Seljuk dynasty, i. 44*n*
- Mas'udi, i. 53*n* 59*n*, 62*n*, 82*n*, 99*n*
- Masulipatam, ii. 363*n*
- Matchlocks, manufacture at Kerman, i. 90; at Taianfu, ii. 15*n*
- Ma-t'eu (Matu), ii. 139*n*
- Mati Dhivája, *see* Bashpah Lama
- Matitánana, ii. 414*n*
- Matityna (Martinique), ii. 405*n*
- Mätzner, Eduard, ii. 601*n*
- Maundevile, Sir John (John a Beard), on lying in water, i. 119*n*, 604*n*; Cloths of Tartary, 295*n*; Trees of the Sun, 130*n*; Dry Tree, 131*n*; his Book of Travels, ii. 598*n*, 605*n*; English version, 601*n*; his tomb, 604*n*
- Maung Maorong, or Pong, Shan kingdom, ii. 79*n*, 113*n*
- Mauro, Fra, his map, i. 6, 133, ii. 128*n*
- Mausul (Mosul), kingdom of, i. 46, 60, 61*n*, 62*n*
- Mauvenu (Malvennez), the phrase, ii. 21*n*, 473*n*
- Mayers, W. F., ii. 150*n*, 596*n*
- Mayhew, A. L., on *Couvade*, ii. 93*n*
- Mazandéran, province, i. 59*n*
- Mecchino, Ginger, ii. 381*n*
- Medressehs at Sivas, i. 45*n*
- Mekhitar, i. 45*n*
- Mekong River (Lan-tsang kiang), ii. 88*n*, 128*n*, 278*n*
- Mekrán, often reckoned part of India, ii. 402*n*, 403*n*, 405*n*
- Mekránis, i. 106*n*
- Melchior, one of the Magi, i. 78, 82*n*
- Melibar, *see* Malabar
- Melic, the title, ii. 449, 450, 470*n*
- Melons, dried, of Shibgán, i. 149, 150*n*
- Menangkabau, ii. 286*n*, 301*n*
- Mendoza, i. 8*n*
- Menezes, Duarte, ii. 358*n*
- Mengki, envoy to Java, ii. 75*n*
- Menjar (Májar ?), ii. 490, 491*n*
- Menuvair and Grosvair, ii. 483*n*
- Merghuz Boirúk Khan, ii. 19*n*
- Merkit (Mecrit, Mescript), a Tartar tribe, i. 236*n*, 269, 271*n*
- Meshid (more correctly Mashhad), i. 150*n* 155*n*, 156*n*, 193*n*
- Messengers, Royal Mongol, i. 36*n*
- Mexico, ii. 405*n*
- Meyer, Paul, *Alexandre le Grand*, i. 56*n*
- Miafarakain, i. 68*n*
- Miau-tzu, ii. 82*n*
- Mien, Amien, Ava (Burma), king of, his battle with Tartars, ii. 98*n*; City of, 99*n*, 109; its gold and silver towers, 110; how it was conquered, 110, 111*n*; communications and war with Mongols, 104; Chinese notices, 104*n*
- Mikado, ii. 262
- Military engines of the Middle Ages, dissertation on, ii. 161*n*; two classes, 161*n*; *Trébuchets*, 161*n*, 163*n*, 164*n*; *Balista*, 161*n*; shot used, carrion, live men, bags of gold, 163*n*; *Mangonel*, 163*n*, 169*n*; Napoleon's experiments with heavy shot, 164*n*, 165*n*; size and accuracy, 165*n*; length of range (Sanudo on), 166*n*; effect of *Mangonel* on Saracens, 166*n*; procured by Kúblái for siege of Siang-yang, 167*n*; Chinese and Persian histories on, 167*n*-169*n*; known to Mongols and Chinese, 168*n*; the *Karabugha*, or *Calabra*, 168*n*; the *Pao*, 169*n*
- Milk, portable, or curd, i. 262, 265*n*
- Milk, rite of sprinkling Mare's, i. 300, 309*n*, 411
- Million, use of the numeral, 67, ii. 215, 217*n*
- Millione, Milliioni, nickname for Polo and his book, 6, 54, 119, ii. 217*n*
- Millioni, Corte del, 4
- Milne, ii. 222*n*
- Minao district, i. 110*n*, 114*n*
- Mines and Minerals, *see* Iron, Silver, etc.
- Minever, *see* Menuvair
- Ming, the Chinese dynasty which ousted the Mongols, A. D. 1368, i. 29*n*, ii. 15*n*, 238*n*; their changes in Peking, i. 342*n*; their paper-money, 427*n*; their effeminate customs, ii. 20; expeditions to India, 392*n*; annals, 413*n*, 439*n*, 445*n*
- Mingan, Khan's Master of Hounds, i. 400
- Ming-ti, Emperor, i. 347*n*
- Minján, dialect of, i. 160*n*
- Minotto, Professor A. S., 6, ii. 511*n*
- Min River (in Fokien), ii. 228*n*, 230*n*, 233*n*, 234*n*
- River (in Szech'wan), ii. 40*n*, 70*n*, 130*n*
- Mint, the Khan's, i. 423
- Mintsing-hien, ii. 230*n*
- Mious River, ii. 488*n*

- Miracle Stories, fish in Lent, i. 52-57*n*; Mountain moved, 68-73; St. Barsamo's girdles, 77; Holy Fire, 80; Stone at Samarkand, 185; at St. Thomas' Shrine, ii. 354, 356*n* 358*n*
 Mirat, ii. 426*n*
 Mire, French for leech, i. 81*n*
 Mirkhond, ii. 180*n*
 Mirobolans, ii. 388*n*
Miskál, a weight, i. 353*n*, ii. 41*n*, 217*n*, 592*n*. (See also Saggio.)
Misri, sugar-candy, ii. 230*n*
 Missionary Friars, powers conferred on, i. 22, 23*n*; in China in 14th century, 140, ii. 154*n*, 237*n*, 240*n*
 — Martyrs, i. 312*n*, ii. 396*n*
 Moa of New Zealand, ii. 417*n*, 418*n*
 Modhafferians, the, i. 86*n*
 Modun Khotan ("Wood-ville"), i. 408*n*
 Moghistan, i. 110*n*
 Mohammed, son of Yusuf Kelefi, founder of Shíráz, i. 85*n*
 Mohammerah, ii. 444*n*
 Mohiuddin, i. 24*n*
 Mokli, the Jelair, ii. 462*n*
 Molayu, ii. 283*n*
 Molebar, *see* Malabar
 Molephatan, ii. 426*n*
 Molière, *Pastorale Comique*, i. 341*n*
 Moluccas, ii. 265*n*
 Mombasa, ii. 424*n*
 Momein, ii. 57*n*, 80*n*, 81*n*
 Monasteries of Idolaters (Buddhists), i. 167, 219, 286*n*, 303, 319*n*, ii. 171, 174*n*, 175, 176*n*, 213*n*
 Money, paper, i. 423-425, 426*n*-430*n*
 — values, i. 426*n*, ii. 590*n*-592*n*
 Mongol conquests, 9, 10; capture Soldaia, i. 4*n*; Bolghar, 7*n*, 8*n*; treachery and cruelty, 61*n*, 151*n*, 265*n*, ii. 181*n*; their inroads, i. 105*n*; Bakh city, 151*n*; invade Balakhshán, 161*n*; invasion of Poland and Silesia, ii. 493*n*
 Mongon Khan, *see* Mangu
 Mongotay (Mangkutai), a Mongol officer, ii. 136, 138*n*
 Monkeys, ii. 285, 382, 431; passed off as pygmies, 285, 383*n*-385*n*
 Monks, idolatrous, i. 303. (*See* Monasteries.)
 Monnier, Marcel, his visit to Karakorum, i. 230*n*; on the Ch'êng-tu Suspension Bridge, ii. 41*n*
 Monoceros and Maiden, legend of, ii. 285, 291*n*
 Monophysitism, i. 61*n*
 Monsoons, 23, ii. 264-265
 Montecorvino, John, Archbishop of Cambaluc, i. 117*n*, 287*n*, 289*n*, 346*n*, ii. 180*n*
 Monte d'Ely, ii. 386*n*, 387*n*
 Montgomerie, Major T. G. (R.E.) (Indian Survey), on fire at great altitudes, i. 178*n*; position of Kashgar and Yarkund, 182*n*
 Monument at Si-ngan fu, Christian, ii. 27*n*, 28*n*
 Moon, Mountains of the, ii. 415*n*, 420*n*, 421*n*
 Moore, *Light of the Harem*, i. 115*n*
 Moplas, *see* Mapillas
 Morgan, E. Delmar, i. 176*n*, 198*n*, 207*n*
 Mortagne, siege of, ii. 165*n*
Morus alba, silk-worm tree, ii. 25*n*
 Moscow, Tartar Massacre at, ii. 493*n*
 Mosolin, or Muslin (Mosolini), *Mo-see*, Arab Maçlîli, i. 60, 62*n*, ii. 363*n*, 408*n*
 Mossos, a tribe, ii. 60*n*, 63*n*
 Mosta'sim Billah, last Abbaside Khalif of Baghdad, story of his avarice and death, i. 63-64, 67*n*
Mostocotto, i. 87*n*
 Mosul (Mausul), i. 46, 60, 61*n*, 62*n*
 Motapallé, *see* Mutfli
 Motawakkil, Khalif, i. 131*n*
 Moule, Bishop G. E., ii. 194*n*-198*n*, 209*n*-213*n*, 215*n*
 Mount, Green, in Palace grounds at Peking, i. 365, 370*n*, 372*n*, — St Thomas, ii. 356*n*, 358*n*
 — D'Ely, *see* Monte d'Ely
 Mountain, Old Man of the, *see* Old Man of the
 — Miracle of the, i. 68-73
 — Road in Shensi, extraordinary, ii. 32*n*
 Mourning customs, at Hormuz, i. 109; in Tangut, 204; at Kinsay, ii. 191; Mozambique Channel, ii. 415*n*
 Muang, term applied in Shan countries (Laos and W. Yunnan) to fortified towns, as:—
 Muang-Chi, ii. 67*n*
 Muang, or Maung Maorong, ii. 79*n*, 113*n*
 Muang Shung, ii. 120*n*
 Muang Yong, ii. 57*n*, 117*n*, 128*n*
 Muláhidah (Mulchet, Alamút, Chinese Mulahi), epithet of Ismaelites, i. 139, 141*n*, 142*n*, 146*n*
 Mulberry Trees, i. 423, ii. 13, 24
 Mul-Java, ii. 349*n*
 Müller, F. W. K., ii. 89*n*
 Müller, Professor Max, i. 65*n*; on *Cowade*, ii. 93*n*; on stories of Buddha and St. Josafat, 323*n*, 325*n*, 326*n*, 328*n*
 Multan, ii. 426*n*
 Múnál pheasant (*Lophophorus impeyanus*), described by Ælian, i. 280*n*
 Mung (*Nicaea*), i. 104*n*
 Mungasht, hill fort, stronghold of the Atabegs, i. 85*n*
 Mungul, name applied to Tartars, i. 285. (*See* Mongol.)
 Mungul-Temur and Mongo-Temur, *see* Mangu-Temur

- Murad Beg, of Kunduz, i. 156*n*, 161*n*, 163*n*
- Murghab River, i. 172*n*, 175*n*
- Murray, Dr. J. A. H., on *Couvade*, ii. 93*n*
- Hugh, ii. 133*n*, 141*n*, 175*n*, 208*n*, 212*n*, 486*n*
- Murus Ussu (Brius, Upper Kiang), ii. 67*n*
- Mus, Merdin (Mush, Mardin), i. 60, 62*n*
- Musa'ud, Prince of Hormuz, i. 120*n*, 121*n*
- Musk, animal (Moschus), i. 275, 279*n*, 364, ii. 34, 35*n*, 45, 54
- earliest mention of and use in medicine, i. 279*n*
- Muslin, *see* Mosolin
- Mutfilli (Motapallé for Telingana), ii. 359, 362*n*, 403*n*, 424; its diamonds, 360-361, 362*n*; identified, 362*n*
- Muza, ii. 408*n*
- Mynibar, ii. 426*n*
- Mysore, ii. 427*n*
- Mystic number, *see* Numbers
- NAC, Nasich, Naques (Nakh), a kind of brocade, i. 63, 65*n*, 285, 295*n*
- Nachetti*, silk stuff interwoven with gold, i. 65*n*
- Nakhut*, gold brocade, i. 65*n*
- Nakkára (Naccara, Nacaires), the great kettledrum signalling action, i. 338, 339*n*-341*n*, ii. 461
- Nákshatra*, ii. 368*n*
- Nalanda, i. 306*n*
- Nan-Chao, formerly Ai-Lao, Shan dynasty in Yun-nan, ii. 73*n*, 79*n*
- Nancouri, ii. 308*n*
- Nanghin (Ngan-king), ii. 154, 157, 171*n*
- Nangiass, Mongol name of Manzi, ii. 144*n*
- Nankau, archway in Pass of, with polyglot inscription, i. 28*n*
- Nanking, not named by Polo, ii. 158*n*
- Nanwuli, ii. 301*n*
- Naobanján, i. 85*n*
- Naoshirwan, i. 53*n*
- Naphtha in the Caucasian country, i. 46, 49
- Fire used in war by the Karaunahs, i. 101*n*
- Napier, Sir C., i. 147*n*
- Napoleon III., his researches and experiments on mediæval engines of war, ii. 164*n*, 165*n*
- Narikela-Dvipa, ii. 307*n*
- Narin-Kaleh, fortress, i. 53*n*
- Narkandam, volcanic island, ii. 312*n*
- Narsinga, King of, ii. 347*n*
- Narwhal tusk, mediæval Unicorn's Horn, ii. 291*n*
- Nasich, *see* Nac
- Nasruddin (Nescradin), officer in the Mongol Service, ii. 101, 104*n*, 111*n*, 114*n*
- Nassir-uddin, Mahmud, Sultan of Delhi, 12
- Natigay, Tartar idol, i. 257, 258*n*, 456, 479
- Nava-Khanda, or Nine Divisions of Ancient India, i. 104*n*
- Navapa (Lop?), i. 197*n*
- Naversa (ancient Anazarbus), in Cilicia, under Taurus, i. 58*n*
- Nayan, Kúblái's kinsman, his revolt, i. 333, 334*n*; Kúblái's marches against, 335; routed in battle, 337; put to death by Kúblái, 343
- Nearchus at Hormuz, i. 114*n*
- Nebila and Mangla islands, ii. 405*n*
- Nebuchadnezzar, i. 52*n*
- Necklaces, precious, ii. 338, 346*n*
- Necuveran, *see* Nicobar
- Negapatam, Chinese Pagoda at, ii. 336*n*
- Negroes described, ii. 422
- Negropont, i. 18, 19*n*, 36
- Nellore, ii. 333*n*
- Nemej, Niemicz ("Dumb"), applied to Germans by Slavs, ii. 493*n*
- Nerghi, Plain of, ii. 499
- Neri* (pigs), ii. 210*n*
- Nescradin, *see* Nasruddin
- Nesnds* (a goblin), i. 202*n*
- Nestorian Christians, at Mosul, i. 46, 60, 61*n*; Tauris, 75, 77*n*; Kashgar, 182; Samarkand, 182, 186*n*; Yarkand, 187; Tangut, 203, 207*n*; Kamul, 211*n*; Chingintalas, 212; Sukchur, 217; Kampichu, Kan-chau, 219; their diffusion in Asia, 237*n*; among the Mongols, 241, 243*n*; Erguiul and Sinju, 274; Egrigaia, 281; Tenduc, 284, 285, 287*n*; China, 291*n*; Yachi, or Yun-nan fu, ii. 66, 74*n*; Cacanfu, 132; Yang-chau, 154*n*; one in Polo's suite, 159; churches at Chinghianfu, 177; church at Kinsay, 192; at St. Thomas, 358*n*; Patriarch of, 377*n*, 407; Metropolitan, 377*n*, 409*n*
- Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, i. 61*n*
- Nevergún Pass, i. 112*n*
- New Year Festival at Kúblái's Court, i. 390
- Neza Tash Pass, i. 172*n*
- Ngan-king (Nanghin), ii. 154, 157, 171*n*
- Ngan-ning-ho River, ii. 69*n*
- Ngantung, Mongol general, ii. 462*n*
- Ngo-ning, or Ho-nhi, ii. 120*n*, 121*n*
- Nia (ancient Ni-jang), in Khotan, i. 195*n*
- Nias Island, ii. 298*n*
- Nibong Palm, ii. 305*n*
- Nicaea of Alexander, i. 105*n*
- Nicholson, Edward B., ii. 604*n*
- Nicobar (Necuveran) Islands, ii. 306, 307*n*, 315*n*; etymology and people, 308*n*
- Nicolas of Pistoia, ii. 356*n*

- Nicolas, Christian name of Ahmad Sultan, ii. 468ⁿ
 — Friar, of Vicenza, i. 22
 Nicolas IV., Pope, ii. 474ⁿ
 Nieuhoff, ii. 139ⁿ, 141ⁿ
 Nigudar (Nogodar), Mongol princes, i. 98, 102ⁿ
 Nigudarian bands, i. 98, 102ⁿ, 121ⁿ, 164ⁿ
 Nilawár (Nellore), ii. 333ⁿ
 Nile, sources of, ii. 415ⁿ, 438, 439ⁿ
 Nileschwaram, ii. 388ⁿ
Nimchah Musulmán, "Half-and-Halfs," i. 155ⁿ
 Nine, auspicious number among Tartars, i. 390, 392ⁿ
 Nine Provinces (India), i. 104ⁿ (China), ii. 190, 199ⁿ
 Ning-hsia, or hia (Egrigaia), i. 282ⁿ, ii. 23ⁿ
 Ningpo, ii. 224ⁿ
 Ning-yuan fu, ii. 69ⁿ, 70ⁿ
 Niriz, steel mines of, i. 86ⁿ, 92ⁿ
 Nirvana, figures of Buddha in, i. 221ⁿ
 Nishapúr, i. 150ⁿ
 Niuché (Yuché), Chinese name for the Churchés or race of Kin Empire, i. 2, ii. 28ⁿ, 231ⁿ
 Noah's Ark in Armenia, i. 46, 49ⁿ
 Nobles of Venice, 14; Polo's claim to be one, *ib.*
 Nochdarizari, mountains north of Kabul, i. 102ⁿ
 Nogai Khan, ii. 496; his intrigues and wars, 496-497; his history, 497ⁿ; wars with Toctai, 498
 Nogodar (Nigudar), King of the Caraoas, story of, i. 98
 Nomad tribes of Persia, i. 87ⁿ
 Nomogan (Numughan), Kúblái's son, i. 361ⁿ, ii. 460, 462ⁿ
 None, *Nono*, *Nuna*, title given to younger brothers or subordinate princes, i. 171, 173ⁿ
 North, regions of the Far, ii. 479
 North Star, *see* Pole-Star
 Note Book, Polo's, ii. 193ⁿ
 Novgorod, ii. 489ⁿ
 Nubia, St. Thomas in, ii. 355; alleged use of elephants in, 434ⁿ
 Nukdaris, tribe west of Kabul, i. 102ⁿ
 Nuksán Pass, i. 165ⁿ
 Numbers, mystic or auspicious, ii. 108ⁿ, 347ⁿ; Nine, i. 390, 392ⁿ; one hundred and eight, ii. 347ⁿ
Nuna, *see* None
 Nusi-Ibrahim, ii. 414ⁿ
 Nutmegs, ii. 272, 309ⁿ
 Nyuché, or Churché, race of Kin Emperors, *see* Niuché.
- OAK of Hebron, *see* Terebinth
 Oaracta (Kishm, or Brakht), i. 115ⁿ
- Obedience of Ismaelites, extraordinary, i. 144ⁿ
 Obi River, ii. 481ⁿ, 484ⁿ
 Observatory at Peking, i. 378ⁿ, 449ⁿ
 Ocean Sea, i. 107, 270, ii. 3, 22, 36, 56, 146, 153, 189, 237ⁿ, 251, 487; other seas, parts of, 265
 Ocoloro Island, ii. 406ⁿ
 Odoric, Friar, 117, i. 49ⁿ, 59ⁿ, 76ⁿ, 81ⁿ, 89ⁿ, 110ⁿ, 117ⁿ, 202ⁿ, 288ⁿ, 314ⁿ, 370ⁿ, 375ⁿ, 384ⁿ, 385ⁿ, 426ⁿ, 437ⁿ, 441ⁿ, ii. 237ⁿ, 599ⁿ, 602ⁿ, 604ⁿ; on Kinsay, 212ⁿ; on Fuchau, 232ⁿ; Zayton, 237ⁿ; Java, 263ⁿ, 275ⁿ; Champa, 271ⁿ; Sumatra, 294ⁿ, 297ⁿ; on sago tree, 304ⁿ; on products of Ceylon, 315ⁿ; St. Thomas's, 358ⁿ; Pepper Forest, 377ⁿ; Brazil-wood, 380ⁿ; Thána, 396ⁿ
 Oger, the Dane, i. 131ⁿ
 Ogotai Khan, *see* Okkodai
 Oil from the Holy Sepulchre, i. 14, 19, 26; fountain of (Naphtha) at Baku, 46, 49ⁿ; whale, 108, 117ⁿ
 — head (Capidoglio, or Sperm whale), ii. 411, 414ⁿ
 — walnut and Sesamé, 158, 162ⁿ
 Oirad, or Uirad (Horriad), a great Tartar tribe, i. 300, 308ⁿ
 Okkodai Khan, third son of Chinghiz, 10, i. 65ⁿ, 206ⁿ, 227ⁿ, 228ⁿ, 236ⁿ, 247ⁿ, 437ⁿ
 Olak, Illuk, Aulak, *see* Lac
 Old Man of the Mountain (Aloadin), 124, 127, i. 139-146; his envoys to St. Lewis, 47ⁿ; account of, 139; how he trained his Assassins, 142; the Syrian, 144; his subordinate chiefs, 143, 145ⁿ; his end, 145; modern representative, 147ⁿ
 Oljaïtu Khan, his correspondence with European princes, i. 14ⁿ, 36ⁿ, 362ⁿ; his tomb, ii. 478ⁿ
 Oman, ii. 348ⁿ, 452ⁿ
 Omens, much regarded in Maabar, ii. 344, 351ⁿ; by the Brahmans, 364, 368ⁿ, 369ⁿ
 Onan Kerule, near Baikal, i. 236ⁿ
 Ondanique (fine kind of steel), Andaine, Andanicum, Hundwánfy, i. 90, 93ⁿ, 125ⁿ; in Kerman, 90; Chingintalas, 212, 215ⁿ
 Oppert, Dr. Gustavus, Book on Prester John, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*, i. 231ⁿ-233ⁿ, 235ⁿ, 236ⁿ, 245ⁿ, 288ⁿ
 Orang Gugu, ii. 301ⁿ
 Orang Malayu River, ii. 281ⁿ
 Or Batuz, i. 388ⁿ
 Orbelian, John, identified by Bruun with Prester John, i. 233ⁿ-235ⁿ
 Ordos, the Mongols of, i. 249ⁿ
 Organa (Jerún), Persian Gerún, i. 115ⁿ

- Oriental phrases in Polo's dictation, 84
 Orissa, ii. 426*n*
 Orkhon River, i. 227*n*
 Orleans, defence of, ii. 165*n*
 — Isle d', ii. 277*n*
 Orloks, or Marshals of the Mongol Host, i. 263, ii. 462*n*
 Oroech, ii. 487, 489*n*
 Oron, Mongol for a region or realm, i. 104*n*
 Orphani, strange customs of the, ii. 298*n*
 Osci, the word, ii. 350*n*
 Ostriches, ii. 431, 437*n*
 Ostyaks, ii. 484*n*
 Otto, Bishop of Freisingen, i. 233*n*, 234*n*
 Oulatay (Uladai), Tartar envoy from Persia, i. 32, 33*n*
Ovis Poli, see Sheep
Oweke, see Ucaca
 Owen, Professor, ii. 417*n*
 Owen, Rev. Gray, on the Lolos, ii. 69*n*
 Owo, Mongol for Musk, i. 279*n*
 Oxen, humped, in Kerman, i. 97, 99*n*; wild, shaggy (Yaks), 274, 277*n*
 — wild (*Beyamini*), in East Tibet, ii. 50; Burma, 111, 114*n*; in Bengal, 115, 116*n*; Anin, 119; worshipped, 341, 365, 370*n*; figures of, worn, 365, 370*n*
 Oxenham, *Atlas*, i. 433*n*, ii. 12*n*, 14*n*, 67*n*, 157*n*
 Oxydracæ, the, i. 93*n*
Oxyrhynchus, ii. 434*n*
 Oxus Valley and River, i. 152*n*, 161*n*, 172*n*, 173*n*, ii. 594*n*
Ozene, ii. 397*n*
- PACAMURIA (Baccanor), ii. 386*n*
 Pacauta! (an invocation), ii. 338, 346*n*
 Pacem, see Paeai
 Paddle-wheel barges, ii. 211*n*
 Paderin, Mr., visits Karakorum, i. 228*n*
 Pádishah Khátún of Kerman, i. 91*n*
 Padma Sambhava, i. 164*n*
 Pagán (in Burma), ii. 100*n*, 107*n*, 109*n*, 113*n*, 114*n*; ruins at, 13; empire of, ii. 279*n*
 — Old (Tagaung), ii. 107*n*, 113*n*
 Pagaroyang, inscriptions from, ii. 286*n*
 Paggi Islands, ii. 298*n*
 Pagodas, Burmese, ii. 110, 114*n*; alleged Chinese in India, 336*n*—337*n*, 391*n*
 Pahang, ii. 279*n*
 Pai, or Peyih tribe, ii. 60*n*, 120*n*
 Paipurth (Baiburt), i. 46, 49*n*
 Pai-yen-ching, ii. 58*n*
Paisah, or Golden Tablet of Honour, i. 352*n*, 353*n*
 — and *Yarligh*, i. 322*n*, 352*n*
 Pakwiha, China ware, ii. 243*n*
Pala, a bird, ii. 351*n*
- Palace of Khan at Chagannor, i. 296; at Chandu (Shangtu), 298; of cane, 299; at Langtin, 306; Cambaluc, 362; on Green Mount, 370; at Kenjanfu (Si-ngan fu), ii. 24, 29*n*; of the Empire of Manzi at Kinsay, 191, 192, 206, 212*n*; in Chipangu, paved and roofed with gold, 253, 256*n*, 275*n*
 Palembang, ii. 281*n*, 283*n*
Paliolle, *Or de*, for gold dust, ii. 52*n*
 Palladius, the Archimandrite, i. 187*n*, 198*n*, 215*n*, 225*n*, 227*n*, 248*n*, 251*n*, 256*n*, 270*n*, 276*n*, 279*n*, 282*n*, 287*n*, 288*n*, 291*n*, 304*n*, 306*n*, 308*n*, 310*n*, 319*n*, 327*n*, 334*n*, 336*n*, 344*n*—347*n*, 358*n*, 389*n*, 397*n*, 402*n*, 407*n*, 408*n*, 430*n*, 456*n*, 461*n*, ii. 178*n*
 Palm (Measure), ii. 592*n*
 Palm Wine, see Wine of Palm
 Pamier (Pamir), Plain of, i. 171; its wild sheep, 171, 176*n*; great height, 174*n*; pasture, etc., 174*n*, 175*n*; described by Hiuen Tsang, Wood, Goës, Abdul Mejid, Colonel Gordon and others, 174*n*—176*n*; Dr. M. A. Stein on, ii. 593*n*—594*n*; Lord Curzon on number of, 594*n*
 Pan-Asiatic usages, i. 324*n*, 326*n*, ii. 359*n*
 Pandarani, or Fandaraina, ii. 386*n*, 391*n*
 Pandit Manphul, i. 162*n*, 163*n*, 173*n*, 154*n*—156*n*, 160*n*, 161*n*, 422*n*, 438*n*
 Pandrethan in Kashmir, Buddhist temple at, i. 167
 Pandyan kings, ii. 333*n*—335*n*, 373*n*—374*n*
 Panja River, or Upper Oxus, i. 170, 172*n*—174*n*
 Panjáb, i. 104*n*
 Panjkora, i. 104*n*
 Panjshir, i. 162*n*, 165*n*, ii. 488*n*
 Pantaleon, coins of, i. 163*n*
 Panthé, or Mahomedan Kingdom in Yun-nan, ii. 80*n*
 Panya (or Pengya), in Burma, ii. 113*n*
 Pao-ki h'ien, ii. 32*n*, 34*n*
 Paonano Pao, i. 173*n*, ii. 593*n*
 Papé, Papesifu, ii. 117*n*, 128*n*
 Paper-money (Chao), Kúblái's made from bark, i. 423—425, 426*n*—430*n* modern, 428*n*. (See also Currency.)
 Papien River, ii. 128*n*
 Paquier, Professor, i. 172*n*, 183*n*
 Paradise, Apples of, 97, 99*n*
 — in legend of the Cross, 136*n*
 — of Persia, 114*n*
 — of the Old Man of the Mountain, i. 140, 142; destroyed, 145
 — Rivers of, 9*n*
 Parákráma Bahu I., ii. 334*n*
 Paramisura, founder of Malacca, ii. 282*n*
Parapomisadae, ii. 402*n*
Parasol, i. 354*n*
 Paravas, ii. 372*n*

- Parez, Pariz, turquoise mines of, i. 92*n*
 — falcons of, 96*n*
 Pariahs (*Paraiyar*), ii. 228*n*; etymology of, ii. 349*n*
 Parker, E. H., i. 263*n*, 291*n*, 312*n*, 345*n*, 360*n*, 381*n*, 433*n*, ii. 60*n*, 74*n*, 88*n*, 104*n*, 148*n*, 151*n*, 169*n*, 207*n*; on Pasei, 296*n*
 Parlák, or Perlak, *see* Ferlec
 — Tanjong, ii. 287*n*
 Parliament, Tartar, ii. 495
 Parpa iron mines, i. 93*n*
 Parrot, Professor, first to ascend Mount Ararat, i. 49*n*
 Parrots, ii. 376, 431
 Partridges, i. 88; black, 99*n*, Jiruftl, 111*n*; great (Chakors), 296, 297*n*; in mew, 298*n*. (*See* also Francolin.)
 Parwana, a traitor eaten by the Tartars, i. 312*n*
 Paryán silver mines, i. 162*n*
 Pascal of Vittoria, Friar, i. 9*n*
 Pasei, Pacem (Basma), a kingdom of Sumatra, ii. 284-285, 288*n*-289*n*, 292, 296*n*, 305*n*
 — Bay of, 296*n*
 — History of, 288*n*-289*n*
 Pasha-Afroz, i. 165*n*
 Pasha and Pashagar tribes, i. 165*n*
 Pashai, i. 164; what region intended, 164, 165*n*
 — Dir, i. 98, 104*n*
 Passo (or Pace), Venetian, ii. 280, 281*n*, 592*n*
 Patarins, heretics, 108, i. 303, 321*n*, ii. 342*n*
Patara, debased Greek, from Badakhshán, i. 159, 160*n*
 Patlam, ii. 337*n*
Patra, or Alms-dish of Buddha, ii. 320, 328*n*; miraculous properties, 330*n*; Holy Grail of Buddhism, 330*n*
 Patriarchs of Eastern Christians, i. 60, 61*n*, ii. 407, 409*n*. (*See* also *Catholicos* and *Nestorian*.)
 Patteik-Kará, ii. 99*n*, 100*n*
 Patterns, beast and bird, on silk, etc., i. 66*n*, 90, 95, 96*n*, 398*n*, ii. 424*n*
 Patu, *see* Batu
 Paukin (Pao-ying), ii. 152
 Pauthier, G., remarks on text of *Polo*, 92 *seqq.*, *et passim*
 Paved roads in China, ii. 189, 198*n*
 — streets of Kinsay, ii. 189
 Payan, *see* Bayan
 Payangadi, ii. 387*n*
 Pa-yi writing, specimen of, ii. 65*n*
 Peaches, yellow and white (apricots), ii. 202, 210
 Peacocks at St. Thomas's, ii. 355; special kind in Coilum, ii. 376
 Pearls, i. 60, 107, 350, 387, 390, 394, 424, ii. 338, 373*n*; in Caidu, 53, 56*n*, 231, 235; rose-coloured in Chipangu, 254, 257*n*; fishery of, 331, 332, 337*n*, 344, 372*n*; pearls and precious stones of kingdom of Maabar, 338, 364, 368*n*
 Pears, enormous, ii. 202, 210*n*
 Pedir, ii. 289*n*
 Pedro, Prince of Portugal, 110, 135
 Pegu and Bengal confounded, ii. 99*n*, 115*n*, 128*n*
 Pei-chau (Piju), ii. 141
 Pein (Pim), province, i. 191, 192*n*; site of, ii. 595*n*
 Peking, white pagoda at, ii. 347*n*. (*See* *Cambaluc*.)
 Pelly, Col. Sir Lewis, British Resident at Bushire, i. 85*n*, 86*n*, 110*n*, 114*n*, 117*n*
 Pema-ching, ii. 35*n*
 Pemberton, Captain R., ii. 79*n*
 Pentam (Bintang), ii. 280*n*, 284
 Pepper, daily consumption of, at Kinsay, ii. 204; change in Chinese use of, 210*n*; great importation at Zayton, duty on, 235, 242*n*; white and black, 264, 272; in Coilum, 375; Eli and Cananore, 385, 388*n*; Melibar, 389; Guzerat, 393, 394*n*; trade in, to Alexandria, 235, 389, 438
 Pepper Country, ii. 377*n*
 Peregrine falcons, i. 269, ii. 487
 Perla (Ferlec), ii. 287*n*
 Persia, extent of name to Bokhara, i. 10*n*; spoken of, 75, 78; three Magi of 78; its eight kingdoms, 83
 Persia and India, boundary of, ii. 402*n*
 Persian applied to language of foreigners at Mongol Court, i. 380*n*, ii. 5*n*
 Persian Gulf (Sea of India?), i. 63, 64*n*
 Pesháwar, ii. 330*n*
 Peter, Tartar slave of Marco Polo's, 72
 Pharaoh's rats (Gerboa), i. 252, 254*n*, ii. 480, 517*n*
 Phayre, Major-General Sir Arthur, ii. 100*n*, 105*n*, 113*n*, 114*n*
 Pheasants, large and long tailed, i. 275, ii. 22, 153; Reeves's, i. 280*n*
 Pheng (the Rukh), ii. 421*n*
 Philip the Fair, i. 14*n*, 87*n*
 Philip III. and IV. of France, i. 87*n*
 Philippine Islands, ii. 265*n*, 266*n*
 Phillips, G., ii. 220*n*-222*n*, 224*n*, 228*n*, 230*n*, 232*n*, 233*n*, 238*n*, 239*n*, 240*n*-241*n*, 278*n*, 279*n*, 296*n*, 297*n*, 308*n*, 314*n*, 315*n*, 596*n*
 Phipps, Captain, ii. 373*n*
 Phra Râma, Siamese kings so-called, ii. 278*n*
 Phungan, Phungan-lu (Fungul?), ii. 127*n*, 129*n*
 Physician, a virtuous, i. 461*n*
 Physicians, ii. 203, 376
 Pianfu (P'ing-yang fu), ii. 13, 16*n*, 25*n*
Piccoli, ii. 66, 74*n*

- Pichalok, ii. 279ⁿ
 Pivtsov, General, i. 188ⁿ; expedition, 200ⁿ
 Pigeon posts, i. 438ⁿ
 Pig-shells, ii. 85
 Piju (Pei-chau), ii. 141
 Pilgrimage, to Adam's Sepulchre in Ceylon, ii. 319; to Shrine of St. Thomas, 353
 "Pillar Road," ii. 32ⁿ
 Pima (Pim), i. 191, 192ⁿ
 Pinati, king of Kaulam, ii. 380ⁿ
 Pine woods in Mongolian desert, i. 224
 — in South China, ii. 251ⁿ
 P'ing-chang, Fanchán, or second class Minister, i. 432ⁿ
 P'ing-yang fu (Pianfu), ii. 13, 16ⁿ, 25ⁿ
 Pinna-Cael (Punnei-Káyal), ii. 372ⁿ
 Pipino, Friar Francesco, 66, 81, 95, 103, i. 19ⁿ, 22ⁿ, 23ⁿ, 144ⁿ, 156ⁿ, 395ⁿ, ii. 120ⁿ, 517ⁿ
 Pirabandi or Bir Pandi (Vira Pandi), ii. 333ⁿ-335ⁿ
 Pirada, ii. 305ⁿ
 Pirates of Malabar, ii. 389-390ⁿ; Guzerat, 392; Tana, 395; Somnath, 400ⁿ; Socotra, 407, 410ⁿ
 Piratical customs at Eli, ii. 385, 390ⁿ
 Pistachioes, i. 97, 114ⁿ, 125ⁿ, 153, 155ⁿ
 Plane, Oriental or Chinár, i. 127, 128ⁿ, 131ⁿ, 135ⁿ, 138ⁿ
 Plano Carpini, 15, *passim*
 Pog, or Fiag River, i. 54ⁿ
 Poison, antidote to, ii. 79
 Poisoning guests, custom of, ii. 84ⁿ
 Poisonous pasturage, i. 217, 218ⁿ
 Poison wind, i. 108, 120ⁿ
 Poland, Mongol invasion of, ii. 493ⁿ
 Pole, or Jackdaw on Polo's scutcheon, 7
 Pole-star, invisible in Java the Less, ii. 284, 292; visible again in India, 382, 389, 392, 397
 Police; of Cambaluc, i. 414; Kinsay, ii. 187, 188
 Politeness of Chinese, i. 457, 462ⁿ
 Polo, Andrea, grandfather of Marco, 8, 14, 26
 — Antonio, illegitimate son of Elder Marco, 26
 — Bellela, second daughter, 69, 71; died before 1333, 76, ii. 506ⁿ
 — Donata, wife of Traveller, 69, 71; sale of property to her husband, 30, ii. 507, 512; death between 1333-1336, 76; before Council, 77; may have been Loredano, 69, 77, 510ⁿ, 512ⁿ, 518ⁿ, 520ⁿ
 — or Bragadino, Fantina, eldest daughter of Traveller, 69, 71, 76, ii. 506ⁿ, 513ⁿ
 — Felice, a cousin, 25, 64
 — Fiordelisa, wife of last, 25, 65

- Polo, Fiordelisa, daughter of Maffeo the Younger, 17, 64
 — Maffeo, brother of Nicolo, 14, 15, 64; in Kan-chau, i. 220; time of death between 1309 and 1318, 66
 — Maffeo, brother of Traveller, 15, 16; probabilities as to birth, 17, 18, 25; will of, 26, ii. 510ⁿ; abstract from, 64-66
 — Marco, the elder son of Andrea, Uncle of the Traveller, 14; his will, 17, 25, 26, i. 4, ii. 510ⁿ
 — Marco, the Traveller, veracity, perplexities in his biography, 1; Ramusio's notices, extracts from, 2 *seqq.*; recognition of his names of places, paralleled with Columbus, 3, 105; nicknamed *Millioni*, 6, 67; story of his capture at Curzola, 6; writes his book in prison at Genoa, 6; release and marriage, 7; arms, 7; claim to nobility, 14; supposed autograph, *ib.*; his birth, circumstances of, 15; is taken to East, 18; employed by Kúblái, mentioned in Chinese Records, 21, *see* i. 420; mission to Yun-nan, 21; governor of Yang-chau, 22; employed at Kan-chau, Kara Korum, Champa and Indian Seas, 22; returns home, 23-24; mentioned in his Uncle Marco's will, 25; commands a galley at Curzola, 46; taken prisoner and carried to Genoa, 48; his imprisonment there, 52; dictates his book to Rusticiano, 52; release and return to Venice, 52; evidence as to story of capture, 53-55; dying vindication of his book, 54; executor to his brother Maffeo, 64; record of exemption from municipal penalty, 66; gives copy of book to T. de Cepoy, 68; marriage and daughters, 69; lawsuit with Paulo Girardo, proceeding regarding house property, 70; illness and last will, 70-74; probable date of death, 74; place of burial, 74; professed portraits of, 75-76; alleged wealth, 77; estimate of him and of his book, 104 *seqq.*; true claims to glory, 106; faint indications of personality, 107; rare indications of humour, 108; absence of scientific notions, 109; geographical data in book, 109; his acquisition of languages, ignorance of Chinese, deficiencies in Chinese notices, 110; historical notices, 111; allusions to Alexander, 113; incredulity about his stories, 115; contemporary recognition, 116 *seqq.*; by T. de Cepoy, Friar Pipino, 118; J. d'Acqui, Giov. Villani, and P. d'Abano, 119; notice by John of Ypres, 121; borrowings in poem of Bauduin de Sebourc, 121 *seqq.*; Chaucer and, 128; influence

Polo Marco (*continued*)—

on geography, obstacles to its effect, 129; character of mediæval cosmography, 130; Roger Bacon as geographer, 131; Arab maps, 132; Marino Sanudo's map, 133; Medicean, 134; Carta Catalana largely based on Polo's, 134; increased appreciation of Polo's book, 135; confusions of nomenclature, 136; introduction of block-printing into Europe and Polo, 138-141; dictates his narrative, i. 2; found at Venice, 18; his age, 19*n*, 22, 26; noticed and employed by Kúblái, 27; grows in favour, many missions, 30, 31; returns from one to India, 32; escapes from the Karaunas, 99, 106*n*; hears of breed of Bucephalus, 158; recovers from illness in hill climate, 159; hears from Zulficar about Salamander, 213; at Kan-chau, 220; brings home hair of yak, 274; and head and feet of musk deer, 275; witnesses events connected with Ahmad's death, 420, 422*n*; noticed in Chinese annals, 422*n*; whether he had to do with Persian scheme of paper currency in 1294, 428*n*; sent by Khan into Western provinces, ii. 3; governor of Yang-chau, 154; probable extent of his authority, 157*n*; aids in constructing engines for siege of Siang-yang, 159 *seqq.*; difficulties as to this statement, 167*n seqq.*; on number of vessels on Great Kiang, 170; ignorant of Chinese, 183; on greatness of Kinsay, 185; his notes, 193*n*; sent to inspect amount of revenue from Kinsay, 216; his great experience, 236; never in islands of Sea of Chin, 265; in kingdom of Chamba, 268, 271*n*; historical anecdotes, 270*n*; detained five months in Sumatra, stockade party against wild people, 292; brings Brazil seed to Venice, 299; partakes of tree-flour (sago), 300; takes some to Venice, 305*n*; in six kingdoms of Sumatra, 300; witnesses arrest for debt in Maabar, 343; his erroneous view of Arabian coast, 110, ii. 452*n*; Indian geography, 403*n*; his unequalled travels, 501; Venetian documents about him, 510*n*-521*n*

— Marco, called Marcolino, son of Nicolò the Younger, 65, 77, 78, ii. 510*n*

— Marco, last male survivor, 8, 78, 79, ii. 510*n*

— Marco, others of this name, 66, 79, 80, ii. 508*n*, 509*n*

— Maroca, sister of Nicolò the Younger, 15, 25, i. 4*n*

— or Delfino, Moreta, youngest daughter, 69, 71, 76, ii. 506*n*, 513*n*

Polo, Nicolo and Maffeo, sons of Andrea, their first journey, 15 *seqq.*; cross Black Sea to Soldaia, i. 2; visit Volga country, etc., 4; go to Bokhara, 9; join envoys to Khan's Court, 10; Kúblái's reception of, 11; sent back as envoys to Pope, 13; receive a Golden Tablet, 15; reach Ayas, 16; Acre, 17; Venice, 18; find young Marco there, *ib.*

— Nicolo, Maffeo and Marco, proceed to Acre, i. 19; set out for East, recalled from Ayas, 20; set out again with Pope's letters, etc., 22; reach Kúblái's Court, 25; are welcomed, 26; *see* on their journey outward, 19; their alleged service in capture of Siang-yang, 22, ii. 158, 159; Khan refuses them permission to return home, i. 32; allowed to go with ambassadors, 33; receive Golden Tablets, 34; on return *see* also 23, 24; story of their arrival at Venice, 4; scheme to assert their identity, 5

— Nicolo, his alleged second marriage and sons, 7, 15; probable truth as to time of, 17; his illegitimate sons, 25; approximate time of his death, 64; his tomb, 7, 74

— Nicolo the Younger, cousin of traveller, 15, 25, 65, i. 4*n*

— Stefano and Giovannino, illegitimate brothers of Traveller, 25, 30, 65

— (?), or Trevisano (?), Fiordelisa, perhaps second wife of Nicolò Polo the Elder, and mother of Maffeo the Younger, 17, 25, 27

— or Trevisano, Maria, last survivor of the family, 8, 78, 79; doubts as to her kindred, 79, ii. 510*n*

— Family, its duration and end, according to Ramusio, 7-8; origin, 13; last notices of, 76 *seqq.* (For relationship of different Polos, *see* table, ii. 506*n*).

— Family, branch of S. Geremia, 14, 66, ii. 507*n*-509*n*

Po-lut (Pa-lut), *incense*, ii. 304*n*

Polygamy, i. 220, 252, 276, ii. 371; supposed effect on population, i. 437*n*-438*n*, ii. 268, 339

Pomilo (Pamir), i. 174*n*

Pompholyx, i. 126*n*

Ponent, or West, term applied by Polo to Kipchak, the Mongol Khanate of the Volga, *see* Kipchak

Pong (Mediæval Shan State), ii. 79*n*, 113*n*

Poods, Russian, i. 162*n*

Popinjays, i. 107

Population, vast, of Cathay, i. 437*n*-438*n*

- Porcelain manufacture, ii. 235, 242*n*; fragments found at Kayál, 373*n*; Chinese, 595*n*
 — shells, *see* Cowries
 Porcupines, i. 154, 156*n*
 Pork, mention of, omitted, ii. 210*n*
Postín, sheep-skin coat, i. 153, 155*n*
 Posts, post-houses and runners, i. 433 *et seqq.*, 438*n*; in Siberia, ii. 480
 Po-sz' (Persia), ii. 437*n*
 Potala at L'hasa, i. 319*n*
 Pottinger, i. 94*n*, 96*n*
 Poultry, kind of, in Coilum, ii. 376; in Abyssinia (guinea-fowl?), 431, 437*n*
 Pound, sterling, 71, ii. 591*n*
Pourpre, or *Purpura*, i. 66*n*, 389*n*
 P'o-yang Lake, ii. 243*n*
 Pozdnieiev, Professor, i. 228*n*
 Precious stones or gems, 5, i. 75, 76*n*, 107, 350, 390, 394, 424, ii. 202, 231, 235, 236, 254, 264, 313, 315*n*, 338, 361, 362*n*; how discovered by pirates, 392
 Prester John (Unc Can, Aung or Ung Khan), i. 27*n*, 239; Tartar tribute to, 226; account of, 231*n*-237*n*; marriage relations with Chinghiz, 239; insults Chinghiz' envoys, 239; "these be no soldiers," 240; marches to meet Chinghiz, 241; real site of battle with Chinghiz, 242; his real fate, *ib.*; slain in battle, 244; his lineage in Tenduc, 284, 288*n*; and the Golden King, ii. 17-22
 Prices of horses, *see* Horses
 Printing, imaginary connection of Polo's name with introduction of, 139 *seqq.*
 Private names supposed, i. 361*n*
 Prjevalsky, Colonel N. M., i. 198*n*, 206*n*, 216*n*, 249*n*, 276*n*, 277*n*, ii. 23*n*, 29*n*, 61*n*
 Probation of Jogis, ii. 366; parallel, 370*n*
 Prophecy regarding Bayan, ii. 145, 149*n*
Progues, the word, ii. 370*n*
 Prostitutes; at Cambaluc, i. 414; Kinsay, ii. 202-203
 Provinces, thirty-four of Kúblái's Empire, i. 430
 Pseudo-Callisthenes, 113, i. 56*n*, 57*n*
 Ptolemies' trained African elephants, ii. 434*n*
 Ptolemy, 2, 129, 131, i. 24*n*, 88*n*, 91*n*; Sarmatic Gates, i. 53*n*
 P'u-chau fu, ii. 25*n*, 26*n*
 Pu-ch'eng, ii. 224*n*
 Puer and Esmok, ii. 57*n*, 117*n*
 Pukan Mien-Wang, ii. 113*n*
 Pulad Chingsang, ii. 218*n*
 Pulisanghin, River and Bridge, 111, 136, ii. 3-4, 5*n*
 Pulo Bras, ii. 307*n*
 Pulo Condore (Sondur and Condur), ii. 276, 277*n*
 Pulo Gommes (Gauenispola), ii. 307*n*
 Pulo Nankai, or Nási, ii. 307*n*
 Pulo Wé, Wai, or Wey, ii. 307
 Punnei-Káyal, ii. 372*n*
 Puránas, the, i. 58*n*
Purpura, *see* *Pourpre*
 Putchok, ii. 397*n*
 Putu-ho, "Grape R.," ii. 16*n*
 Pygmies, factitious (?), ii. 285
 QAL'AH ASGHER, hot springs at, i. 122*n*
 Qara Ars-lán Beg, king of Kermán, i. 92*n*
 Quails in India, ii. 345
 Queen of Mutfli, ii. 360
 Quicksilver and sulphur potion, ii. 365, 369*n*
 — as regarded by alchemists, 369*n*
 Quills of the Ruc, *see* Ruc
 Quilon, Kaulam, etc., *see* Coilum
 Qumádin (Camadi), i. 113*n*
 RABELAIS, i. 100*n*
 Rabbanta, a Nestorian monk, i. 243*n*
 Radloff, Dr. W., i. 28*n*; map, 229*n*, 230*n*
 Ráin, i. 113*n*
 Rainald, of Dassel, Archbishop, i. 82*n*
 Rain-makers, *see* Conjurers
 Rainy season, ii. 343, 351*n*
 Rajkot leather-work, ii. 395
 Rakka, Rákshasas, ii. 298*n*, 308*n*, 312*n*
 Rama Kamheng, king, ii. 278*n*
 Rameshwaram, ii. 335*n*
 Ramnad, ii. 335*n*
 Rampart of Gog and Magog, i. 57*n*, 292*n*
 Ramusio, Giov. Battista, *passim*; his biographical notices of Polo, 2 *et seqq.*, 52; his edition of Polo, 96-101, ii. 208*n*, 212*n*, 374*n*
 Ráná Paramitá's Woman Country, ii. 405*n*
 Ranking, John, i. 339*n*
 Raonano-Rao, i. 173*n*, ii. 593*n*
 Rapson, E. J., ii. 595*n*
 Ras Haili, ii. 386*n*
 — Kumhári, ii. 383*n*
 Rashfduddín, *alias* Fazl-ulla Rashid, Persian statesman and historian of the Mongols, 121; frequently quoted in the Notes.
 Ravenala tree (*Urania speciosa*), ii. 421*n*, 597*n*
 Raw meat eaten, ii. 66, 76*n*, 85
 Rawlinson, Sir H., i. 58*n*, 82*n*, 85*n*, 87*n*, 114*n*, 115*n*, 152*n*, 166*n*, 192*n*, 195*n*
 Reclus, *Asie russe*, i. 54*n*; on Caspian Sea fisheries, 59*n*
 Red gold and red Tangas, ii. 349*n*
Re Dor, ii. 19*n*

- Red Sea, trade from India to Egypt by, ii. 438; described in some texts as a river, 439*n*; possible origin of mistake, 93
- Red sect of Lamas, i. 315*n*, 319*n*
- Refraction, abnormal, ii. 419*n*
- Reg Ruwán*, of Kabul, i. 202*n*
- of Seistán i. 202*n*
- Reindeer ridden, i. 269, 271*n*
- Religion, indifference of Chinghizide Princes to, i. 14*n*, 349*n*, ii. 477*n*; occasional power of among Chinese, i. 460*n* *seqq.*
- Remission of taxation by Kúblái, i. 439
- Rennell, Major James, ii. 402*n*
- Reobarles (Rúdbár, etc.), i. 97, 109, 111*n*, 114*n*
- Revenue of Kinsay, ii. 189, 190, 215 *et seqq.*
- Rhinoceros (Unicorn), in Sumatra, ii. 285, 290*n*; habits, 290*n*; four Asiatic species, 289*n*
- *Tichorinus*, ii. 419*n*
- Rhins, Dutreuil de, i. 190*n*, 192*n*, 276*n*
- Rhubarb, *Rheum palmatum*, i. 217, 218*n*, 279*n*, ii. 181, 183*n*
- Riant, Comte, ii. 593*n*
- Ricci, Matteo, i. 347*n*, 451*n*, 454*n*
- Rice, ii. 33, 56, 85, 115, 117, 123, 174, 202, 292, 300, 313, 342, 354, 360, 401, 404, 423, 431
- Rice-wine, i. 441*n*; at Yachi, ii. 66
- trade on Grand Canal, ii. 174
- Richard II., i. 42*n*
- Richthofen, Baron F. von, i. 106*n*, 198*n*, 218*n*, 295*n*, ii. 14*n*-16*n*, 19*n*, 23*n*, 26*n*, 27*n*, 29*n*, 32*n*, 34*n*, 35*n*, 38*n*, 40*n*, 42*n*, 45*n*, 48*n*, 57*n*, 60*n*, 67*n*, 80*n*; on Fungul, 129*n*; on Tanpiju, 220*n*
- Right and Left, ministers of the, i. 432*n*
- Río Marabia, ii. 387*n*
- Rishis* (Eremites) of Kashmir, i. 166, 169*n*
- “River of China,” ii. 222*n*, 243*n*
- Roads radiating from Cambaluc, i. 433
- Robbers in Persia, i. 84, 87*n*, 98, 99, 101*n*
- Robbers' River, i. 114*n*
- Robes distributed by Kúblái, i. 387, 388*n*, 394
- Roborovsky, Lieutenant, i. 188*n*
- Rochefort, “faire la couvade,” ii. 94*n*
- Rockets, i. 342*n*
- Rockhill (*Rubruck* and *Diary of a Journey*), i. 5*n*, 8*n*, 9*n*, 277*n*, 279*n*, 282*n*, 283*n*, 294*n*, 295*n*, 306*n*, 308*n*-310*n*, 312*n*, 319*n*, 321*n*, 324*n*, 325*n*, 353*n*, 354*n*, 384*n*, 385*n*, 389*n*, 393*n*, 429*n*, 437*n*, ii. 491; on the titles Khan, Khatun, etc., 10; on horn horse-shoes, i. 177*n*; earliest mention of name Mongol in Oriental works, 294*n*; Mongol storm-dispellers, 310*n*; charge of cannibalism against Tibetans, 312*n*; on Bönbo Lamas, 325*n*; Tablets (*hu*), 354*n*; mechanical contrivances at E. Court, 385*n*; Mongol etiquette, 393*n*; Chinese leather-money, 429*n*; Mongol post-stations, 437*n*; pocket-spittoons, 462*n*; from Peking to Si-ngan fu, ii. 5*n*; descent of Yellow River, 23*n*; road between T'ung-kwan and Si-ngan fu, 27*n*; two famous Uigur Nestorians, 28*n*; on the word Salar, 29*n*; on the Hui-hui sects, 30*n*; on the Alans, 180*n*; on branch of Volga Bulgars, 489*n*
- Rofia palm (*sagus ruffia*), ii. 597*n*
- Roiaus dereuisse* (?), ii. 395*n*
- Rome, the Sudarium at, i. 213
- Rondes*, ingenious but futile explanation of, i. 410*n*
- Roob*, in Chess, ii. 419*n*
- Rori-Bakkar, Sepoy name for Upper Sind, i. 86*n*
- Rosaries, Hindu, ii. 338, 347*n*
- Rostof and Susdal, Andrew, Grand Duke of, i. 7*n*
- Roth, H. Ling, on *couvade*, ii. 596*n*
- Rouble, ii. 488*n*
- Roxana, daughter of Darius, wife of Alexander, i. 151, 152*n*, 157
- Roze de l'Açur, i. 370*n*
- Rubes, Balas, 5, i. 157, 161*n*; of Ceylon, ii. 313, 315*n*; of Adam's Peak, 316*n*
- Rubruquis, or Rubruc, Friar William de, 15, 104, 132, i. 57*n*, 65*n*, 227*n*, 230*n*, 239*n*, 242*n*, 253*n*, 264*n*, 278*n*, 308*n*, 309*n*, 354*n*, 384*n*, 385*n*, 389*n*, 426*n*, 437*n*
- Ruby mines in Badakhshan, i. 161*n*
- Ruc (Rukh), or Gryphon, bird called, described, ii. 412-413; its feathers and quills, 413, 420*n*, 596*n*-598*n*; wide diffusion and various forms of fable, 415*n*; eggs of the Aepyornis, 416*n*; Fra Mauro's story, 417*n*; genus of that bird, condor, 417*n*, 420*n*; discovery of bones of *Harpagornis* in New Zealand, 418*n*; Sindbad, Rabbi Benjamin, romance of Duke Ernest, 418*n*; Ibn Batuta's sight of Ruc, 419*n*; rook in chess, 419*n*; various notices of, 420*n*-421*n*
- Rúdbár-i-Lass, Robbers' River, i. 114*n*
- (Reobarles), district and River, i. 97, 109, 111*n*, 114*n*
- Rudder, single, noted by Polo as peculiar, i. 108; double, used in Mediterranean, 117*n*
- Rúdkhánah-i-Duzdi (Robbers' River), i. 114*n*
- Rúdkhánah-i-Shor (Salt River), i. 111*n*
- Rudra Deva, King of Telingana, ii. 362*n*

- Rudrama Devi, Queen of Telingana, ii. 362*n*
- Rukh, Shah, i. 86*n*, 191*n*, 211*n*, 218*n*, 392*n*, 396*n*
- Rukhnuddin, Mahmud, Prince of Hormuz, i. 120*n*
- Masa'úd, i. 120*n*
- Khurshah, son of Alaodin, Prince of the Ismaelites, i. 146*n*
- Rúm, i. 44*n*
- Runiz, i. 86*n*
- Ruomedam-Ahomet, King of Hormuz, i. 110, 121*n*
- Rupen, Bagratid, founder of Armenian State in Cilicia, i. 42*n*
- Rupert, Prince, ii. 486*n*
- Rüppell's Table of Abyssinian kings, ii. 435*n*
- Russia (Rosia), annexes Georgia, i. 53*n*, ii. 486; great cold, Arab accounts of, 487; silver mines, 488*n*; subject to Tartars, 489*n*; conquered by Batu, 489*n*
- leather, i. 6*n*, 394, 395*n*; clothes of, 295*n*
- Russians, trusty lieges of king, ii. 348*n*
- Rusták, i. 173*n*
- Rusticiano of Pisa, introduces himself in prologue, i. 1, 141*n*, 263*n*; writes down Polo's book, 52, 55 *seqq.*, 84, 112; extracts and character of his compilation, 61 *seqq.*, 143; his real name, 61; his other writings, 89
- Ruysch's map, 135
- SAADI, i. 85*n*
- Saba (Sava, Savah), city of the Magi, i. 78, 80, 81*n*
- Sabaste, *see* Sivas
- Sable, its costliness, i. 405, 409*n*-410*n*, ii. 479, 481, 484, 486*n*, 487
- Sabreddin, ii. 437*n*
- Sabzawur, i. 150*n*
- Sachiu (Sha-chau), i. 203, 206*n*
- Sacrifices of people of Tangut, i. 204
- human, i. 208*n*, ii. 303*n*
- Sadd-i-Iskandar*, rampart of Alexander, i. 53*n*, 54*n*, 57*n*
- Saffron, fruit-serving purposes of, ii. 225, 226*n*
- Sagacity of sledge-dogs, ii. 483*n*
- Sagamon Borcan, *see* Sakyamuni Buddha
- Sagatu, general of Kúblái's, ii. 267, 270*n*
- Saggio ($\frac{1}{2}$ oz.), i. 350, 353*n*, ii. 54, 57*n*, 76, 215, 216, 217*n*, 339, 347*n*, 592*n*
- Sago, ii. 300, 304*n*, 305*n*
- Saianfu, *see* Siang-yang-fu
- Saif Arad, king of Abyssinia, ii. 437*n*
- Saifuddin Nazrat, ruler of Hormuz, i. 120*n*
- Saimur (Chaul), ii. 367*n*
- Sain Khan (or Batu), ii. 490, 491
- St. Anno of Cologne, i. 130*n*
- St. Barlaam and St. Josafat, story of a Buddhist christianised, ii. 323*n seqq.*
- St. Barsauma (Barsamo, Brassamus), and monastery of, i. 77
- St. Blasius (Blaise), Church at Sivas, i. 43, 45*n*
- St. Brandon, ii. 312*n*
- St. Buddha I ii. 325*n seqq.*
- St. Epiphanius, ii. 362*n*
- St. George, Church of, in Sivas, i. 45*n*; at Quilon, ii. 377*n*
- St. Helena, i. 58*n*
- St. James' Shrine, Galicia, ii. 319
- St. John the Baptist, Church of, in Samarkand, i. 185
- Major Oliver, i. 57*n*, 92*n*, 96*n*, 105*n*, 112*n*, 114*n*, 120*n*
- St. Leonard's Convent in Georgia, and the fish miracle, i. 52, 58*n*
- St. Lewis, i. 27*n*, 47*n*, 67*n*, 87*n*; his campaign on the Nile, ii. 165*n*, 593*n*
- St. Martin, Vivien de, Map, i. 164*n*, 192*n*
- St. Mary's Island, Madagascar, ii. 414*n*
- St. Matthew, Monastery near Mosul, i. 61*n*
- St. Matthew's Gospel, story of the Magi, i. 82*n*
- St. Nina, i. 58*n*
- St. Sabba's at Acre, 42
- St. Thomas, the Apostle, ii. 321*n*, 323*n*, 325*n*; his shrine in India, 341, 353, 355*n*; his murderers, and their hereditary curse, 350*n*; revered by Saracens and heathen, 353; miracles in India, 354, 356*n*; story of his death, 355, 357*n*; tradition of his preaching in India, 356*n*; translation of remains to Edessa, 357*n*; King Gondopharus of legend a real king, 357*n*; Roman Martyrology, 357*n*; the localities, 358*n*; alleged discovery of reliques, 358*n seqq.*; the Cross, 358*n*; church ascribed to, 378*n*; in Abyssinia, 427
- St. Thomas's Isle, ii. 403*n*
- Mounts, ii. 358*n*
- Saker falcons, i. 158, 162*n*, 223, ii. 50
- Sakta doctrines, i. 323*n*
- Sakya Muni (Sagamon Borcan) Buddha, i. 164*n*, 324*n*, 348*n*, ii. 265*n*, 308*n*; death of, i. 170*n*; recumbent figures of, 219, 221*n*; story of, ii. 316 *seqq.*; his footmark on Adam's Peak, 321*n*; Alms dish, Holy Grail, 328*n*-330*n*; tooth relique, 319-320, 330*n*
- Salamander, the, i. 213, 216*n*
- Salar (Ho-chau), ii. 29*n*
- Salem, dragoman, explores Rampart of Gog, i. 57*n*
- Salghur, Atabegs of Fars, i. 85*n*, 121*n*
- Sálih, Malik, son of Badruddin Lúlú, i. 61*n*

- Salsette Island, ii. 325ⁿ, 396ⁿ
- Salt, H., his version of Abyssinian chronology, ii. 435ⁿ
- rock, in Badakhshan, i. 153, 154ⁿ; used for currency, ii. 45, 54, 57ⁿ; extracted from deep wells, 58ⁿ, 66, 76ⁿ; in Carajan province, 66, 76ⁿ; manufactured in Eastern China, 133; manufacture, revenue and traffic in, 152, 153, 155ⁿ, 215, 216, 217ⁿ; trade on the Kiang, 171; junks employed therein, 174ⁿ
- stream, i. 124ⁿ
- Salwen River, or Lu-Kiang, i. 323ⁿ
- Samagar, ii. 471, 474ⁿ
- Samána, ii. 427ⁿ
- Samara, kingdom of, *see* Sumatra
- Samarkand (Samarcan), i. 57ⁿ, 62ⁿ, ii. 458, 462; story of a miracle at, i. 183, 186ⁿ; colony near Peking from, 291ⁿ
- Sampson, Theos., on grapes in China, ii. 16ⁿ
- Sámsúnjí Bádshí, i. 401ⁿ
- Samudra, *see* Sumatra
- Samuel, his alleged tomb at Sávah, i. 81ⁿ
- San Giovanni Grisostomo, parish in Venice where the Ca' Polo was, 4, 26, 53, 70, 71, 76; theatre, 28
- San Lorenzo, Venice, burial place of Marco and his father, 7, 71, 74
- Sandu, *see* Chandu
- Sanf, *see* Champa
- Sangín, Sangkan River, ii. 5ⁿ, 6ⁿ
- Sanglich, dialect of, i. 160ⁿ
- Sang-Miau, tribe of Kwei-chau, ii. 82ⁿ
- Sangon, the Title (Tsiang-kiun), ii. 136, 138ⁿ
- Sanitary effects of Mountain air, i. 158
- Sanjar, sovereigns of Persia, i. 233ⁿ
- Sankin Hoto, Dalai, i. 215ⁿ
- Sanuto of Torcelli, Marino, 118, i. 17ⁿ, 23ⁿ, 24ⁿ, 42ⁿ, 59ⁿ, 67ⁿ, 77ⁿ, 144ⁿ; his World Map, 133; on long range, ii. 166ⁿ
- Sappan wood, *see* Brazil
- Sapta-Shaila, ii. 386ⁿ
- Sapurgan (Sabúrkán, Shabúrkán, Shibr-gán), i. 149, 150ⁿ
- Sápúta, *Sápúe*, peculiar use of, i. 437ⁿ
- Saracanco (Saraichik), on the Yaik, i. 6ⁿ
- Saracens, *see* Mahomedans
- Sarai (Sara), capital of Kipchak, i. 4; city and its remains, 5ⁿ; perhaps occupied successive sites, 6ⁿ
- Sea of (Caspian), i. 59ⁿ, ii. 494
- Sáras, crane (*grus Antigone*), i. 297ⁿ
- Saratov, i. 9ⁿ
- Sarbizan Pass, i. 113ⁿ
- Sardines, ii. 444ⁿ
- Sárdú Pass, i. 113ⁿ
- Sarghalan River, i. 156ⁿ
- Sarha, Port of Sumatra, ii. 294ⁿ
- Sarhadd River, i. 175ⁿ
- Sar-i-kol, Lakes, i. 163ⁿ, 172ⁿ
- Sarsáti, ii. 427ⁿ
- Sartak, the Great Khan's ambassador to Húlakú, i. 10ⁿ, 14ⁿ
- Sassanian dynasty, i. 61ⁿ
- Sati, *see* Suttee
- Satin, probable origin of word, ii. 241ⁿ
- Saum, Sommo, silver ingots used in Kipchak, ii. 488ⁿ; apparently the original rouble, 488ⁿ
- Sauromatae, ii. 466ⁿ
- Sávah (Saba), i. 78, 80, 81ⁿ
- Savast (Siwas), i. 43, 44ⁿ
- Scanderoon, Gulf of, i. 16ⁿ
- Scasem, i. 156ⁿ
- Scherani, bandits, i. 101ⁿ
- Schiltberger, Hans, i. 131ⁿ
- Schindler, General Houtum-, i. 89ⁿ, 96ⁿ, 99ⁿ, 100ⁿ, 105ⁿ, 106ⁿ, 112ⁿ-115ⁿ, 122ⁿ, 126ⁿ, 308ⁿ, 310ⁿ, 314ⁿ
- Schlegel, Dr. G., i. 342ⁿ, 437ⁿ, 441ⁿ, ii. 281ⁿ, 596ⁿ
- Schmidt, Professor I. J., i. 201ⁿ, 294ⁿ
- Schönborn, Carl, ii. 601ⁿ
- Schuyler, Eugene, i. 54ⁿ
- Scidmore, Miss E., on the Tide, ii. 209ⁿ
- Scotra, *see* Socotra
- Sea of Chin, ii. 264, 265, 266ⁿ, 270ⁿ
- England, ii. 265
- Ghel, or Ghelan, i. 52
- India, i. 35, 63, 108, 166, ii. 265, 424
- Rochelle, ii. 265
- Sarain, i. 59, ii. 494
- Seal, Imperial, i. 366, 424
- Sebaste, *see* Sivas
- Sebourc, Bauduin de, *see* Bauduin de Sebourc
- Sees of Latin Church, 186ⁿ, ii. 237ⁿ, 377ⁿ
- Nestorian Church, i. 91ⁿ, 183ⁿ, 186ⁿ, 207ⁿ, 211ⁿ
- Sefaviéhs, the, i. 90ⁿ
- Seilan, *see* Ceylon
- Self-decapitation, ii. 349ⁿ
- Selitrennoyé Gorodok (Saltpetre Town), i. 5ⁿ, 6ⁿ
- Seljukian dynasty, i. 44ⁿ
- Turks, i. 91ⁿ
- Selles, *chevaux à deux*, the phrase, ii. 440ⁿ
- Semal tree, ii. 394ⁿ
- Semedo, ii. 211ⁿ
- Semenat, *see* Somnath
- Sempad, Prince, High Constable of Armenia, i. 186ⁿ, 352ⁿ
- Sendal, a silk texture, ii. 10ⁿ, 37, 132, 182, 390, 464
- Sendaus, generally Taffetas, ii. 10ⁿ
- Sendemain, king of Seilan, ii. 313
- Seneca, *Epistles*, i. 14ⁿ
- Sencherim, king of Armenia, i. 45ⁿ
- Seni, Verzino, ii. 380ⁿ

Senshing, i. 332*n*
 Sensin, ascetics, devotees living on bran,
 i. 303, 321*n*-327*n*
 Sentemur, ii. 98
 Sepulchre of Adam, *see* Adam's
 Sepulchre
 — of our Lord, i. 19; oil from, 14,
 19, 26
 Serano, Juan de, ii. 295*n*
 Serazi (Shífráz), kingdom of Persia, i. 83,
 85*n*
 Serendib, ii. 314*n*
Seres, *Sinae*, 12; their tree wool, ii. 137*n*;
 ancient character of the, 211*n*
 Serpents, great, *i.e.* alligators, ii. 76 *seqq.*,
 81*n*, 360
 Sertorius, ii. 348*n*
 Sesamé, i. 158, 162*n*, ii. 431
Sesnes, mediæval form of *cygnes*, *cigne*, i.
 297*n*
Seta Ghella, *seta Leggi* (Ghellé), silk, i.
 59*n*
 Seth's mission to Paradise, i. 136*n*
 Sevan Lake, i. 58*n*
 Seven Arts, the, i. 13, 14*n*
 Severtsoff, shoots the *Ovis Poli*, i. 175*n*,
 177*n*; on the name Bolor, 179*n*
 Seyyed Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, ii.
 420*n*
 Shabankara, or Shawankára (Soncara),
 i. 83, 85*n*-86*n*
 Shabar, son of Kaidu, ii. 459*n*
 Sha-chau (Sachin), "Sand-district," i.
 203, 206*n*
 Shadow, augury from length of, ii. 364
 Shah Abbas, i. 310*n*; his Court, 385*n*
 — Jahan, i. 168*n*
 Shahr-i-Babelk, turquoise mine at, i. 92*n*
 Shahr-i-Nao (Siam), ii. 279*n*
 Shahr Mandi, or Pandi, ii. 333*n*
 Shah Werdy, last of the Kurshid dynasty,
 i. 85*n*
 Shaibani Khan, ii. 481*n*
Shaikh-ul-Fibal, i. 142*n*, 144*n*, 145*n*
 Shaikhs (Esheks), in Madagascar, ii.
 411, 413*n*
 Shakespeare, on relation of gold to
 silver, ii. 95*n*
 Sháliát, ii. 440*n*
 Shamanism, i. 257*n*, 315*n*, 324*n*, 325*n*,
 ii. 97*n*. (*See* also Devil-Dancing.)
 Shampath, ancestor of Georgian kings, i.
 52*n*
 Shamsuddin Shamatrani, ii. 303*n*
 Shamuthera, *see* Sumatra
 Shan (Laotian, or *Thai*), ii. 74*n*, 90*n*,
 96*n*, 113*n*, 278*n*
 — race and country, ii. 117*n*, 128*n*
 — dynasty in Yun-nan, ii. 73*n*, 79*n*
 — ponies, ii. 82*n*
 — state of Pong, *see* Pong
 Shanars of Tinnevely, ii. 97*n*; their
 devil-worship, 359*n*

Shang-hai, ii. 238*n*
 Shangking-Fungking, i. 345*n*
 Shangtu, Shangdu (Chandu), i. 25*n*;
 Kúblái's City and Summer Palace,
 298, 304*n*; Dr. Bushell's description
 of, 304*n*; Kúblái's annual visit to,
 308*n*, 410
 Shangtu Keibung, i. 306*n*, 308*n*
 Shan-hai-kwan, i. 407*n*
 Shankárah, Shabankára (Soncara), i. 83,
 85*n*, 86*n*
 Shan-si, ii. 12*n*, 14*n*, 15*n*, 23*n*, 25*n*, 32*n*,
 135*n*, 143*n*, 167*n*
 Shan-tung, ii. 137*n*, 141*n*, 143*n*; silk in,
 136, 137*n*; pears from, 210*n*
 Shao-hing-fu, ii. 220*n*-222*n*
 Shao-ling, pariah caste of, ii. 228*n*
 Sharakhs, i. 149*n*
 Shara-ul-buks (Forest of box on the
 Black Sea), i. 57*n*
 Sharks and shark charmers, ii. 332-337*n*
 Shauls, or Shúls, the, i. 85*n*, 87*n*
 Shawánkára (Soncara), i. 83, 85*n*, 86*n*
 Shaw, R. B., i. 169*n*, 178*n*, 195*n*, 276*n*,
 315*n*, ii. 16*n*
 Shawls of Kerman, i. 96*n*
 Sheep, fat-tailed in Kerman, i. 97, 100*n*
 — four-horned at Shehr, ii. 443, 494*n*
 — large Indian, ii. 361
 — none in Manzi, ii. 219
 — of Pamir (*Ovis Poli*), i. 171, 176*n*
 — wild, of Badakhshan (Kachkar,
Ovis Vignei), i. 158, 162*n*
 — with trucks behind, 100*n*
 — Zanghibar, ii. 422, 424*n*
 Sheep's head given to horses, ii. 351*n*
 Shehr, or Shihr, *see* Esher
 Shehrizor (Kerkuk), i. 62*n*
 Shenrabs, i. 324*n*
 Shen-si, ii. 23*n*, 25*n*, 26*n*, 31*n*, 32*n*,
 167*n*, 237*n*
 Shentseu tribe, ii. 120*n*
 Sheuping, ii. 120*n*
 Shewá, cool plateau of, i. 163*n*
 Shibrágán (Sapurgan), i. 149, 150*n*
 Shieng, Sheng, or Sing, the Supreme
 Board of Administration, i. 431, 432*n*,
 ii. 154, 157*n*
Shien-sien, *Shin-sien*, i. 322*n*
 Shighnan (Syghinan), ruby mines, i. 157,
 161*n*, 172*n*
Shijarat Malayu, or Malay Chronicle,
 ii. 287*n*, 288*n*, 294*n*, 296*n*, 300*n*,
 302*n*
 Shikárgáh, applied to animal pattern
 textures, Benares brocades, i. 66*n*
 Shing-king, or Mukden, i. 345*n*
 Ships, of the Great Khan, ii. 142; of
 India at Fujú, 231; of Manzi de-
 scribed, 249-251; mediæval, accounts
 of, 252*n*-253*n*; in Japan, 264; in
 Java Seas, 274*n*; at Eli, 386
 Shífráz (Cerazi), i. 83, 85*n*

- Shireghi, ii. 462*n*
 Shirha, ii. 436*n*
 Shirwan, ii. 495*u*
 Shi-tsung, Emperor, i. 310*n*
 Shoa, ii. 434*n*, 436*n*
 Shob'aengs of Nicobar, ii. 308*n*
 Shodja ed-din Kurshid, Kurd, i. 85*n*
 Shor-Rud (Salt River), i. 124*n*
 Shot of Military Engines, ii. 159, 163*n*,
 164*n*-168*n*
 Shpilevsky, i. 8*n*
 Shúlístán (Suo'stan), i. 83, 85*n*
 Shúls of Shauls, people of Persia, i. 83*n*,
 85*n*
 Shut up nations, legend of the, 114, 136,
 i. 57*n*
 Shwéli River, ii. 107*n*
 Siam, ii. 277*n*-280*n*; king of, 278*n*
 Siang-yang-fu (Saianfu), Kúblái's siege of,
 Polo's aid in taking, 22, 112, ii. 158,
 159; difficulties in Polo's account,
 167*n*; not removed by Pauthier,
 notice by Wassáf, Chinese account,
 Rashiduddin's, 168*n*; treasure buried,
 169*n*
 Siberia, ii. 479-481*n*
 Sibree, on rofia palm, ii. 597*n*
 Sick men put to death and eaten by their
 friends, ii. 293, 298*n*
 Siclatoun, kind of texture, i. 283*n*
 Siddhárta, ii. 322*n*
 Sidi Ali, i. 152*n*, 165*n*, 277*n*, ii. 5*n*,
 402*n*, 444*n*, 453*n*
 Sien, Sien-Lo, Sien-Lo-Kok (Siam, Lo-
 cac), ii. 277*n*-280*n*
 Sifan, ii. 60*n*, 61*n*, 70*n*
 Sigatay, *see* Chagatai
 Sighelm, envoy from King Alfred to
 India, ii. 357*n*
 Si Hia, language of Tangut, i. 29*n*
 Si-hu, Lake of Kinsay or Hang-chau, ii.
 186, 196*n*, 205*n*-207*n*, 211*n*, 214*n*
 Sijistán, i. 102*n*
 Siju (Suthsian), ii. 141
 Sikintinju (Kien-chow), i. 343, 345*n*
 Silesia, Mongol invasion of, ii. 493*n*
 Silk, called Ghellé (of Gilan), i. 52;
 manufacture at Yezd, 88*n*; at Taianfu,
 ii. 13; in Shan-si and Shen-si, 22, 23*n*;
 in Kenjanfu, 24; Cuncun, 31; Sinda-
 fu, 42*n*; Kwei-chau, 126, 128*n*; Ta-
 sinfu, 136, 137*n*; Piju, 141*n*; Pao-ying-
 Hien, 152; Nanghin, 157; Chinghiang-
 fu, 176; Chingjinju, 178; Suju, 181*n*;
 Vughin, 182; Kinsay, 187, 198*n*, 216;
 Ghiuju, 219
 — cotton tree, ii. 394*n*
 — duty on, ii. 216
 — and gold stuffs, i. 41, 60, 63, 75,
 107, 257, 285, 383, 387, 415, ii. 10,
 24, 132, 152, 157, 176, 181, 206, 238*n*,
 390, 411
 — stuffs and goods, Turcomania, i.
 43; Georgia, 50; Baghdad, 63; Yezd,
 88; Kerman, 90; Tenduc province,
 285; Cambaluc, 415; Juju, ii. 10;
 Sindafu, 37; Cacanfu, 132; Chinangli,
 135; Suju, 181; Vughin, 182; Kin-
 say, 187; in animal patterns, 63, 90;
 with Cheetas, i. 398*n*; of Kelifu, ii.
 225; with giraffes, 424*n*
 Silk, tent ropes, i. 405; bed furniture,
 434
 — trade at Cambaluc, i. 415; at
 Kinsay, ii. 187
 — worms, ii. 13, 24
 Silver chairs, i. 351, 355*n*
 — imported into Malabar, ii. 390;
 Cambay, 398
 — Island, ii. 174*n*
 — mines at Baiburt, i. 46; Gumish-
 Khánah, 49*n*; in Badakhshan, 157; in
 N. Shansi, 285, 295*n*; Yun-nan, ii.
 95*n*; Russian, 487, 488*n*
 — plate in Chinese taverns, ii. 187,
 196*n*
 Simon, Metropolitan of Fars, ii. 377*n*
 — Magus, i. 314*n*
 Simúm, effects of, i. 109, 120*n*
 Simurgh, ii. 415*n*, 419*n*
 Sinbad, his story of the diamonds, ii.
 362*n*; of the Rukh, 418*n*
 Sind (Sindhu-Sauvira), 12, i. 104*n*, 105*n*
 Sindábúr (Goa), ii. 390*n*, 440*n*
 Sindachu (Siuen-hwa fu), i. 285, 295*n*
 Sindafu (Chengtu-fu), ii. 36, 38*n*, 127,
 128*n*
 Sindhu-Sauvira (Sindh-Ságor), i. 104*n*
 Si-ngan fu (Kenjanfu), ii. 24*n*, 25*n*, 29*n*,
 34*n*; Christian inscription at, 27*n*, 29*n*
 Singapore, Singhapura, i. 37*n*, ii. 279*n*,
 281*n*, 305*n*
 Singkel, ii. 300*n*
 Singphos, ii. 82*n*, 90*n*
 Sings, ii. 238*n*
 Singtur, Mongol Prince, ii. 111*n*
 Singuyli (Cranganor), ii. 426*n*
 Sinhopala (Accambale), king of Chamba,
 ii. 267
 Sinju (Si-ning fu), i. 274, 276*n*
 — (Ichin-hien), ii. 170
 Sinju-matu, ii. 137, 138
 Sínkalán, Sín-ul-Sín, Mahá-chin, or
 Canton, i. 294*n*, ii. 175*n*, 243*n*, 252*n*
 Sinope, i. 45*n*
 Siráf (Kish, or Kais?), i. 65*n*
 Sir-i-Chashma, i. 58*n*
 Sirikol, Lake and River, i. 174*n*, 176*n*,
 182*n*
 Sirján or Shirján, i. 92*n*, 122*n*
 Sis, i. 42*n*
 Sístán, i. 61*n*
 Sitting in air, i. 315*n*, 316*n*
 Siu-chau, ii. 129*n*-131*n*
 Siuen-hwa-fu, *see* Sindachu
 Siva, ii. 321*n*, 334*n*

- Sivas, Siwas, Sebaste, Sevasd (Savast),
i. 43, 44ⁿ, 45ⁿ
Siwastán, ii. 427ⁿ
Siwi, gigantic cotton in, ii. 394ⁿ
Sixtus V., Pope, ii. 326ⁿ
Siya-gosh, or lynx, i. 399ⁿ
Siyurgutmish, i. 91ⁿ
Sladen, Major, ii. 82ⁿ, 90ⁿ, 95ⁿ, 107ⁿ,
198ⁿ
Slaves in Bengal, ii. 115
Sledges, dog-, ii. 480, 481ⁿ-483ⁿ
Sleeping-mats, leather, ii. 394, 395ⁿ
Sluices of Grand Canal, ii. 175ⁿ
Smith, G., Bishop of Hongkong, i. 347ⁿ
Smith (R. E.), Major R. M., i. 89ⁿ, 96ⁿ,
99ⁿ, 106ⁿ, 111ⁿ-114ⁿ
Sneezing, omen from, ii. 364ⁿ
Socotra (Scotra), island of, ii. 404, 406,
408ⁿ; history of, 408ⁿ-410ⁿ; Christian
Archbishop, 406; aloes of, 409ⁿ
Soer (Suhar), ii. 340, 348ⁿ
Sofala, trade to China from, ii. 400ⁿ
Sogoman Borcan, *see* Sakya Muni
Sol, Arbre, *see* Arbre
Soldaia, Soldachia, Sodaya (the Oriental
Sudák), 15, 26, i. 2, 3ⁿ, 4
Soldan, a Melic, ii. 470, 472
Soldurii, trusty lieges of Celtic kings, ii.
348ⁿ
Soli, Solli (*Chola*, or Tanjore), kingdom
of, ii. 335ⁿ, 364, 368ⁿ, 403ⁿ
Solomon, house of, in Abyssinia, ii.
434ⁿ
Soltania, Archbishop of, ii. 213ⁿ. (*See*
Sultaniah.)
Somnath (Semenat), ii. 398, 400ⁿ; gates
of, 399, 400ⁿ-401ⁿ
Sonagar-pattanam, ii. 372ⁿ
Soncara (Shawankára), i. 83, 85ⁿ
Sonder Bandi Davar, *see* Sundara Pandi
Sondur and Condur (Pulo Condore
Group), ii. 276, 277ⁿ
Sorcerers, sorceries of Pashai (Udyana),
i. 164; Kashmir, 166, 168ⁿ, 301, ii.
593ⁿ; Lamas and Tibetans, *ib.*, 314ⁿ-
318ⁿ
— Dagroian, ii. 293, 298ⁿ; Socotra,
407, 410ⁿ. (*See* also Conjurers.)
Sornau (Shahr-i-Nau), Siam, ii. 279ⁿ
Sotiates, tribe of Aquitania, ii. 348ⁿ
Soucat, ii. 277
Southey, *St Romuald*, ii. 84ⁿ
Spaan, Ispahan, i. 85ⁿ
Sporsk, district, i. 7ⁿ
Spezerie, i. 43ⁿ
Spice, Spicery, i. 41, 60, 107, 205, 302,
382, 441, ii. 49, 56, 66, 115, 116, 123,
202, 216, 234, 264, 272, 284, 389,
390ⁿ, 423, 438, 450
Spice wood, i. 405, 409ⁿ
Spices in China, duty on, ii. 216
Spikenard, ii. 115, 272, 284, 287ⁿ, 390
Spinello Aretini, fresco by, i. 118ⁿ
Spirit drawings and spiritual flowers, i.
460ⁿ
Spirits haunting deserts, i. 197, 209ⁿ,
274
Spiritualism in China, i. 325ⁿ
Spittoons, pocket, i. 458, 462ⁿ
Spodium (Spodos), i. 125, 126ⁿ
Sport and game, i. 41, 88, 91, 149,
151, 153, 158, 160, 171, 223, 252,
260, 275, 285, 296, 299, 397, 400-406,
411; in Shan-si, ii. 22; Cachanfu, 24;
Cuncun, 31; Acbaiec Manzi, 34; Tibet,
50; Caidu, 56; Zardandan, 85;
Mien, 111; Linju, 140; Cagu, 153;
Nanghin, 157; Saianfu, 158; Ching-
hiang-fu, 176; Chingjinju, 178; Chan-
gan, 182; Kinsay, 201, 207, 219;
Fuju, 225, 226, 234; Lambri, 299;
Maabar, 345; Comari, 382; Eli, 386
Springolds, ii. 161ⁿ
Springs, hot, i. 110, 122ⁿ
Sprinkling of drink, a Tartar rite, i.
300, 308ⁿ
Squares at Kinsay, ii. 201, 209ⁿ
Sri-Thammarat, ii. 278ⁿ
Sri-Vaikuntham, ii. 374ⁿ
Sse River, ii. 139ⁿ
Stack, E., visits Kuh Banán, i. 126ⁿ
Star Chart, ii. 314ⁿ
Star of Bethlehem, traditions about, i.
82ⁿ
Steamers on Yangtse-kiang, ii. 173ⁿ
Steel mines at Kermán, i. 90, 92ⁿ; in
Chingintalas, 212; Indian, 93ⁿ, 94ⁿ;
Asiatic view of, 94ⁿ
Stefani, Signor, 7, ii. 507ⁿ
Stein, Dr. M. A., on Sorcery in Kashmir,
ii. 593ⁿ; on Paonano Pao, 593ⁿ; on
Pamirs, 593ⁿ-594ⁿ; on site of Pein,
595ⁿ
Stiens of Cambodia, ii. 82ⁿ, 97ⁿ
Stirrups, short and long, ii. 78, 82ⁿ
Stitched vessels, i. 108, 117ⁿ
Stockade erected by Polo's party in
Sumatra, ii. 292
Stone, miracle of the, at Samarkand, i.
185, 187ⁿ
— the green, i. 187ⁿ
— towers in Chinese cities, ii. 189
— umbrella column, ii. 212ⁿ
Stones giving invulnerability, ii. 259,
263ⁿ
Suákin, ii. 439ⁿ
Submersion of part of Ceylon, ii. 313,
314ⁿ
Subterraneous irrigation, i. 89ⁿ, 123,
124ⁿ
Suburbs of Cambaluc, i. 412
Subutai, Mongol general, i. 8ⁿ, ii. 168ⁿ
Su-chau (Suju), ii. 179, 181, 199ⁿ; plan
of, 183ⁿ, 184ⁿ
Suchnan River, i. 172ⁿ
Sudarium, the Holy, i. 213

- Súddhodhana, ii. 322*n*
 Sugar, Bengal, ii. 115; manufactured, 215, 231; art of refining, 226, 230*n*; of Egypt and China, 231
 Suh-chau (Sukchur), i. 217, 218*n*, 282*n*
 Suicides before an idol, ii. 340, 349*n*
 Sukchur, province Sukkothai, i. 217
 Sukkothai, ii. 278*n*, 279*n*
Sukldt, broadcloth, i. 283*n*
 Sukum Kala', i. 57*n*
 Suleiman, Sultan, i. 17*n*, 44*n*, ii. 74*n*, 80*n*
 Sulphur and quicksilver, potion of longevity, ii. 365, 369*n*
 Sultaniah, Monument at, ii. 478*n*. (*See* Soltania.)
 Sultan Shah, of Badakhshan, i. 163*n*
 Sumatra (Java the Less), 23, 120, i. 34, ii. 288*n*, 300*n*-301*n*; described, its kingdoms, 284, 286*n*, 287*n*; circuit, 284, 286*n*
 Sumatra, Samudra, city and kingdom of (Samara for Samatra), ii. 292, 306*n*; legend of origin, 294*n*; Ibn Batuta there, 294*n*; its position, 295*n*; latest mention of, 296*n*; wine-pots, 297*n*
 Sumbawa, ii. 287*n*
 Summers, Professor, ii. 277*n*
 Sumutala, Sumuntala, *see* Sumatra
 Sun and moon, trees of the, i. 130*n*
 Sundara Pandi Devar, Sondar Bandi Davar), king in Ma'bar, ii. 331; his death, 333*n*; Dr. Caldwell's views about, 333*n*, 334*n*
 Sundar Fúlát (Pulo Condore Group), ii. 277*n*
 Sung, a native dynasty reigning in S. China till Kúblái's conquest, 12, i. 38*n*, ii. 135, 151*n*, 194*n*; their paper-money, effeminacy, 20*n*, 150*n*, 207, 208, 211*n*; cremation, 135*n*; Kúblái's war against, 148*n*, 149*n*; end of them, 167*n*, 168*n*
 Sunnis and Shias, i. 160*n*
 Suolstan (Shulistan), a kingdom in Persia, 83, 85*n*
 Superstitions in Tangut, the devoted sheep or ram (*Tengri Tockho*), i. 204, 207*n*; the dead man's door, 205, 209*n*; as to chance shots, 439; in Carajan, ii. 79, 82*n*, 84*n*; devil-dancing, 86; property of the dead, 111; Sumatran, 293, 298*n*; Malabar, 339 *seqq.*; as to omens, 343-344, 364-365
 Sur-Raja, ii. 374*n*
 Survival, instances of, ii. 93*n*
 Sushun, Regent of China, execution of (1861), i. 428*n*
 Su-tásh, the Jadek, i. 193*n*
 Suttees in S. India, ii. 341, 349*n*; of men, 340
Svastika, sacred symbol of the Bonpos, i. 324*n*
 Swans, wild, at Chagan-Nor, i. 296
 Swat, i. 178*n*
 — River, i. 164*n*
 Swi-fu, ii. 131*n*
 Sword blades of India, i. 93*n*, 96*n*
 Syghinan, *see* Shighnan
 Sykes, Major P. Molesworth, i. 102*n*, 106*n*, 113*n*, 114*n*, 119*n*, 124*n*, 126*n*, 127*n*, 128*n*
 Sylen (Ceylon), ii. 426*n*
 Symbolical messages, Scythian and Tartar, ii. 497*n*-498*n*
 Syrian Christians, ii. 377*n seqq.*, 433*n*
Syrrhaptés Pallasii, *see* Barguerlac
 Szechényi, Count, i. 207*n*
 Sze-ch'wan (Ch'eng-tu), ii. 32*n*, 34*n*, 35*n*, 37*n*, 40*n*, 42*n*, 45*n*, 46*n*, 48*n*, 58*n*, 60*n*, 69*n*, 128*n*, 131*n*, 134*n*; aborigines, 60*n*
 TABASHIR, ii. 263*n*, 396*n*
 Tabbas, i. 124*n*
 Table of the Great Khan, i. 381
 Tables, how disposed at Mongol feasts, i. 384*n*
 Tablet, Emperor's, adored with incense, i. 391, 393*n*
 Tablets of Authority, Golden (*Páizak*), presented by Khan to Polos, i. 15, 16, 34, 35; lion's head and gerfalcon, 35, 351; bestowed on distinguished captains, inscription, 350, 351*n*-354*n*; cat's head, 356*n*; granted to governors of different rank, 431
 — worshipped by Cathayans, i. 456, 458*n*
 Tabriz (Tauris), i. 17*n*, 74, 76*n*
 Tachindo, *see* Ta-ts'ien-lu
 Tacitus, *Claustra Caspiorum*, Pass of Derbend, i. 53*n*
 Tactics, Tartar, i. 262, 265*n*, ii. 460
 Tacuin, i. 447, 448*n*
 Tadinfu, ii. 136
 Taeping Insurrection and Devastations, ii. 154*n*, 158*n*, 173*n*, 176*n*, 177*n*, 179*n*, 184*n*, 196*n*, 222*n*
 Taeping, or Taiping, Sovereigns' effeminate customs, ii. 20*n*
 Taffetas, ii. 10*n*
 Taft, near Yezd, turquoise at, i. 92*n*
 Tafurs, i. 313*n*
 Tagachar, ii. 471, 474*n*
 Tagaung, ii. 107*n*, 111*n*, 113*n*
 Tagharma Pass, i. 172*n*, ii. 594*n*
 Taghdúngbásh River, i. 175*n*
 T'ai-fu (T'ai-yuan-fu), king of N. China, ii. 12, 14*n*, 15*n*
 Taiani, ii. 432*n*
 Taican, *see* Talikan
 Taichau (Tigu), ii. 154*n*
 T'ai-ching-Kwan, ii. 26*n*
 Taidu, Daitu, Tatu, Kúblái's new city of Cambaluc, i. 305*n*, 306*n*, 374, 375*n*
 Taikung, *see* Tagaung

- Tailed men, in Sumatra, ii. 299, 301*n*;
elsewhere, 301*n*-302*n*; English, 302*n*
- Tailors, none in Maabar, ii. 338
- Taimúni tribe, i. 100*n*
- Taiting-fu (Tadinfu), or Yenchau, ii. 137*n*
- Taitong-fu, *see* Tathung
- Tai-tsu, Emperor, i. 428*n*
- T'ai Tsung, Emperor, ii. 15*n*, 28*n*
- Talyang Khan (Great King), king of the Naimans, ii. 20*n*
- Tajiks of Badakhshan, great toppers, i. 153, 155*n*
- Takfúr, ii. 148*n*
- Takhtapul, i. 152*n*
- Táki-uddin, Abdu-r Rahmán, ii. 333*n*
- Takla-Makan, i. 190*n*
- Talains, ii. 74*n*
- Talas River, ii. 459*n*
- Tali, gold mines, ii. 81*n*
- Talifu (Carajan), ii. 67*n*, 76*n*, 79*n*, 80*n*, 105*n*, 107*n*, 111*n*
- Talikan, Thaikan (Taican), i. 153, 154*n*, 163*n*
- Tallies, record by, ii. 86, 96*n*
- Tamarind, pirates use of, ii. 392, 394*n*
- Tamerlan, i. 8*n*
- Tana (Azov), 9, 43, 72, i. 4*n*, 6*n*, 19*n*
— near Bombay, kingdom of, ii. 395, 396*n*, 403*n*, 426*n*, 440*n*
- Tana-Maiambu, ii. 396*n*
- Tana-Malayu, ii. 281*n*, 283*n*
- Tánasi cloth, ii. 396*n*
- Tanduc, *see* Tenduc
- T'ang dynasty, ii. 28*n*, 194*n*, 278*n*
- Tangu Oola, branch of Altai, i. 215*n*
- Tangut province, Chinese Si Hia, or Ho Si, i. 29*n*, 203, 214*n*, 217, 219, 220*n*, 223, 224*n*, 245*n*, 274, 276*n*, 281; five invasions of, 281*n*
- Tangutan, term applied to Tibetan speaking people round the Koko-nor, i. 206*n*
- Tanjore, ii. 334*n*, 335*n*; Suttee at, 349*n*;
Pagoda at, 352*n*; fertility of, 368*n*
- Tánkiz Khan, applied to Chinghiz, i. 247*n*
- Tanpiju (Shaohing?), ii. 218
- Tantras, Tantrika, Tantrists, i. 315*n*, 323*n*, 326*n*
- Tao-lin, a Buddhist monk, i. 165*n*
- Tao-sze (Taossé), sect, i. 321*n*-325*n*;
female idols of the, 303, 327*n*
- Ta-pa-Shan range, ii. 34*n*, 35*n*
- Taprobana, mistakes about, ii. 295*n*
- Tarakai, ii. 475*n*
- Tarantula, ii. 346, 364
- Tarasci, i. 366*n*
- Tarem, or Tarum, i. 86*n*, 122*n*
- Tares of the parable, i. 122*n*
- Tarikh-i-Rashídí, i. 194*n*
- Tarmabala, Kúblái's grandson, i. 361*n*
- Tarok, Burmese name for Chinese, ii. 113*n*
- Tarok Man and Tarok Myo, ii. 113*n*
- Tartar language, i. 12; on Tartar, its correct form, 12*n*; misuse by Ramusio, 458*n*
- Tartars, i. 1, 4, 5, 10, 13, 50, 90, 97, 99, 110*n*, 121*n*, 151; different characters used by, 28*n*; identified with Gog and Magog, 57*n*; ladies, 76*n*; their first city, 226; original country, tributary to Prester John, *ib.*; revolt and migration, 227; earliest mention of the word, 230; make Chinghiz their king, 238; his successors, 245; their customs and religion, 249*n*, 251, 256; houses, 252, 253*n*; waggons, 252, 254*n*; chastity of their women, 252, 256*n*; polygamy, etc., 252, 256*n*; their gods and idols, 256; their drink (Kumiz), 257, 259*n*; cloths, 257, 295*n*; arms, horses, and war customs, 260-263; military organization, 261, 263*n*; sustenance on rapid marches, 261; blood-sucking, 261, 264*n*; portable curd, 262, 265*n*; tactics in war, 262, 265*n*; degeneracy, 263, 266*n*; administration of justice, 266; laws against theft, 266, 268*n*; posthumous marriage, 267, 268*n*; the cudgel, 266, 267*n*; Rubruquis' account of, 236*n*; Joinville's, 237*n*; custom before a fight, 337; want of charity to the poor, 445; conquerors of China, history of, ii. 20; excellence in archery, 102; objection to meddling with things pertaining to the dead, 111; admiration of the Polo mangonels, 160; employment of military engines, 168*n*; their cruelties, 180*n*; arrows, 460; marriage customs, i. 33*n*, 252-253, ii. 467
— in the Far North, ii. 479
— of the Levant, *see* Levant
— of the Ponent, *see* Ponent
- Tartary cloths, i. 257, 295*n*
- Tarungares, tribe, ii. 298*n*
- Tásh Kurgán, i. 172*n*, ii. 594*n*
- Tataríya coins, i. 12*n*
- Tathung, or Taitongfu, i. 245*n*, 286*n*, 280*n*
- Ta-t'sien-lu, or Tachindo, Tartsédo, ii. 45*n*, 48*n*, 49*n*, 52*n*, 60*n*, 67*n*, 70*n*
- Ta Tsing River, ii. 137*n*, 143*n*
- Tattooing, ii. 84, 90*n*, 117, 119*n*, 131*n*, 235, 242*n*, 297*n*; artists in, 235, 242*n*
- Tatu (Taichu), i. 374
— River, ii. 61*n*
- Tauris, *see* Tabriz
- Taurizi, Torissi, i. 74, 75*n*
- Tawálisi, ii. 465*n*
- Taxes, *see* Customs, Duties
- Tchakiri Mondou (Modun), i. 404, 408*n*
- Tchekmen, thick coarse cotton stuff, i. 190*n*
- Tea-houses at Kingszé, ii. 196*n*

- Tea trees in E. Tibet, ii. 59ⁿ
 Tebet, *see* Tibet
 Tedaldo, *see* Theobald
 Teeth, custom of casing in gold, ii. 84,
 88ⁿ-91ⁿ
 — of Adam or of Buddha, ii. 319,
 329ⁿ-330ⁿ
 — conservation of, by Brahmans, ii. 365
 Tegana, ii. 471
 Teghele, Atabeg of Lúr, i. 85ⁿ
 Teimur (Temur), Kúblái's grandson and
 successor, i. 360, ii. 149, 459ⁿ
 Tekla, Hamainot, ii. 356
 Tekrit, i. 61ⁿ
 Telingana, *see* Tilinga
 Telo Samawe, ii. 295ⁿ
 Tembul (Betel), chewing, ii. 371, 374ⁿ
 Temkan, Kúblái's son, i. 361ⁿ
 Temple, connection of Cilician Armenia
 with Order of, i. 24ⁿ
 — Master of the, i. 23, 24ⁿ
 Temple's account of the Condor, ii. 417ⁿ
 Temujin, *see* Chinghiz
 Tenduc, or Tanduc, plain of, i. 240, 241;
 province of, 284, 286ⁿ
 Tengri, Supreme deity of Tartars, i. 257ⁿ-
 258ⁿ
 Tennasserim, ii. 279ⁿ; (Tanasari), 314ⁿ
 Tents, the Khan's, i. 404, 409ⁿ
 Terebinth, i. 125ⁿ; of Mamre, 132ⁿ,
 135ⁿ
 Terlán, goshawk, i. 57ⁿ
 Teroa Mountains, ii. 420ⁿ
 Terra Australis, ii. 274ⁿ
 Te-Tsung, Emperor, ii. 28ⁿ
 Thai, Great and Little, ii. 287ⁿ; race,
 278ⁿ
 Thaigin, ii. 25ⁿ, 26ⁿ
 Thai-yuanfu (Taianfu), ii. 12, 14ⁿ-17ⁿ
Thard-wahsh, *see* Patterns, Beast and
 Bird
 Theft, Tartar punishment of, i. 266, 268ⁿ
 Theistic worship, i. 456, 458ⁿ
 Thelasar, ii. 431ⁿ
 Theobald, or Tedaldo of Piacenza, i. 17,
 20, 21ⁿ, ii. 593ⁿ; chosen Pope as
 Gregory X., i. 20; sends friars with
 the Polos and presents, 22, 23ⁿ
 Theodorus, king of Abyssinia, ii. 436ⁿ
 Theodosius the Great, i. 49ⁿ
 Theophilus, Emperor of Constantinople,
 i. 385ⁿ
 — missionary, ii. 409ⁿ
 Thévenot, *Travels*, i. 81ⁿ
 Thian Shan, i. 175ⁿ, 177ⁿ, 191ⁿ
 Thianté-Kiun, i. 286ⁿ
 Thin l'Évêque, siege of, ii. 163ⁿ, 165ⁿ
Thinae of Ptolemy, ii. 27ⁿ
 Tholoman, *see* Coloman
 Thomas, Edward, i. 87ⁿ, ii. 115ⁿ, 164ⁿ
 — of Mancasola, Bishop of Samar-
 cand, i. 186ⁿ
 Thread, Brahmanical, ii. 363
- Three kingdoms (San-Kwé), ii. 38ⁿ
 Threshold, a great offence to step on the,
 i. 383, 385ⁿ
 Thurán Shah's History of Hormuz, i. 120ⁿ
 Tibet (Tebet) province, ii. 42, 49;
 boundary of, 49, 52ⁿ; its acquisition
 by Mongols, 46ⁿ; organisation under
 Kúblái, 46ⁿ; dogs of, 45, 49, 52ⁿ
 Tibetan language and character, i. 29ⁿ;
 origin of the Yue-chi, 174ⁿ
 Tibetans, i. 165ⁿ; superstitions of, 208ⁿ,
 209ⁿ; and Kashmiris (Tebet and
 Keshimur), sorceries of, 301, 315ⁿ;
 accused of cannibalism, 301, 312ⁿ
 Tides in Hang-chau estuary, ii. 150ⁿ, 208ⁿ
 Tierce, half tierce, etc., hours of, ii. 364,
 368ⁿ
 Tiflis, i. 49ⁿ, 57ⁿ, 58ⁿ
 Tigado, Castle of, i. 148ⁿ
 Tigers (called lions by Polo), ii. 225,
 231ⁿ, 411; trained to the chase, i.
 397, 399ⁿ; in Cuncun, ii. 31; in
 Caidu, 56; Kwei-chau, 127ⁿ. (*See*
 also Lions.)
 Tigris River (Volga), i. 5, 9ⁿ; at
 Baghdad, 63, 64ⁿ
 Tigúdar (Acomat Soldan), ii. 468ⁿ
 Tiju, ii. 153, 154ⁿ
 Tiles, enamelled, i. 364, 370ⁿ
 Tilinga, Telingana, Tiling, Telenc, ii.
 362ⁿ, 427ⁿ
 Tiling, ii. 427ⁿ
 Timur of Toumen, chief of the
 Nikoudrians, i. 102ⁿ
 Timur the Great, i. 5ⁿ, 9ⁿ, 45ⁿ, 49ⁿ,
 52ⁿ, 61ⁿ, 86ⁿ, 152ⁿ, 155ⁿ, 187ⁿ, ii.
 166ⁿ
 Timurids, the, i. 85ⁿ
 Ting, 10 taels of silver = tael of gold, i.
 427ⁿ, ii. 217ⁿ, 218ⁿ
 Tinju, ii. 153, 154ⁿ
 Tinnevely, ii. 359ⁿ, 373ⁿ, 403ⁿ
 Tithe on clothing material, i. 445
 Tithing men, Chinese (*Pao-kia*), ii. 200ⁿ
 Titus, Emperor, i. 66ⁿ
 Tjajya, *see* Choiach
 Toba race, i. 205ⁿ
 Toctai, king, *see* Toktai
 Tod, Colonel James, i. 104ⁿ, 114ⁿ, 169ⁿ,
 183ⁿ
 Toddy, *see* Wine of Palm
 Toga, ii. 471, 474ⁿ
 Toghontemur, last Mongol Emperor, i.
 228ⁿ; his wail, 305ⁿ
 Toghrol I., i. 49ⁿ
 — Shah of Kermán, i. 113ⁿ
 Togrul Wang Khan, *see* Prester John
 Toka Tumir, i. 8ⁿ
 Tokát, i. 45ⁿ
 Toktai Khan (Toctai, Lord of the
 Ponent), 72, ii. 487, 491, 496; wars
 with Noghai, 499; his symbolic
 message, 497ⁿ, 498ⁿ

- Tolan-nur (Dolonnúr), i. 26ⁿ
 Toledo, John de, Cardinal Bishop of
 Portus, i. 21ⁿ
 Tolobuga, ii. 496, 497ⁿ
 Toman (Tuman, etc.), Mongol word for
 10,000, i. 261, 263ⁿ, ii. 192, 200ⁿ,
 217ⁿ, 218ⁿ, 462ⁿ
 Tongking, Tungking, ii. 119ⁿ, 120ⁿ,
 128ⁿ, 131ⁿ
 Tooth-relique of Buddha, ii. 319-320;
 history of, 329ⁿ-330ⁿ
 Torchi, Dorjé, Kúblái's first-born, i. 361ⁿ
 Tornesel, i. 423, 426ⁿ
 Toro River, i. 345ⁿ
 Torshok, ii. 489ⁿ
 Torture by constriction in raw hide, i.
 262ⁿ
Toscaul, toskául (toscaol), watchman, i.
 403, 407ⁿ
 Tournefort, on cold at Erzrum, i. 49ⁿ
 Tower and Bell Alarm at Peking, i. 375,
 378ⁿ; at Kinsay, ii. 189
 Toyan (Tathung?), i. 286ⁿ
 Trade at Layas, i. 41; by Baghdad, 63;
 at Tauris, 75; at Cambaluc, 415; in
 Shan-si, ii. 22; on the Great Kiang,
 36, 170; at Chinangli, 135; at Sinju
 Matu, 138; Kinsay, 187, 190, 202,
 216; Fu-chau, 231; Zayton, 234;
 Java, 272; Malaiur, 280; Cail, 370;
 Coillum, 375; Melibar, 389; Tana,
 395; Cambaet, 398; Kesmacoran, 401;
 Socotra, 407
 — of India with Hormuz, i. 107;
 with Egypt by Aden, ii. 438, 439ⁿ;
 with Esher, 442; with Dofar, 444;
 with Calatu, 450
 Trades in Manzi, alleged to be hereditary,
 ii. 186, 196ⁿ
Tramontaine, ii. 296ⁿ
 Transmigration, i. 456, ii. 213ⁿ, 318-319
 Traps for fur animals, ii. 481, 483ⁿ
 Travancore, ii. 383ⁿ, 403ⁿ; Rajas of, 380ⁿ
 Treasure of Maabar kings, ii. 340, 348ⁿ-
 349ⁿ
 Trebizond, 43, i. 19ⁿ, 36, 46; Emperors
 of, and their tails, ii. 302ⁿ
 Trebuchets, ii. 159, 160ⁿ, 161ⁿ
 Trees, of the Sun and Moon, i. 129ⁿ,
 130ⁿ; superstitions about, 131ⁿ-135ⁿ;
 by the highways, 440; camphor, ii.
 234, 237ⁿ; producing wine, 292, 297ⁿ,
 300, 313; producing flour (sago), 300,
 304ⁿ-305ⁿ
Tregoures, i. 386ⁿ
 Trench, Archbishop, i. 201ⁿ, ii. 82ⁿ
 Trevisano, Azzo, 8, 17, 25, 65
 — Marc' Antonio, Doge, 8, 78
 Trincomalee, ii. 337ⁿ
 Tringano, ii. 279ⁿ
 Trinkat, ii. 308ⁿ
 'Trusty lieges,' devoted comrades of
 king of Maabar, ii. 339, 347ⁿ
- T'sang-chau, ii. 133ⁿ, 137ⁿ
T'siang-kiun ('General'), ii. 138ⁿ, 261ⁿ
 T'sien T'ang River, ii. 194ⁿ, 198ⁿ, 208ⁿ,
 214ⁿ, 220ⁿ-222ⁿ; bore in, 150ⁿ, 208ⁿ
 T'si-nan-fu (Chinangli), ii. 137ⁿ, 138ⁿ
 T'sing-chau, ii. 138ⁿ
 T'sing-ling range, ii. 35ⁿ
 T'si-ning-chau, ii. 137ⁿ, 139ⁿ
 Tsing-tsun, ii. 229ⁿ
 Tsiuan-chau, T'swanchau, *see* Zayton
 Tsongkhapa, Tibetan Reformer, i. 315ⁿ
 Ts'uan-chou, *see* Zayton
 Tsukuzi in Japan, ii. 260ⁿ
 Tsung-ngan-hien, ii. 224ⁿ
 Tsushima, Island, ii. 260ⁿ
 Tuan, Prince, chief of the Boxers, i. 282ⁿ
Tuc, tuk, tugh, commanders of 100,000,
 horse-tail or yak-tail standard, i. 261,
 263ⁿ
 Tudai, Ahmad Khan's wife, ii. 471ⁿ
 Tudai-Mangku (Totamangu or Totamangul), ii. 491, 492ⁿ, 496, 497ⁿ, 499
 Tu-fan, ancient name of Tibet, ii. 46ⁿ
 Tughan, Tukan, Kúblái's son, i. 361ⁿ,
 ii. 270ⁿ
 Tughlak Shah, of Delhi (a Karaunah), i.
 101ⁿ
 Tuktuyai Khan, i. 9ⁿ
 Tu-ku-hun, i. 193ⁿ
 Tuli, or Tulin, fourth son of Chinghiz, ii.
 32ⁿ
 Tuman, *see* Toman
 Tumba, Angelo di, 25; Marco di, 65
 Tún, city of E. Persia, i. 86ⁿ, 124ⁿ
 Tung-'an in Fokien, ii. 243ⁿ
Tungani, or Converts, Mahomedans in
 N. China and Chinese Turkestan, i.
 291ⁿ
 Tung-chau (Tinjau), ii. 154ⁿ
 Tung-hwang-hien, ancient Shachau, i.
 206ⁿ
 Tung-kwan, fortress of the Kin sovereigns,
 ii. 14ⁿ, 25ⁿ, 27ⁿ
Tung-lo (Kumiz), i. 259ⁿ
 Tunguses, i. 271ⁿ
 Tunny fish, i. 108, 416ⁿ, ii. 442
 Tun-o-kain (Tunocain), kingdom of
 Persia, i. 83, 86ⁿ, 127, 128ⁿ, 138ⁿ,
 145ⁿ
 Turbit (radex Turpethi), ii. 389, 391ⁿ
 Turcomania (Anatolian Turkey), i. 43
 Turgaut, day-watch, i. 381ⁿ
 Turkey, Great (Turkestan), i. 191, ii.
 286ⁿ, 452, 457, 458, 462, 477
 Turkistan chiefs send mission to kings
 of India, ii. 370ⁿ
 Turkmans and Turks, distinction be-
 tween, i. 44ⁿ, 101ⁿ; horses, 43, 44ⁿ
 Turks, ancient mention of, i. 56; friend
 of Polo's, 213; and Mongols, 294ⁿ
 Turmeric, ii. 226ⁿ
 Turner, Lieutenant Samuel, describes
 Yak of Tartary, i. 277ⁿ

- Turquans, Turkish horses, i. 43
 Turquoises in Kermán, i. 90, 92*n*; in Caidu, ii. 53
 Turtle doves, i. 97, 99*n*
 Turumpak, Hormuz, i. 111*n*
 Tutia (Tutty), preparation of, i. 125, 126*n*, ii. 398
 Tuticorin, ii. 372*n*
 Tu T'song, Sung Emperor of China, ii. 150*n*, 211*n*
 Tver, ii. 489*n*
 Twelve, a favourite round number, ii. 426*n*
 — Barons over Khan's Administration, i. 430, ii. 154
 Twigs or arrows, divination by, i. 241, 242*n*
 Tyuman, ii. 481*n*
 Tyunju, porcelain manufacture, ii. 235, 242*n*
 Tylor, Dr. E. B., on *Cowade*, ii. 93*n*, 94*n*
 Tzarev, i. 6*n*
 Tzaritzyn, i. 6*n*, 57*n*
 UCACA (Ukak, Ukek, Uwek), i. 5, 8*n*, 9*n*; Ukák of Ibn Batuta, a different place, ii. 488*n*
 Uch-baligh, 134
 Uch-Multán, i. 86*n*
 Udoo country, ii. 420*n*, 598*n*
 Udong, ii. 279*n*
 Udyána, i. 164*n*
 Ughuz, legend of, ii. 485*n*
 Uighúr character, parent of present Mongol writing, i. 14*n*, 28*n*, 160*n*, 353*n*
 Uighúrs, the, i. 76*n*, 214*n*, 227*n*, ii. 179*n*, 462*n*
 Uiraca, i. 282*n*
 Uirad, *see* Oirad
 Ujjain, legend of, ii. 349*n*; (*Ozene*), 397*n*, 426*n*
 Ukak, ii. 488*n*. (*See* Ucacá.)
 Ulatai (Oulatay), Tartar envoy from Persia, i. 32, 33*n*, ii. 471, 474*n*
 Ulakhai, i. 282*n*
 Ulan Muren (Red River), i. 250*n*
 Ulugh Bagh, on Badakhshan border, i. 154*n*
 — Mohammed, i. 8*n*
 Ulús, the, i. 10*n*
 U-man and Pe-man (Black and White Barbarians), ii. 73*n*
 Umbrellas, i. 351, 354*n*, 355*n*
 Unc Can (Aung Khan), *see* Prester John
 Ung (Ungkút), Tartar tribe, i. 285, 294*n*
 Ungrat (Kungurat), Tartar tribe, i. 357, 358*n*
 Unicorn (Rhinoceros), in Burma, ii. 107; Sumatra, 285, 289, 299; legend of Virgin and, 285, 290*n*; horns of, 291*n*
 Unken, City, ii. 226, 229*n*, 230*n*, 233*n*
 Unlucky hours, ii. 364
 U-nya-Mwezi superstition, i. 130*n*
 Urduja, Princess, ii. 465*n*
 Uriangkadai, ii. 46*n*
 Uriangkút (Tunguses), i. 271*n*
 Urianhai, the, i. 271*n*
 Urumtsi, i. 201*n*, 214*n*
 Urzú, i. 122*n*
 Uspenskoye (called also Bolgarskoye), i. 7*n*
 Uttungadeva, king of Java, ii. 275*n*
 Uwek, *see* Ucacá
 Uzbek Khan of Sarai, i. 4*n*, 6*n*, 352*n*
 Uzbegs of Kunduz, i. 156*n*, 163*n*
 Uzun Tati, coins, Chinese porcelain from, ii. 595*n*
 VAIR, the fur and animal, i. 257, ii. 479, 483*n*, 484*n*, 486*n*, 487
 — as an epithet of eyes, 124
 Valaghir district, i. 54*n*
 Vámbéry, Prof. Hermann, i. 10*n*, 28*n*, 54*n*, 57*n*, 170*n*, 214*n*, 237*n*, 401*n*, ii. 465
 Vanchu (Wangchu), conspires with Chenchu against Ahmad, i. 417-419, 422*n*
 Van Lake, i. 57*n*
 Varagian, Varangian, ii. 490*n*
 Varaha Mihira, astronomer, i. 104*n*
 Vardoj River, i. 156*n*, 172*n*
Varini, ii. 490*n*
 Varsach, or Mashhad River, i. 155*n*, 156*n*
Vasmulo, i. 292*n*
Vateria Indica, ii. 396*n*
 Veil of the Temple, *πέπλος βαβυλωνίος*, i. 66
 Vellalars, ii. 372*n*
 Venádan, title of king of Kaulam, ii. 380*n*
 Venetians, factory at Soldaia, i. 4*n*; expelled from Constantinople, 19*n*
 Venice, 2, 15, 16, i. 2, 18, 19, 36, 41; return of Polos to, 4, 24, 54, i. 36; its exaltation after Latin conquest of Constantinople, 9; its nobles, 14; Polo's mansion at, 23 *segg.*; galleys, 32 *segg.*; archives at, 70 *segg.*; articles brought from East by Marco to, i. 274, ii. 299, 305*n*
 Ventilators at Hormuz, ii. 452, 453*n*
 Verlinden, Belgian missionary, i. 249*n*
Verniques, i. 382, 384*n*
Verzino Colombino, ii. 380*n*. (*See* also Brazil.)
 Vessels, war, i. 34, 37*n*; stitched of Kermán (*πλοιάρια βαπτά*), i. 108, 117*n*, ii. 415*n*; on the Kiang, 170, 171, 173*n*. (*See* also Ships.)
 Vial, Paul, French missionary, ii. 63*n*
 Vijayanagar, ii. 362*n*
 Vikramajit, legend of, ii. 349*n*
 Vikrampúr, ii. 99*n*

- Villard de Honnecourt, Album of, ii. 164ⁿ
- Vincent of Beauvais, ii. 325ⁿ
- Vincenzo, P., ii. 410ⁿ
- Vineyards, in Taican, i. 153; Kashgar, 181; Khotan, 188; in N. China, ii. 10, 11ⁿ, 13, 15ⁿ
- Vinson, Prof., on *Couvade*, ii. 91ⁿ
- Virgin of Cape Comorin, ii. 382ⁿ
- Visconti, Tedaldo, or Tebaldo, *see* Theobald of Piacenza
- Vissering, on *Chinese Currency*, i. 428ⁿ, 429ⁿ
- Vochan (Unchan, Yungchan), ii. 84, 86, 89ⁿ; battle there, 98, 101, 104ⁿ-106ⁿ
- Vogels, J., ii. 601ⁿ, 602ⁿ
- Vokhan, *see* Wakhán
- Volga, called Tigris, i. 5, 7ⁿ, 9ⁿ, ii. 485ⁿ, 488ⁿ
- Vos, Belgian Missionary, i. 249ⁿ
- Vughin, ii. 182
- Vuju in Kiangnan, ii. 182
- in Chekiang, ii. 219
- WADOE TRIBE, ii. 420ⁿ
- Wakf, i. 67ⁿ
- Wakhán (Vokhan), dialect, i. 162ⁿ, 171, 173ⁿ
- Mountains, i. 162ⁿ, 175ⁿ
- Wakhjir Pass, i. 175ⁿ, ii. 594ⁿ
- Wakhjirui Pass, *see* Wakhjir Pass
- Wakhsh, branch of the Oxus, ii. 5ⁿ
- Wakhtang II., king of Georgia, i. 53ⁿ
- Walashjird, i. 106ⁿ
- Wallachs, ii. 489ⁿ, 491ⁿ
- Wall of Alexander (or Caucasian), i. 50, 53ⁿ
- of Gog and Magog (*i.e.* China), *III*, i. 285, 292ⁿ
- Walnut-oil, i. 158, 162ⁿ
- Wami River, ii. 420ⁿ
- Wang*, Chinese silk, i. 237ⁿ, 361ⁿ, ii. 113ⁿ
- Wang, king of Djungar, i. 250ⁿ
- Wanchu, *see* Vanchu
- Wapila, i. 54ⁿ
- Warangol Ku, ii. 362ⁿ
- Warangs, ii. 490ⁿ
- Warner, Dr., ii. 604ⁿ
- War vessels, Chinese, i. 34, 37ⁿ
- Wassáf, the historian, i. 68ⁿ; his character of the Karaunahs, 101ⁿ; notices of Hormuz, 120ⁿ, 121ⁿ; eulogy of Kúblái, 332ⁿ; story of Kúblái, 440ⁿ; his style, ii. 150ⁿ; account of taking of Siang-yang, 150ⁿ, 167ⁿ; of Kinsay, 213ⁿ; Maabar, 333ⁿ; horse trade to India, 348ⁿ; treatment of them there, 351ⁿ; extract from his history, 495ⁿ
- Water, bitter, i. 110, 122ⁿ, 194
- custom of lying in, i. 108, 119ⁿ; consecration by Lamas, 309ⁿ
- Clock, i. 378ⁿ
- Wathek, Khalif, i. 57ⁿ
- Wa-tzü, Lolo slaves, ii. 63ⁿ
- Weather-conjuring, i. 301, 309ⁿ-311ⁿ
- Wei dynasty, i. 205ⁿ, ii. 437ⁿ
- Weights and measures, ii. 590ⁿ-592ⁿ
- Wei-ning, ii. 130ⁿ
- Wei River in Shen-si, ii. 27ⁿ, 29ⁿ, 35ⁿ
- in Shan-tung, ii. 139ⁿ
- Wen River, ii. 139ⁿ
- Wen-chow, ii. 239ⁿ
- Westermarck, *Human Marriage*, ii. 48ⁿ, 93ⁿ
- Whale oil, including spermaceti, i. 108, 117ⁿ, ii. 407, 408ⁿ
- Whales, ii. 249; in Socotra, 407; Madagascar, 411, 414ⁿ; species of Indian Ocean, 408ⁿ; sperm (Capdoille), 411, 414ⁿ
- Wheaten bread not eaten, i. 438ⁿ; at Yachi, ii. 66, 74ⁿ
- White bears, ii. 479
- bone, Chinese for Lolos, ii. 63ⁿ
- camels, i. 281
- City, meaning of term among Tartars, i. 297ⁿ, ii. 14ⁿ
- City, of Manzi frontier, ii. 34ⁿ
- Devils, ii. 355, 359ⁿ
- Feast at Kúblái's City, i. 390, 392ⁿ
- Horde, ii. 481ⁿ
- horses and mares, i. 300, 390; offered to Khan, 308ⁿ
- Whittington and his cat in Persia, i. 65ⁿ
- Wild asses and oxen, *see* Asses and Oxen
- William of Tripoli, Friar, i. 22; his writings, 23ⁿ, 24ⁿ
- Williams, Dr. S. W., on the Chinese year, i. 388ⁿ; on elephants at Peking, 392ⁿ
- Williamson, Rev. A., i. 135ⁿ, 217ⁿ, ii. 8ⁿ, 11ⁿ, 12ⁿ, 15ⁿ, 16ⁿ, 137ⁿ
- Wilson, General Sir C., i. 45ⁿ
- Wind, poison (Simúm), i. 108, 120ⁿ; monsoons, ii. 264-265
- Wine, of the vine, Persians lax in abstaining from, i. 84, 87ⁿ, 96ⁿ
- boiled, i. 84, 87ⁿ, 153ⁿ, 155ⁿ
- of ancient Kapisa, i. 155ⁿ; Khotan, 188; at Taianfu, ii. 13, 16ⁿ; imported at Kinsay, 202
- rice (*Samshu* or *darásun*), i. 441; and of wheat, ii. 56, 59ⁿ; at Yachi, 66, 85; spices, etc., in Caidu, 56; Kien-ch'ang, 59ⁿ, 85; Cangigu, 117; Coloman, 123; Kinsay, 202, 204, 216
- Palm (toddy), ii. 292, 297ⁿ, 376
- from sugar, ii. 376, 442
- date, i. 107, 115ⁿ, ii. 292, 297ⁿ, 442
- (unspecified), at Khan's table, i. 382; not used in Ma'bar, ii. 342; nor by Brahmans, 363

- “Winter” used for “rainy season,” ii. 391ⁿ
- Wo-fo-sze, “Monastery of the lying Buddha,” i. 221ⁿ
- Wolves in Pamir, i. 171, 176ⁿ
- Women, Island of, ii. 405ⁿ-406ⁿ
- Women, of Kerman, their embroidery, i. 90; mourners, 109; of Khorasan, their beauty, 128; of Badakhshan, 160; Kashmir, 166; Khotan, 191; Kamul, fair and wanton, 210; Tartar good and loyal, 252; Erguiul, pretty creatures, 276; of the town, 414, ii. 202; of Tibet, evil customs, 44; Caidu, 53; Carajan, 66; Zardandan, *couvade*, 85; Anin, 116; Kinsay, charming, 186; respectful treatment of, 204; Kelinfu, beautiful, 225; Zanghibar, frightful, 423
- Wonders performed by the Bacsii, i. 314 *et seqq.*
- Wood, Lieutenant John, Indian Navy, 20, i. 156ⁿ; his elucidations of Polo in Oxus regions, i. 174ⁿ
- Wood-oil, ii. 251ⁿ, 252ⁿ
- Wool, Salamander's, i. 213, 216ⁿ
- Worship of Mahomet (supposed), i. 188, 189ⁿ
- of fire, 303; Tartar, 256, 257; Chinese, 456
- of first object seen in the day, ii. 284, 288ⁿ
- Worshipping the tablets, i. 391, 392ⁿ
- Wu-chau (Vuju), ii. 222ⁿ
- Wukiang-hien (Vughin), ii. 184ⁿ
- Wüsus, or Wesses, people of Russia, ii. 486ⁿ
- Wu-ti, Emperor, ii. 437ⁿ
- Wylie, Alexander, 76, i. 2ⁿ, 8ⁿ, 322ⁿ, 377ⁿ, 451ⁿ, 454ⁿ, ii. 19ⁿ, 28ⁿ, 38ⁿ, 169ⁿ, 184ⁿ, 194ⁿ, 209ⁿ, 212ⁿ
- XANADU, i. 305ⁿ
- Xavir, at Socotra, ii. 409ⁿ
- Xerxes, i. 135ⁿ
- YA-CHAU, ii. 45ⁿ, 48ⁿ, 70ⁿ
- Yachi (Yun-nan-fu), city, ii. 66, 67ⁿ, 72ⁿ, 74ⁿ, 80ⁿ, 111ⁿ
- Yadah, *Jadagari*, *Jadah-tâsh*, science and stone of weather-conjurer, i. 309ⁿ
- Yaik River, i. 6ⁿ
- Yájú, and Májú, *see* Gog and Magog
- Yak (dong), i. 274, 277ⁿ; their tails carried to Venice, 274; used in India for military decorations, ii. 355, 359ⁿ
- Ya'kúb Beg of Kasghar, i. 189ⁿ
- Yakuts, i. 309ⁿ, 446ⁿ, ii. 484ⁿ
- Yalung River, ii. 67ⁿ, 69ⁿ, 72ⁿ
- Yam, or Yamb (a post-stage or post-house), i. 433, 437ⁿ, ii. 213ⁿ
- Yamgan, i. 162ⁿ
- Yang-chau (Yanju), city, i. 29ⁿ, 432ⁿ, ii. 154ⁿ, 173ⁿ; Marco's government there, 22, ii. 154, 157ⁿ
- Yarbeg of Badakhshan, i. 156ⁿ
- Yarkand (Yarcan), i. 187
- Yar-ligh and P'airah, i. 322ⁿ, 352ⁿ
- Yasdi (Ye zd), i. 88
- silk tissue, i. 88
- Yashm, jade, i. 193ⁿ
- Yasodhara, bride of Sakya Sinha, ii. 323ⁿ
- Yavanas, ii. 372ⁿ
- Yazdashfir, i. 92ⁿ
- Ydifu, i. 285, 295ⁿ
- Year, Chinese, i. 388; Mongol and Chinese cycle, 447, 454ⁿ
- Yelmala, *see* Monté d'Ely
- Yeliu Chutsai, statesman and astronomer, ii. 17ⁿ
- Yellow, or orthodox Lamas, i. 315ⁿ, 324ⁿ
- Yemen, ii. 432ⁿ, 433ⁿ, 440ⁿ, 441ⁿ, 445ⁿ. (*See also* Aden.)
- Yeng-chau (in Shan-tung), ii. 137ⁿ, 139ⁿ
- (in Che-kiang), ii. 222ⁿ
- Yen-king (Old Peking), i. 375ⁿ, 376ⁿ
- Yen-Ping, ii. 230ⁿ
- Yenshan, ii. 224ⁿ
- Yesubuka, ii. 474ⁿ
- Yesudar, ii. 459
- Yesugai, father of Chinghiz, i. 237ⁿ
- Yetsina (Etzina), i. 223
- Ye zd (Yasdi), i. 88; silk fabrics of, ii. 11
- Yiu-ki River, ii. 230ⁿ
- Yoritomo, descendants of, ii. 262ⁿ
- Yonting Ho River, ii. 6ⁿ
- Yotkán, village, i. 190ⁿ
- Youth, Island of, ii. 381ⁿ
- Yrac, province, i. 74
- Ysemain of Hliulie, western engineer, ii. 167ⁿ
- Yu, *see* Jade
- Yuan Ho, i. 29ⁿ
- Yu-chow, gold and silver mines, i. 295ⁿ
- Yue-chi, i. 174ⁿ
- Yuen, Mongol Imperial dynasty, so styled, i. 29ⁿ, 377ⁿ
- Yuen-hao, kingdom of Tangut, i. 282ⁿ
- Yuen ming-yuen, palace, i. 307ⁿ
- Yuen shi, History of Mongol Dynasty in China, i. 115ⁿ, 248ⁿ, 295ⁿ, ii. 95ⁿ
- Yugria, or Yughra, in the Far North, ii. 483ⁿ, 485ⁿ, 493ⁿ
- Yuh-shan, ii. 222ⁿ, 224ⁿ
- Yule, Sir Henry, ii. 602ⁿ; on Ravenala, 597ⁿ; on Maundeville, 604ⁿ
- Yun-Hien, a Buddhist Abbot, i. 304ⁿ
- Yung-chang fu (Shen-si), i. 276ⁿ
- (Yun-nan, Vochan), ii. 84, 89ⁿ, 104ⁿ, 105ⁿ, 107ⁿ-109ⁿ
- Yung Lo, Emperor, ii. 596ⁿ

- Yun-nan (Carajan), province, ii. 40ⁿ, 45ⁿ, 56ⁿ, 57ⁿ, 59ⁿ-62ⁿ, 64, 67ⁿ, 72ⁿ, 80ⁿ, 81ⁿ, 82ⁿ, 90ⁿ, 95ⁿ, 104ⁿ, 107ⁿ, 115ⁿ, 120ⁿ, 124ⁿ, 127ⁿ-129ⁿ; conquerors of, 46ⁿ, 80ⁿ; Mahomedans, 74ⁿ
- Yun-nan-fu city, *see* Yachi
- Yurungkásh (white Jade) River, i. 193ⁿ
- Yusuf Kekfi, i. 85ⁿ
- Yuthia, Ayuthia (Ayodhya), mediæval capital of Siam, 13, ii. 278ⁿ, 279ⁿ
- Yvo of Narbonne, i. 12ⁿ
- ZABEDJ, ii. 283ⁿ
- Zaila, ii. 413ⁿ, 435ⁿ, 436ⁿ
- Zaitúniah, probable origin of satin, ii. 241ⁿ
- Zampa, *see* Champa
- Zanghibar (Zangibar, Zanjibar, Zanzibar), ii. 405ⁿ, 412, 422, 424ⁿ; currents off, 415ⁿ; Ivory trade, 423, 424ⁿ; its blacks, women, 423, 424ⁿ
- Zanton (Shantung?), 3
- Zanzale, James, or Jacob Baradaeus, Bishop of Edessa, i. 61ⁿ
- Zapharan, monastery near Baghdad, i. 61ⁿ
- Zardandan, or "Gold Teeth," a people of W. Yun-nan, ii. 84, 98; identity doubtful, 88ⁿ; characteristic customs, 90ⁿ
- Zarncke, Fr., i. 139ⁿ
- Zayton, Zaitún, Zaiton, Cayton (T'swan-chau, Chwan-chau, or Chinchew of modern charts), the great mediæval port of China, ii. 175ⁿ, 231, 232ⁿ-233ⁿ, 234, 237ⁿ-243ⁿ; Khan's revenue from, 235; porcelain, 235, 242ⁿ; language, 236ⁿ, 243ⁿ-244ⁿ; etymology, 237ⁿ; mediæval notices, 237 *seqq.*; identity, 239ⁿ, 240ⁿ; Chinchew, a name misapplied, 239ⁿ; Christian churches at, 240ⁿ, 241ⁿ; ships of, 264
- Zayton, Andrew, Bishop of, ii. 237ⁿ
- Zebák Valley, i. 165ⁿ
- Zebu, humped oxen, i. 99ⁿ
- Zedoary, ii. 388ⁿ
- Zenghi, i. 61ⁿ
- Zerms (Jerms), ii. 439ⁿ
- Zerumbet, ii. 388ⁿ
- Zettani, ii. 241ⁿ
- Zhafar, *see* Dhafar
- Zic (Circassia), ii. 490, 492ⁿ
- Zikas, ii. 228ⁿ, 309ⁿ, 311ⁿ
- Zimmé, *see* Kiang-mai
- Zinc, i. 126ⁿ
- Zinj, Zinjjs, ii. 424ⁿ, 426ⁿ
- Zobeidah, the lady, i. 156ⁿ
- Zorza, *see* Chorcha
- Zu-'lkarnain (Zulcarnain), "the Two Horned," an epithet of Alexander, i. 56ⁿ, 157, 160ⁿ
- Zurficar (Zúrpicá, Zulficar), a Turkish friend of Marco Polo's, i. 213

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