THE BOOK

OF

MARCO POLO,

THE VENETIAN,

concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED, WITH NOTES.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PAGE

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xvi

BOOK SECOND.

(Continued.)

PART II.

Journey to the West and South-West of Cathay.

XV.—HERE BEGINS THE DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERIOR OF CATHAY; AND FIRST OF THE RIVER PULISANGHIN

NOTE.—*The Bridge Pul-i-sangin, or Lu-kyu-kao.*

XVI.—ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF JUJU 4

NOTES.—1. *The Silks called* Sendals. 2. *Chochau.* 3. *Bifurcation of Two Great Roads at this point.*

XVII.—THE KINGDOM OF TAIANFU 6

NOTES.—1. *Acbaluc.* 2. *Thai-yuanfu.* 3. *Grape-wine of that place.* 4. *P'ingyangfu.*

XXXVIII.—CONCERNING THE CASTLE OF CAICHU. THE GOLDEN KING AND PRESTER JOHN 8

NOTES.—1. *The Story of the* Roi d'Or. 2. *Effeminacy reviving in every Chinese Dynasty.*

XXXIX.—HOW PRESTER JOHN TREATED THE GOLDEN KING HIS PRISONER 11

XL.—CONCERNING THE GREAT RIVER CARAMORAN AND THE CITY OF CACHANFU 12

NOTES.—1. *The Karamuren.* 2. *The akché or aspe.*

XLI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF KENJANFU 13

NOTES.—1. *Geography of the Route since Chapter XXXVIII.* 2. *Kenjanfu or Singanfu.* 3. *Prince Mangala.*

XLII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CUNCUN, WHICH IS RIGHT WEARISOME TO TRAVEL THROUGH 17

NOTES.—1. *The Mountain Road to Southern Shensi.* 2. *Wild animals.*

CHAP. P.

XLIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ACBALEC MANZI .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Geography, and doubts about Acbalec.* 2. *Farther Journey into Ssechuen.*

XLIV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF SINDAFU .. .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Chingtufu.* 2. *The Great River or* Kiang. 3. *The word* Comereque. 4. *The Bridge-Tolls.* 5. *Correction of Text.*

XLV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TEBET .. ..

NOTES.—1. *The Part of Tibet and events referred ..* 2. *burning bamboos.* 3. *Road retains its desolate char Persistence of eccentric manners illustrated.* 5. *No Musk animal.*

XLVI.—FURTHER DISCOURSE CONCERNING TEBET

NOTES.—1. *Explanatory.* 2. "Or de Paliol" 4. 5. *Great Dogs.*

XLVII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CAINDU .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Explanation from Ramusio.* 2. *Pearls of Waters.* 3. *Lax manners.* 4. *Exchange of Salt for Go.* 5. *Salt Currency.* 6. *Plant like the Clove spoken of by Pó Tribes of this Tract.*

XLVIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN .. .. .

NOTES.—1. *Geography of the Route between Sindafu or Chingtufu, and Carajan or Yunnan.* 2. *Christians and Mahomedans in Yunnan.* 3. *Wheat.* 4. *Cowries.* 5. *Brine-spring.* 6. *Parallel.*

XLIX.—CONCERNING A FURTHER PART OF THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN 45

NOTES.—1. *City of Talifu.* 2. *Alligators.* 3. *Yunnan horses and riders. Arms of the Aboriginal Tribes.* 4. *Strange superstition.*

L.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ZARDANDAN 52

NOTES.—1. *The Gold-Teeth.* 2. *Male Indolence.* 3. *The Couvade.* 4. *Abundance of Gold. Relation of Gold to Silver.* 5. *Worship of the Ancestor.* 6. *Tallies.* 7–10. *Medicine-men or Devil-dancers; extraordinary identity of practice in various regions.*

LI.—WHEREIN IS RELATED HOW THE KING OF MIEN AND BANGALA VOWED VENGEANCE AGAINST THE GREAT KAAN 62

NOTES.—1. *Chronology.* 2. *Mien or Burma. Why the King may have been called King of Bengal also.* 3. *Numbers alleged to have been carried on elephants.*

LII.—OF THE BATTLE THAT WAS FOUGHT BY THE GREAT KAAN'S HOST AND HIS SENESCHAL AGAINST THE KING OF MIEN 66

NOTES.—1. *Nasruddin.* 2. *Chinese account of the Action. General Correspondence of the Chinese and Burmese Chronologies.*

CHAP. PAGE

LIII.—OF THE GREAT DESCENT THAT LEADS TOWARDS THE KINGDOM OF MIEN 70

NOTES.—1. *Market-Days.* 2. *Geographical difficulties.*

LIV.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF MIEN, AND THE TWO TOWERS THAT ARE THEREIN, ONE OF GOLD, AND THE OTHER OF SILVER 72

NOTES.—1. *Amin.* 2. *Chinese Account of the Invasion of Burma. Comparison with Burmese Annals. The City intended. The Pagodas.* 3. *Wild Oxen.*

LV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF BANGALA 78

NOTES.—1. *Polo's view of Bengal; and details of his account illustrated.* 2. *Great Cattle.*

LVI.—DISCOURSES OF THE PROVINCE OF CAUGIGU .. .. ..

NOTES.—1. *A Part of Laos. Papesifu. Chinese Etymologies.*

VII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ANIN 82

NOTES.—1. *The Name. Probable identification of territory.* 2. *Textual.*

LVIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF COLOMAN 85

NOTES.—1. *The Name. The Kolo-man.* 2. *Natural defences of Kweichau.*

LIX.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CUIJU 88

NOTES.—1. *Kweichau. Phungan-lu.* 2. *Grass-cloth.* 3. *Tigers.* 4. *Great Dogs.* 5. *Silk.* 6. *Geographical Review of the Route since Chapter LV.*

BOOK SECOND.

(Continued.)

PART III.

Journey Southward through Eastern Provinces of Cathay and Manzi.

LX.—CONCERNING THE CITIES OF CACANFU AND CHANGLU 95

NOTES.—1. *Pauthier's Identifications.* 2. *Changlu. The Burning of the Dead ascribed to the Chinese.*

LXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CHINANGLI, AND THAT OF TADINFU, AND THE REBELLION OF LITAN 97

NOTES.—1. *Thsinanfu.* 2. *Silk of Shantung.* 3. *Title* Sangon. 4. *Agul and Mangkutai.* 5. *History of Litan's Revolt.*

CHAP. PAGE

LXII.—CONCERNING THE NOBLE CITY OF SINJUMATU 100

NOTE.—*The City intended. The Great Canal.*

LXIII.—CONCERNING THE CITIES OF LINJU AND PIJU 102

NOTES.—1. *Linju.* 2. *Piju.*

LXIV.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF SIJU AND THE GREAT RIVER CARAMORAN .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Siju.* 2. *The Hoang-Ho and its changes.* 3. *Entrance to Manzi; that name for Southern China.*

LXV.—HOW THE GREAT KAAN CONQUERED THE PRINCE OF MANZI .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Meaning and application of the Title* Faghfur. 2. *Chinese self-devotion.* 3. *Bayan the Great Captain.* 4. *His lines of operation.* 5. *The Juggling Prophecy.* 6. *The Fall of the Sung Dynasty.* 7. *Exposure of Infants, and Foundling Hospitals.*

LXVI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF COIGANJU .. ..

NOTE.—*Hwai-ngan-fu.*

LXVII.—OF THE CITIES OF PAUKIN AND CAYU 11

NOTE.—*Pao-yng and Kao-yu.*

LXVIII.—OF THE CITIES OF TIJU, TINJU, AND YANJU 116

NOTES.—1. *Cities between the Canal and the Sea.* 2. *Yangchau.* 3. *Marco Polo's Employment at this City.*

LXIX.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF NANGHIN 118

NOTE.—*Nganking.*

LXX.—CONCERNING THE VERY NOBLE CITY OF SAIANFU, AND HOW ITS CAPTURE WAS EFFECTED 119

NOTES.—1 and 2. *Various Readings.* 3. *Digression on the Military Engines of the Middle Ages.* 4. *Romance of Cœur de Lion.* 5. *Difficulties connected with Polo's Account of this Siege.*

LXXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF SINJU AND THE GREAT RIVER KIAN 132

NOTES.—1. *Ichin-hien.* 2. *The Great Kiang.* 3. *Vast amount of tonnage on Chinese waters.* 4. *Size of River Vessels.* 5. *Bamboo Tow-lines.* 6. *Picturesque Island Monasteries.*

LXXII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAIJU 136

NOTES.—1. *Kwa-chau.* 2. *The Grand Canal and Rice-Transport.* 3. *The Golden Island.*

LXXIII.—OF THE CITY OF CHINGHIANFU 139

NOTE.—*Chinkiangfu. Mar Sarghis, the Christian Governor.*

LXXIV.—OF THE CITY OF CHINGINJU AND THE SLAUGHTER OF CERTAIN ALANS THERE 140

NOTES.—1. *Changchau.* 2. *Employment of Alans in the Mongol Service.* 3. *The Changchau Massacre. Mongol Cruelties.*

CHAP. PAGE

LXXV.—OF THE NOBLE CITY OF SUJU 142

NOTES.—1. *Suchau.* 2. *Bridges of that part of China.* 3. *Rhubarb; its mention here seems erroneous.* 4. *The Cities of Heaven and Earth.* 5. *Huchau, Wukiang, and Kyaking.*

LXXVI.—DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT CITY OF KINSAY, WHICH IS THE CAPITAL OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY OF MANZI 145

NOTES.—1. *Kingszé, now Hangchau.* 2. *The circuit ascribed to the City; the Bridges.* 3. *Hereditary Trades.* 4. *The Si-hu or Western Lake.* 5. *Dressiness of the People.* 6. *Charitable Establishments.* 7. *Paved roads.* 8. *Hot and Cold Baths.* 9. *Kanpu, and the Hangchau Estuary.* 10. *The Nine Provinces of Manzi.* 11. *The Kaan's Garrisons in Manzi.* 12. *Mourning costume.* 13. 14. *Remains of the Nestor.* 15. *Tickets recording inmates of houses.*

LXXVII.—[FURTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE CITY OF KINSAY] .. ..
(From Ramusio only.)

NOTES.—1. *Remarks on these supplementary details.* 2. *Tides in the Hangchau Estuary.* 3. *Want of a good Survey of Hangchau.* 4. *Marco ignores pork.* 5. *Great Pears; Peaches.* 6. *Textual.* 7. *Chinese use of Pepper.* 8. *Chinese claims to a character for Good Faith.* 9. *Pleasure-parties on the Lake.* 10. *Chinese Carriages.* 11. *The Sung Emperor.* 12. *The Sung Palace. Extracts regarding this Great City from other medieval writers, European and Asiatic. Martini's Description.*

LXXVIII.—TREATING OF THE YEARLY REVENUE THAT THE GREAT KAAN HATH FROM KINSAY 171

NOTES.—1. *Textual.* 2. *Calculations as to the values spoken of.*

LXXIX.—OF THE CITY OF TANPIJU AND OTHERS 175

NOTES.—1. *Route from Hangchau southward.* 2. *Bamboos.* 3. *Identification of places. Changshan the key to the route.*

LXXX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF FUJU 179

NOTES.—1. "*Fruit like Saffron.*" 2. 3. *Cannibalism ascribed to Mountain Tribes on this route.* 4. *Kienningfu.* 5. *Galingale.* 6. *Fleecy Fowls.* 7. *Details of the Journey in Fokien and various readings.* 8. *Unken. Introduction of Sugar-refining into China.*

LXXXI.—CONCERNING THE GREATNESS OF THE CITY OF FUJU 183

NOTES.—1. *The name* Chonka, *applied to Fokien here.* 2. *The River of Fuchau.* 3. *Explanatory.*

LXXXII.—OF THE CITY AND GREAT HAVEN OF ZAYTON 185

NOTES.—1. *The Camphor Laurel.* 2. *The Port of Zayton or Thsiuanchau. Probable origin of the word Satin.* 3. *Artists in Tattooing.* 4. *Position of the Porcelain manufacture spoken of. Notions regarding the* Great River *of China.* 5. *Fokien dialect and great varieties of spoken language in China.* 6. *From Ramusio.*

BOOK THIRD.

CHAP. PAGE

I.—OF THE MERCHANT SHIPS OF MANZI THAT SAIL UPON THE INDIAN SEAS 19

NOTES.—1. *Pine Timber.* 2. *Rudder and Masts.* 3. *Watertight Compartments.* 4. *Chinese substitute for Pitch.* 5. *Oars used by Junks.* 6. *Descriptions of Chinese Junks from other Medieval Writers.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF CHIPANGU, AND THE GREAT KAAN'S DESPATCH OF A HOST AGAINST IT .. 1

NOTES.—1. *Chipangu or Japan.* 2. *Abundance of Gold.* 3. *The Golden Palace.* 4. *Japanese Pearls. Red Pearls.*

II.—WHAT FURTHER CAME OF THE GREAT KAAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST CHIPANGU 203

NOTES.—1. *Kublai's attempts against Japan. Japanese Narrative of the Expedition here spoken of.* 2. *Species of Torture.* 3. *Devices to procure Invulnerability.*

IV.—CONCERNING THE FASHION OF THE IDOLS 208

NOTES.—1. *Many-limbed Idols.* 2. *The Philippines and Moluccas.* 3. *The name* Chin *or* China. 4. *The Gulf of Cheinan.*

V.—OF THE GREAT COUNTRY CALLED CHAMBA 212

NOTES.—1. *Champa, and Kublai's dealings with it.* 2. *Chronology.* 3. *Eagle-wood and Ebony. Polo's use of Persian words.*

VI.—CONCERNING THE GREAT ISLAND OF JAVA 217

NOTE.—*Java; its supposed vast extent. Kublai's expedition against it and failure.*

VII.—WHEREIN THE ISLES OF SONDUR AND CONDUR ARE SPOKEN OF; AND THE KINGDOM OF LOCAC 218

NOTES.—1. *Textual.* 2. *Pulo Condore.* 3. *The Kingdom of Locac, Southern Siam.*

VIII.—OF THE ISLAND CALLED PENTAM, AND THE CITY MALAIUR 223

NOTES.—1. *Bintang.* 2. *The Straits of Singapore.* 3. *Remarks on the Malay Chronology. Malaiur probably Pulembang.*

IX.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF JAVA THE LESS. THE KINGDOMS OF FERLEC AND BASMA 226

NOTES.—1. *The Island of Sumatra; application of the term* Java. 2. *Products of Sumatra. The six kingdoms.* 3. *Ferlec or Parlák. The Battas.* 4. *Basma, Pacem, or Pasei.* 5. *The Elephant and the Rhinoceros. The Legend of Monoceros and the Virgin.* 6. *Black Falcon.*

CHAP. PAGE

X.—THE KINGDOMS OF SAMARA AND DAGROIAN 235

NOTES.—1. *Samara, Sumatra Proper.* 2. *The Tramontaine and the Mestre.* 3. *The Malay Toddy-Palm.* 4. *Dagroian.* 5. *Alleged custom of eating dead relatives.*

XI.—OF THE KINGDOMS OF LAMBRI AND FANSUR 241

NOTES.—1. *Lambri.* 2. *Hairy and Tailed Men.* 3. *Fansur and Camphor Fansuri. Sumatran Camphor.* 4. *The Sago-Palm.* 5. *Remarks on Polo's Sumatran Kingdoms.*

XII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF NECUVERAN 248

NOTE.—*Gauenispola, and the Nicobar Islands.*

XIII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF ANGAMANAIN 251

NOTE.—*The Andaman Islands.*

XIV.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF SEILAN 253

NOTES.—1. *Exaggeration of Dimensions. The Name.* 2. *Sovereigns then ruling Ceylon.* 3. *Brazil Wood and Cinnamon.* 4. *The Great Ruby.*

XV.—THE SAME CONTINUED. THE HISTORY OF SAGAMONI BORCAN AND THE BEGINNING OF IDOLATRY 256

NOTES.—1. *Adam's Peak, and the Foot thereon.* 2. *The Story of Sakya-Muni Buddha. The History of Saints Barlaam and Josaphat—a Christianized version thereof.* 3. *High Estimate of Buddha's Character.* 4. *Curious Parallel Passages.* 5. *Pilgrimages to the Peak.* 6. *The Pátra of Buddha, and the Tooth-Relic.* 7. *Miraculous endowments of the Pátra; it is the Holy Grail of Buddhism.*

XVI.—CONCERNING THE GREAT PROVINCE OF MAABAR, WHICH IS CALLED INDIA THE GREATER, AND IS ON THE MAIN LAND 266

NOTES.—1. *Ma'bar, its definition, and notes on its Medieval History.* 2. *The Pearl Fishery.*

XVII.—CONTINUES TO SPEAK OF THE PROVINCE OF MAABAR .. 274

NOTES.—1. *Costume.* 2. *Hindu royal necklace.* 3. *Hindu use of the Rosary.* 4. *The Saggio.* 5. *Companions in Death; the word* Amok. 6. *Accumulated Wealth of Southern India at this time.* 7. *Horse Importation from the Persian Gulf.* 8. *Religious Suicides.* 9. *Suttees.* 10. *Worship of the Ox. The Govis.* 11. *Verbal.* 12. *The Thomacides.* 13. *Ill-success of horse-breeding in S. India.* 14. *Curious Mode of Arrest for Debt.* 15. *The Rainy Seasons.* 16. *Omens of the Hindus.* 17. *Strange treatment of Horses.* 18. *The Devadásis.* 19. *Textual.*

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAP. PAGE

XIX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF MUTFILI 295

NOTES.—1. *Motapallé. The Widow Queen of Telingana.* 2. *The Diamond Mines, and the Legend of the Diamond Gathering.* 3. *Buckram.*

XX.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF LAR WHENCE THE BRAHMINS COME .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Abraiaman. The Country of Lar. Hindu charg* 2. *The Kingdom of Soli or Chola.* 3. *Lucky and U Days and Hours. The Canonical Hours of the church. Omens.* 5. *Jogis. The Ox-emblem.* 6. *Verbal.* 7. *Recu rence of human eccentricities.*

XXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAIL .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Kâyal; its true position.* Kolkhoi *identified.* 2. *The King Achar.* 3. *Betel-chewing.* 4. *Duels.*

XXII.—OF THE KINGDOM OF COILUM 312

NOTES.—1. *Coilûm, Coilon, Kaulam, Columbum, Quilon.* 2. *Brazil Wood; notes on the name.* 3. *Columbine Ginger and other kinds.* 4. *Indigo.* 5. *Black Lions.* 6. *Marriage customs.*

XXIII.—OF THE COUNTRY CALLED COMARI 318

NOTES.—1. *Cape Comorin.* 2. *The word* Gat-paul.

XXIV.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF ELI 320

NOTES.—1. *Mount D'Ely, and the City of Hili-Marawi.* 2. *Textual.* 3. *Produce.* 4. *Piratical custom.* 5. *Ancient account of the Ports here. Wooden Anchors.*

XXV.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF MELIBAR 324

NOTES.—1. *Dislocation of Polo's Indian Geography. Malabar.* 2. *Verbal.* 3. *Pirates.* 4. *Cassia; Turbit; Cubebs.* 5. *Cessation of direct Chinese trade with Malabar.*

XXVI.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF GOZURAT 328

NOTES.—1. *Topographical Confusion.* 2. *Tall Cotton Trees.* 3. *Embroidered Leather-work.*

XXVII.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF TANA 330

NOTES.—1. *Tana, and the Konkan.* 2. *Incense of Western India.*

XXVIII.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF CAMBAET 335

NOTE.—*Cambay.*

XXIX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF SEMENAT .. .. .. 3.

NOTE.—*Somnath.*

DOM OF KESMACORAN—

mit of India

CHAP. PAGE

XXXII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF SCOTRA 340

NOTES.—1. *Whales of the Indian Seas.* 2. *Socotra and its former Christianity.* 3. *Piracy at Socotra.* 4. *Sorceries.*

XXXIII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF MADEIGASCAR 345

NOTES.—1. *Madagascar; some confusion here with Magadoxo.* 2. *Sandalwood.* 3. *Whale-killing. The* Capidoglio *or Sperm-Whale.* 4. *The Currents of the South.* 5. *The Rukh.* 6. *More on the dimensions assigned thereto.* 7. *Hippopotamus teeth.*

XXXIV.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF ZANGHIBAR. A WORD ON INDIA IN GENERAL 355

NOTES.—1. *Zangibar; Negroes.* 2. *Ethiopian Sheep.* 3. *Giraffes.* 4. *Ivory trade.* 5. *Error about Elephant-taming.* 6. *Number of Islands assigned to the Indian Sea.* 7. *The Three Indies, and various distributions thereof. Polo's Indian Geography.*

XXXV.—TREATING OF THE GREAT PROVINCE OF ABASH, WHICH IS MIDDLE INDIA, AND IS ON THE MAIN LAND .. 360

NOTES.—1. *Habsh or Abyssinia. Application of the name India to it.* 2. *Fire-Baptism ascribed to the Abyssinian Christians.* 3. *Polo's idea of the position of Aden.* 4. *Tam.. of the African Elephant for War.* 5. *Marco's Story of the sinian Invasion of the Mahomedan Low-Country, and Re.. of Abyssinian Chronology in connexion therewith.* 6. *Textual.*

XXXVI.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ADEN 373

NOTES.—1. *The Trade to Alexandria from India* viâ *Aden.* 2. "Roncins a deux selles." 3. *The Sultan of Aden. The City and its Great Tanks.* 4. *The Loss of Acre.*

XXXVII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF ESHER 377

NOTES.—1. *Shihr.* 2. *Frankincense.* 3. *Four-horned Sheep.* 4. *Cattle fed on Fish.* 5. *Parallel passage.*

XXXVIII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF DUFAR 379

NOTE.—*Dhofar.*

XXXIX.—CONCERNING THE GULF OF CALATU, AND THE CITY SO CALLED 381

NOTES.—1. *Kalhát.* 2. "En fra terre." 3. *Maskat.*

XL.—RETURNS TO THE CITY OF HORMOS WHEREOF WE SPOKE FORMERLY 383

NOTES.—1. *Polo's distances and bearings in these latter chapters.* 2. *Persian* Bád-gírs *or ventilating chimneys.* 3. *Island of Kish.*

BOOK FOURTH.

Wars among the Tartar Princes, and some Account of the Northern Countries.

CHAP.

I.—CONCERNING GREAT TURKEY .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Kaidu Khan.* 2. *His frontier towards the Great Kaan.*

II.—OF CERTAIN BATTLES THAT WERE FOUGHT BY KING CAIDU AGAINST THE ARMIES OF HIS UNCLE THE GREAT KAAN 3

NOTES.—1. *Textual.* 2. "Ar... Chaines. ...xion with the events described.

III.—†WHAT THE GREAT KAAN SAID TO THE ... BY CAIDU HIS NEPHEW .. .. ..

IV.—OF THE EXPLOITS OF KING CAIDU'S VALIANT DA...

NOTE.—*Her name explained. Remarks on the story.*

HOW ABAGA SENT HIS SON ARGON IN COMMAND AGAINST KING CAIDU 39

(*Extract and Substance.*)

NOTES.—1. *The Arbre Sol or Sec; addition to former note thereon.*
2. *The Historical Events.*

VI.—HOW ARGON AFTER THE BATTLE HEARD THAT HIS FATHER WAS DEAD AND WENT TO ASSUME THE SOVEREIGNTY AS WAS HIS RIGHT 3

NOTES.—1. *Death of Abaka.* 2. *Textual.* 3. *Ahmad Tigudar.*

VII.—†HOW ACOMAT SOLDAN SET OUT WITH HIS HOST AGAINST HIS NEPHEW WHO WAS COMING TO CLAIM THE THRONE THAT BELONGED TO HIM 39

VIII.—†HOW ARGON TOOK COUNSEL WITH HIS FOLLOWERS ABOUT ATTACKING HIS UNCLE ACOMAT SOLDAN .. 40

IX.—†HOW THE BARONS OF ARGON ANSWERED HIS ADDRESS 40

X.—†THE MESSAGE SENT BY ARGON TO ACOMAT 40

XI.—HOW ACOMAT REPLIED TO ARGON'S MESSAGE 40

XII.—OF THE BATTLE BETWEEN ARGON AND ACOMAT, AND THE CAPTIVITY OF ARGON 40

NOTES.—1. *Verbal.* 2. *Historical.*

† Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

CHAP. PAGE

XIII.—HOW ARGON WAS DELIVERED FROM PRISON 402

XIV.—HOW ARGON GOT THE SOVEREIGNTY AT LAST 403

XV.—†HOW ACOMAT WAS TAKEN PRISONER 404

XVI.—HOW ACOMAT WAS SLAIN BY ORDER OF HIS NEPHEW .. 404

XVII.—HOW ARGON WAS RECOGNIZED AS SOVEREIGN 405

NOTES.—1. *The historical circumstances and persons named in these chapters.* 2. *Arghun's accession and death.*

VIII.—HOW KIACATU SEIZED THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER ARGON'S DEATH 406

NOTE.—*The reign and character of Kaikhátu.*

XIX.—HOW BAIDU SEIZED THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER THE DEATH OF KIACATU 407

NOTES.—1. *Baidu's alleged Christianity.* 2. *Ghazan Khan.*

XX.—CONCERNING KING CONCHI WHO RULES THE FAR NORTH 410

NOTES.—1. *Kaunchi Khan.* 2. *Siberia.* 3. *Dog-sledges.* 4. *The animal here styled* Ercunin. *The Vair.* 5. *Yugria.*

—CONCERNING THE LAND OF DARKNESS 414

NOTES.—1. *The Land of Darkness.* 2. *The Legend of the Mares and their Foals.* 3. *Dumb Trade with the People of the Darkness.*

II.—DESCRIPTION OF ROSIA AND ITS PEOPLE. PROVINCE OF LAC 417

NOTES.—1. *Old Accounts of Russia. Russian Silver and Rubles.* 2. *Lac, or Great Wallachia.* 3. *Oroech, Norway (?) or the Waraeg Country (?).*

XIII.—HE BEGINS TO SPEAK OF THE STRAITS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, BUT DECIDES TO LEAVE THAT MATTER .. 421

IV.—CONCERNING THE TARTARS OF THE PONENT AND THEIR LORDS 421

NOTES.—1. *The Comanians; the Alans; Majar; Zic; the Goths of the Crimea; Gazaria.* 2. *The Khans of Kipchak or the Golden Horde; errors in Polo's list. Extent of their Empire.*

XXV.—OF THE WAR THAT AROSE BETWEEN ALAU AND BARCA, AND THE BATTLES THAT THEY FOUGHT 424

(*Extracts and Substance.*)

NOTES.—1. *Verbal.* 2. *The Sea of Sarai.* 3. *The War here spoken of. Wassáf's rigmarole.*

XXVI.—†HOW BARCA AND HIS ARMY ADVANCED TO MEET ALAU 425

† Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

CHAP.

XXVII.—†How Alau addressed his followers .. ..

XXVIII.—†Of the Great Battle between Alau and Barca

XXIX.—How Totamangu was Lord of the Tartars of the Ponent; and after him Toctai .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Confusions in the Text. Historical circumstances connected with the Persons spoken of. Toktai and Noghai Khan. Symbolic Messages.*

XXX.—†Of the Second Message that Toctai sent to Nogai .. ..

XXXI.—†How Toctai marched against Nogai .. ..

XXXII.—†How Toctai and Nogai address their People, and the next Day join Battle .. ..

XXXIII.—†The Valiant Feats and Victory of King Nogai

XXXIV. and Last. Conclusion .. .. ..

APPENDICES.

A. Genealogy of the House of Chinghiz to the End of the Thirteenth Century .. ..

B. The Polo Families :—

(I.) Genealogy of the Family of Marco Polo the Traveller .. 4

(II.) The Polos of San Geremia .. ..

C. Calendar of Documents relating to Marco Polo and his Family .. 43

D. Comparative Specimens of the Different Recensions of Polo's Text 44

E. Preface to Pipino's Latin Version 44

F. List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, so far as known 44

G. Diagram-showing Filiation of Chief MSS. and Editions of Marco Polo 46

† Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

PAGE

Bibliography :—

(I.) Principal Editions of Marco Polo's Book 464

(II.) Titles of Sundry Books and Papers treating of Marco Polo and his Book 465

Titles of Books quoted by Abbreviated References in this Work .. 469

Values of Certain Moneys, Weights, and Measures occurring in this Book 471

Alleged Invention of Movable Types by Panfilo Castaldi of Feltre .. 473

Supplementary Notes to the Book of Marco Polo. *Charchan*, *Pein*, and *Bolor*. *List of Indian Provinces* 475

INDEX 477

THE BOOK

OF

MARCO POLO,

THE VENETIAN,

concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED, WITH NOTES.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PAGE

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xvi

BOOK SECOND.

(Continued.)

PART II.

Journey to the West and South-West of Cathay.

XV.—HERE BEGINS THE DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERIOR OF CATHAY; AND FIRST OF THE RIVER PULISANGHIN

NOTE.—*The Bridge Pul-i-sangin, or Lu-kyu-kao.*

XVI.—ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF JUJU 4

NOTES.—1. *The Silks called* Sendals. 2. *Chochau.* 3. *Bifurcation of Two Great Roads at this point.*

XVII.—THE KINGDOM OF TAIANFU 6

NOTES.—1. *Acbaluc.* 2. *Thai-yuanfu.* 3. *Grape-wine of that place.* 4. *P'ingyangfu.*

XXXVIII.—CONCERNING THE CASTLE OF CAICHU. THE GOLDEN KING AND PRESTER JOHN 8

NOTES.—1. *The Story of the* Roi d'Or. 2. *Effeminacy reviving in every Chinese Dynasty.*

XXXIX.—HOW PRESTER JOHN TREATED THE GOLDEN KING HIS PRISONER 11

XL.—CONCERNING THE GREAT RIVER CARAMORAN AND THE CITY OF CACHANFU 12

NOTES.—1. *The Karamuren.* 2. *The akché or aspe.*

XLI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF KENJANFU 13

NOTES.—1. *Geography of the Route since Chapter XXXVIII.* 2. *Kenjanfu or Singanfu.* 3. *Prince Mangala.*

XLII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CUNCUN, WHICH IS RIGHT WEARISOME TO TRAVEL THROUGH 17

NOTES.—1. *The Mountain Road to Southern Shensi.* 2. *Wild animals.*

CHAP. P.

XLIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ACBALEC MANZI .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Geography, and doubts about Acbalec.* 2. *Farther Journey into Ssechuen.*

XLIV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF SINDAFU .. .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Chingtufu.* 2. *The Great River or* Kiang. 3. *The word* Comereque. 4. *The Bridge-Tolls.* 5. *Correction of Text.*

XLV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF TEBET .. ..

NOTES.—1. *The Part of Tibet and events referred ..* 2. *burning bamboos.* 3. *Road retains its desolate char Persistence of eccentric manners illustrated.* 5. *No Musk animal.*

XLVI.—FURTHER DISCOURSE CONCERNING TEBET

NOTES.—1. *Explanatory.* 2. "Or de Paliol" 4. 5. *Great Dogs.*

XLVII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CAINDU .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Explanation from Ramusio.* 2. *Pearls of Waters.* 3. *Lax manners.* 4. *Exchange of Salt for Go.* 5. *Salt Currency.* 6. *Plant like the Clove spoken of by Pó Tribes of this Tract.*

XLVIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN .. .. .

NOTES.—1. *Geography of the Route between Sindafu or Chingtufu, and Carajan or Yunnan.* 2. *Christians and Mahomedans in Yunnan.* 3. *Wheat.* 4. *Cowries.* 5. *Brine-spring.* 6. *Parallel.*

XLIX.—CONCERNING A FURTHER PART OF THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN 45

NOTES.—1. *City of Talifu.* 2. *Alligators.* 3. *Yunnan horses and riders. Arms of the Aboriginal Tribes.* 4. *Strange superstition.*

L.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ZARDANDAN 52

NOTES.—1. *The Gold-Teeth.* 2. *Male Indolence.* 3. *The Couvade.* 4. *Abundance of Gold. Relation of Gold to Silver.* 5. *Worship of the Ancestor.* 6. *Tallies.* 7–10. *Medicine-men or Devil-dancers; extraordinary identity of practice in various regions.*

LI.—WHEREIN IS RELATED HOW THE KING OF MIEN AND BANGALA VOWED VENGEANCE AGAINST THE GREAT KAAN 62

NOTES.—1. *Chronology.* 2. *Mien or Burma. Why the King may have been called King of Bengal also.* 3. *Numbers alleged to have been carried on elephants.*

LII.—OF THE BATTLE THAT WAS FOUGHT BY THE GREAT KAAN'S HOST AND HIS SENESCHAL AGAINST THE KING OF MIEN 66

NOTES.—1. *Nasruddin.* 2. *Chinese account of the Action. General Correspondence of the Chinese and Burmese Chronologies.*

CHAP. PAGE

LIII.—OF THE GREAT DESCENT THAT LEADS TOWARDS THE KINGDOM OF MIEN 70

NOTES.—1. *Market-Days.* 2. *Geographical difficulties.*

LIV.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF MIEN, AND THE TWO TOWERS THAT ARE THEREIN, ONE OF GOLD, AND THE OTHER OF SILVER 72

NOTES.—1. *Amin.* 2. *Chinese Account of the Invasion of Burma. Comparison with Burmese Annals. The City intended. The Pagodas.* 3. *Wild Oxen.*

LV.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF BANGALA 78

NOTES.—1. *Polo's view of Bengal; and details of his account illustrated.* 2. *Great Cattle.*

LVI.—DISCOURSES OF THE PROVINCE OF CAUGIGU .. .. ..

NOTES.—1. *A Part of Laos. Papesifu. Chinese Etymologies.*

VII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ANIN 82

NOTES.—1. *The Name. Probable identification of territory.* 2. *Textual.*

LVIII.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF COLOMAN 85

NOTES.—1. *The Name. The Kolo-man.* 2. *Natural defences of Kweichau.*

LIX.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CUIJU 88

NOTES.—1. *Kweichau. Phungan-lu.* 2. *Grass-cloth.* 3. *Tigers.* 4. *Great Dogs.* 5. *Silk.* 6. *Geographical Review of the Route since Chapter LV.*

BOOK SECOND.

(Continued.)

PART III.

Journey Southward through Eastern Provinces of Cathay and Manzi.

LX.—CONCERNING THE CITIES OF CACANFU AND CHANGLU 95

NOTES.—1. *Pauthier's Identifications.* 2. *Changlu. The Burning of the Dead ascribed to the Chinese.*

LXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CHINANGLI, AND THAT OF TADINFU, AND THE REBELLION OF LITAN 97

NOTES.—1. *Thsinanfu.* 2. *Silk of Shantung.* 3. *Title* Sangon. 4. *Agul and Mangkutai.* 5. *History of Litan's Revolt.*

CHAP. PAGE

LXII.—CONCERNING THE NOBLE CITY OF SINJUMATU 100

NOTE.—*The City intended. The Great Canal.*

LXIII.—CONCERNING THE CITIES OF LINJU AND PIJU 102

NOTES.—1. *Linju.* 2. *Piju.*

LXIV.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF SIJU AND THE GREAT RIVER CARAMORAN .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Siju.* 2. *The Hoang-Ho and its changes.* 3. *Entrance to Manzi; that name for Southern China.*

LXV.—HOW THE GREAT KAAN CONQUERED THE PRINCE OF MANZI .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Meaning and application of the Title* Faghfur. 2. *Chinese self-devotion.* 3. *Bayan the Great Captain.* 4. *His lines of operation.* 5. *The Juggling Prophecy.* 6. *The Fall of the Sung Dynasty.* 7. *Exposure of Infants, and Foundling Hospitals.*

LXVI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF COIGANJU .. ..

NOTE.—*Hwai-ngan-fu.*

LXVII.—OF THE CITIES OF PAUKIN AND CAYU 11

NOTE.—*Pao-yng and Kao-yu.*

LXVIII.—OF THE CITIES OF TIJU, TINJU, AND YANJU 116

NOTES.—1. *Cities between the Canal and the Sea.* 2. *Yangchau.* 3. *Marco Polo's Employment at this City.*

LXIX.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF NANGHIN 118

NOTE.—*Nganking.*

LXX.—CONCERNING THE VERY NOBLE CITY OF SAIANFU, AND HOW ITS CAPTURE WAS EFFECTED 119

NOTES.—1 and 2. *Various Readings.* 3. *Digression on the Military Engines of the Middle Ages.* 4. *Romance of Cœur de Lion.* 5. *Difficulties connected with Polo's Account of this Siege.*

LXXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF SINJU AND THE GREAT RIVER KIAN 132

NOTES.—1. *Ichin-hien.* 2. *The Great Kiang.* 3. *Vast amount of tonnage on Chinese waters.* 4. *Size of River Vessels.* 5. *Bamboo Tow-lines.* 6. *Picturesque Island Monasteries.*

LXXII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAIJU 136

NOTES.—1. *Kwa-chau.* 2. *The Grand Canal and Rice-Transport.* 3. *The Golden Island.*

LXXIII.—OF THE CITY OF CHINGHIANFU 139

NOTE.—*Chinkiangfu. Mar Sarghis, the Christian Governor.*

LXXIV.—OF THE CITY OF CHINGINJU AND THE SLAUGHTER OF CERTAIN ALANS THERE 140

NOTES.—1. *Changchau.* 2. *Employment of Alans in the Mongol Service.* 3. *The Changchau Massacre. Mongol Cruelties.*

CHAP. PAGE

LXXV.—OF THE NOBLE CITY OF SUJU 142

NOTES.—1. *Suchau.* 2. *Bridges of that part of China.* 3. *Rhubarb; its mention here seems erroneous.* 4. *The Cities of Heaven and Earth.* 5. *Huchau, Wukiang, and Kyaking.*

LXXVI.—DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT CITY OF KINSAY, WHICH IS THE CAPITAL OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY OF MANZI 145

NOTES.—1. *Kingszé, now Hangchau.* 2. *The circuit ascribed to the City; the Bridges.* 3. *Hereditary Trades.* 4. *The Si-hu or Western Lake.* 5. *Dressiness of the People.* 6. *Charitable Establishments.* 7. *Paved roads.* 8. *Hot and Cold Baths.* 9. *Kanpu, and the Hangchau Estuary.* 10. *The Nine Provinces of Manzi.* 11. *The Kaan's Garrisons in Manzi.* 12. *Mourning costume.* 13. 14. *Remains of the Nestor.* 15. *Tickets recording inmates of houses.*

LXXVII.—[FURTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE CITY OF KINSAY] .. ..
(From Ramusio only.)

NOTES.—1. *Remarks on these supplementary details.* 2. *Tides in the Hangchau Estuary.* 3. *Want of a good Survey of Hangchau.* 4. *Marco ignores pork.* 5. *Great Pears; Peaches.* 6. *Textual.* 7. *Chinese use of Pepper.* 8. *Chinese claims to a character for Good Faith.* 9. *Pleasure-parties on the Lake.* 10. *Chinese Carriages.* 11. *The Sung Emperor.* 12. *The Sung Palace. Extracts regarding this Great City from other medieval writers, European and Asiatic. Martini's Description.*

LXXVIII.—TREATING OF THE YEARLY REVENUE THAT THE GREAT KAAN HATH FROM KINSAY 171

NOTES.—1. *Textual.* 2. *Calculations as to the values spoken of.*

LXXIX.—OF THE CITY OF TANPIJU AND OTHERS 175

NOTES.—1. *Route from Hangchau southward.* 2. *Bamboos.* 3. *Identification of places. Changshan the key to the route.*

LXXX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF FUJU 179

NOTES.—1. "*Fruit like Saffron.*" 2. 3. *Cannibalism ascribed to Mountain Tribes on this route.* 4. *Kienningfu.* 5. *Galingale.* 6. *Fleecy Fowls.* 7. *Details of the Journey in Fokien and various readings.* 8. *Unken. Introduction of Sugar-refining into China.*

LXXXI.—CONCERNING THE GREATNESS OF THE CITY OF FUJU 183

NOTES.—1. *The name* Chonka, *applied to Fokien here.* 2. *The River of Fuchau.* 3. *Explanatory.*

LXXXII.—OF THE CITY AND GREAT HAVEN OF ZAYTON 185

NOTES.—1. *The Camphor Laurel.* 2. *The Port of Zayton or Thsiuanchau. Probable origin of the word Satin.* 3. *Artists in Tattooing.* 4. *Position of the Porcelain manufacture spoken of. Notions regarding the* Great River *of China.* 5. *Fokien dialect and great varieties of spoken language in China.* 6. *From Ramusio.*

BOOK THIRD.

CHAP. PAGE

I.—OF THE MERCHANT SHIPS OF MANZI THAT SAIL UPON THE INDIAN SEAS 19

NOTES.—1. *Pine Timber.* 2. *Rudder and Masts.* 3. *Watertight Compartments.* 4. *Chinese substitute for Pitch.* 5. *Oars used by Junks.* 6. *Descriptions of Chinese Junks from other Medieval Writers.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF CHIPANGU, AND THE GREAT KAAN'S DESPATCH OF A HOST AGAINST IT .. 1

NOTES.—1. *Chipangu or Japan.* 2. *Abundance of Gold.* 3. *The Golden Palace.* 4. *Japanese Pearls. Red Pearls.*

II.—WHAT FURTHER CAME OF THE GREAT KAAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST CHIPANGU 203

NOTES.—1. *Kublai's attempts against Japan. Japanese Narrative of the Expedition here spoken of.* 2. *Species of Torture.* 3. *Devices to procure Invulnerability.*

IV.—CONCERNING THE FASHION OF THE IDOLS 208

NOTES.—1. *Many-limbed Idols.* 2. *The Philippines and Moluccas.* 3. *The name* Chin *or* China. 4. *The Gulf of Cheinan.*

V.—OF THE GREAT COUNTRY CALLED CHAMBA 212

NOTES.—1. *Champa, and Kublai's dealings with it.* 2. *Chronology.* 3. *Eagle-wood and Ebony. Polo's use of Persian words.*

VI.—CONCERNING THE GREAT ISLAND OF JAVA 217

NOTE.—*Java; its supposed vast extent. Kublai's expedition against it and failure.*

VII.—WHEREIN THE ISLES OF SONDUR AND CONDUR ARE SPOKEN OF; AND THE KINGDOM OF LOCAC 218

NOTES.—1. *Textual.* 2. *Pulo Condore.* 3. *The Kingdom of Locac, Southern Siam.*

VIII.—OF THE ISLAND CALLED PENTAM, AND THE CITY MALAIUR 223

NOTES.—1. *Bintang.* 2. *The Straits of Singapore.* 3. *Remarks on the Malay Chronology. Malaiur probably Pulembang.*

IX.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF JAVA THE LESS. THE KINGDOMS OF FERLEC AND BASMA 226

NOTES.—1. *The Island of Sumatra; application of the term* Java. 2. *Products of Sumatra. The six kingdoms.* 3. *Ferlec or Parlák. The Battas.* 4. *Basma, Pacem, or Pasei.* 5. *The Elephant and the Rhinoceros. The Legend of Monoceros and the Virgin.* 6. *Black Falcon.*

CHAP. PAGE

X.—THE KINGDOMS OF SAMARA AND DAGROIAN 235

NOTES.—1. *Samara, Sumatra Proper.* 2. *The Tramontaine and the Mestre.* 3. *The Malay Toddy-Palm.* 4. *Dagroian.* 5. *Alleged custom of eating dead relatives.*

XI.—OF THE KINGDOMS OF LAMBRI AND FANSUR 241

NOTES.—1. *Lambri.* 2. *Hairy and Tailed Men.* 3. *Fansur and Camphor Fansuri. Sumatran Camphor.* 4. *The Sago-Palm.* 5. *Remarks on Polo's Sumatran Kingdoms.*

XII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF NECUVERAN 248

NOTE.—*Gauenispola, and the Nicobar Islands.*

XIII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF ANGAMANAIN 251

NOTE.—*The Andaman Islands.*

XIV.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF SEILAN 253

NOTES.—1. *Exaggeration of Dimensions. The Name.* 2. *Sovereigns then ruling Ceylon.* 3. *Brazil Wood and Cinnamon.* 4. *The Great Ruby.*

XV.—THE SAME CONTINUED. THE HISTORY OF SAGAMONI BORCAN AND THE BEGINNING OF IDOLATRY 256

NOTES.—1. *Adam's Peak, and the Foot thereon.* 2. *The Story of Sakya-Muni Buddha. The History of Saints Barlaam and Josaphat—a Christianized version thereof.* 3. *High Estimate of Buddha's Character.* 4. *Curious Parallel Passages.* 5. *Pilgrimages to the Peak.* 6. *The Pátra of Buddha, and the Tooth-Relic.* 7. *Miraculous endowments of the Pátra; it is the Holy Grail of Buddhism.*

XVI.—CONCERNING THE GREAT PROVINCE OF MAABAR, WHICH IS CALLED INDIA THE GREATER, AND IS ON THE MAIN LAND 266

NOTES.—1. *Ma'bar, its definition, and notes on its Medieval History.* 2. *The Pearl Fishery.*

XVII.—CONTINUES TO SPEAK OF THE PROVINCE OF MAABAR .. 274

NOTES.—1. *Costume.* 2. *Hindu royal necklace.* 3. *Hindu use of the Rosary.* 4. *The Saggio.* 5. *Companions in Death; the word* Amok. 6. *Accumulated Wealth of Southern India at this time.* 7. *Horse Importation from the Persian Gulf.* 8. *Religious Suicides.* 9. *Suttees.* 10. *Worship of the Ox. The Govis.* 11. *Verbal.* 12. *The Thomacides.* 13. *Ill-success of horse-breeding in S. India.* 14. *Curious Mode of Arrest for Debt.* 15. *The Rainy Seasons.* 16. *Omens of the Hindus.* 17. *Strange treatment of Horses.* 18. *The Devadásis.* 19. *Textual.*

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAP. PAGE

XIX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF MUTFILI 295

NOTES.—1. *Motapallé. The Widow Queen of Telingana.* 2. *The Diamond Mines, and the Legend of the Diamond Gathering.* 3. *Buckram.*

XX.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF LAR WHENCE THE BRAHMINS COME .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Abraiaman. The Country of Lar. Hindu charg* 2. *The Kingdom of Soli or Chola.* 3. *Lucky and U Days and Hours. The Canonical Hours of the church. Omens.* 5. *Jogis. The Ox-emblem.* 6. *Verbal.* 7. *Recu rence of human eccentricities.*

XXI.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAIL .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Kâyal; its true position.* Kolkhoi *identified.* 2. *The King Achar.* 3. *Betel-chewing.* 4. *Duels.*

XXII.—OF THE KINGDOM OF COILUM 312

NOTES.—1. *Coilûm, Coilon, Kaulam, Columbum, Quilon.* 2. *Brazil Wood; notes on the name.* 3. *Columbine Ginger and other kinds.* 4. *Indigo.* 5. *Black Lions.* 6. *Marriage customs.*

XXIII.—OF THE COUNTRY CALLED COMARI 318

NOTES.—1. *Cape Comorin.* 2. *The word* Gat-paul.

XXIV.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF ELI 320

NOTES.—1. *Mount D'Ely, and the City of Hili-Marawi.* 2. *Textual.* 3. *Produce.* 4. *Piratical custom.* 5. *Ancient account of the Ports here. Wooden Anchors.*

XXV.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF MELIBAR 324

NOTES.—1. *Dislocation of Polo's Indian Geography. Malabar.* 2. *Verbal.* 3. *Pirates.* 4. *Cassia; Turbit; Cubebs.* 5. *Cessation of direct Chinese trade with Malabar.*

XXVI.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF GOZURAT 328

NOTES.—1. *Topographical Confusion.* 2. *Tall Cotton Trees.* 3. *Embroidered Leather-work.*

XXVII.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF TANA 330

NOTES.—1. *Tana, and the Konkan.* 2. *Incense of Western India.*

XXVIII.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF CAMBAET 335

NOTE.—*Cambay.*

XXIX.—CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF SEMENAT .. .. .. 3.

NOTE.—*Somnath.*

DOM OF KESMACORAN—

mit of India

CHAP. PAGE

XXXII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF SCOTRA 340

NOTES.—1. *Whales of the Indian Seas.* 2. *Socotra and its former Christianity.* 3. *Piracy at Socotra.* 4. *Sorceries.*

XXXIII.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF MADEIGASCAR 345

NOTES.—1. *Madagascar; some confusion here with Magadoxo.* 2. *Sandalwood.* 3. *Whale-killing. The* Capidoglio *or Sperm-Whale.* 4. *The Currents of the South.* 5. *The Rukh.* 6. *More on the dimensions assigned thereto.* 7. *Hippopotamus teeth.*

XXXIV.—CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF ZANGHIBAR. A WORD ON INDIA IN GENERAL 355

NOTES.—1. *Zangibar; Negroes.* 2. *Ethiopian Sheep.* 3. *Giraffes.* 4. *Ivory trade.* 5. *Error about Elephant-taming.* 6. *Number of Islands assigned to the Indian Sea.* 7. *The Three Indies, and various distributions thereof. Polo's Indian Geography.*

XXXV.—TREATING OF THE GREAT PROVINCE OF ABASH, WHICH IS MIDDLE INDIA, AND IS ON THE MAIN LAND .. 360

NOTES.—1. *Habsh or Abyssinia. Application of the name India to it.* 2. *Fire-Baptism ascribed to the Abyssinian Christians.* 3. *Polo's idea of the position of Aden.* 4. *Tam.. of the African Elephant for War.* 5. *Marco's Story of the sinian Invasion of the Mahomedan Low-Country, and Re.. of Abyssinian Chronology in connexion therewith.* 6. *Textual.*

XXXVI.—CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ADEN 373

NOTES.—1. *The Trade to Alexandria from India* viâ *Aden.* 2. "Roncins a deux selles." 3. *The Sultan of Aden. The City and its Great Tanks.* 4. *The Loss of Acre.*

XXXVII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF ESHER 377

NOTES.—1. *Shihr.* 2. *Frankincense.* 3. *Four-horned Sheep.* 4. *Cattle fed on Fish.* 5. *Parallel passage.*

XXXVIII.—CONCERNING THE CITY OF DUFAR 379

NOTE.—*Dhofar.*

XXXIX.—CONCERNING THE GULF OF CALATU, AND THE CITY SO CALLED 381

NOTES.—1. *Kalhát.* 2. "En fra terre." 3. *Maskat.*

XL.—RETURNS TO THE CITY OF HORMOS WHEREOF WE SPOKE FORMERLY 383

NOTES.—1. *Polo's distances and bearings in these latter chapters.* 2. *Persian* Bád-gírs *or ventilating chimneys.* 3. *Island of Kish.*

BOOK FOURTH.

Wars among the Tartar Princes, and some Account of the Northern Countries.

CHAP.

I.—CONCERNING GREAT TURKEY .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Kaidu Khan.* 2. *His frontier towards the Great Kaan.*

II.—OF CERTAIN BATTLES THAT WERE FOUGHT BY KING CAIDU AGAINST THE ARMIES OF HIS UNCLE THE GREAT KAAN 3

NOTES.—1. *Textual.* 2. "Ar... Chaines. ...xion with the events described.

III.—†WHAT THE GREAT KAAN SAID TO THE ... BY CAIDU HIS NEPHEW .. .. ..

IV.—OF THE EXPLOITS OF KING CAIDU'S VALIANT DA...

NOTE.—*Her name explained. Remarks on the story.*

HOW ABAGA SENT HIS SON ARGON IN COMMAND AGAINST KING CAIDU 39

(*Extract and Substance.*)

NOTES.—1. *The Arbre Sol or Sec; addition to former note thereon.*
2. *The Historical Events.*

VI.—HOW ARGON AFTER THE BATTLE HEARD THAT HIS FATHER WAS DEAD AND WENT TO ASSUME THE SOVEREIGNTY AS WAS HIS RIGHT 3

NOTES.—1. *Death of Abaka.* 2. *Textual.* 3. *Ahmad Tigudar.*

VII.—†HOW ACOMAT SOLDAN SET OUT WITH HIS HOST AGAINST HIS NEPHEW WHO WAS COMING TO CLAIM THE THRONE THAT BELONGED TO HIM 39

VIII.—†HOW ARGON TOOK COUNSEL WITH HIS FOLLOWERS ABOUT ATTACKING HIS UNCLE ACOMAT SOLDAN .. 40

IX.—†HOW THE BARONS OF ARGON ANSWERED HIS ADDRESS 40

X.—†THE MESSAGE SENT BY ARGON TO ACOMAT 40

XI.—HOW ACOMAT REPLIED TO ARGON'S MESSAGE 40

XII.—OF THE BATTLE BETWEEN ARGON AND ACOMAT, AND THE CAPTIVITY OF ARGON 40

NOTES.—1. *Verbal.* 2. *Historical.*

† Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

CHAP. PAGE

XIII.—HOW ARGON WAS DELIVERED FROM PRISON 402

XIV.—HOW ARGON GOT THE SOVEREIGNTY AT LAST 403

XV.—†HOW ACOMAT WAS TAKEN PRISONER 404

XVI.—HOW ACOMAT WAS SLAIN BY ORDER OF HIS NEPHEW .. 404

XVII.—HOW ARGON WAS RECOGNIZED AS SOVEREIGN 405

NOTES.—1. *The historical circumstances and persons named in these chapters.* 2. *Arghun's accession and death.*

VIII.—HOW KIACATU SEIZED THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER ARGON'S DEATH 406

NOTE.—*The reign and character of Kaikhátu.*

XIX.—HOW BAIDU SEIZED THE SOVEREIGNTY AFTER THE DEATH OF KIACATU 407

NOTES.—1. *Baidu's alleged Christianity.* 2. *Ghazan Khan.*

XX.—CONCERNING KING CONCHI WHO RULES THE FAR NORTH 410

NOTES.—1. *Kaunchi Khan.* 2. *Siberia.* 3. *Dog-sledges.* 4. *The animal here styled* Ercunin. *The Vair.* 5. *Yugria.*

—CONCERNING THE LAND OF DARKNESS 414

NOTES.—1. *The Land of Darkness.* 2. *The Legend of the Mares and their Foals.* 3. *Dumb Trade with the People of the Darkness.*

II.—DESCRIPTION OF ROSIA AND ITS PEOPLE. PROVINCE OF LAC 417

NOTES.—1. *Old Accounts of Russia. Russian Silver and Rubles.* 2. *Lac, or Great Wallachia.* 3. *Oroech, Norway (?) or the Waraeg Country (?).*

XIII.—HE BEGINS TO SPEAK OF THE STRAITS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, BUT DECIDES TO LEAVE THAT MATTER .. 421

IV.—CONCERNING THE TARTARS OF THE PONENT AND THEIR LORDS 421

NOTES.—1. *The Comanians; the Alans; Majar; Zic; the Goths of the Crimea; Gazaria.* 2. *The Khans of Kipchak or the Golden Horde; errors in Polo's list. Extent of their Empire.*

XXV.—OF THE WAR THAT AROSE BETWEEN ALAU AND BARCA, AND THE BATTLES THAT THEY FOUGHT 424

(*Extracts and Substance.*)

NOTES.—1. *Verbal.* 2. *The Sea of Sarai.* 3. *The War here spoken of. Wassáf's rigmarole.*

XXVI.—†HOW BARCA AND HIS ARMY ADVANCED TO MEET ALAU 425

† Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

CHAP.

XXVII.—†How Alau addressed his followers .. ..

XXVIII.—†Of the Great Battle between Alau and Barca

XXIX.—How Totamangu was Lord of the Tartars of the Ponent; and after him Toctai .. ..

NOTES.—1. *Confusions in the Text. Historical circumstances connected with the Persons spoken of. Toktai and Noghai Khan. Symbolic Messages.*

XXX.—†Of the Second Message that Toctai sent to Nogai .. ..

XXXI.—†How Toctai marched against Nogai .. ..

XXXII.—†How Toctai and Nogai address their People, and the next Day join Battle .. ..

XXXIII.—†The Valiant Feats and Victory of King Nogai

XXXIV. and Last. Conclusion .. .. ..

APPENDICES.

A. Genealogy of the House of Chinghiz to the End of the Thirteenth Century .. ..

B. The Polo Families :—

(I.) Genealogy of the Family of Marco Polo the Traveller .. 4

(II.) The Polos of San Geremia .. ..

C. Calendar of Documents relating to Marco Polo and his Family .. 43

D. Comparative Specimens of the Different Recensions of Polo's Text 44

E. Preface to Pipino's Latin Version 44

F. List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, so far as known 44

G. Diagram-showing Filiation of Chief MSS. and Editions of Marco Polo 46

† Of chapters so marked nothing is given but the substance in brief.

PAGE

Bibliography :—

(I.) Principal Editions of Marco Polo's Book 464

(II.) Titles of Sundry Books and Papers treating of Marco Polo and his Book 465

Titles of Books quoted by Abbreviated References in this Work .. 469

Values of Certain Moneys, Weights, and Measures occurring in this Book 471

Alleged Invention of Movable Types by Panfilo Castaldi of Feltre .. 473

Supplementary Notes to the Book of Marco Polo. *Charchan*, *Pein*, and *Bolor*. *List of Indian Provinces* 475

INDEX 477

EXPLANATORY LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOLUME II.

INSERTED PLATES AND MAPS.

Frontispiece (*In a pocket*) The RUC'S EGG. Measured and drawn by the Editor from Egg of *Aepyornis maximus* in the British Museum.

To face page 16. The Celebrated CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION of SINGANFU. lithographed from a rubbing of the original stone, given the Editor by *William Lockhart, Esq.*

,, ,, 73. The CITY of MIEN, with the Gold and Silver Towers. Fro drawing by the Editor, based upon his sketches of the rema of the City so called by Marco Polo, viz., PAGÁN, the medi capital of Burma.

,, ,, 92. Itineraries of Marco Polo No. V. The INDO-CHINESE TRIES.

,, ,, 145. Plan of the City of HANGCHAU, from Chinese sources. Th chiefly taken from a Chinese Map of the City, belongi Dr. Lockhart, but with some particulars also from a Pla the City, and another of the Lake Si-hu, in the Chinese To graphical History called *Hang-chau-fu-Chi*, in the B Museum.

,, ,, 192. Itineraries of Marco Polo. No. VI. The Journey thr KIANGNAN, CHEKIANG, and FOKIEN.

,, ,, 250. 1. Map to illustrate Marco Polo's Chapters on the MA COUNTRIES.
2. Map to illustrate his Chapters on SOUTHERN INDIA.

,, ,, 306. 1. Sketch showing the Position of KÁYAL in Tinnevelly, Cail of Marco Polo.
2. Map to illustrate the position of the Kingdom of ELY Malabar.

WOODCUTS PRINTED WITH THE TEXT.

Page 2. The Bridge of Pulisanghin, the *Lu kyu kiao* of the Chinese. Redu from a large Chinese Engraving in the Geographical Work called *fou-thoung-tchi*, in the Paris Library. For the indication of the exi ence of this, and of the Portrait of Kublai Kaan in vol. i., I am debted to notes in M. Pauthier's edition.

,, 15. Plan of Kychau. After *Duhalde.*

,, 51. The Sangmiau Tribe, of Kweichau, with the Crossbow. From a colou drawing in a Chinese Work on the Aboriginal Tribes belonging *W. Lockhart, Esq.*

,, 75. The Palace at Amarapura in 1855. Borrowed from *Fergusson's H. Architecture* (but Mr. Fergusson's cut is taken from a drawing by t present Editor).

Page 87. The Koloman. After a Chinese drawing in the Book belonging to W. Lockhart, Esq.

,, 93. Incised Cross at the top of the celebrated Christian Inscription of Singanfu, dating from A.D. 781. From a photographic copy of a pencil rubbing made on the original by the Rev. J. Lees. The copy was taken by Mr. A. Wylie, and lent by him to the Editor.

,, 123. Medieval Artillery Engines. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 are CHINESE. The first four are from the Encyclopædia *San-Thsai-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 *Poliorceticon* 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 *Études 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 Medieval 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*.

,, 132. Coin from a Treasure hidden at Siangyang during the siege described by Marco Polo, and recently discovered. From the original in the possession of Mr. Wylie. The inscribed characters are "*Ching-Ho*" (Designation of Epoch, A.D. 1100-1125) and "*Tung-Paou*" ("Current Money").

,, 135. Island Monasteries in the Yangtsé Kiang. The first is the "Little Orphan Rock," after a cut in *Oliphant's Narrative;* the second is the "Golden Island," after *Fisher's China;* the third, "Silver Island," after Mr. Lindley's book on the Taipings. By an accidental error the *Golden Island* has been reversed.

,, 139. The West Gate of Chinkiangfu. From an engraving in *Fisher's China*, after a sketch made during the first Chinese War by Capt. Stoddart, R.N.

,, 192. The Kaan's Fleet leaving the Port of Zayton. The landscape is from an engraving in *Fisher's China*, after a sketch by Capt. Stoddart of the Mouth of the River of Chinchau, *i. e.*, of *Zayton*.

,, 194. The Kaan's Fleet passing through the Indian Archipelago. From a drawing by the Editor.

,, 202. Ancient Japanese Emperor. From a native drawing. Borrowed from the *Tour du Monde*.

,, 206. Ancient Japanese Archer. From a native drawing. Borrowed from the *Tour du Monde*.

,, 216. "*Java.—Ceste Ysle est de moult grant richesse.*" From a sketch of the slopes of the Gedéh Volcano, taken by the Editor in 1860.

,, 233. The Three Asiatic Rhinoceroses. Adapted from a proof of a woodcut given to the Editor for the purpose by Mr. Edward Blyth, the e[ditor]

Zoologist. It is not known to the present Editor whether the cut has appeared in any publication.

Page 234. Monoceros and the Maiden. From a medieval drawing engraved in *Cahier et Martin, Mélanges d'Archéologie*, II. Pl. 30.

,, 265. Teeth of Buddha. 1. The Tooth at Candy, after *Tennent's Ceylon*. Tooth at Fuchau, from *Fortune's Wanderings*.

,, 273. Chinese Pagoda (so-called) at Negapatam. From a sketch taken in 18[illegible] by *Sir Walter Elliott, K.C.S.I.*

289. Pagoda at Tanjore. Borrowed from *Fergusson's H. of Architecture*.

,, 292. The Little Mount near Madras; the site of the Ancient Church, additionally of St. Thomas's martyrdom. After *Daniel* (II. Pl. X.).

N.B.—The Editor with some trouble procured from India a graph of the Church as it stands; but the buildings having bee vated, apparently on the standard pattern of a barrack guard-roon became necessary to fall back upon Daniel for a juster illustration.

,, 319. Cape Comorin. From an origin[illegible] sketch by Mr. Foote of the Geologi Survey of India.

The lofty mountain represented in Daniel's Views (IV. Pl. 1.) as Comorin is not really the Cape (as indeed his Text explains), thou perhaps called so by seamen.

,, 323. Mount d'Ely, from the sea.

This is taken from a chart view of last century by *J. Lindley*, as all endeavours to obtain a more recent and satisfactory drawing had failed. After this had been engraved the Editor received from his friend Mr. Oldham, as in the last case, a good drawing of Mount D'Ely by Mr. Foote. Though unfortunately too late to be made use of, it confirms the general truth of the present engraving.

349. The Rukh, after a Persian drawing. Borrowed from *Lane's Arabian Nights*. Search has been made in vain, at the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, for the original drawing from which Mr. Lane had this engraving made.

358. The Ethiopian Sheep. From an original sketch by *Miss Catharine Frere*.

376. View of Aden. From a drawing in the Library of the Royal Geographic Society, made by *Dr. Kirk* in 1840.

384. A Persian Bádgír or Wind-Tower. From a drawing in the Atlas to *Hommaire de Hell*.

419. A Medieval Russian Church (viz. near Tzarkoe Selo). Borrowed from *Fergusson's H. of Architecture*.

431. Two Oriental Warriors, circa 1300. From a drawing in the Fragmentary MS. of Rashiduddin's History, in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is believed to date from the Author's own day. The kind of mail worn by one of these warriors corresponds to the descriptions, in Carpini and others, of that worn by the Tartar Chiefs; and the figures probably give a more authentic representation than is elsewhere to be had of the costume of the warriors commemorated in the latter chapters of Polo's work.

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.

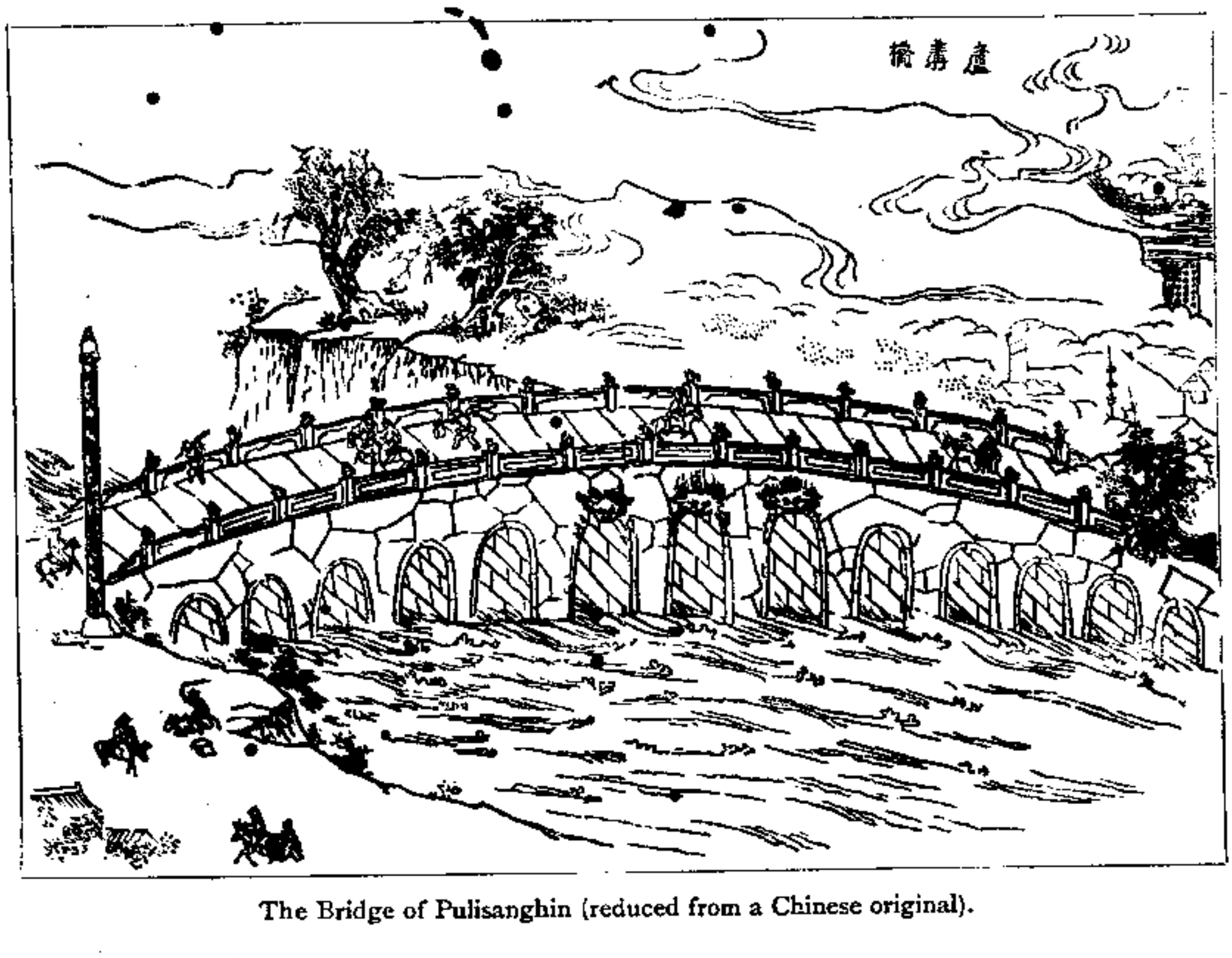
CHAPTER XXXV.

HERE BEGINS THE DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERIOR OF CATHAY; AND FIRST OF THE RIVER PULISANGHIN.

Now you must know that the Emperor sent the aforesaid 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 merchandize 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 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.[1]



The Bridge of Pulisanghin (reduced from a Chinese original).

Note 1.—*Pul-i-Sangín*, 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—I suspect a natural one of which Edrisi speaks—in the country north of Badakhshan over the Waksh branch of the Oxus. And the 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 Kuláb 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 *Sangin*, and that *Sangkan*-Ho appears from the maps or citations of Martini, Klaproth, Neumann, and Pauthier to have been one of the *Chinese* names of the river. Possibly, however, this *Sangkan* was a name which the Chinese took up from the foreign *Sangín*, and that again merely an abridgment of *Pulisangín.*

The River is that which appears in the maps as the Hwen Ho or Yongting Ho, flowing about 10 miles west of Peking towards the south-east and joining the Pe-Ho at Tientsin; and the Bridge is that, adjoining the town of Fencheu, which has been known for ages as the *Lu-kyu-Kiao* or Bridge of Lukyu. 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 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 Hwen-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-kyu Kiao 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 Hwen-Ho, even when its channel is full, is impracticable on account of rapids, whilst the Lieu-li Ho, or "Glass River," is, as its name implies, smooth and navigable. The road crosses the latter about two leagues from Cho-chau (see next chapter).

The Bridge of Lukyu 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 *Kin* 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. 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-mǎn, after passing the old walled town of Fencheu, 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 Kanghi (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 medieval bridge.

(*P. de la Croix*, II. 11, &c.; *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.* ser. 2, tom. i. 97-8; *D'Ohsson*, I. 144.)

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 convents, 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 pencel of sykelatoun
> And off sendel 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 *cendal*. Chaucer couples taffetas and sendal. His 'Doctor of Physic'

> "In sanguin and in perse clad was alle,
> Lined with taffata and with sendalle."

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 *Sandas* or *Sundus*, which is applied by Bakui to the silk fabrics of Yezd (*Not. et Ext.* 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, Récherches, &c.*, I. 212; *Dict. des Tissus*, II. 171, *seqq.*).

NOTE 2.—JÚJÚ is precisely the name given to this city by Rashid-uddin, who notices the vineyards. Juju is CHO-CHAU, just at the distance specified from Peking, viz. 40 miles, and 30 from Pulisangin or Lu Kyu Kiao. The name of the town is printed *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. 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*, &c. Presented to Parliament, 1869, p. 9.) The place is called *Jújú* also in the Persian itinerary given by 'Izzat Ullah in *J. R. A. S.* VII. 308.

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*). 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.

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 had increased and multiplied to such an extent, particularly the hares, 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]

Taianfu[2] 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 silkworms.

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 1.—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 Chochau and Thai-yuanfu, would be CHING-TINGFU, and I have little doubt that this is the place intended. The title of *Ak-Baligh* in Turki, or *Chaghan Balghassun* in Mongol, meaning "White City," was applied by the Tartars to Royal Residences; and possibly Chingtingfu 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 Pecheli, the ruined *Imperial Palace* at Chingtingfu 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 Balghassun which the Chinese call *Jintzinfu*." This is almost exactly the way in which the name of Chingtingfu is represented in 'Izzat Ullah's Persian Itinerary (*Jigdzinfu*, evidently a clerical error for *Jingdzinfu*), so I think there can be little doubt that Chingtingfu is the place intended. The city is described by Consul Oxenham as being now in a decayed and dilapidated condition, consisting of only two long streets crossing at right angles. It is noted for the manufacture of images of Buddha from Shansi iron. (*Consular Reports*, p. 10; *Erdmann*, 331.)

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* And I see Ritter understood the passage as I do (IV. 515).

NOTE 2.—Taianfu is, as Magaillans pointed out, THAIYUAN-FU, the capital of the Province of Shansi, and Shansi is the "Kingdom." The city was however the capital of the great Thang dynasty for a time in the 8th century, and is probably the *Tajah* or *Taiunah* of old Arab writers. The Rev. Mr. Williamson, who has visited it recently, speaks of it as a very pleasant city at the north end of a most fertile valley. It was a residence, he says, also of the Ming princes, and is laid out in Peking fashion. There is an Imperial factory of artillery, matchlocks, &c.; and fine carpets like those of Turkey are also manufactured (*Cathay*, xcvii, cxiii, cxciv.; *Rennie*, II. 265; *Notes on North China* in *J. N. C. B.* of *R. A. S.* for 1866, p. 46-7). The district is much noted for cutlery and hardware, iron as well as coal being abundantly produced in Shansi. Apparently the present Birmingham of the province is a town called Hwai-lu, about 20 miles west of Chingting-fu. (*Oxenham*, u. s. 11; *Klaproth* in *J. As.* ser. 2, tom. i. 100; *Izzat Ullah's Pers. Itin.* in *J. R. A. S.* VII. 307).

NOTE 3.—Martini observes that the grapes in Shansi 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 Missions. Klaproth however tells us that the wine of Thaiyuan-fu was celebrated in the days of the Thang 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 Thaiyuan in 1373, but prohibited its being presented again (*J. As.* u. s.).

NOTE 4.—Pianfu is undoubtedly, as Magaillans again notices, P'INGYANG-FU. It is the *Bikan* of Shah Rukh's ambassadors. It 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 Kaan. The city suffered much from the Taeping rebels, but it is reviving. It is now noted for its large paper factories. (*Cathay*, ccxi.; *Ritter*, IV. 516; *D'Ohsson*, II. 70; *Williamson*, u. s.)

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 fine colours, and a very fine sight they make. Each king in succession as he reigned added to those pictures.'

[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 this 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 1.—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 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 deduceable.

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 Taiping 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.)

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,

* "Lui dist que il feust le mal venuz."

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 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.[1] 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.

Game birds here are in wonderful abundance, insomuch 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.[2]

[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.—*Karà-Muren*, or Black River, is one of the names applied by the Mongols to the Hoang Ho, or Yellow River, of the Chinese, and that which we find used by all the medieval western writers, *e.g.*, Odoric, John Marignolli, Rashiduddin.

NOTE 2.—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 0*s.* 2·8*d.* 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. 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.[1] 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.[2] 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.[3] 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.—Having got to sure ground again at Kenjanfu, which is, as we shall explain presently, the city of Singanfu, capital of Shensi, let us look back at the geography of the route from P'ingyanfu. Its

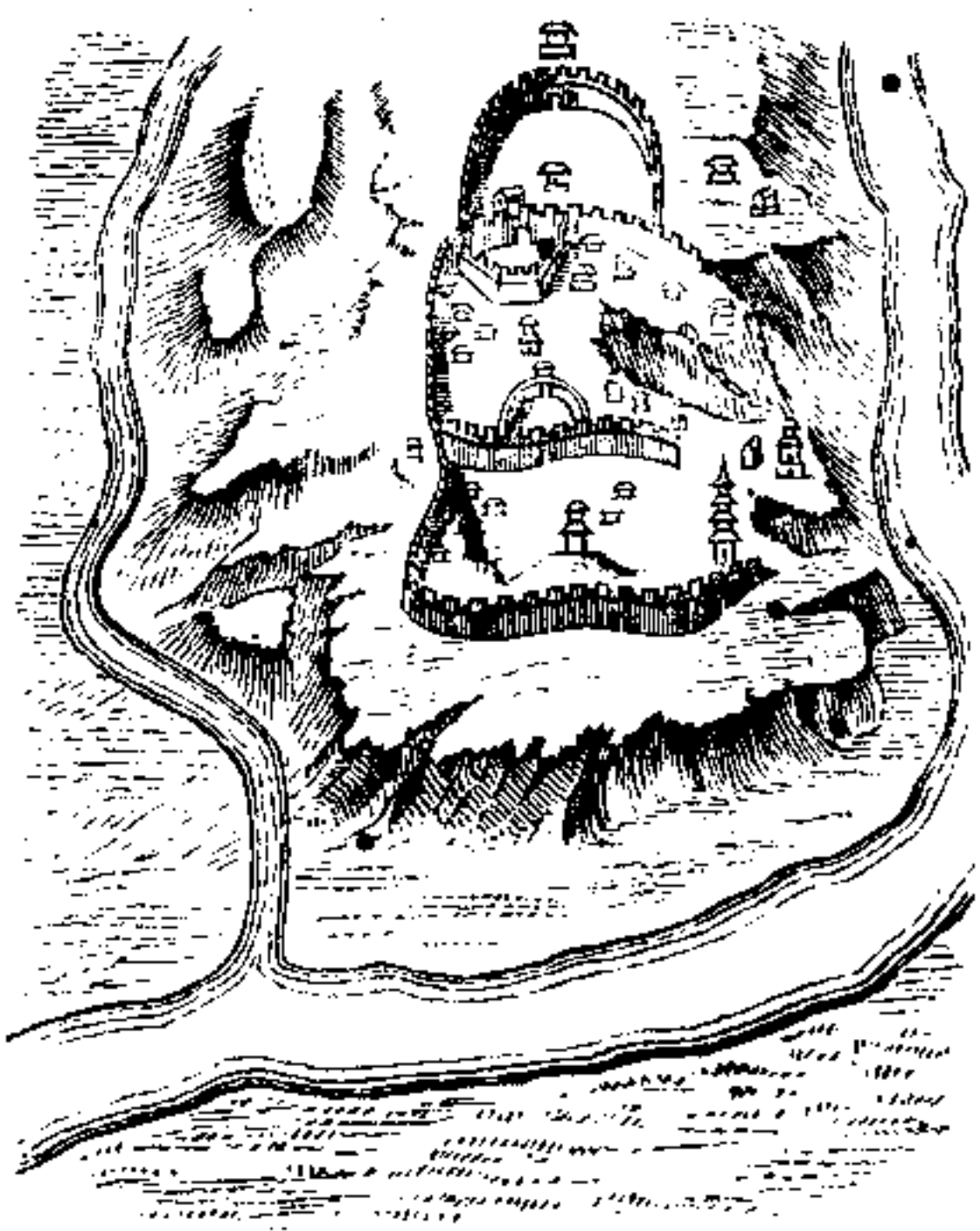
The traveller carries us two days' journey from P'ingyanfu to his castle of the Golden King. This is called in the G. Text and most other MSS. *Caicui*, *Caytui*, or the like, but in Ramusio alone *Thaigin*, He then carries us 20 miles further to the Caramoran; he crosses this river, travels two days further, and reaches the great city Kachanfu; eight days more (or as in Ramusio *seven*) bring him to Singanfu.

There seems scarcely room for doubt that KACHANFU is the HO-CHANGFU of those days, now called P'UCHAUFU, close to the great elbow of the Hoang Ho (*Klaproth*). But this city, instead of being *two days west* of the great river, stands *on* or *near* its *eastern* bank.

Klaproth, adopting Ramusio's name for the castle, identifies it with one in those days called *Taikhing*, afterwards *P'utsin*, which lay on the Hoangho to the west of P'uchaufu; Pauthier adds, on the *west bank* of the river. Now Polo's expressions seem distinctly to describe the fortress as lying 20 miles to the *east* of the river.

Not maintaining the infallibility of our traveller's memory, we might conceive it to have got confused here, between the recollections of his journey westward and those of his return; but this would not remove all the difficulties.

It is, as we have seen, very uncertain that Thaigin is the right reading. That of the MSS. seems to point rather to some name like *Kaichau*. The hypothesis which seems to me to call for least correction in



Plan of Kychau, after Duhalde.

the text is that the castle was at the *Kychau* of the maps, nearly due west of P'ingyang-fu, and just about 20 miles from the Hoang Ho; that the river was crossed in that vicinity, and that the traveller then de-

scended the valley to opposite P'uchaufu, 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. Whether there is any such historic castle at Kychau I know not; the plan of that place in Duhalde, however, has the aspect of a strong position.

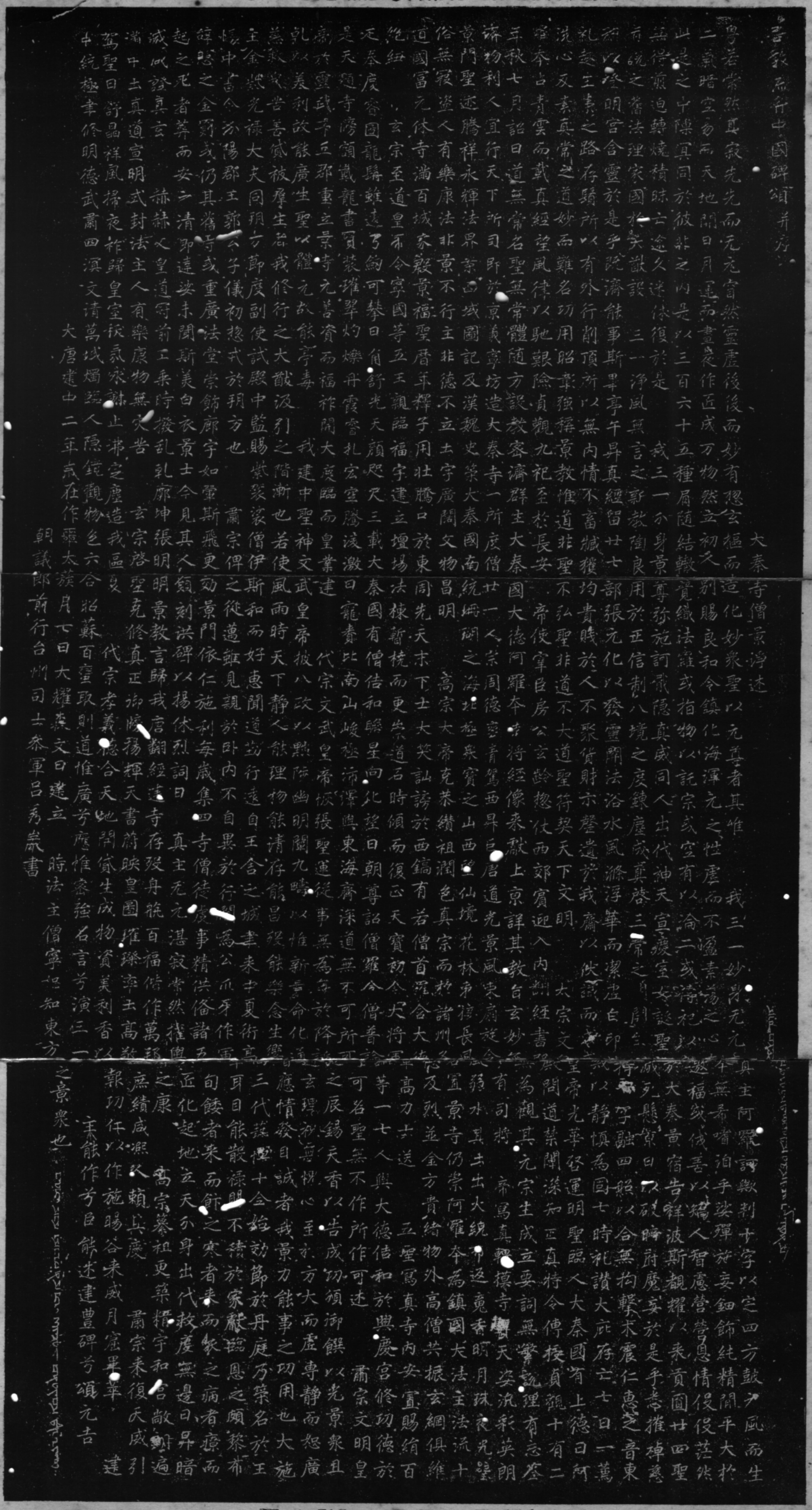
The most notable fortress of the Kin sovereigns was that of T'ungkwan, on the right bank of the river, a little south of P'uchaufu, and closing the passage between the river and the mountains. It was constantly the turning-point of the Mongol campaigns against that dynasty, and held a prominent place in the dying instructions of Chinghiz for the prosecution of the conquest of Cathay. This fortress must have continued famous to Polo's time, 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.

Note 2.—Kenjanfu is, as we have indicated, Singan-fu, or as it was called in the days of its greatest fame, Changgan, probably the most celebrated city in Chinese history, and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties. It was the metropolis of Shi Hoangti of the Thsin dynasty, the great emperor whose conquests almost intersected those of his contemporary Ptolemy Euergetes. It was, perhaps, the *Thinae* of Claudius Ptolemy, as it was certainly the Khumdan 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 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 Sharífuddín'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.

Martini speaks, apparently from personal knowledge, of the splendour of the city, as regarded 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

* I am happy to be able to present a reduced facsimile of a *rubbing* in my possession from this famous inscription, which I owe to the generosity of Dr. Lockhart. The tail-piece to this Part (p. 93) represents the incised *cross* at the head of the inscription, from a copy of a pencil rubbing made by the Rev. J. Lees. The copy was printed on photographic paper by Mr. A. Wylie, and was also lent me by Dr. Lockhart.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE CELEBRATED INSCRIPTION OF SINCANFU
IN CHINESE AND SYRIAC CHARACTERS



W Griggs. Photo-Luth.

Photo-lithograph from a Rubbing.

the city was a sort of Water Park, enclosed by a wall 30 *di* in circumference, full of lakes, tanks, and canals from the Wei, and within which were seven fine palaces and a variety of theatres and other places of public diversion. To the S.E. of the city was an artificial lake with palaces, gardens, park, &c., 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.

Singanfu and the adjoining districts are now the seat of a large Mussulman population, which in 1861–62 rose in revolt against the Chinese authority, and for a time was successful in resisting it. The chief seat of the Mahomedans is a place which they call *Salar*, which, as well as I can make out, is the city of Hwai-chau, east of the capital. Singanfu has been recently visited by Mr. Williamson, accompanied by Mr. Lees. He says that the site of the palace of the Thang emperors is still to be seen; and he saw the celebrated Christian inscription which stands in a ruined temple outside the west gate of the city, and is still perfect, though all around is desolation. (*Martini; Cathay*, 148, 269; *Pétis de la Croix*, III. 218; *Russian paper on the Dungen*, see *supra*, vol. i. *p.* 256; *Williamson's Notes on North China*, u. s., p. 47.)

NOTE 3.—*Mangalai*, Kublai's third son, who governed the provinces of Shensi and Ssechuen, 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.

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 roes, and sundry other kinds, so that many are taken by the people of the country who make a great profit thereof.[2] So this way you 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 1.—The region intended must necessarily be some part of the southern district of the province of Shensi, called Hanchung, 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 Shensi, and on the latter from Ssechuen. According to Pauthier, the name of the district in the Mongol age was *Hingyuen;* but there is no reason to suppose that it had popularly lost that of Hanchung, which was its official title at both an earlier and a later date. Polo's *C* frequently expresses an H, especially the guttural H of Chinese names, yet *Cuncun* is not quite satisfactory as the expression of *Hanchung.*

The country was so rugged that in ancient times travellers from Singanfu had to make a long circuit eastward by the frontier of Honan to reach Hanchung; but a road was made across the mountains by a Chinese general, circa 200 B.C. This work, with its difficulties and boldness, extending often for great distances on viaducts and 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 south bank of the Wei, opposite Paoki-hien, 100 miles west of Singanfu, and ended near the town of Paoching-hien, some 15 or 20 miles N.W. from Hanchung. Martini's description of the road probably applies to its state in his own day. The original construction must have long gone to wreck; and, indeed, we are told that it was reconstructed by the first Ming Emperor in 1392; and I presume it continued in a fair state down to recent times, for a writer in the *Chinese Repository* says, that "those who have travelled the great Hanchung road have pronounced it not inferior to the Simplon, though the elevation is not so great."

It is probable that this work had no efficient existence in our traveller's day, for we find that Tului, the son of Chinghiz, when directing his march against Honan in 1231 by this very line from Paoki, had to *make* a road with great difficulty. The same route was followed by

Okkodai's son Kutan, in marching to attack the Sung Empire in 1235, and again by Mangu Kaan on his last campaign in 1258. These circumstances, showing that the road from Paoki was in that age the usual route into Hanchung and Ssechuen, are in favour of its being, in whole or in part, the line taken by Marco. (See *Martini* in Blaeu; *Chine Ancienne*, p. 234; *Ritter*, IV. 520; *D'Ohsson*, II. 22, 80, 328; *Lecomte*, II. 95; *Chin. Rep.* XIX. 225.)

NOTE 2.—"In this province (Hanchung) you often fall in with herds of red-deer and fallow-deer even on the roads; bears also . . . . . are common, whose feet the Chinese reckon a great dainty." (*Martini*, 42.)

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 belonging 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 Singanfu and Chingtufu, 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 Acbalec	2 ,,
In mountains again	20 ,,
	45 ,,

It seems to me almost impossible to doubt that the Plain of Acbalec represents some part of the river-valley of the Han, interposed between the two ranges of mountains called in maps *Thsing-Ling* and *Kiu-long*. But the time, as just stated, is extravagant for anything like a direct journey between the two termini.

Mr. Wylie, to whom I am indebted for most valuable information on this subject, travelled in 1868 from Chingtu-fu to Mien on the Upper Han, following so far what has been for ages the chief road to Singanfu. This distance amounted to 1150 li, and was travelled in 17 days. The remaining distance from Mien to Singanfu was not travelled by Mr. Wylie (who descended the Han River), but he states it to be 7 or 8 marches. This would give the total distance as 25 marches instead of 45.

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 to 33 days, and though a lower rate of progress than Mr. Wylie's is thus implied, in the ratio of about 22½ miles to 17 for the average march, the latter seems quite an admissible rate.*

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* Mien.

But the key to the exact route is evidently the position of Acbalec Manzi, and on this there is no satisfactory light.

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* Add that I do not think Mr. Wylie

For the name of the province, Pauthier's text has *Acbalec Manzi*, for the name of the city *Acmalec* simply. The G. T. has in the former case *Acbalec 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.

Pauthier will have Acbalec ("The White City") to be *Pe-Kung-ching* ("White Prince Town"), an extinct town which stood near Yang, some 30 or 40 miles eastward of Hanchung, urging the reading *Acmalec;* Malik being Arabic for a Prince or King. This seems to me fanciful. *Acmalec* and *Acbalec* are merely different ways of writing the same name caught by ear, as in the Geog. Text we have (p. 263) a *Melic* or Prince of the Persian Court called *Belic*, and as in Pegolotti we find Khanbalik itself written *Gamalec.*

Klaproth again had identified Acbalec conjecturally with the town of *Pe-ma-ching* or "White-Horse-Town," a place also now extinct, and which was in the immediate neighbourhood of Mien. "The great plain in which Mien-hien stands," says Klaproth, "is that of which Marco Polo speaks; it begins in the east at the post-station of Hwang-sha-ji, and extends as far as that of Thsing-yang-ji, where the road re-enters the mountains."

It seems so likely that the latter part of the name *Pe*-MACHING might have been confounded by foreigners with *Máchín* 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, if we could find corroboration as to the great plain of Mien, of which Klaproth speaks. Mr. Wylie (without any reference to Klaproth) writes: "After passing the city of Meen, in descending the Han, I found the hills gradually receding till they left a level valley on both sides of the river of considerable width, perhaps 8 or 10 miles, which continued to the city of Hanchung; and to the end of our first day's journey beyond we were still travelling over level ground, say 165 li in all from west to east." Here is a plain no doubt of good two days' journey in length, though the part of it traversed by Polo would be only from Paoching to Mien, or some 12 to 14 miles.

Mr. Wylie (*Proc. R. G. S.* XIV.) has suggested a new view of the position of Acbalec, proposing to identify it with *Pe-ma-Kwan* ("White-Horse-Fort"), an abandoned town which he passed only two days from Chingtu, and at which a traveller from the north first comes in sight of the great plain of Chingtu. He builds in part on this being just 22 or 23 days' journey from Singanfu according to the usual readings. I have not room for all that Mr. Wylie urges, but his arguments have not convinced me that there is ground for proposing the great changes in the text which this identification would involve.

It is possible 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 (*Acbaluc* in ch. xxxvii. of this Book, and *Chagan Balgassun* in note 2 to Bk. 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 Hanchung itself was so named by the Tartars. But it is also possible that we should look further down the Han towards the frontier of Honan, where the chief place is *Hing-ngan.* This was in ancient days the capital of the state of *Tsin.* Is it possible that a tradition of *this* was expressed in the name "White City of Machin or Manzi"? There is a much frequented highway from Singanfu to Hing-ngan, and there is a plain there on the south side of the Han, estimated at about 20 miles in length.

Lastly, some 30 miles below Hing-ngan, and on the immediate boundary between Shensi and Hupé (which might fairly be called *confine dou Mangi*) stands the district city of Peho ("White River") the position of which must have been very important when the Mongols were meditating the invasion of the latter province. Here I leave the question with the remark that the most satisfactory solution would be the identification of *Hanchung* with the White City.

Note 2.—Polo's journey now continues through the lofty mountainous region in the north of Ssechuen, whether from the direction of Hing-ngan as just suggested, or from that of Hanchung through Paoningfu. Martini notes the mountains above the latter town as abounding in musk-deer.

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.'

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

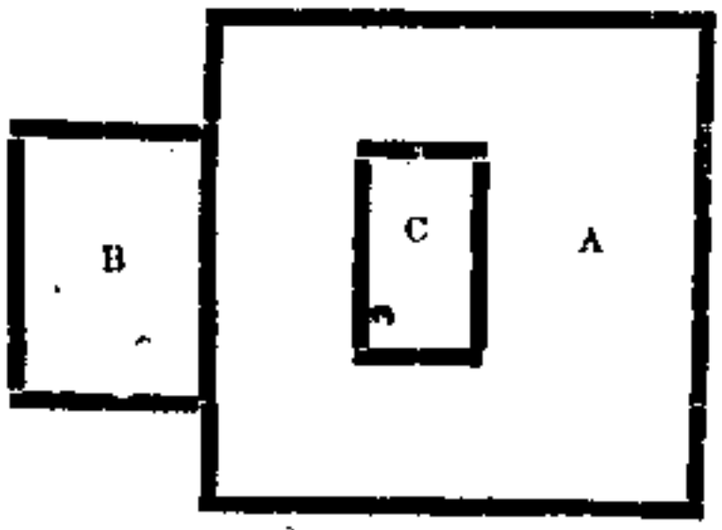
When you leave this city you travel for five days across a country of plains and valleys, finding plenty of villages and hamlets, and the people of which live by husbandry. There are numbers of wild beasts, lions, and bears, and such like.

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 CHINGTUFU, the capital of Ssechuen. Here again Pauthier's text calls the province *Sardansu* and the city *Syndifu*, and that editor tries to find reason in the former name. But I doubt not it is a mere clerical error. No such distinction exists in the G. T. or in Ramusio; whilst the Crusca puts *Sindafa* for the province, and *Sardafu* for the city! 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 Chingtufu; and MM. Huc and Gabet were detained there a fortnight. But Huc's account is singularly vague, as it always is found to be when geographical light is what we look for. He merely tells us of its position in a rich and irrigated plain, of its fine paved streets exceptionally clean, and of its handsome shops and buildings. Mr. Cooper was at Chingtufu in 1868, on his attempt to penetrate to India, and gives a similar account, but not more detail. The city has still more recently been visited by Mr. A. Wylie, who 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 inquiries 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].



A. The Great City.
B. The Little City.
C. The Imperial City.

"The Imperial City (*Hwang Ching*), was the residence of the monarch Lew Pé 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 his tripartite division of the city may have been merely that which we see to exist at present.

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," &c. "And after passing the city these rivers unite and form one immense river called Kian," &c. 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. Though our Geographies give the specific names of Wen and Min to the great branch which flows by Chingtufu, and treat the Tibetan branch, which flows through northern Yunan under the name of Kinsha or "Goldensand," 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 (p. 12). 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.

NOTE 3.—(G. T.) "*Hi est le* couiereque *dou Grant Sire, ce est cilz qe recevent la rente dou Seignor.*" 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 قمرق and كمرک (*ḳumruḳ* and *gyumruk*, still in use); in Italian dialects as *comerchio, comerho, comergio*, &c.

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 cesto

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 biaus sendal et autres dras. Il sunt de Sindu meisme.*" I take it that in speaking of Chingtufu, 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.

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

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 great 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 *Gaddери*. These rascals have grass

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 canvass, 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 present boundary between China Proper and Tibet is to the west of Bathang and the Kinsha Kiang, but till the beginning of last century it lay much further east, near *Tathsianlu*, or, as the Tibetans appear to call it, *Tachindo*, which a Chinese Itinerary given by Ritter makes to be 920 *li* or 11 marches from Chingtufu. Huc was *twelve* days on the road, and Hodgson's Nepalese embassy *ten*. In Marco's time we must suppose that Tibet was considered to extend several marches further east still, or to the verge of the plains. Mr. Cooper's Journal describes the country entered *on the 5th march* from Chingtu as very mountainous, many of the neighbouring peaks being capped with snow. And he describes the people as speaking a language mixt with Tibetan for some distance east of Tathsianlu. (*Ritter*, IV. 190 *seqq.*; *J. A. S. B.* XXV. 494–5.)

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 Mangu Kaan, indeed, Uriangkadai, an eminent Mongol general, who had accompanied Prince Kublai 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 Ssechuen. Koeppen seems to consider it certain that there was no actual conquest of Tibet, and that Kublai 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 organization of civil administration in Tibet to Kublai. Mati Dhwaja, a young and able member of

the family which held the hereditary primacy of the Satya convent, and occupied the most influential position in Tibet, was formally recognized 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 Baspa Lama, the inventor of Kublai's official alphabet. (*Carpini*, 658, 709; *D'Avezac*, 564; *S. Setzen*, 89; *D'Ohsson*, II. 317; *Koeppen*, II. 96; *Amyot*, XIV. 128.)

With the caution that Marco's Travels in Tibet were limited to the same mountainous country on the frontier of Ssechuen, we defer further geographical comment till he brings us to Yunnan.

NOTE 2.—I suppose Marco to exaggerate 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.)

Bamboos of three palms in girth (28 to 30 inches) exist, but are not ordinary, I should suppose, even in Ssechuen. In 1855 I took some pains to procure in Pegu a specimen of the largest attainable bamboo. It was ten inches in diameter.

NOTE 3.—M. Gabriel Durand, a missionary priest, thus describes his journey in 1861 to Kiangka, *viâ* Tathsianlu, approximately the line of country which we suppose Polo to be 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. 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

esteemed, as she appears to have been loved by the greatest number of men." (*Martini*, 142; *Pall. Samml.* II. 235; *Æl. Var. Hist.* III. 1; *Rawl. Herod.* Bk. IV. ch. clxxvi.)

Mr. Cooper's Journal, when on the banks of the Kinsha 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 th grasse 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 when published.

NOTE 5.—All that we have here is clearly meant to apply only to the rude people towards the Chinese frontier. 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.

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 Caindu.

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 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 (*An. 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." 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*, &c., II. App. p. 73.)

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.

NOTE 4.—See *supra*, Book I. chap. lxi. note 9.

NOTE 5.—The big Tibetan mastiffs are now well known. Mr. Cooper, at Tathsianlu, 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." (*An. de la Foi*, XXXVII. 314.)

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 *Buemini*, *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

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 chief city is also called Caindu, and stands at the upper end of the province.] The people are Idolaters, subject to the Great Kaan, and they have plenty of towns and villages. There is a lake in the country 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, dishonour 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

parted. 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.[3]

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 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. 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.[6] 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 Caindu that you ride through it [fifteen] days, constantly meeting with towns and villages, with people of the

same description that I have mentioned. After riding those [fifteen] days you come to a river called BRIUS, which terminates the province of Caindu. 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.—We have found no mention elsewhere of the pearls here spoken of. But Chinese authorities quoted by Ritter mention *mother-o'-pearl* as a product of Lithang in this quarter. The same authorities speak of turquoises as found in Djaya to the west of Bathang, also in this region (*Ritter*, IV. 235-6). Amyot states that pearls are found in a certain river of Yunnan. (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 Himalya which was told to Bernier by an old Kashmiri (see Amst. ed. II. 304-5). Polo has told nearly the same story already of the people of Kamul (Book I. ch. xli.). It is related by Strabo of the Massagetæ; 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. (*Caubul*, I. 209; *Mendoza*, II. 254; *Müller's Strabo*, p. 439; *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 unfrequented 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 civilized 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 away."

chants 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." Lieut. Bower, in his account of Major Sladen's mission, says that at Momien the salt, which is a government monopoly, is "made up in rolls of one and two viss" (a Rangoon viss is 3 lbs. 5 ozs. 5½ drs.), "and stamped" (p. 120).

M. Desgodins, a missionary in this part of Tibet, gives some curious details of the way in which the civilized 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 Foi*, XXXVI. 320.)

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*, p. clxx-clxxi.) Gold is said still to be very plentiful in the mountains called Gulan-Sigong, to the N.W. of Yunnan, 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.—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 great Kamboja River expedition in its latter part: "Salt currency has a very wide diffusion from Muang Yong [in the Burman-Shan country, about lat. 21° 4′] to Sheu-pin [in Yunan, about lat. 23° 43′]. In the *Shan* markets, especially within the limits named, all purchases are made with salt. At Seumao and Pouheul [*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 gitent en forme*," points to the manufacture spoken of in this note.

NOTE 6.—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, in this very 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." And a hill

Trees" (*Ritter*, IV. 201). 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 more 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 Kwangsi and Yunnan, 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 Hilfs of Eastern Bengal up to a height of about 4000 feet above the sea, and the valleys at least of "Caindu" are probably not too elevated for this product. Indeed, that of the Kinsha 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.

I am indebted to Lieut. Garnier for a note as to the ethnography of the region with which we are now dealing. A little to the north of Li-kiang is found the Tibetan tribe, called by the Chinese *Sifan*, of whose morals tales are told, such as Polo tells of Tebet and Caindu. Towards the Lantsang Kiang are the Tibetan tribes called *Mosos*, *Lutseu*, &c.; the former of whom are also called by the Chinese *Lama-jin*. About the confluence of the Yalung and the Kinsha Kiang, the Chinese population is mixed with the *Lolo* tribes, whom the Chinese distinguish as White and Black Lolos, Paï, Lisu, &c.: the Paï being most closely related to the Shans. On the left bank of the Kinsha, between this and Siuchaufu, are the wild and independent tribes of

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 carcase 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 1.—We have now arrived at the great province of Carajan, the Ḳarájáng of the Mongols, which we know to be Yunnan, and at its capital Yachi, which—I was about to add—we know to be Yunnan-fu. But I find all the commentators make it something else. Rashiduddin, in his detail of the twelve Sings or provincial governments of China under the Mongols, thus speaks: "10th, Ḳarájáng. This used to be an independent kingdom, and the Singº is established at the great city of Yachi. All the inhabitánts are Máhomedans. The chiefs are Nayan Takin and Yaḳúb 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 Yunnan. . . . Its capital, chief town also of the canton of the same name, was called *Chung-khing*, now Yunnan-fu." Hence Yachi was Yunnan-fu.

Yachi was, perhaps, an ancient corruption of the name *Yecheu*, which the territory bore (according to Martini and Biot) under the Han; but more probably *Yecheu* 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 Chingtu-fu as one fixed point, and Yunnan-fu as another, and we have to track, as we best can, the traveller's itinerary

terra incognita. What little we yet know of this region comes from the Catholic missionaries; and recently from the French Saigon expedition, and from Mr. Cooper's printed but unpublished journal.

Five days forward from Chingtu-fu brought us on Tibetan ground. Five days backward from Yunnan-fu should bring us to the River Brius, with its gold-dust and the frontier of Caindu. Wanting a local scale for a distance of five days, I find that our next point in advance, Marco's city of Carajan, undisputedly *Tali-fu*, is said by him to be ten days from Yachi. The direct distance between the cities of Yunan and Tali I find by measurement on Keith Johnston's map to be 133 Italian miles. Taking half this as radius, the compasses, swept from Yunan-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.

To define Polo's route with greater exactness we have not sufficient data, either in the information he affords us or in the small knowledge on record elsewhere of those regions. We can only indicate probabilities which seem fairly consistent with what he says.

He travels five days through the low lands of Ssechuen to the borders of Tibet. He then travels 20 days through a depopulated region belonging to Tibet, and reaches (25 days, therefore, from Chingtufu) a part of that country where towns and villages are again met with. No indication is given of any extent of journey through this populated part of Tibet; and the next datum for the itinerary is the distance travelled through the province of Caindu to the passage of the Brius River, viz., 15 days, as we read after Ramusio; the other texts giving 10 only.

The only road in this direction of which we know anything is the Chinese military road to Lhasa by Tathsianlu, Lithang, and Bathang. The itinerary of this road is given from a Chinese work by Ritter, with details regarding every station. The number of stations or (apparently) of days' journeys* between Chingtu-fu and Bathang is 25. If, then, we suppose that the devastated country extended to the vicinity of Bathang, and that Polo thence turned southwards (or rather south-eastwards) towards and within the great elbow of the Kinsha Kiang, I think we shall have an idea of his route *approximately* correct. There is a difficulty, indeed, about putting the place where he entered "Caindu" actually at Bathang, because by the data

* Ritter doubts whether these stations can represent days' journeys because of the large number of *li* often set down. But probably the *li* multiply with the difficulties of the way. For on comparing his Chinese route with Mr. Hodgson's Nepalese one, it is not difficult to recognize their correspondence in the main; and the Nepalese

such place must be within 20 days of Yachi or Yunnanfu, and Bathang is certainly more than this. But we have already noticed that the traveller seems to leave the distance travelled through the populated district indefinite. As regards the *name* of Caindu or Gaindu, I think we may safely recognize in the last syllable the *do* which is so frequent a termination of Tibetan names (Tachindo, Amdo, Tsiamdo, &c.); and it is by no means improbable that Tsiamdo itself gave name to the province in question. *Tsiamdo*, called by the Chinese *Changtu*, is written Kiaomdo by Monsgr. Thomine des Mazures, late Vicar Apostolic in Tibet (see *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, XXXIV.), expressing no doubt the local pronunciation. And it is very possible that the name used by Polo was really *Camdu* or Gamdu, which is one reading of the Bern MS. as well as of some others. In one of the Geographical Memoirs translated in Amyot's collection, we find that the *généralités* known by the name of Kam-u occupied just the position which we assign to Caindu, viz., north of Likiangfu and west of the Yalung River. They formerly comprised 13 cities, of which *Bathang* was the capital. In 1711 Kanghi attached Bathang and Lithang to Ssechuen, and the southern part of the territory to Yunnan (*Amyot*, XIV. 146).

Turning to minor particulars, 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 Yunnan stands, and from which boats make their way by canals along the walls and streets. Its circumference according to Martini is 500 *li*. The Lake of Caindu in which the pearls were found may perhaps be the large lake which Martini mentions as lying east of the town of Yungningfu. The large quantities of gold derived from the Kinsha-Kiang, and the abundance of musk in that vicinity, are testified to by the same authority.

Returning now to the Karájang 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 Yunnanfu, 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 Talifu. 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 Tali as *Carazan*, whilst Marsden, following out his system for the conversion of Ramusio's orthography, makes the former *Karaian* and the latter *Karazan*. 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 which 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 chapter xlvii. *Caragian*, in ch. xlviii. as *Carajan*, in ch. xlix. as *Caraian*, thus just reversing the distinction

The name then was *Ḳará-jáng*, in which the first element was the Mongol or Turki *Ḳará*, "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 *Karájáng*, in the language of India and Kashmir *Ḳandar*, and by us *Ḳandahár*. 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 Ḳarajang uses the title of *Maharâ, 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-Jáng*" ("White Jang"). *Jang* has not been explained. But a great part of the population of Western Yunnan are of the Shan or Laos race, and the kings of *Nan-chao* as the dynasty was called by the Chinese, who ruled Yunnan at the time of the Mongol invasion belonged to that race.† Now it is stated by several modern travellers that the people of Laos are classified as Black-bellies and White-bellies, according as they are tattooed or not. 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 Likiangfu. (*D'Ohsson*, II. 317; *J. R. Geog. Soc.* III. 294.)

Regarding Rashiduddin's application of the name *Ḳandahár* or Gandhára to Yunnan, and curious points connected therewith, I must refer to a paper of mine in the J. R. A. Society for 1869.

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 Tali, who fled from Kublai's invasion.

NOTE 2.—The existence of Nestorians in this remote province is very notable; 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 Yunnan up to our own day. In 1855 began their revolt against the imperial authority, which has for the present resulted in the establish-

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* See *Quatremère's Rashiduddin*, p. lxxxvi-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 text of that author.

† The title *Chao* in *Nan-Chao* 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.

ment of their independence in Western Yunnan under a chief whom they call 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 for bread, only for confectionary 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 Yunnan 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 halfpenny. About 1780 in Eastern Bengal 80 cowries were worth $\frac{3}{8}$ 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 not now) 80 cowries were worth $\frac{3}{10}$ of a penny.

The most comprehensive employment of the cowrie currency of which I have ever heard is that described by the Hon. Robert Lindsay as existing in Eastern Bengal during the last century. When that gentleman 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! (*Lives of the Lindsays*, III. 169, 170.)

Klaproth's statement has ceased to be correct. Lieut. Garnier found cowries nowhere in use north of Luang Prabang; and among the Kakhyens in western Yunnan these shells are used only for ornament.

Note 5.—See chap. xlvii. note 4. Martini speaks of a great brine-well to the N.E. of Yaogan (W.N.W. of the city of Yunnan), 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*, 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 the porcelain shells as I mentioned before. These are not found in the country, however, but are brought from India.

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 tun 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.[2]

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. They ride long like Frenchmen, and wear armour of boiled leather, and carry spears and shields and arblasts, and all their quarrels are poisoned.[3] [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 has prevailed no more; and this through dread of the Great Kaan who will not permit such things.[4]

Note 1.—There can be no doubt, I believe, 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 Yunnan 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 Moung Maorong or of *Pong*, of which Capt. Pemberton procured a Chronicle. The city of Tali was taken by Kublai in 1253–4. The circumstance that it was known to the invaders (as appears from Polo's statement) by the name of the province is probably an indication of the fact that it was the capital of Carajan before the conquest. The distance from Yachi to this city of Karajang is ten days, and this corresponds well with the distance from Yunnan-fu to Tali-fu. For we find that, of the three Burmese 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. Tali-fu is a small old city overlooking its large lake and an extensive plain devoid of trees. Lofty 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 Tali from the Ocean.

Tali-fu is now the capital of Sultan Suleiman. It was reached by Lieut. Garnier in a daring détour by the north of Yunnan, but his party were obliged to leave in haste on the 2nd day after their arrival.

We see that Polo says the King ruling for Kublai 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 chap. lî. *infra*, this prince is correctly described as the Kaan's grandson. Relating there an action with the Burmese which took place about 1277, he says this was before the Kaan had sent any of his sons to rule the province, "as he did at a later date, when he made Sentemur King there, the son of one of his sons who was dead." Rashiduddin tells us that Kublai 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 continued 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

timur 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 Yunnan was prior to 1280. (*Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier*, 108 *seqq.*; *Quat. Rashid.* p. lxxxix–xc; *Journ. Asiat.* ser. 2, vol. i.)

NOTE 2.—It cannot be doubted, I think, that Marco's serpents here are alligators, 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 alligator does not bear this comparison, the prominent *orbits* do, 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 recognizable 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 alligator does sometimes frequent holes at some 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 Cochin Chinese are very fond of alligator'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 alligators 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 mentions the gall of the crocodile as surpassing 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 carcase, including a very unsavoury cosmetic. (*Matt.* p. 245; *Spec. Natur.* Lib. XVII. c. 106, 108.)

NOTE 3.—I think the *great* horses must be an error, though running through all the texts, and that *grant quantité de chevaus* 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 use what we should call long stirrups. It is true that the Tartars rode *very short*—"*brevissimas habent strepas*," as Carpini says (643). Both Burmese and Shans ride what we should call short; and Major

chyens 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.)*

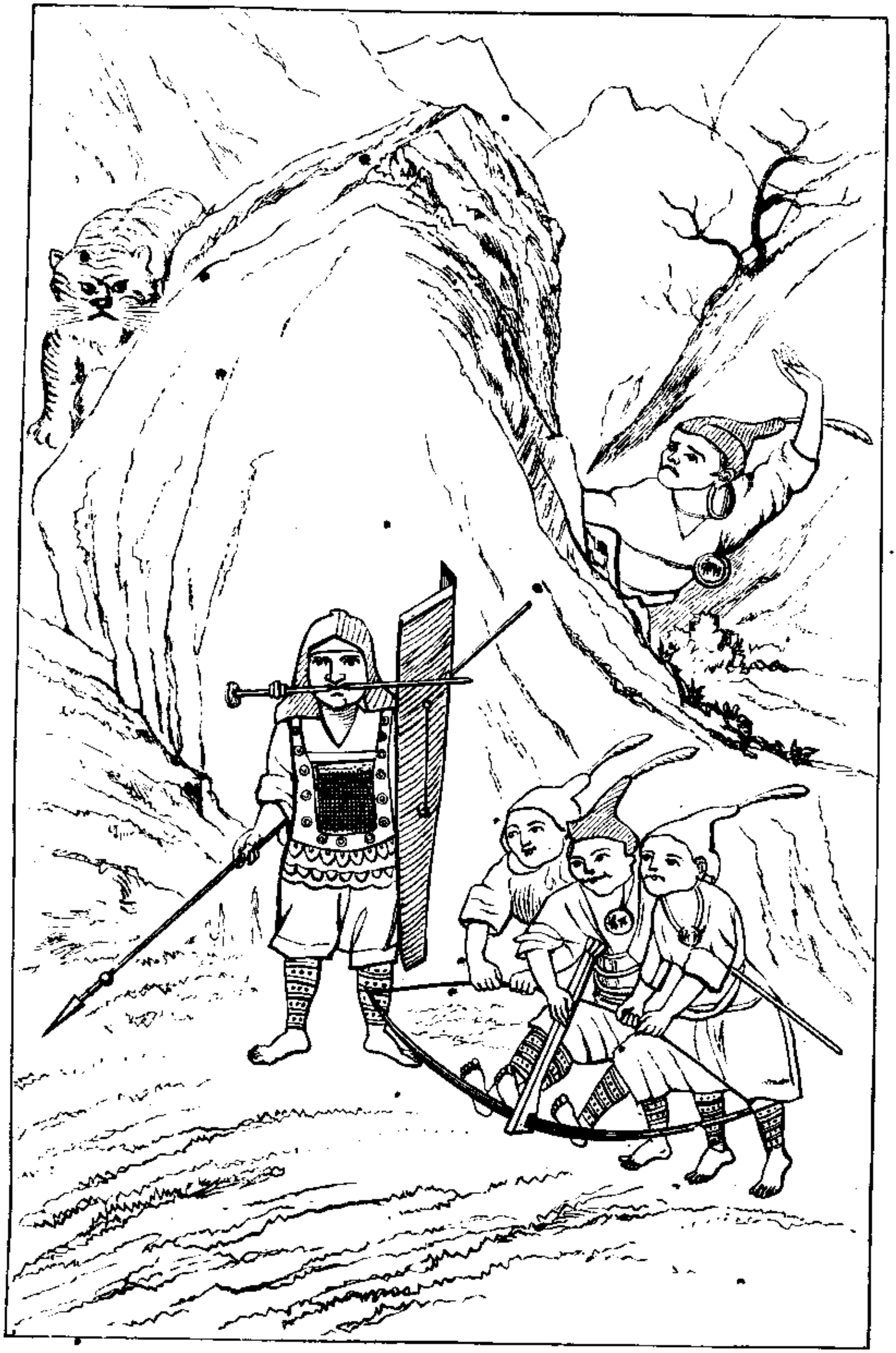
Armour of boiled leather—"*armes cuiracés de cuir bouilli;*" so Pauthier's text; the material so often mentioned in medieval costume, *e. g.* in the leggings of Sir Thopas:—

> "His jambeux were of cuirbouly,
> His swerdes 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 Miautsé 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 Lutze of the valley of the Lukiang, of tribes of the hills of Laos, of the Stiens of Cambodia, and of several of the Miautsé tribes of the interior of China. We give a cut copied from a Chinese Work on the Miautsé of Kweichau in Dr. Lockhart's possession, which shows *three* little men of the Sang-Miau tribe of Kweichau combining to bend a crossbow, and a chief with *armes cuiracés.*

Note 4.—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 Wolga: "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.)



The Sangmiau Tribe of Kweichau, with the Crossbow.

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.

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.[1] [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.[2]

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.[3]

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.[4]

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."[5] 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 is so impure and unwholesome; and any foreigners attempting it would die for certain. 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.[6]

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 the Devil-conjurors who are the keepers of their 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 will 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,[7] 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 pros-

trate 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 if 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.[8] Moreover it will be announced that the sheep must be all black-faced, or of some other particular colour as it may happen; and then all those things are to be offered in sacrifice to such and such a spirit whose name is given.[9] 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 yes! 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 shall be pardoned; so this they do. And when all that the spirit has commanded has been done with great ceremony, then it will 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.[10]

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.—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*, &c.; 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 irrecognizable. Klaproth, I believe, first showed that the word was simply the Persian ZĂR-DANDÁN "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. (*Demailla*, IX. 478-9.)

Vochan seems undoubtedly to be, as Martini pointed out, the city called by the Chinese YUNG-CHANG-FU. Some of the old printed editions read *Uuciam*, *i.e.* Uncham or Unchan, and it is probable that either this or *Vician*, *i.e.* VONCHAN was the true reading, coming very close to the proper name, which is WUNTSHEN (see *J. A. S. B.* VI. 547). 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 to cover it annually with gold-leaf. Some additional particulars about the Kinchi, in the time of the Mongols, will be found in Pauthier's notes (p. 398).

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 either *Kakhyens* or *Singphos*, the two largest tribes apparently in that quarter (and closely akin to each other, indeed essentially identical in race);* probably Singphos. For the Kakhyens, or *Kachyens* (as I observe Major Sladen calls them), are probably represented by the *Go-tchang* or *Ho-tchang* of Pauthier's extracts, who are named as distinct from the Kinchi (pp. 397, 411). 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 Col. 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 Kinchi as north of Yunchang. 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).

The only other wild tribe spoken of by Major Sladen as attending the markets on the frontier is that of the *Lisaus* (already mentioned by Lieut. Garnier *supra*, ch. xlvii. note 6). The latter officer also mentions the Mossos, who are alleged once to have formed an independent kingdom about Likiangfu. Possibly further knowledge may connect one of these with the Gold-Teeth.

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 testify: "The great

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* "*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 Kakoos, and consider it an insult to be called so themselves."—*Sketch of the Singphos, or the Kakhyens of Burma*, Calcutta, 1847,

men sometimes set their teeth in gold, by casing with a plate of 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.*)

NOTE 2.—This is precisely the account which Lt. 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*, &c., p. 34.)

NOTE 3.—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, in which it formerly existed, as it does still or did recently, in certain parts of Biscay. "In certain valleys of Biscay," says Francisque-Michel, "in which the popular usages carry us back 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 *Langszi*, a small tribe of aborigines in the department of Weining, in Kweichau, but close to the border of Yunnan: "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 the 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 been found among the Carib aborigines of the West Indies, among the Abipones of Central South America, among the aborigines of California, among some of the tribes of Guiana, in West Africa, in the Island of Bouro in the Indian Archipelago, &c. 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

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 Medieval Fabliau of *Aucasin and Nicolete.* 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 ù 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," &c.

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 uncivilized man. It would be difficult to abridge Mr. Tylor's interesting remarks on the rationale of the custom; but we may say briefly that he traces it to two distinct sentiments found to prevail among various savage nations: one, that which assigns the parentage entirely to the father, leaving the mother out of the question; the other, the belief "that the connexion between father and child is not only, as we think, a mere relation of parentage, affection, duty, but that their very bodies are joined by a physical bond, so that what is done to the one acts directly upon the other."

(*Tylor, Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 288-296; *Michel, Le Pays Basque*, p. 201; *Sketches of the Meau-tsze*, transl. by *Dr. Bridgman* in *J. of North China Br. of R. As. Soc.*, p. 277; *MS. Notes by Major Sladen; Hudibras*, Pt. III., canto I. 707; *Fabliaus*

et Contes par Barbazan, ed. Méon, I. 408-9; also *Legrand d'Aussy*, III. App. p. 21 *seqq.*; many other references in TYLOR).

NOTE 4.—"The abundance of gold in Yunnan is proverbial in China, so that if a man lives very extravagantly they ask if his father is governor of Yunnan." (*Martini*, p. 140.)

Polo has told us that in Eastern Yunnan the exchange was 8 of silver for one of gold (chap. xlviii.), that in the Western division of the province it was 6 of silver for one of gold (chap. xlix.), and now still nearer the borders of Ava it was 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 uncivilized 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 Yunnan, 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.

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 shewn grounds for believing that in India, and generally over civilized Asia, the ratio was 10 to 1. In Pauthier's extracts from the *Yuen-sse* 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. 10 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 Pekin in 1821 the finest gold was valued as at 18 to 1. And as regards the precise territory of which this chapter speaks I find in Lt. Bower's Commercial Report on Sladen's Mission that the price of pure gold at Momien in 1868 was 13 times its weight in silver (p. 122).

Does not Shakespere indicate at least a memory of 10 to 1 as the traditional 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*, &c., p. ccl. and p. 442; *Lecomte*, II. 91; *Milburne's Oriental Commerce*, II. 510; *Sonnerat*, II. 17; *Hedde, Etude Pratique*, &c., p. 14; *Williams, Chinese Commercial Guide*, p. 129; *Timkowski*, II. 202; *Alcock*, I. 281, II. 411, &c.)

Note 5.—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 6.—"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 to have seen, when a child, 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.)

"In illustration of this custom I have to relate what follows. In the year 1863 the Tsaubwa (or Prince) of a Shan Province adjoining Yunnan 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 7.—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 medicifer, but the exorcist, is summoned to the sick man's aid." (*J. A. S. B.*, XVIII., 728.)

NOTE 8.—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 potations." (*Ibid.*)

NOTE 9.—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 10.—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*. (*An. de la Foi*, XXXVI. 323, and XXXVII. 312-13.)

"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.)

In fact these strange rites of Shamanism, devil-dancing, or what not, are found with wonderful identity of character among the non-Aryan 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 Musulman orthodoxy.

Dr. Caldwell has given a striking account of the practice of devil-

dancing among the Shanars of Tinnevelly, 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, p. 19-20.)

CHAPTER LI.

Wherein is related how the King of Mien and Bangala vowed vengeance against the Great Kaan.

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 foot-men good 60,000 men. In short he equipped a fine force, as well befitted such a puissant prince. It was indeed a force 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 2, chap. 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-K'wé* or *Mien-tisong* is the name always given in Yunnan 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 Tirhút).

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-Karâ*, a part of Bengal.* The marriage was objected to 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 Alaung-tsi-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 *Narasingha Pati*) the king reigning at the time of the Mongol invasion.

All these circumstances shew tolerably close relations between Burma and Bengal, and also *that the dynasty then reigning in Burma was descended*

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* Sir A. Phayre thinks this may have been *Vikrampúr*, for some time the capital of Eastern Bengal before the Mahomedan conquest. Vikrampur was some miles east of Dacca, and the dynasty in question was that called *Vaidya* (see *Lassen*, III. 749). *Patteik-Karâ* is apparently an attempt to represent some Hindi name such as *Patthar-garh*, "The Stone-Fort."

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 Sept. 6th, 1818, is the following passage: 'The king of Burma favoured us early this year with the obliging requisition that we should cede to him Moorshedabad 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 1823-24, 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 even this would 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 Barri 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, Hierozoicon*, ed. 3rd, p. 266; *Jord.*, p. 26; *Philost.* trad. par *A. Chassaing*, liv. II. c. ii.; *Ibn. Bat.* II. 223; *N. and E.* XIV. 510; *Cochin China*, &c., London, 1633, ed. 3; *Armandi, Hist. Militaire des Eléphants*, 259 *seqq.*, 442.)

CHAPTER LII.

Of the Battle that was fought by the Great Kaan'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 meanwhile 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.

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 quality, 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.[2]

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.—*Nescradin* for Nesradin, as we had *Bascra* for Basra. Perhaps *Neseradin* was the true reading.

This NÁSRUDDÍN 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 Kublai's chief Ministers. Nasruddin retained his position in Yunnan 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 Kublai's successor; and another son, Ḥálá, is also mentioned as one of the governors of the province of Fuchau (see *Cathay*, p. 265, 268, and *D'Ohsson*, II. 507-8).

Nasruddin (*Nasulating*) is also frequently mentioned as employed on this frontier by the Chinese authorities whom Pauthier cites.

NOTE 2.—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 Yungchang 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 Nasruddin in connexion with this battle. He names as the chief of the Mongol force *Huthukh* (Kutuka?), commandant of Tali-fu. Nasruddin 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 Bamo, and is perhaps the Kaungtaung of the Burmese), but effecting little (p. 415).

These affairs of the battle in the Yungchang territory, and the advance of Nasruddin to the Irawadi are, as Polo clearly implies in the beginning of chap. li., quite distinct from the invasion and conquest of Mien some years later of which he speaks in chapter 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 Yungchang 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

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 Yungchang or Vochan territory, but we have in the Chinese narrative a consistent chronology and tolerably full detail of the relations between the two countries.

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 chapter 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 Demailla, and after the Burmese Chronicle by Burney and Phayre. (See *Demailla*, IX. 476 *seqq.*; and *J. A. S. B.* vol. VI. p. 121-2, and vol. XXXVII. Pt. I. p. 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 Yunnan. The Kakhyens attend in great crowds. They do *not* now bring gold for sale to Momien, 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 Bamó. (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 Yungchang; 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 it is impossible that that city could 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° 30′.

On the whole however I incline to suppose that the 15 days' journey extends to Pagán, and represents a journey by *water.* Visdelou gives a curious extract from the story of a large body of Chinese who fled from Yunnan in 1687 in consequence of the Manchu conquest, and sought refuge in Ava, Pegu, and Siam. This party went from Yungchang to Téng-Yué or Momien in 4 days, and in 5 days more to a village on the Burmese frontier *where they embarked and descended by water to Ava.* This took them 20 days; but they were a very large body; it could certainly have been done in much less time. Their first embarcation, if the time be correct, must have been on the waters of the Bamó River near Muang-La or Sanda. I should rather put Polo's supposed embarcation on the *Shweli*, which might be reached in 2½ days from Yungchang, and this *may be* the descent of which he speaks, though the fact that the Salwen river and valley intervenes between Yungchang and the Shweli is a difficulty. We do not know the height of Yungchang. That of Momien is estimated in Sladen's Report at 5800 feet above the sea.

The only serious difficulty in this view of the Itinerary is the representation of the country travelled through as so wild and uninhabited, whilst the banks of the Irawadi, at least between 23° and 21°, are the most thickly peopled region of Burma. The Chinese fugitives of 1687 say, that during the *first five days* of their descent of the rivers "they saw only desert and uninhabited tracts," but in the remaining 15 they passed towns and villages. (*J. A.* ser. 2, tom. x. p. 422.)

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 provision 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

Lit. Frauenfelder Palermo.

THE CITY OF MIEN
with the Gold and Silver Towers.

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 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. 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 Yunnanfu, then called Chungkhing, (and in my view the *Yachi* of Polo) in the autumn of 1283. We are told that the army made use of boats to descend the River '*Oho* (perhaps the Bhamó River, called by the Kakhyens Ta-*Khokha*) to the fortified city of Kiang-theu (see *supra*, note 2, chap. 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. 495, 416; see also *D'Ohsson*, II. 444)

It is curious to compare these narratives with that from the Burmese Royal Annals given by Col. Burney, and again by Sir A. Phayre in the *J. A. S. B.* (IV. 401, and XXXVII. Pt. I. p. 101). Those annals afford

The Palace of the King of Mien in 1855.

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 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 millions of horse and 20 millions of foot (!) to invade Burma. The Burmese generals had their *point d'appui* at the city of *Nga-tshaung-gran*, apparently somewhere near the mouth of the Bamó 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 Bamó 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 *Tarok-man* 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*

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* This is the name now applied in Burma to the Chinese. Sir A. Phayre supposes it to be *Türk*, in which case its use probably began at this time.

† In the Narrative of Phayre's Mission, chap. ii.

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 Amyot's Mémoires (XIV. 292): "Mien-Tien .... had five chief towns, of which the first was *Kiangtheu* (*supra*, pp. 69, 74), the second *Taikung*, the third *Maldi*, 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 Shunti, the last Mongol Emperor, who, after subjugating it, erected at Pukan-Mien-Wang a tribunal styled *Hwen-wei-shi-sé*, the authority of which extended over Pang-ya and all its dependencies." This is evidently founded on actual knowledge, for Panya 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 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 Násruddin had represented the conquest of Mien as a very easy task, and Kublai 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, however, 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.

It is worthy of note that the unfortunate King then reigning in

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* Compare the old Chinese Pilgrims Hwui Seng and Seng Yun, in their admiration of a vast pagoda erected by the great King Kanishka in Gandhara (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

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 51 predecessors in Pagán, and of the King and his Family. It is easy to suspect a connexion 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." (*Notes by Sir A. Phayre; J. A. S. B.* IV. as above, also V. 164, VI. 251; *Mason's Burmah*, 2d ed. p. 26.)

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 (p. 326–7).

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 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 Yunnan side, and he had, as we shall presently see (*infra*, chap. 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 Kublai 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 Musa'úd king of Dehli, 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 Firishtah to Briggs and Elphinstone," is founded purely on an erroneous reading.

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 *Ayeen 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. 211–12.

He says people from Persia used to call Bengal *Dúzakh pur-i ni'amat*, "a hell crammed with good things."

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 *Aín Akbari*, however, speaks of Sharifabad in Bengal, which appears to have corresponded to modern Burdwan, 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, *Cangigu* as it has been generally printed. John de Barros shows some acumen in identifying it with "the country of the Gueoni, a people who are found to the north of the Laos" (Dec. III. l. ii. cap. 5). *Guion* is however, according to the Abbé Desgodins of the French missions, the Tibetan name of the *Mossos*, a people who formerly had an independent kingdom about Likiangfu.

M. Pauthier, who sees in it Laos, or rather one of the states of Laos, which is 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, Shans, or *Thai*, is very certain from the vocabulary of their language published by Klaproth.

Pauthier's Chinese authority gives a puerile interpretation of *Papesifu*

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* Indeed documents in Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta* show that the *Papé* state was also called *Muang Yong* (p. 364-5). I observe that the River running to the east of Pu-eul and Ssemao (Puer and Esmok) is called *Papien*-Kiang.

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 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! The explanation that Tungking was called *Kiaochi*, meaning "crossed-toes," because the people exhibited that phenomenon, is probably equally puerile. As another example, less ridiculous but not more true, *Chin-tan*, representing the Indian name of China, *Chínasthána*, is explained to mean "Eastern-Dawn" (*Aurore 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 the 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-yué*. The latter word he supposes to be converted into *Anyuë, 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 Yunnan. A part of this region has for the first time been traversed by the officers of the recent French expedition up the Mekong, who visited Sheu-ping, Lin-ngan and the upper valley of the River of Tungking on their way to Yunnan-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 Sheuping 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 *Khato*, the *Lopé*, the *Shentseu*. 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 Paï, 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 *Honhi* first suggested to me that the reading of the text should 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 *Auin*, and what may be either *Aniu* or *Anin*. *Anyn* is also found in the Latin Brandenburg MS. of Pipino's version collated by Andrea Müller, to which however we cannot ascribe much weight. But the two words are so nearly identical in medieval 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 *Honhi*, 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 Talon 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 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 Honhi, 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 HONHI or NGONING, 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 Ho*mi*, is expressed by the same character as the first syllable of NGO*ning*.

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. 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 1.—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 medieval 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 quo-

tation, 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 Yunnan 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 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*, p. 272-3.)

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 (next page) from the drawing representing these Kolo-man in the original work from which Bridgman translated, which is in the possession of Dr. Lockhart.

Note 2.—Magaillans, speaking of the semi-independent tribes of Kweichau and Kwangsi says: "Their towns are usually so girt by high mountains and scarped rocks that it seems as if nature had taken a pleasure in fortifying them" (p. 43).

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* 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 Yunnan." Does not this look as if *Kolo* were really the old name, *Luluh* or Lolo the later?

The Koloman, after a Chinese drawing.

CHAPTER LIX.

Concerning the Province of Cuiju.

Cuiju is a province towards the East. 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.[1]

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] 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 12 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.

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 doubtingly by Marsden, that this is the province of KWEICHAU, seems the only admissible one. As the latter observes, the reappearance of paper-money shows that we have got back into a province of China Proper. Such, Yunnan, recently conquered

The city of *Fungul* is by Pauthier identified with one which stood about 30 m. north of Kweiyangfu the present capital, and which was the head of a district called TAWANKOLO, of which he supposes *Fungul* to be a corruption.

The name is, however, even more 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, Kwangsi and Yunnan. (*Biot*, p. 168; *Martini*, p. 137.)

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." Kweichau 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 Kweichau: "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. 352). M. Perny speaks of Tigers in the mountainous parts of Kweichau. (*Ibid.* 139.)

NOTE 4.—These great dogs were noticed by Lieut. (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.—Martini says silk is not produced in Kweichau. But M. Perny writes that the trade in silk is an important branch of commerce in Upper Kweichau; it is however the silk of the oak-leaf silkworm (*u. s.* 136).

NOTE 6.—We have now got back to Sindafu, *i.e.* Chingtufu in Ssechuen, 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 along a river to the city of Fungul, Sinugul (or what not) in (5) Cuiju; 12 days further, on or along the same river, to (6) Chingtufu. Total from Bangala to Chingtufu 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 Yunnan and Mien. *Bangala* is reached *per saltum* with no indication of the 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 Kweichau and Ssechüen. 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 Yunnan 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. But I am not convinced of this identity, and possibly Caugigu is to be placed still nearer the Chinese and Tungking territory, say at Kiang Hung.

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 *Kafchikúe* of Rashiduddin, the name applied by him to Tungking, and representing the KIAOCHI-KWÉ of the Chinese. D'Anville's Atlas brings Kiaochi up to the Mekong in immediate contact with Cheli 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 M. 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 which I have laid down on your map (viz., extending a few miles N.E. of Homi). There are scarcely

* A passing suggestion of the identity of Kafche Kue and Caugigu is made by D'Ohsson, and I formerly objected (see *Cathay*, p. 272).

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 Yunnan between Lin-ngan and Xieng Hung, dates in some degree from the Yuen, but in a far greater degree from Kanghi." Hence even with the Ramusian reading of the itinerary we cannot place *Anin* much beyond the position indicated already.

Koloman.—We have seen that the position of this region is probably near the western frontier of Kweichau. Adhering to *Homi* as the representative of Anin, and to the 8 days' journey of the text, a probable position of Koloman would be about *Lo-ping*, which according to Petermann's map lies about 100 English miles in a straight line N.E. 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 very serious, perhaps insuperable.

The narrative demands that from Koloman we should reach *Fungul*, the chief city of *Cuiju*, by travelling 12 days along a river, and that Fungul should be within 12 days' journey of Chingtufu, along the same river, or at least along rivers connected with it.

It does not seem possible to reconcile M. Pauthier's Tawankolo, which otherwise has a good deal to recommend it, with these conditions.

Having referred the difficulty to M. Garnier, that officer favoured me with a note, in which he fully discusses the question, and rejects the route by the U-kiang or River of Kweichau as impossible in the time stated. He then proceeds: "There are three navigable rivers to the west of the U-kiang. That one which enters the Kiang a little above Siu-cheu-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 Chao-tong. 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.

"To allow of this solution we must indeed . . . . suppose that the journey from Toloman to Fungul is *not* by the river, and that only some little way after leaving the latter point the traveller falls in with the eastern branch of the Lowatong River. The ramifications of the rivers between Weining, Loping, and Kweiyang are very obscure. That space includes lakes, rivers which lose themselves and reappear, and a table-land of considerable extent above Weining. Water travelling is often easy, and even when interrupted can be resumed after a single day's journey or less. Marco Polo's 12 days' journey might be of this kind."

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

MARCO POLO'S ITINERARIES.

Nº V.

Indo Chinese Regions.

(Book II, Chaps. 44-59)

London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.

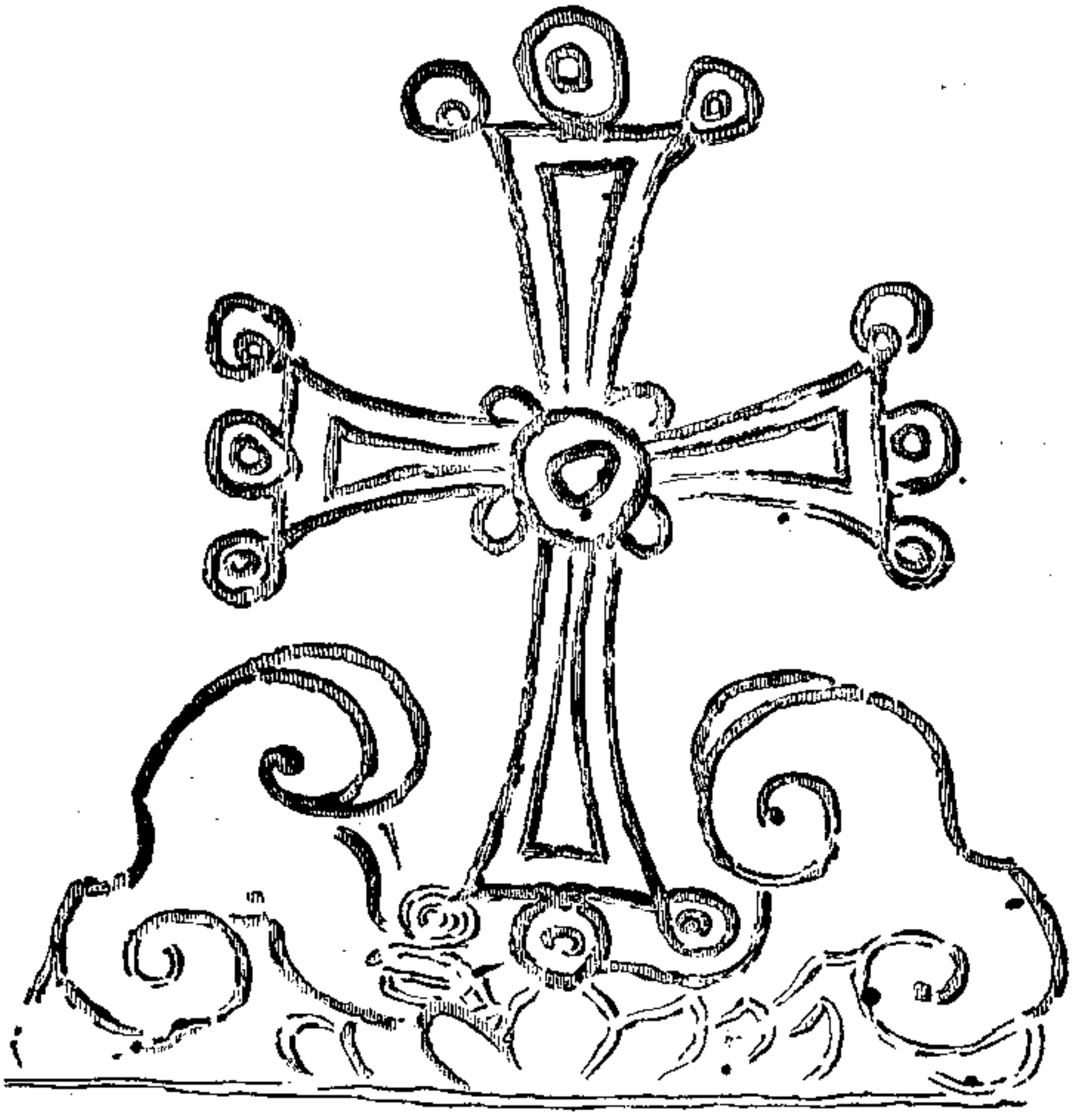
E. Weller. Lithogr.

Weining the traveller may embark and continue his voyage to any point on the great Kiang.

In this direction then it is probable that Polo's route to Chingtufu should be sought. And I may point out another river (Ngiu Lan Kiang) to the west of Weining, which M. Garnier states to be navigable, and which would afford a still more direct route to the Kinsha Kiang. The latter indeed is not *now* navigated in that quarter, but this is I believe owing to no natural obstacle, but to the dread of the savage tribes upon the banks.

My theory of Polo's actual journey would be that he returned from Yunnanfu to Chingtufu through some part of the province of Kweichau, 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 Loping; *Fungul* with Phungan-lu on the western border of Kweichau, which is *Cuiju*.

NOTE 7. Here the Traveller gets back to the road-bifurcation near Juju, *i.e.* Chochau (*ante*, p. 4), and thence commences to travel southward.



Cross on the Monument at Singanfu (actual size), (*supra*, p. 16).

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 merchandize 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 Hokianfu in Pecheli, 52 m. in a direct line south by east of Chochau. This is recognized by Marsden and Murray. 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 Thsang-chau in Pecheli, about 30 m. east by south of Hokianfu. This seems substantially right, but Pauthier shows that there was an old town actually called Changlu, separated from Thsang-chau only by the great canal.

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 Yangtse-kiang. There is a town of the third order some miles south-east of Thsang-chau, called *Yen-shan* or "salt-hill," and according to Pauthier Thsang-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.

A great change seems to have come over Chinese custom since the middle ages, in regard to the disposal of the dead. Cremation seems to be 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, how-

ever, 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 buried their dead, though they often kept the body long (as they do still) before doing so; 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 Ssechuen.

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 emigrants.*"

(*Doolittle*, 190; *Deguignes*, I. 69; *Cathay*, p. 247, 479; *Reinaud*, I. 56; *India in XVth Century*, p. 23; *Semedo*, p. 95; *Rém. Mel. 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 also most charming gardens abounding with fruit of large size. This 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 thence-

forward 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 THSINAN-FU, the chief city of Shantung. 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 *Yenchau* bore under the Kin the name of TAITINGFU, which may fairly thus be recognized.

It was not however Yencheu, but *Thsinanfu*, 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. Thsinan-fu lies in a direct line 86 miles south of Thsangchau (*Changlu*), near the banks of the Tathsing-ho, a large river which communicates with the great canal near Thsiningchau, 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 Hoang-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. Thsinanfu has only recently been revisited by European travellers, who report it as still a place of importance, with a considerable display of life, several fine temples, and all the furniture of a provincial capital. (*Rev. A. Williamson in J. N. China Br. R. As. Soc.* for Dec. 1867, p. 58.)

NOTE 2.—The older modern accounts speak only of the *wild* silk of Shantung. But Mr. Williamson points out that there is an extensive produce from the genuine mulberry silkworm, and anticipates a very important trade in Shantung silk. The Chinese annals more than 2000 years B.C. speak of silk as an article of tribute from Shantung. Evidently in the middle ages it was one of the provinces most noted for that article. Compare the quotation in note on next chapter from Friar Odoric. (*Williamson in J. N. Ch. Br. R. A. S.*, Dec. 1866, p. 24.)

NOTE 3.—The title *Sangon* is, as Pauthier points out, the Chinese

Tsangkiun, "a general of division." John Bell calls an officer bearing the same title "Merin *Sanguin*."

Note 4.—Agul was the name of a distant cousin of Kublai, who was the father of Nayan (*supra*, ch. ii. and Genealogy of the House of Chinghiz in Appendix A.). Mangkutai, under Kublai, held the command of the third Hazara 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*, p. 220, 455; *Gaubil*, p. 160.)

Note 5.—Litan, a Chinese of high military position and reputation under the Mongols, in the early part of Kublai's reign commanded the troops in Shantung and the conquered parts of Kiangnan. In the beginning of 1262 he carried out a design that he had entertained since Kublai's accession, declared for the Sung Emperor to whom he gave up several important places, put detached Mongol garrisons to the sword, and fortified Thsinan and Thsingchau. Kublai despatched Prince Apiché and the General Ssetienché against him. Litan, after some partial success, was beaten and driven into Thsinan, 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. Thsingchau then surrendered. (*Gaubil*, 139–140; *Demailla*, 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. It will be seen that the names of the generals sent by Kublai do not correspond with those in the text.

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 1324–5, 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 merchandize," &c. When commenting on Odoric I was inclined to identify this city with Linthsingchau, 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 THSINING-CHAU. The affix *Matu* (*Ma-theu*, a jetty, a place of river trade) might easily attach itself to the name of such a great depôt 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 Thsiningchau is the difficulty of making three days' journey of the short distance between Yenchau 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* united flow from the side of Shantung, striking the canal line at right angles on the water-shed near Thsiningchau, and have been thence diverted north-west and south-east so as to form 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 Linthsing (see *Biot* in *J. As.* ser. 3, tom. xiv. 194, and *J. N. C. B. R. A. S.*, 1866, p. 11). Duhalde calls Thsiningchau "one of the most considerable cities of the empire;" and Nieuhoff speaks of its large trade and population.

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 a province of the same name of which it is the capital. It is a rich and noble city, and the men are good soldiers, natheless 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.—There is a difficulty about this Linju or Linchau (*Lingiu*). Pauthier will have it to be *I-chau*, which at one time bore the name of *Lin-i*, and suits as to distance. But Ichau is far from the canal, which Polo appears to intend by the river of Sinjumatu; it seems to be out of his way; nor is there evidence of its great trade. Lecomte and his party seem to speak of it as a place of small importance.

Murray suggests that Lingiu is a place which appears in Arrowsmith's map (also in those of Berghaus and Keith Johnston) as *Linching-hien*. It does not appear either in D'Anville's map or in Klaproth's, nor can I find it in Biot. 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.

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 PEICHAU on the east bank of the canal. The abundance of game about here is noticed by Nieuhoff (in *Astley*, III. 417).

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 provision, 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-thsian (*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 *Si-chau*, which corresponds to that given by Marco. Biot does not give this name.

The town stands on the flat alluvial of the Hoang-Ho, and is approached by high embanked roads. (*Astley*, III. 524–5.)

Note 2.—We have again arrived on the banks of the Hoang-Ho, which was crossed higher up on our traveller's route to Karájang.

No accounts, since China became known to modern Europe, at-

tribute to the Hoang-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. 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, sea-going craft used to ascend to the ferry north of Hwainganfu, 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 Hoang-Ho discharged its waters into the Gulf of Pecheli by two branches, the most northerly of which appears to have followed the present course of the Pei-ho below Tientsing. In the time of the Shang Dynasty (ending B.C. 1078) a more southerly branch flowed towards Thsining, and combined with the *Thsi* river, which flowed by Tsinanfu, the same in fact that was till recently called the Ta-thsing. In the time of Confucius we first hear of a branch being thrown off south-east towards the Hwai flowing north of Hwaingan, in fact towards the embouchure which our maps still display as that of the Hoang Ho. But up to the Mongol era or nearly so, the mass of the waters of this great river continued to flow into the Gulf of Pecheli. They then changed their course bodily towards the Hwai, and followed that general direction to the sea which they had adopted by the time of our traveller, and which they retained till a very recent period.

During the reign of the last Mongol emperor a project was adopted for restoring the Hoang-Ho to its former channel, discharging into the Gulf of Pecheli; 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, insomuch that the Emperor Kiaking 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 Kaifungfu:

"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."

About the years 1851–3 the Hoang-Ho burst its embankments nearly 30 miles to the east of Kaifungfu, and after six centuries resumed the ancient direction of its discharge into the Gulf of Pecheli. Soon after leaving its late channel it at present spreads, without defined banks, over the very low lands of South-Western Shantung, till it reaches the Great Canal, and then enters the Ta-thsing channel, passing north of Thsinan 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 Chinkiangpu is extending so rapidly from the southern bank that a recent traveller says he expects that in two years it will have reached the northern bank.

The same change has destroyed the Grand Canal as a navigable channel, for many miles south of Linthsingchau. (*J. R. G. S.*, XXVIII. 294–5; *Escayrac de Lauture, Mém. sur la Chine*; *Cathay*, p. 125; *Reports of Journeys in China*, &c. [by Consuls Alabaster, Oxenham, &c., Parl. Blue Book, 1869], pp. 4–5, 14; *Mr. Elias in Proc. R. G. S.*, XIV. 20 *seqq.*)

Note 8.—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 Hoang-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 Máchín, which the Chinese call Manzi. . . . In the Indian language Southern China is called Mahá-chín, *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 40 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 *Máchin*. I imagine that some confusion between the two words led to the appropriation of the latter name also to *Southern* China. The term *Mantzu* or *Mantze* signifies "Barbarians" ("Sons of Barbarians"), and was applied, it is said, by the Northern Chinese to their neighbours on the south, whose civilization was of later date. The name is now specifically applied to a wild race on the banks of the Upper Kiang.

Though both Polo and Rashiduddin call the Karamoran the boundary between Cathay and Manzi, it was not so for any great distance. Honan belonged essentially to Cathay.

CHAPTER LXV.

HOW THE GREAT KAAN 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 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 king-dom 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 foot 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 new-born 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 diverged to tell you about the conquest of Manzi.

Note 1.—*Faghfúr* or *Baghbúr* 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-tse*, "Son of Heaven"; *Bagh-Púr* = "The Son of the Divinity," as Sapor or *Sháh-Púr* = "The Son of the King."

Faghfur seems to have been used as a proper name in Turkestan (see *Baber*, 423).

There is a similar word *Takfúr*, applied by the Mahomedans to the Greek emperors both of 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. Redhouse thinks it is a corruption of τοῦ κυρίου, but Defréméry says it is Armenian, *Tagavor*, "a king." (*I. B.* II. 393, 427.)

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.

Note 3.—Bayan (signifying "great" or "noble") is a name of very old renown among the Nomade nations, for we find it as that of the Khagan of the Avars in the 6th century. The present Bayan, Kublai's most famous lieutenant, was of princely birth, in the Mongol tribe called Barin. In his youth he served in the West 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 Kublai, 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*, chap. 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, Kublai, 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-ssé* (Linggan, now Hangchau) 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 17 years, his great business being to keep down the restless Kaidu.

In 1293 enemies tried to poison the emperor's ear against Bayan, and they seemed to have succeeded; for Kublai 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 Kublai 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 Kublai'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 Demailla; it is a noble eulogy of a Tartar warrior, and might have been written, in great part, as the character of a soldier of our own day. I need not name him; all readers who know the man will recognize the likeness :—

"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." Demailla 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, 223-4; *Erdmann*, 222-3; *Demailla*, IX. 335, 458, 461-3.)

NOTE 4.—As regards Bayan personally, and the main body under his command, this seems to be incorrect. His advance took place from

Another force indeed advanced direct upon Yangchau, and therefore probably by Hwainganchau; 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 = *Kumhír-Mír*, 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. Chingsiang*, was the title of the superior ministers of state at Khanbalik, 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 Khanbalik, which Wadding quotes from the Papal archives (see *Cathay*, p. 314-15).

But it is right to observe that in the Ramusian version the mistranslation which we have noticed is not so indubitable: "Volendo sapere come avea nome il Capitano nemico, le fu detto, *Chinsambaian*, cioè *Centocchi*."

A kind of corroboration of Marco's story, but giving a different form to the pun, has been recently found by Mr. W. F. Mayers, of the Consular 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 (*Pê-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 connexion 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 *Sináfúr* (evidently a clerical error for *Saianfu*, see below, chap. 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 Tutsong, 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, 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 Kwachau (*infra*, chap. lxxii.) to recapture the young emperor, but it failed. On their arrival at Tatu, Kublai's chief queen Jamui Khatun treated them with delicate consideration. This amiable lady, on being shown the spoils that came from Linggan, 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 Fuchau, in Fokien, but they were speedily driven from that province, 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 20 years later, was not

the forests between Zayton and Canton. (*Gaubil; D'Ohsson; Demailla; Cathay*, p. 272.)

Note 7.—There is much about the exposure of children and about Chinese foundling 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 foundling 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.

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 great 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 Hoang-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 Hoang-Ho sent a branch when it first began to seek a discharge further south than the Gulf of Pecheli.

The city extends for about three miles along the canal and much below its level (see *Davis*, I. 120).

The head-quarters of the salt manufacture of Hwaingan is a place called Yen-ching ("Salt-Town") some distance to the S. of the former city (see *Pauthier* in loco).

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.'

NOTE 1. — Paukin is PAO-YNG-HIEN; 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 *Mr. Alabaster's Journey* in the *Consular Reports* above quoted, p. 5).

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 Kaoyu and Yangchau, 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 five-and-twenty miles at least to the eastward of the Canal. Though our maps do not show that navigation extends to Taichau, it probably does so, for there are many branches of the canal not shown in our maps.

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 on the northern shore of the estuary of the Yangtse, which might be fairly described as three days from Tai-chau. Mr. Kingsmill identifies it with Ichin-hien, the great port on the Kiang for the export of the Yangchau salt. This is possible; but Ichin lies *west* of the canal, and though the form *Chinju* would really represent Ichin 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 Ichin is spoken of hereafter. (*Kingsmill*, in *N. and Q. Ch. and Japan*, I. 53.)

NOTE 2.—Happily there is no doubt that this is YANGCHAU, one of the oldest and most famous great cities of China. 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*. Yangchau suffered greatly in the Taeping rebellion, but its position is an "obligatory point" for commerce, and it appears to be rapidly recovering its prosperity. It is the head-quarters of the salt manufacture, and it is also now noted for a great manufacture of sweetmeats (see *Alabaster's Report* as above, p. 6).

NOTE 3.—What I have rendered "Twelve *Sings*" is in the G. T. "douze *sajes*," and in Pauthier's text "*sièges*." It seems to me a reasonable conclusion that the original word was *Sings* (see note 1 to chap. xxv. *supra*); anyhow that was the proper term for the thing meant.

In his note on this chapter Pauthier produces evidence that Yangchau was the seat of a *Sing* or government-general, but only for the first year after the conquest of the Sung territory, viz. 1276-77, and he seems (for his argument is obscure) to make from this the unreasonable deduction that at this period Kublai placed Marco Polo—who could not be more than 23 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 Yangchau to Kingsse or Hangchau; and this is probably to be taken as a correction of the former citations. It also justifies Polo's statement to a much greater degree than they had done (see *Pauthier*, pp. 467, 492).

I do not think it is certain or even probable 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, seingneurie ceste cité pour trois anz.*" Pauthier's MS. A appears to read: "*Et ot seigneurie Marc Pol, en ceste cité, trois ans.*" These expressions need not point to more than the government of the city alone, just as we find in chapter lxxiii. another Christian, Mar Sarghis, mentioned as Governor of Chinkiang-fu for the same term of years; and 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, cellui 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 *sejourna* may be an error for *seigneura*). The impression of his having been Governor-general of the province 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 tenure of office at Yangchau to have been between 1282, when we know he was at the capital (vol. i. p. 375), and 1287–8, 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 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.—Though the attributes of this district are the merest generalities, the name and direction from Yangchau are probably sufficient to indicate (as Pauthier has said), that it is NGANKING on the Kiang, the capital of the modern province of Ngan-hwai. The more celebrated city of *Nanking* did not bear that name in our traveller's time.

Nganking was the scene of a frightful massacre by the Imperialists in 1861, when they recovered it from the Taiping. 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 1.—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 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.

NOTE 3.—I propose here to enter into some detailed explanation regarding the military engines that were in use in the Middle Ages.†

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* And to the Bern MS. which seems to be a copy of it, as is also I think (in substance) the Bodleian.

† In this note I am particularly indebted to the Emperor Napoleon's researches on this subject.

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 medieval civilization—European, Saracenic, and Chinese. To the first class belonged the *Trebuchet* and *Mangonel;* to the second the *Winch-Arblast* (Arbalête à Tour), *Springold*, &c.

Whatever the ancient *Balista* may have been, the word in medieval Latin seems always to mean some kind of crossbow. The heavier crossbows were wound up by various aids, such as winches, ratchets, &c. They discharged stone shot, leaden bullets, and short square 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 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

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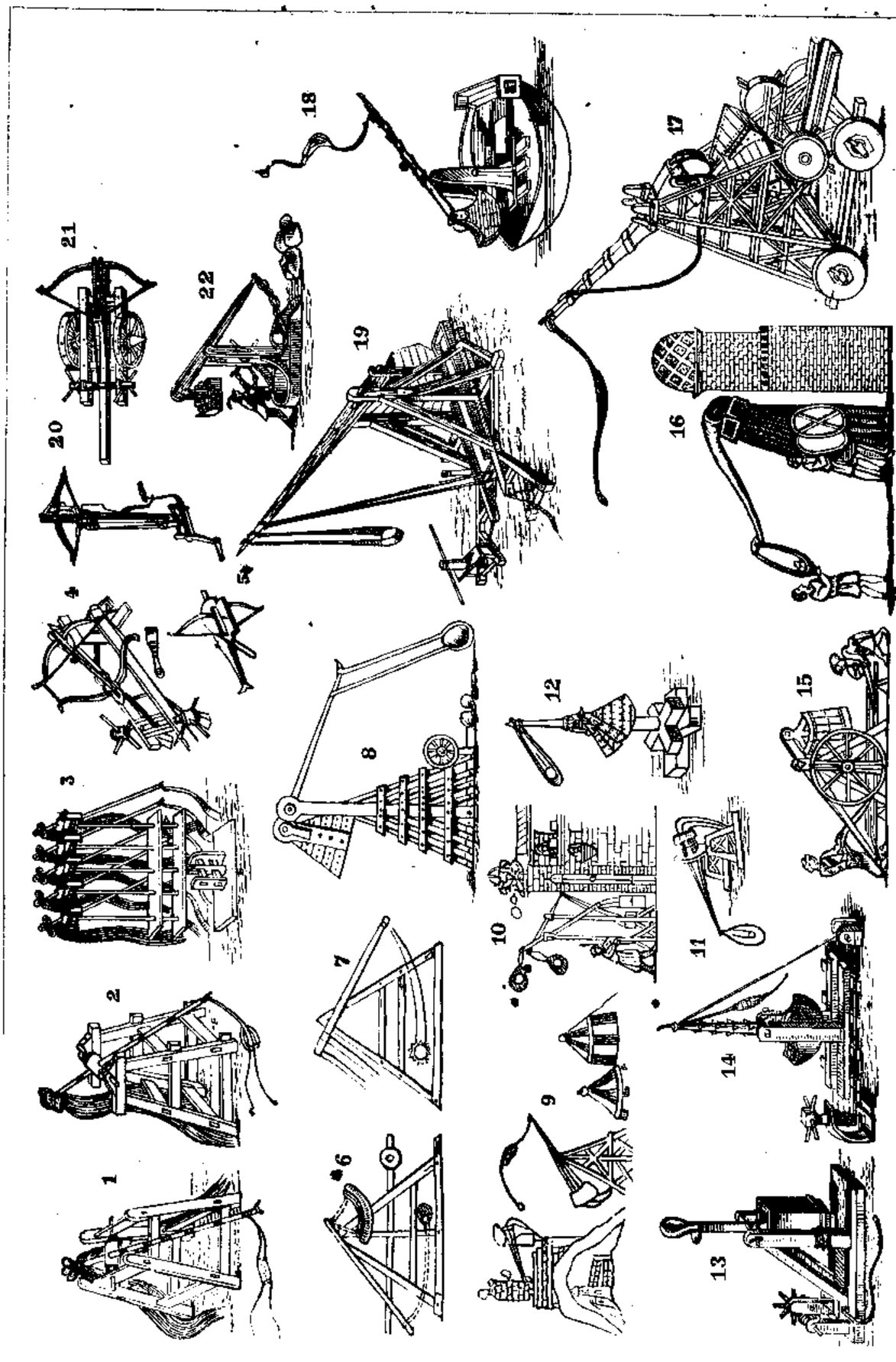
* Thus Joinville mentions the journey of Jehan li Ermin the king's artillerist, from Acre to Damascus, *pour acheter cornes et glus pour faire arbalestres*—to buy horns and glue to make crossbows withal (p. 134).

† 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.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the machine and the weight of the shot, for which doubtless traditional rules of thumb existed among the medieval 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 (p. 223–4). We have mentioned one kind of corruption propagated by these engines; the historian Wassáf tells of another. When the garrison of Delhi refused to open the gates to Alá'uddin Khilji after the murder of his uncle Firuz (1296), he loaded his mangonels with bags of gold and shot them into the fort, a measure which put an end to the opposition.

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 the curious resemblance between this

* 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*, &c., *du sage Roy Charles*, Pt. II. ch. xxiv.)

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 medieval writers that the *Mangonel* was similar to the Trebuchet, but of lighter structure and power. But often certainly the term Mangonel seems to be used generically for all machines of this class. Marino Sanuto uses no word but *Machina*, which he appears to employ as the Latin equivalent of *Mangonel*, whilst the machine which he describes appears to be a Trebuchet with moveable counterpoise. The history of the word appears to be the following. The Greek word *μάγγανον*, "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 *μαγγανικὸν* the Orientals got *Manganík* 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 utilized 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 medieval artillery to be carried out at Vincennes, and a full-sized trebuchet was constructed there. With a shaft of 33 ft. 9 in. 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 yds., whilst a 12½-in. shell, filled with earth, ranged to 131 yds. 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 medieval engineers might be realized.

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

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* 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).

† Dufour mentions that stone shot of the medieval engines exist at Zurich, of twenty and twenty-two inches diameter. The largest of these would however scarcely exceed 500 lbs. in weight.

in 1373, among other great machines had one called *Troja (Truia?)*, which cast stones of 12 to 18 hundredweight; 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 yds. with a counterpoise of 36,000 lbs. weight, and a shaft 65 ft. long. The counterpoise, composed of stone shot of 55 lbs. each, might be contained in a cubical case of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. 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 Prof. 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, and 8 ft. in breadth, 12 ft. 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 medieval machines. Thus Abulfeda speaks of one used at the final capture of Acre, which was intrusted 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

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* *Georg. Stellae Ann.* in *Muratori*, XVII. 1105; and *Daru*, Bk. viii. § 12.

Saracens according to Makrizi set 92 engines in battery against the city, whilst Abulfaraj says 300. The larger ones are said to have shot stones of "a kantar and even more." (*Makrizi*, III. 125; *Reinaud, Chroniques Arabes, &c.*, p. 570.)

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, &c. 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 medieval 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 Ghazan Khan was about to besiege the castle of Damascus in 1299, 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 Sanuto, about the same time, speaks of the range of these engines with a prophetic sense of the importance of artillery in war:—

"On this object (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.

(*Etudes sur le Passé et l'Avenir de l'Artillerie*, par *L. N. Bonaparte*, &c., tom. II.; *Marino Sanuto*, Bk. II. Pt. 4, ch. xxi. and xxii.; *Kington's Fred. II.*, II. 488; *Froissart*, I. 69, 81, 182; *Elliot*, III. 41, &c.; 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 devylys dent," &c.—*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 Siangyang-fu, upon the River Han, in the west of Honan (now in Hupé), and commanding one of the great military

approaches to South China, viz., that from Shensi. The name given to the city by Polo is precisely that which it bears in Rashiduddin, and there is no room for doubt as to its identity.

The Chinese historians relate that Kublai was strongly advised to make the capture of Siangyang and Fanching, the city which stood on the other side of the Han, a preliminary to his intended attack upon the Sung. The siege was undertaken in the latter part of 1268, and it held out till the spring of 1273. Nor did Kublai 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 enterprize; 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 Kublai before the end of 1274, *i.e.* a year and a half after the fall of Siangyang 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 Siangyang 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, chap. lxv.) 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 Siangyang and Fanching had held out already nearly three years, an Uighur 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 Kublai the place would speedily be

taken. Kublai 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). Kublai 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 Siangyang, 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. Fanching was first taken by assault, and some weeks later Siangyang 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 *Manjaníks* or Mangonels called *Kumga*, the Kaan caused a certain engineer to be sent for from Damascus or Balbek, and the three sons of this person, Abubakr, Ibrahim, and Mahomed, with their workmen, constructed seven great Manjaníks which were employed against Sayanfu, a frontier fortress and bulwark of Manzi.

We thus see that three different notices of the Siege of Siangyang, 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 *Manjaníki Khás* or Engineer-in-Chief to Chinghiz Khan, and his corps of ten thousand *Manjaníkis* or Mangonellers. The Chinese histories used by Gaubil also speak of these artillery-battalions of Chinghiz. At the siege of Kaifungfu on the Hoang-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 Chincheu (*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 Mangu sent to *Cathay* to fetch thence 1000 families of Mangonellers, naphtha-shooters, and arblasteers. 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 multiplices, recte et fortiter jacientes.*"

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 *Kumgha* 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, Calabra, &c. It is mentioned under the former name by Marino Sanuto, 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 autras perciras, e *Dona*, e *Reina* ;
Pessia les autz murs e la sala peirina."*

(" He set up his *Calábers*, 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.")

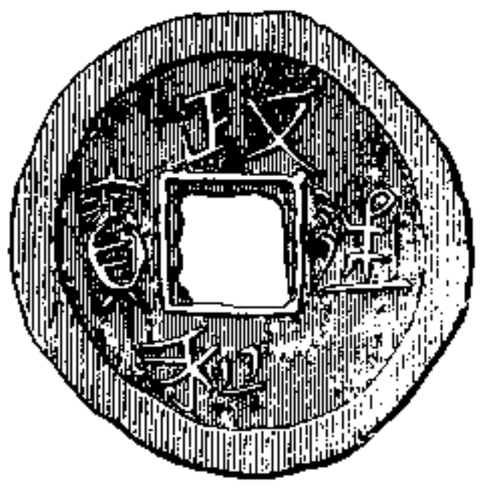
Now in looking at the Chinese representations of their ancient mangonels, which are evidently genuine, and of which I have given some specimens (figs. 1, 2, 3), I see none worked by the counterpoise; all (and there are 6 or 7 different representations in the work from which these are taken) are shown 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).

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, &c.).

Before quitting this subject I will quote a curious passage from the History of the Sung Dynasty contributed to the French work just quoted 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 neutralizing 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; *Demailla*, 329; *Pauthier in loco* and Introduction; *D'Ohsson*, II. 35, and 391; Note by Mr. Edward Thomas; *Q. Rashid*, p. 132, 136).

* Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, vol. i. No. 21.

Siangyang 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 connexion 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 greater 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 canes of 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 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 Fokien, in order to notice Nganking (as we have supposed) and Siangyang, 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 *Iangui* (Yanjù) is the reading intended, and that Polo here comes back to the main line of his journey.

I have little doubt that Sinju is the city which was then called Chin-chau, but now I-chin-hien,* and which stands on the Kiang as near as may be 15 miles from Yangchau. 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-chin-hien is still the great port of the Yangchau 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 Ichin (see note 1 to chap. lxviii. above; and *J. R. G. S.* XVII. 139).

Note 2.—The river is of course the Great Kiang or Yangtse-Kiang (already spoken of in chapter 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 "*Haï 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 Taiping rebellion that to recent travellers it has presented an aspect sadly belying its old fame. Now again, however, prosperity is reviving, and European navigation is beginning to make an important figure on

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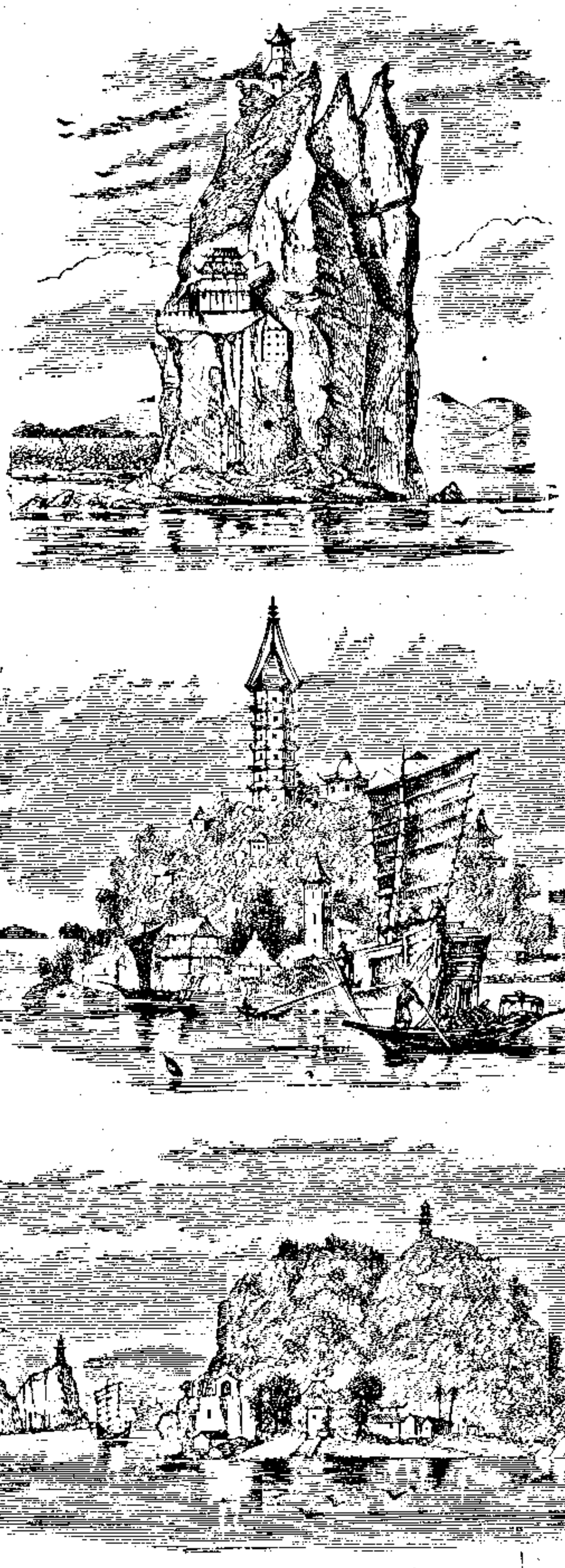
* See *Gaubil*, p. 93, note 4, and *Biot*, p. 275.



Island Monasteries on the Yangtsé Kiang.

the Kiang. At present (May, 1869) four steamers of 1200 tons ply weekly either way between Shanghai and Hankau.

NOTE 4.—12,000 *cantars* would be more than 500 tons, and I do not know if this can be justified by the burthen of *Chinese* vessels on the river, though we see it is more than doubled by that of British and American steamers. In the passage referred to under note 1, Admiral Collinson speaks of the salt-junks at Ichin 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 shavings or strips of bamboo twisted. Hawsers are also made of bamboo. Ramusio in this passage says the boats are tracked by horses, 10 or 12 to each vessel. I do not find this mentioned anywhere else.

NOTE 6.—Such eminences as are here alluded to are the Little Orphan Rock, Silver Island, and 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 Chinkiangfu. Hence it is KWACHAU, 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 50 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 Yangchau to Kwachau as "full of junks."

NOTE 2.—Rashiduddin gives the following account of the Grand Canal, spoken of in this passage. The river of Khanbalig 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 Khanbalig 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 Khanbalig 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. Kublai caused the sides of the embank-

ments 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*, 259-60).

The canal appears to have been completed in 1289, 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 Kublai'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 Kiangnan, the distress and derangement caused by the recent rebel occupation of that province must have been enormous. (*Pauthier*, p. 481-2 ; *Demailla*, p. 439.)

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 Kang-hi in 1684.

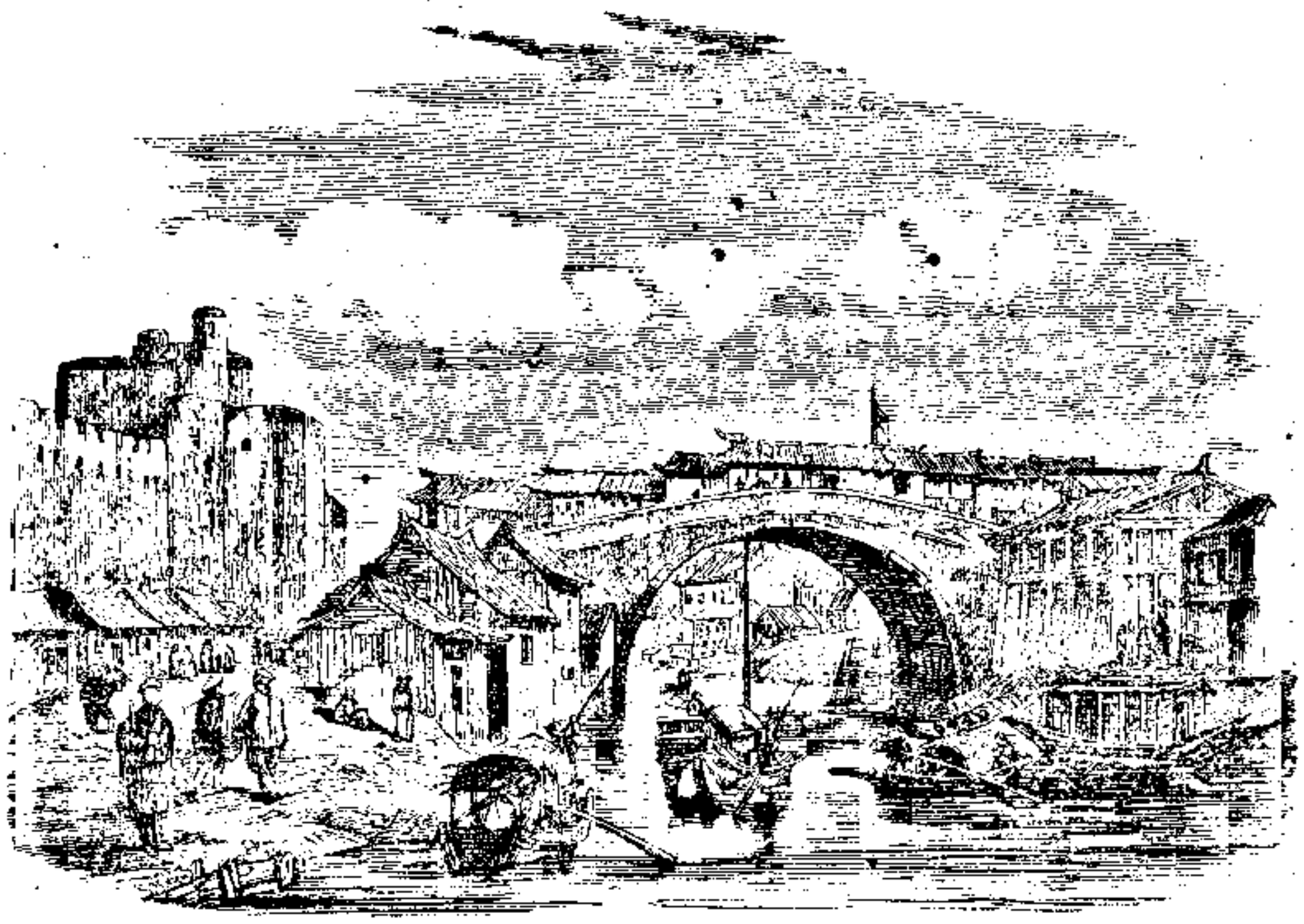
The monastery contained one of the most famous Buddhist libraries in China. This was in the hands of our troops during the first China war, and as it was intended to remove the books there was no haste made in examining their contents. Meanwhile peace came, and the library was restored. It is a pity *now* that the *jus belli* had not been exercised promptly, for the whole establishment was destroyed by the Taipings 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. (*Gutzlaff* 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 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]



West Gate of Chinkiangfu in 1842.

Note 1.—Chinkiangfu 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 Taiping wars, but is rapidly recovering its position as a place of native commerce.

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 Singanfu.

From this second mention of *three years* as a term of government, we may 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 CHANGCHAU. The name is written in Pauthier's MSS. *Chinginguy*, in the G. T. *Cingiggui* and *Cinghingui*, in Ramusio *Tinguigui*.

The capture of Changchau by Gordon's force, 11th May, 1864, was the final achievement of that "Ever Victorious Army."

NOTE 2.—The relics of the Alans were settled on the northern skirts of 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 by this name they are spoken of by Carpini, Rubruquis, and Josafat Barbaro, as well as by Ibn Batuta. 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 Uighurs, 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 Archbishop 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. Rashid-

uddin 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.*)

Note 3.—The Chinese histories do not mention the story of the Alans and their fate; but they tell how Changchau 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 carcases, 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 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 70 great caldrons to be heated, and his prisoners to be boiled therein. And the "evil deed" of the citizens of Changchau 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*, 166-5, 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 6000 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 Suchau in Kiang-nan—before the rebellion brought ruin on it, the Paris of China. "Every thing remarkable was alleged to come from it; fine pictures, fine carved work, fine silks, and fine ladies!" (*Fortune*, I. 186.) When the Emperor Kang-hi visited Suchau the citizens laid the streets with carpets and silk stuffs, but the Emperor dismounted and made his train do the like. (*Davis*, I. 186.)

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, 119–20, 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.

Note 3.—This statement about the abundance of rhubarb in the mountains adjoining Suchau is believed by the most competent authorities to be quite erroneous. Rhubarb *is* exported from Shanghai, 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 Kiangnan. And I see in the Shanghai trade-returns of 1865, that there is *no* ginger among the exports.

Note 4.—The meanings ascribed by Polo to the names of Suchau and Kingssé (Hangchau) show plainly enough that he was ignorant of Chinese. Odoric does not mention Suchau, 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 thien thang, 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 every advantage of inland navigation and foreign trade, combined every source of wealth and prosperity, and were often thus coupled together by the Chinese. They are I believe rapidly recovering from the effects of devastation by Taiping occupation and Imperialist recapture.

Note 5.—The Geographic Text only, at least of the principal Texts, has distinctly the *three* cities *Vugui*, *Vughin*, *Ciangan*. Pauthier iden-

* See Quatremère's *Rashid.* p. lxxxvii, and Hammer's *Wassáf*, p. 42.

MARCO POLO

HANGCHAU from Chinese Sources.

To face Book II, Chap. 76.

"la très nobillisme cité de Quinsay, sans faille la plus noble cite et la meilor qe soit au monde"

SOUTH

RIVER TSIEN TANG

Lio-ho-ta
(Pag. of the Six Harmonies)

Fung-Shan M.
(Phœnix Hill G.)

FUYANG-HIEN

Fung-hwang-shan
(Phœnix Hill)

Houchao M.
(Tide Protecting G.)

Ching-Hwang-Miao

Nan-Kao-Fang
(South High Peak)

Palace of Governor

Lui-Fang-Ta
(Thunder Peak Pagoda)

Wangkiang M.
(River Prospect G.)

P. of Viceroy

Tsing-Po-Man
(Limpid Wave G.)

Pei-kao-Fang
(North High Peak)

Tsing-Tai M.
(Pure and Great G.)

HANGCHAU

Chief Street

Lake called SI-HU

The Lake

Fang-Sang-Che
(The Fish-Pond)

Yung-kin M.
(Gold Fountain G.)

Palace of Kienlung

Hu-sin-ting
(Lake Heart Pav.n)

King-Chan M.
(Beneficent Spring G.)

a

Tsien-Tang Gate

General's Yamun

Wan-lan-ko (Pav.n of Literary Assemblies)

(T. of the Mountain Lake) Hu-Shan-Miao

R. C. Church

b

Temple of Faithful Minister

Pao-Shuh-Ta

Kan-Shan M.
(Boundary Hill G.)

Wu-lin M.
(Wu Forest G.)

NORTH

N.B. (a) The portion of Wall ab does not now exist.
(b) The dotted line ---- represents the line ascribed to the ancient Wall.

Lit. Frauenfelder, Palermo.

tifies the first and third with HUCHAUFU and Sungkiangfu. In favour of Vuju's being Huchau 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 Suchau to Hangchau. Nor is Huchau within a day's journey of Suchau. 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 of VUGHIN; and in that supposition Huchau must be considered the object of a digression from which the Traveller returns and takes up his route to Hangchau via Wukiang. *Kyahing* would then best answer to *Ciangan*, 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.

* *The Ever Victorious Army*, p. 395.

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 journeymen 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.[7] [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.]

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

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 astro-

logers, 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.[14]

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.[15]

And I must tell you that every hosteler who keeps 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 *Kingsse*, "capital," which was then applied to the great city, the proper name of which was at that time Lin-ngan, and is now Hangchau, as

being since 1127 the capital of the Sung dynasty. The same term *Kingsse* 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 Hangchau, 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*.

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 Imperial Geography, quoted by Pauthier, at only 35 *li*, and the book called *Hang-chau-fu-Chi*, or topographical history of Hangchau (examined for me by the kindness of Mr. R. K. Douglas) gives the measurement of the walls as 36 *li* and 90 paces. I learn, however, from a lecture on the city by the Rev. D. D. Green, an American missionary at Ningpo, that the wall, as reconstructed by Chaotsung, one of the last emperors of the Thang dynasty (894), embraced the Lio-ho-ta pagoda, 15 *li* distant from the present south gate, and had a circuit of 70 *li*. Moreover, in 1130, 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*. I cannot learn when the walls were contracted to their present compass.* 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 3 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 goes far 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 chapter on Kinsay.

The 12,000 bridges have been much carped at, and modern accounts of Hangchau (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 Hangchau, no trace in the city of the magnifi-

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* Mr. Green's lecture is printed in the Nov. and Dec. numbers for 1869 of the (Fuchau) *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*. In the bird's-eye plan of Hangchau I have traced by a dotted line the course of the wall of Chaotsung, as well as Mr. Green's indications (from a work called *Jinho-hsien-Chi*) will allow.

cent canals and bridges described by Marco Polo. The number was no doubt in this case also a mere 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 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 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."

Note 3.—There is, I believe, no trace of such an ordinance in modern China. Père Parrenin, speaking of the surmised connexion of China and Egypt, says: "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. Édif.* XXIV. 40.)

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 Kien Lung had erected a palace on the shores of the lake; it was ruined by the Taipings. Many of the constructions about the lake date from the flourishing days of the Thang 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 *Nuzhát al-Ḳulúb*), 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.)

NOTE 5.—This is still the case: "The people of Hang-chow dress gaily, and are 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 Hangchau are said to give employment to 60,000 persons within the city walls, and Huchau, Kiahing, and the surrounding villages, are reputed to employ 100,000 more" (*Ningpo Trade Report*, Jan. 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.—It is interesting to observe that 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 a staff of doctors was maintained to look after them. "None are allowed to be absolutely idle, but all help towards their own sustenance." (*Proc. R. G. Soc.* XIII. 176-7.)

NOTE 7.—The paved roads of Manzi are by no means extinct yet. Thus, Mr. Fortune, starting from Changshan (see below, chap. lxxix.) in the direction of the Black-Tea mountains, says: "The road on which we were travelling was one of the broadest and best I had met with in the country. It was well paved with granite, about 12 feet in width, and perfectly free from weeds" (II. 148). And Lieut. Garnier tells me the roads in the remote south of Yunnan are also paved; such too were found by Major Sladen in the extreme west of the same province.

NOTE 8.—There is a curious discrepancy in the account of these baths. Pauthier's text says briefly that there are 3000 baths supplied by springs, but 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."

A note from Mr. C. Gardner says : "There are numerous public baths at Hangchau, 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 Tsien Tang, or river of Hangchau, has undergone great changes since Polo's day. The sea now comes up almost to the walls of the city ; and the upper part of the Bay of Hangchau is believed to cover what was once the site of the port and town of Kanpu, 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 Hangchau, and till recently the sole seat of Chinese trade with Japan, is at *Chapu*, some 20 miles further seaward.

It is supposed by Klaproth that Kanpu was the port frequented by the early Arab voyagers, and of which they speak under the name of *Khánfú*, confounding in their details Hangchau 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). There seems to be an indication in Chinese records that a southern branch of the Great Kiang once entered the sea at Kanpu ; the closing of it is assigned to the 7th century, or a little later.

(*Kingsmill*, u. s. p. 53 ; *Chin. Repos.* III. 118 ; *Middle Kingdom*, I. 95-106 ; *Bürck*, p. 483 ; *Cathay*, p. cxciii ; *J. N. Ch. Br. R. A. S.*, Dec. 1865, p. 3 *seqq.*)

Note 10.—Pauthier's text has : "*Chascun Roy fait chascun an le compte de son royaume aux comptes du grant siège*," where I suspect the last word is again a mistake for *sing* or *sciang*, see *supra*, Book 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

Provinces" was an ancient synonyme for China Proper (see *Cathay*, p. cxxxix, *note*).

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," &c. (*Doolittle*, p. 138).

NOTE 13.—These practices have been already noticed, *supra* Book I. ch. xl.

NOTE 14.—Mr. Gardner (*u. s.* p. 176) says: "Outside the residence of Signor Ricci" (a R. C. missionary at Hangchau, with whom the traveller put up), "originally a Nestorian Church, is the same magnificent façade which was admired by Marco Polo." Though there is nothing in Marco but the bare mention of a Nestorian church, it is very interesting to know that some tradition even of an ancient church exists. "The façade in question," Mr. Gardner writes to me, "is of stone elaborately carved, over and by the side of the massive gates, themselves covered with elegantly-wrought iron." The position of the church is shown in the map of Hangchau, inserted from an indication of Mr. Gardner's.

NOTE 15.—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 lieut.-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 very 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 allurement, 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 again.[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.

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.[8]

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 level. 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 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

* *Fanfur*, in Ramusio.

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."

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 Hangchau estuary are now so furious, entering in the form of a bore, and running, according to Admiral Collinson's measurement, 11½ knots, that it has been necessary to close the communication which formerly existed between the River Tsien-tang on the one side and the Lake Sihu and internal waters of the district on the other, so that all traffic between the two is subject to a *portage*. 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, chapter lxv. *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. (*N. and Q., China and Japan*, vol. I. p. 53; *Mid. Kingd.* I. 95, 106; *J. N. Ch. Br. R. A. S.*, Dec. 1865 p. 6.)

NOTE 3.—For satisfactory elucidation as to what is or may have been authentic in these statements, we shall have to await for a correct survey of Hangchau and its neighbourhood. We have already seen strong reason to suppose that *miles* may have been substituted for *li* in the

circuits assigned both to the city and to the lake, and it is fair to conclude that the same substitution has been made here in regard to the canal on the east of the city, and in regard to the streets and market-places spoken of in the next paragraph.

The Chinese plan of Hangchau, respecting the scale of which I unfortunately can get no satisfaction, does show a large canal encircling the city on the south, east, and north, *i.e.* on the sides away from the lake. And the position of the main street, with its parallel canal, does answer well 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 *Masálak-al-Absár* speaks of the main street running from end to end of the city.

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*.

Note 5.—Van Braam, in passing through Shantung 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 Shantung 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. 33-4; *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!

As regards the "yellow and white" peaches, Marsden needlessly supposes the former to be apricots. The two kinds so described are both common in Sicily, where I write;—and both are, in their raw state, equally good food for *i neri!*

Note 6.—The original words do not seem to me to make sense as they stand: "*e non veggono mai l'ora che di nuovo possano ritornarvi.*" I have assumed another version.

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 shipload 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 *Mid. Kingd.*, II. 46, 408.)

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." The favourable opinions of Chinese dealing among the nations on their frontiers, 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.

NOTE 9.—Semedo and Martini in the 17th century give a very similar account of the Lake Sihu, the parties of pleasure frequenting it, and their gay barges. (*Semedo*, p. 20-21; *Mart.* p. 9.)

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*, p. 9; *N. and Q. Ch. and Jap.* I. 94.)

Deguignes 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 Tutsong, in whose time Kublai 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.

NOTE 12.—The statement that the palace of Kingssé was occupied by the Great Kaan's lieutenant seems to be inconsistent with the notice in Demailla that Kublai made it over to the Buddhist priests.

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 indeed 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 15 or 16 years. But this is too vague a basis for theorizing.

I have not been able to ascertain whether the site of the Sung Palace is known. Perhaps the enclosure at the N. W. part of the city, called in some accounts the "Manchu City," may represent it.

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.

Friar Odoric (in China about 1324-27) :—"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 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. (*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.* 244-5.)

John Marignolli (in China 1342-47) :—"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.)

Turning now to Asiatic writers, we begin with *Wassáf* (A.D. 1300) :—
" KHANZAI is the greatest 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 (*Kalísiá*) 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 Chin ; 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*, p. 42-3.)

The Persian work *Nuzhat-al-Kulúb* :—" KHINZAI is the capital of the country of Máchín. 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 of 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. lxxviii.)

The Arabic work *Masálak-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," &c. (*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," &c. (*Cathay*, p. 496 *seqq.*)

Let us conclude with a writer of a later age, the worthy Jesuit Martin Martini, the author of the *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 *Silu;* 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 Tsien-tang, 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 miles and more, if you include its

* See the plan of the city.

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.)

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, which forms 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 pro-

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 1.—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 qe jeo March Pol qe plusor foies hoi faire le conte de la rende de tous cestes couses*,"—'had several times heard the calculation 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

tomans, 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. l. 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 shall 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 *miṣḳál*, the real weight of which, according to Mr. Maskelyne, is 74 grains troy. The *miṣḳál* 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 *miṣḳáls* 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 6*s.* 7*d.*, the gold tael, or rather the *ting*, would be = 3*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; the *toman* = 32,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and the whole salt revenue (80 tomans) = 2,633,333*l.*; the revenue from other sources (210 tomans) = 6,912,500*l.*; total revenue from Kinsay and its province (290 tomans) = 9,545,833*l.* 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 proclaims.

First as to the salt revenue of Kiangché, or the province of Kinsay. The facts given by Pauthier amount to these; that in 1277, the year in

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* 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 tomans = 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."

which the Mongol salt department was organized, the manufacture of salt amounted to 92,148 *yin*, or 22,115,520 *kilos.*; in 1286 it had reached 450,000 *yin*, or 108,000,000 *kilos.*; in 1289 it fell off by 100,000 *yin*.

The price was in 1277 18 *liang* or taels, in *chao* or paper-money of the years 1260-64 (see ch. xxiv., note 1 *supra*); 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 means 400,000 *yin*, at 18 taels, which will give 7,200,000 *taels*; or at 6*s.* 7*d.* to the tael, 2,370,000*l.* But this amount being in *chao* or paper-currency, which at its highest valuation was worth only 50 per cent. of the nominal 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 Kiangché 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 4,264,588*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 Kiangché seem to have varied greatly, sometimes including and sometimes excluding Fokien.

I may observe that Rashiduddin reports, on the authority of the Mongol minister Rulad 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 millions sterling!

Even in China a toman of some denomination of money near the dinar, appears to have been known in account. For Friar Odoric states the revenue of Yangchau 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*, (see Vol. I. p. 380).

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.

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* "*Est sus un mont que parte le Flum, que le une moitié ala en sus e l'autre moitié en jus*" (G. T.).

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 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.[1] 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 Fokien, ascending the valley of the Tsien Tang River. The general line, directed as we shall see upon Kienningfu in Fokien, 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 will have it to be Shaohingfu, a large and busy town, compared by Fortune, as regards population, to Shanghai. But I cannot think the identification probable. Shaohing is across the broad river, and further down than Hang-chau; it is distinctly 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.

I agree with Baldello in looking rather to Fuyang, on the same bank as Hangchau, and about 25 miles from it. Fuyang may not now be "a great, rich, and fine city;" but we must remember, on one hand, that Polo squanders such epithets, and on the other that the river towns, in the vicinity of a centre of trade and population so vast as Kinsay was, probably *were* greater and richer than now when trade is more diffused. Mr. Fortune also favours this identification, remarking that the description of the country given does not apply to Shaohing. No name however like Tanpiju (Tang-pe-chau? city *north* of the Tsien *Tang?*) is traceable to Fuyang.*

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* One of the *Hien*, forming the special district of Hangchau itself, is now called *Yiu-tang*, and was formerly called *Tang-wei-tang*. But it embraces the *eastern*

NOTE 2.—Chekiang produces bamboos more abundantly than any province of Eastern China. Dr. Medhurst mentions meeting, on the waters near Hangchau, with numerous rafts of bamboos, one of which was one-third of a mile in length (*Glance at Int. of China*, p. 53).

With reference to the next paragraph I may add that Fortune speaks of this valley in approaching Kiu-chau, as "one vast and beautiful garden" (II. 141).

NOTE 3.—Assuming Tanpiju to be Fuyang, the remaining places as far as the Fokien 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*).
4 ,, to Chanshan (P. *Ciancian*, G. T. *Cianscian*, Ram. *Zengian*).
3 ,, to Cuju or Chuju (P. *Ciuguy*, 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 *Changshan*. The town is near the head of the Green River (the Tsien Tang) which flows in a N.E. direction and falls into the Bay of Hangchau. At Changshan 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 Yukshan. 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 Changshan 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 portage from Changshan to Yukshan was passed by the English and Dutch embassies in the end of last century, on their journeys from Hangchau to Canton, and by Mr. Fortune on his way from Ningpo to the Bohea country of Fokien. It is probable that Polo made this journey in great part by water, and that this leads him to notice the interruption of the navigation. His time, ten days from Hangchau to Changshan, agrees well with Fortune's experience, for the latter, as well as I can

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part of the district, and can, I think, have nothing to do with *Tanpiju* (see *Biot*, p. 257, and *Chin. Repos.* for Feb. 1842, p. 109).

make out, was also ten days from Nechau near Shaohing to Changshan.

The intermediate stages are difficult to determine. As regards the mere intervals, the best identifications would be Vugui with *Yencheu*, and Ghiugui or Chenguy with *Kinkwafu*. But in that case we must suppose that they had changed places in the traveller's memory. For it was Kinhwafu, as Pauthier has observed, which bore at this time the name of Wuchau which Polo would write as *Vugiu*.

From the head of the great Chekiang valley I find across the mountains into Fokien described.

One leads from *Kiangshan* (not Changshan) by a town called Chinghu and then, nearly due south, across the mountains to Puching in Upper Fokien. 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 *Changshan* to Yukshan, and descends the river on that side to *Hokeu*, whence it strikes south-east across the mountains to Tsung-ngan-hien in Fokien. This route was followed by Fortune on his way *to* the Bohea country.

Both from Puching on the former route, and from near Tsung-ngan on the latter, the waters are navigable down to Kienningfu and so to Fuchau.

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. Chinghu seems to be insignificant and the name has no resemblance. On the other route followed by Mr. Fortune himself from that side we have Kwansinfu, *Hokeu*, Yenshan, 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 Caghiu or Cughiu. It is now a place of great population and importance as the entrepôt of the Black Tea Trade, but 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 Kiangsi. For *Kiangché*, the province of Kinsay, then included the eastern part of Kiangsi (see *Cathay*, p. 270).

Pauthier makes Vuju = *Kinhwa*, Ghiuju = *Kiuchau*, and then carries the traveller off to the east, making Cianscian = *Suichanghien* and Ciugui = Chu-chau-fu; very circuitous and missing the key of the whole line at *Changshan*.

Martini makes Cugui = Kiu-chau, but this involves the traveller's retrogression from Changshan.

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 a 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*, p. 21-22.) For this identification, I am indebted to Dr. Flückiger of Bern.

NOTE 2.—See note 7 to Bk. I. ch. lxi.

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 Fokien and Chekiang or Kiangsi. 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 *Mân* (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 Fokien 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 Tingchau department of Fokien, contained a race of uncivilized 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).

NOTE 4.—Padre Martini long ago pointed out that this *Quelinfu* is KIENNINGFU, on the upper part of the Min River, an important city of Fokien. In the Fokien dialect he notices that *l* is often substituted for *n*, a well-known instance of which is *Liampoo*, the name applied by F. M. Pinto and the old Portuguese to *Ningpo*.

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 Kienningfu; the piers of cut stone, the superstructure of timber, roofed in and lined with houses on each side (p. 112–113).

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 Bazars. 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 Shansi, Fokien, and Kwantung, and is called by the Chinese *Liang Kiang* or "Mild Ginger."

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 *Kalijan*, and that to be originally from the Sanskrit. (*Mr. Hanbury; China Comm-Guide*, 120; *Eng. Cycl.; Garcias*, 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 Fuchau; and Martini speaks of such a breed in Ssechuen. I believe they are well known to poultry-fanciers in Europe.

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, though possibly *wrong*. Starting from the last city of Kinsay government the traveller goes 6 days south-east; *three* out of those 6 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.

In Pauthier's text again we find: "*Sachiez que quand on est alé* six journées après ces trois que je vous ay dit, *on treuve la cité de Quelifu.*" And on leaving Quelinfu: "*Sachiez que* es autres trois journées oultre et plus xv. milles *treuve l'en une cité qui a nom Vuguen.*" This seems to mean from Cugui to Kelinfu 6 days, and thence to Vuguen (or Unken) $3\frac{1}{2}$ days more. But evidently there has been interference with the text, 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 6 days to Kelinfu, 3 days more to Unguem, and then 15 miles more to Fuju (which he has erroneously as *Cangiu*).

The latter scheme looks probable certainly, but the times in the G. T. are not impossible if we suppose that water conveyance was adopted where possible. Indeed without the use of this, even Ramusio's $9\frac{1}{2}$ days would be much too scant allowance.

But 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 2 marches, I see that from Tsin-tsun near Tsun-ngan-hien Fortune says he could have reached Fuchau in 4 days by boat. Again Martini, speaking of the skill with which the Fokien boatmen navigate the rocky rapids of the upper waters, says that even from *Puching* 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).

Note 8.—Pauthier supposes Unken, or *Vuguen* as he reads it, to be *Hukwan*, one of the *hiens* under the immediate administration of Fuchau city. It may be so, but the evidence for the place intended being 15 miles from the chief city is strong. The only objection is

1664-5 names this as "*Binkin*, by some called Min-sing." (*Astley*, III. 461.)

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, &c.).

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. 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 the finest *Misri* has long been exported from *China*.

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.[2] For this city is, you see, in the vicinity of the Ocean Port of ZAYTON, which is greatly frequented by the ships of India with their cargoes of various merchandize; and from Zayton the vessels pass on 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.'

The city is really a fine one and kept in good order, and all necessaries of life are there to be had in great abundance and cheapness.

Note 1.—The name here applied to Fokien by Polo is variously written as *Choncha*, *Chonka*, *Concha*, *Chouka*. It has not been satisfactorily explained. Klaproth and Neumann refer it to *Kiangché*, of which Fokien 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. Kiangché. 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 Kienningfu. This does not seem very probable either.

One might suppose that *Choncha* represented the proper name of the city of Zayton, or district attached to it, written by the French *Thsiuan tchéu*, but by Medhurst *Chwanchew*, whilst Semedo says that Fokien was sometimes called by this name (*Chincheo*, as he writes it), were it not that Polo's practice of writing the term *tchéu* 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 give no ground for the application of such a title specially to Fokien. *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 Fuchau. 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*.

Note 2.—The Min, the River of Fuchau, "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 which connects the Fuchau suburb of Nantai with the Island of Chungchau. The scenery is very fine, and is compared to that of the Hudson. (*Fortune*, I. 281; *Chin. Repos.* XVI. 483.)

The River flows entirely to the south of the city and not through the middle of it. But I suspect that *por le mi de ceste cité* is not meant to be literal.

There is still a great deal of sugar grown and made about Fuchau;

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, chap. lxxxii. Pauthier however in *this* place reads *Kayteu* which he developes into a port at the mouth of the River Min, probably imaginary. The Geog. Text, which I have followed here, is perfectly intelligible and consistent. First the Traveller speaks of the ships of the Indies as if coming direct to Fuchau; then he explains more accurately that from the vicinity of this city to the Great Port of Zayton the India ships which enter the latter either come on afterwards to Fuchau or transfer part of their cargoes to vessels which do come thither.

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 Manzi, for hither is imported the most astonishing quantity of goods and of precious stones and pearls, and from this they are distributed all over Manzi. And I assure you that for one shipload of pepper that goes to Alexandria or elsewhere,

aye and more too, to this haven of Zayton; for it is one of the two greatest havens in the world for commerce.[2]

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 tithe 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 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.[3]]

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.[4]

I should tell you that in this city they have a peculiar dialect. [For you must know that throughout all Manzi they employ one language 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.[5]]

And I assure you the Great Kaan has as large customs and revenues from this kingdom of Chonka as from Kinsay, aye and more too.[6]

We have now spoken of but three out of the nine kingdoms of Manzi, to wit Yanju and Kinsay and Fuju. 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 Fokien. A description of the manner in which camphor is produced at a very low cost, by sublimation from the chopped twigs, &c., will be found in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, XXIV. 19 *seqq.*; and more briefly in *Hedde* by *Rondot*, p. 35. Fokien alone has been known to send to Canton in one year 4000 *pekuls* (of 133⅓ 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 Shensi) the "*second best* province in the world, and the best popu-

lated." 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 Fokien offered to bridge the interval with their vessels!

ZAYTON, as Martini and Deguignes conjectured, is THSIUAN-CHAU-FU, or as it is oftener called in our Maps CHINCHAU, in Fokien, about 90 miles in a straight line S.W. of Fuchau. Klaproth asserts that the name by which it was known to the Arabs and other Westerns was a corruption of an old Chinese name, TSEUTHUNG.

Abulfeda had evidently heard the real name of Zayton, which he gives as *Shanju*. *Zaitún* commended itself to Arabian ears, being the Arabic for an Olive-tree (whence Jerusalem is sometimes called *Zaitúnija*), but the corruption must be of very old date, as the city appears to have received its present name in the 7th or 8th century.

Rashiduddin tells us that Zayton was at one time the seat of the *Sing* or Great Provincial Government, which was afterwards transferred to Fuchau.

Zayton was, as we see from this chapter and the 2nd and 5th of Book III., in that age the great port of communication with India and the Islands. From Zayton sailed Kublai's expeditions against Japan and Java, and to Zayton returned his Missions with the tribute or curiosities of distant countries less refractory than those two. From Zayton Marco Polo seems to have sailed on his return to the West, as did John Marignolli some half-century later. At Zayton too Ibn Batuta first landed in China. In the 14th century Zayton became the seat of a Latin Bishopric and of three Franciscan Houses, to one of which was attached a *Fondaco* or Factory for Frank merchants.

When the Portuguese in the 16th century recovered China to European knowledge, they no longer used the name of Zayton, though the port in question was well known and frequented by them under the name of *Chincheo*. Still 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 gold-wire, coral, woollens, &c. The Grand Can is the King of China, and he dwells at ZEITON." Giovanni hoped to get to Zeiton before he died. Also the way in which Botero in the latter part of the century speaks of Zayton as between Canton and Liampo (Ningpo), standing in $30\frac{1}{3}$ N. lat. (this indeed is 5° too much), and exporting immense quantities of porcelain, salt, and sugar, shows that he had distinct information as to the place. He likewise says elsewhere that "all the moderns note the port of Zaiton between Canton and Liampo." Yet I know no other modern allusion but Empoli's, which was printed only a few years ago.

Andrew of Perugia, a Franciscan, who was Bishop of Zayton in 1326, styles it "a great city on the shores of the Ocean Sea, which is called *in the Persian tongue* Çayton;" and 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 depôt 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 *Zaitúníah;* 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." And the Turkish Geography quoted by Klaproth observes that the city "has been famous even beyond Alexandria; a great number of ships come thither from India and from Cathay, and take in cargoes of silk and sugar. *In old times they used to sell sugar in this country in skins, like honey, not knowing how to refine it; more recently they have learned this art.*" (Compare with Marco's statement in chap. lxxx.)

Martini, in the first half of the 17th century, describes the city 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. Unless the river is greatly deteriorated, this account could only apply in high tides. At least Collinson's Chart in some points below the town gives only 1¼ fathom.

I regret to say that my endeavours to procure any recent information regarding this city have failed, and even in the Admiralty Chart of the harbour there is no indication of the form or exact position of the city. It is not a Treaty Port, and our merchants seem to know little about it. It is said that the native merchants of Chinchau are very anxious to participate in foreign commerce.

Zayton, we have seen from Ibn Batuta's report, was famed for rich satins called *Zaitúniah.* I have suggested in another work (*Cathay*, p. 486) that this may be the origin of our word *Satin*, through the *Zettani* of medieval Italian (or *Aceytuni* of medieval 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 compagnie
Of chapmen rich, and therto sad and trewe,
That wide where senten their spicerie,
Clothes of gold, and *satins* riche of hewe."
(*Man of Lawe's Tale*, st. 6.)

(*Récherches*, &c., II. 229 *seqq.*; ***Martini***, circa p. 110; *Klaproth*, *Mem.* II. 209–10; *Cathay*, cxciii, 268, 223, 355, 486; *Empoli* in *Append.* vol. III. 87 to *Archivio Storico Italiano*; *Botero*, *Rel. Univ.* pp. 97, 228; *Douet d'Arcq*, p. 342.)

NOTE 3.—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 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 4.—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."

Pauthier's text places the town of *Tyungui* not merely in the province, but "near to Zayton." And he identifies it with a place called *Tekhwa* in the territory of Yungchun, and some 30 miles N.W. of Thsiuanchau, at which, according to the Imperial Geography, there was in ancient times a manufacture of white porcelain vases, the best of which were much sought after. It is possible that Tyungui represents Yungchun.

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). China ware in modern times *is* made in Fokien and Canton provinces, but only of a very ordinary kind. Pakwiha, between Amoy and Changchau, is men-

tioned as now the place where the coarse blue ware, so largely exported to India, &c., is largely manufactured. (*Chin. Comm. Guide*, p. 114.)

Looking however to the Ramusian interpolations, it is possible that Murray is right in supposing the place intended to be really *King-te-ching* in Kiangsi, the great seat of the manufacture of genuine porcelain, or rather its chief mart JAUCHAU-FU on the Poyang 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 Fokien. 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," and its branches to Kinsay, is alluded to in a like spirit by Wassáf (*supra*, p. 169). Polo has already indicated the same idea (p. 175).

Assuming this as the notion involved in the passage from Ramusio, the position of *Jauchau* might be fairly described as that of Tyunju is therein, standing as it does on the Poyang Lake, from which there is such a ramification of internal navigation, *e.g.* to Kinsay or Hangchau-fu directly by Kwansin, the Changshan portage already referred to (*supra*, p. 177), and the Tsien Tang (and this is the Kinsay River line to which I imagine Polo here to refer), or circuitously by the Yangtse and Great Canal; to Canton by the portage of the Meiling pass; and to the cities of Fokien either by the Kwansin River or by Kianchanfu, further south, with a portage in each case across the Fokien 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-te-ching manufacture by Père d'Entrecolles in the *Lettres Edifiantes.*

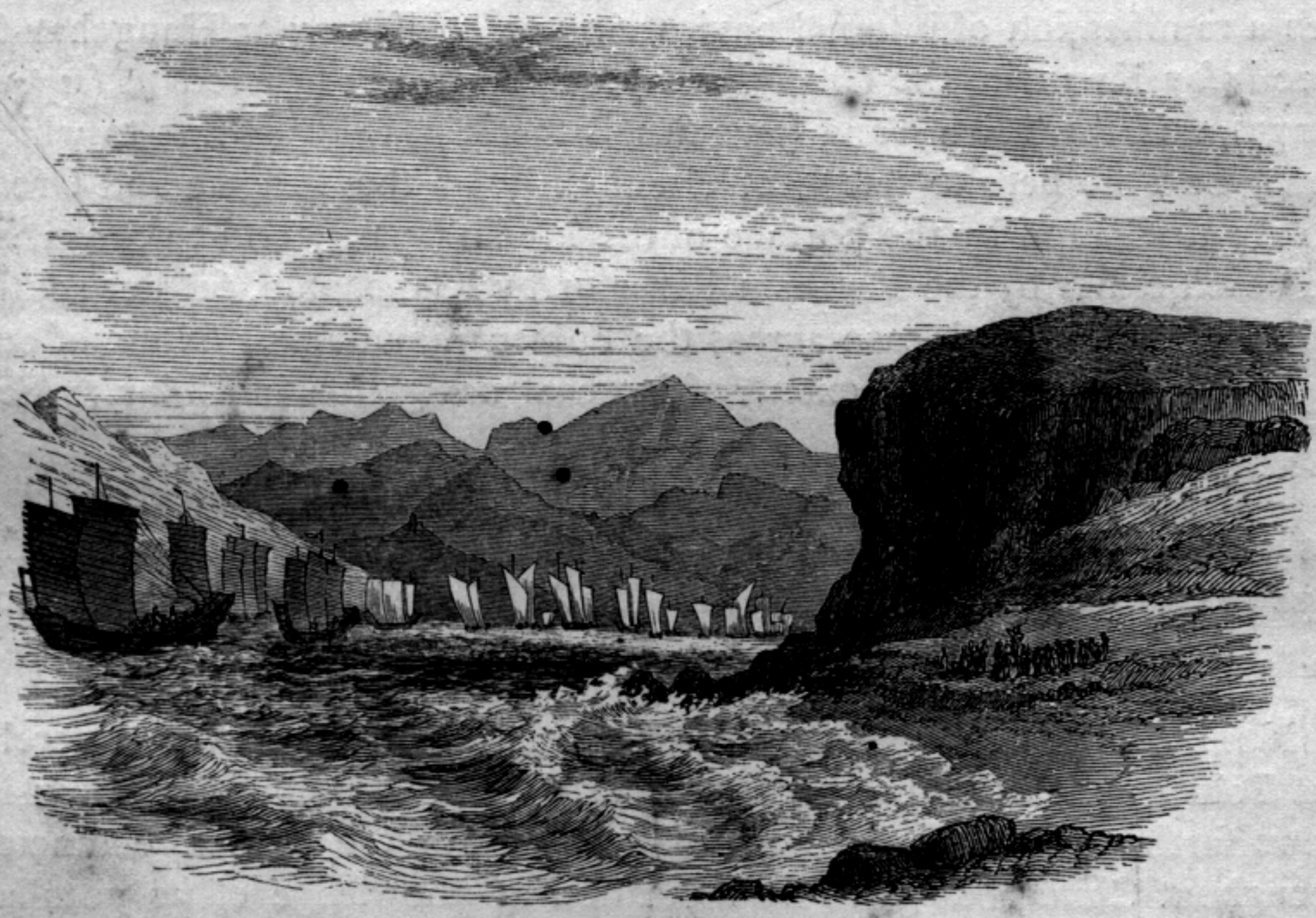
NOTE 5.—The meagre statement in the French texts shows merely that Polo had heard of the Fokien dialect. The addition from Ramusio shows further that he was aware of the unity of the written character throughout China, but gives no indication of knowledge of its peculiar principles, nor of the extent of difference in the spoken dialects. Even different districts of Fokien, according to Martini, use dialects so different that they understand each other with difficulty (108).

Professor Kidd, speaking of his instructors in the Mandarin and Fokien 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 could not understand each other in conversation." Moreover, besides these sounds attaching to the Chinese characters when read in the dialect of Fokien, 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 Fokien dialect when it is used colloquially and without reference to written symbols! (*Kidd's China*, &c. pp. 21–23.)

Note 6.—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.

MARCO POLO'S ITINERARIES.

No. VI.

Book II, Chapters 67-82

Journey through Manzi.

Obsolete names in Old English

English Miles

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 100

CROSSING OF KIANG AT CHINKIANGFU.

English Miles

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 10

Kaoyu
T'aichau
Tukcao
Tungchau
Tanjiu
Yangchau
Kwachau
I-ching
Chinkiang
Changchau
Shanghai
Suchau
Wukiang
L. T'ai-hu
Nanking
Kiahing
Huchau
Chapu
Kanpu
Wukang
Hinsay
Hangchau
Fuyang
R. Tsien Tang
Shaohing
Ningpo
Yenchau
Kinhwa
Kiuchau
Changshan
Kuangshan
Yukshan
Suichanghsen
Chuchau
Wenchau
Chunghu
Kingteching
Kwansin
Hokeu
Yenshan
Chuchu
Poyang Lake
Jaochau
Puching
Tsung-ngan
Tsintsu
Kienning
Yangchau
Gd Canal
I-ching-hien
Kwachau
Silver Isld
Golden Island
Chinkiangfu
GREAT KIANG
Grand Canal
Fuchau
Min R.
Mintsing
Hiuki
Telchwa
Yungchun
Tsiuanchau
Zayton
Tingchau

KIANGNAN
KIANGSI
CHEKIANG
FOKIEN

115° 116° 117° 118° 119°
25° 26° 27° 28° 29° 30° 31° 32° 33°

London: John Murray. Albemarle Street.

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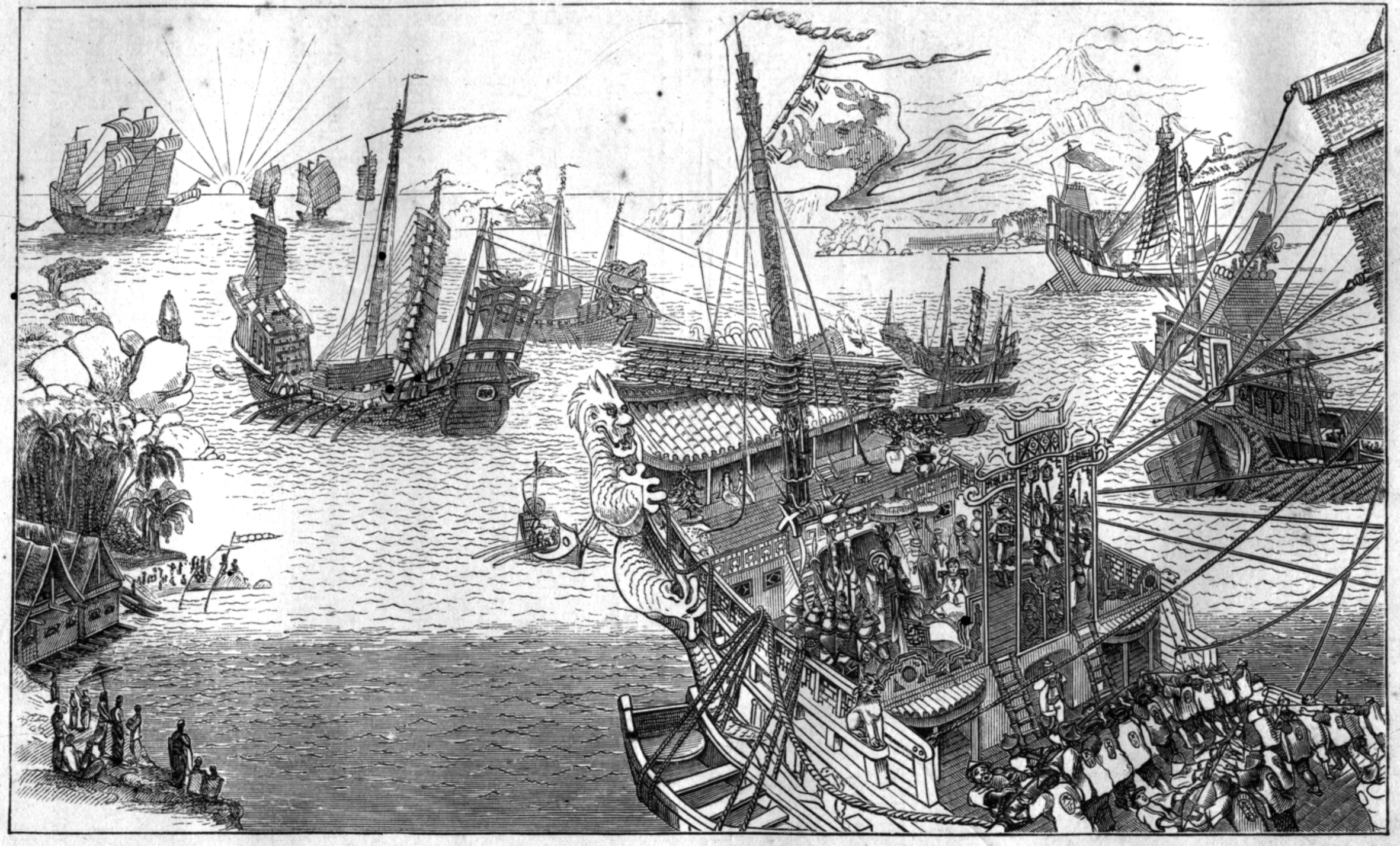
BOOK THIRD.

JAPAN, THE ARCHIPELAGO, SOUTHERN INDIA, AND THE COASTS AND ISLANDS OF THE INDIAN SEA.



The Kaan's Fleet passing through the Indian Archipelago.

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 ofttimes, 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 compart-

ment 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 pay 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 is the staple timber for ship-building both at Canton and in Fokien. There is a very large export of it from Fuchau, 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. 204-6.)

NOTE 4.—This still remains quite correct, except that in place of hemp an oakum of bamboo-fibre is used. 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*).

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 medieval 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 crossbow-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 Sín-kalán 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 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'la! Lá'la!*† 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, &c., 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 *seqq.* and 247 *seqq.* 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 Kublai 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 KAAN'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

* Or even 30 (p. 248).

† Corresponding to the "Hevelow and rumbelow" of the Christian oarsmen

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 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 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 great 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-păn-kwé*, the kingdom of Japan, the name Jih-păn being apparently a kind of translation of the native name *Nippon*, which is said to mean "the origin of the sun," or sun rising, though that seems an improbable name for a people

to give their own country. The name *Chipangu* is used also by Rashid-uddin.

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. l. note 4). 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).

Ancient Japanese Emperor. (After a Native Drawing; from Humbert.)

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 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 relique[illegible]ies, and to distribute at the building of a Dagopa. (*Nat. Hist. of Prec.*[illegible] *mes, &c.*, 263; *Koeppen*, I. 541.)

CHAPTER III.

WHAT FURTHER CAME OF THE GREAT KAAN'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 way imme-

diately 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.' But now let us have done with that matter, and return to our subject.

NOTE 1.—Kublai 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, Demailla, 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, Kublai'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 Tsiusima with heavy loss.

Nevertheless Kublai 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,

* These names in parentheses are the Chinese forms; the others, the Japanese modes of reading them.

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'hing-hu), and passed thence to Goriosan (Ulungshan). The troops

Ancient Japanese Archer. (From a native drawing.)

of Tsukuzi were under arms. 1*st* of 3*rd 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*, p. 264-5). At p. 259 of the same work Klaproth gives another account from the Japanese Encyclopædia; the difference is not material.

The Chinese Annals, in Demailla, 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.

Kublai was loth to put up with this huge discomfiture, and in 1283 he made preparations for another expedition; but the project excited strong discontent, and he eventually gave it up. (*Demailla*, IX. 409, 418, 428; *Gaubil*, 195.)

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.

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 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, &c., in preventing them from being wounded." (See *Mission to Ava*, p. 208; *Cathay*, 94; *Conti*, p. 32; *Friend of India*, May 7th, 1868; *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.' 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 mainland 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

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 Yangcheufu a goddess with thirty arms." (*Deguignes*, I. 364-6.)

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 Bodhisatwa Avalokiteçvara, with *four hands*, of which two were always folded across the breast! The same Bodhisatwa is sometimes represented with eleven heads. Manjushri manifests himself in a golden body with 1000 hands and 1000 *Patras* or vessels, in each of which were 1000 figures of Sakya visible, &c. (*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, &c., 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 :—

Οὕτως Ὠκεανὸς περιδέδρομε γαῖαν ἅπασαν
Τοῖος ἐὼν καὶ τοῖα μετ' ἀνδράσιν οὐνόμαθ' ἕλκων (42-3).

NOTE 4.—The Ramusian here inserts a short chapter, which from the awkward way in which it comes in is 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, &c.; but it seems clearly to indicate the writer's conception (which I have embodied in my Map of Marco Polo's Own Geography) as of a Great Gulf running up into the continent between Southern China and Tongking 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.*, Tongking. But even in the days of Camoens, who lived and wrote at Macao in 1559–60, the Gulf of Tongking or Hainan was still an unknown sea :—

"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).

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 lignaloes 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.

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 Tongking and Kamboja including all that is now called Cochin China. It was termed by the Chinese *Chen-ching*. Towards the end of the 15th century the King of Tongking 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 C. Chinese territory. To this part of the coast the name Champa is often applied in maps. (See *J. A.* ser. 2, tom. xi. p. 31.) The people of Champa in this restricted sense are said to exhibit

Malay affinities, and also to profess Mahomedanism. The last fact, entirely new to me, I learn from Lieut. Garnier.

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 *Sanf.*

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. The conversion of Sagatu into Sotu is another example of that Mongol elision of gutturals which we have before noticed more than once.

In 1278 Sotu sent an envoy to Chenching to claim the king's submission, which was rendered, and for some years he sent his tribute to Kublai. 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 Chenching 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. Kublai however refused to receive them, and ordered his son Tughan to advance through Tonking, 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 recognizable 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); a proof at once of the authentic character of that interpolation, and of the identity of Champa and Chenching.

There are notices of the events in Demailla (IX. 420-22) 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.

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" (p. 95-6). 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's 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 Ἀλόη is probably a corruption of the term which the Arabs apply to it, viz., *Al-'Ud*, "The Wood."

The *Bonus* of the G. T. here is another example of Marco's use, probably unconscious, of an Oriental word. It is Persian *Abnús*, 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 *Bonus* 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 *Ḳalamdán* 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 *Kînam*." (*Bishop Louis* in *J. A. S. B.* VI. 742).

Java.—"Ceste Ysle est de moult grant richesse."

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, 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, chap. 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. (*Ram.* I. 318-319.)

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 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.).

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 Uttungadewa claims to have subjected *five kings*, and to be sovereign of the whole Island of Java (*Jawà-dwipa*; see Lassen, IV. 482). It is true that as our traveller says, Kublai 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 Mengki, was sent back with his face branded like a thief's. A great armament was assembled in the ports of Fokien 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 Kublai 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*, p. 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.*)

CHAPTER VII.

WHEREIN THE ISLES OF SONDUR AND CONDUR ARE SPOKEN OF; AND THE KINGDOM OF LOCAC.

WHEN you leave Chámba[1] 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 1.—All the MSS. and texts I believe without exception read "*when you leave* Java," &c. 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 CONDORE; in old times an important landmark, and occasional point of call, on the route to China. The group is termed *Sundar Fúlát* (*Fúlát* 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 *Condór;* Polo combines both names. 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 8 months on the island and wrote an interesting letter about it (Feb. 1722 ; see also *Lettres Édifiantes*, Rec. xvi). When the group was visited by Mr. John Crawfurd on his mission to Cochin China the inhabitants numbered about 800, of Coch. Chinese descent. The group is now, I believe, 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-Scyllam* saw :—

" *Shang-pa tsi Cheu, hia-pa Kun-lun,*
Chen mi tuo she, 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 kingdom of 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 Matwanlin's Encyclopædia describes Sien-Lo as on the sea-board to the extreme south of Chenching. " 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." *

In this *Lo* or LO-HOH which apparently formed the lower part of what is now Siam, previous to the middle of the fourteenth 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 *Kwŏ* or *Kwé*, "kingdom," in the Canton and Fokien pronunciation (*i.e.*, the pronunciation of Polo's mariners) *kok*; *Lo-kok*, "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 doubt greatly, if Laos is to bear the sense that we usually give it, *i.e.*, of a country bordering Siam on the *north-east and north*. It is true that the Chinese character indicating this kingdom of Lo, is the same which is used to indicate the Laotian tribes of Kwangsi and Kweichau called Lo, of whom we have spoken formerly (Bk. II. Ch. 58, Note 1). But I am informed on excellent authority that this does not by any means necessarily imply any identification. The name of *Lophaburi*, otherwise Louvo and Lavó, one of the ancient capitals of Lower Siam before the foundation of Ayuthia has suggested itself as one interpretation of the kingdom of Lo. But I suspect the true explanation is to be gathered from the following extract of a paper by the late intelligent King of Siam: "Our ancient Capital Ayuthia, before the year A.D. 1350, was but the ruin of an ancient place belonging to Kambuja, formerly called LAWÉK, *whose inhabitants then possessed Southern Siam or Western Kambuja.* . . . . . There were other cities, not far remote, also possessed by the Kambujans; but their precise locality or much of their history cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained," &c.

The name *Lavek* is indeed applied by some writers of the 16th and 17th centuries to the capital of what was *then* Kamboja, but this was perhaps only an instance of the familiar Arab practice of transferring the name of the *country* to whatever city happened to be the capital. *Laweik* is mentioned along with the other Siamese countries of Yuthia, Tennasserim, Sukkothai, Pichalok, Lagong, Lanchang (or Luang Prabang), and Zimmé (or Kiang-mai), in the vast list of states claimed by the Burmese Chronicle as tributary to Pagán before its fall. We find in the *Aín-i-Akbari* a kind of aloes-wood called *Lawáki*, no doubt because it came from this region. *Lawék*, as it was in the 13th century, *Lawcik*,

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* The extract of which this is the substance I owe to the kindness of Professor J. Summers, of King's College.

the *Lo-hoh* of Matwanlin's continuator, and the *Locac* of our Author, are then, I have little doubt, the same.*

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 medieval intercourse between the courts of Siam and China we find Brazil-wood to form the bulk of the Siamese present. (3) Elephants are abundant. (4) Cowries, according to Marsden and Crawfurd 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.

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 *Lophaburi* (which appears to be the Sansc. or Pali *Nava-purá* = New-City) I do not know.

(*Bastian*, I. 357, III. 433; *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; *Aín Akb.*, 80; *Mouhot*, I. 70).

Some geographers of the 16th century, following the old editions which carried the travellers S.E. or S.W. of Java to the land of *Boeach*

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* Marsden has also identified Lawek, but taken in the sense of the present Kamboja, with Locac. I may suggest the possibility that the *Kakula* of Ibn Batuta is a transposed form of *Locac*. The *Kamárah, 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.)

(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 1.—*Pentam*, or as in Ram. *Pentan*, is no doubt the Bintang of our maps, more properly BENTĂN, 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.* ser. 4, 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 an island close to its western shore. It is the *Bintão* of the Portuguese, whereof Camoens speaks as the persistent enemy of Malacca (X. 57).

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 which he has coasted for 500 miles. And this is confirmed by Ramusio: "between the Kingdom of Locac and the Island of Pentan." The old Latin editions (as Muller's) have the same. 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 fort 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. 194.

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 roiame, 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 Alboquerque, 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.

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 Alboquerque ascribe the foundation of Malacca to a Javanese fugitive from Palembang called Paramisura, and Alboquerque 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.

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 Alboquerque 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. In 1411 the King of Malacca himself, 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 Alboquerque. 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 Alboquerque. Hence Malacca did not exist for nearly a century after Polo's voyage.

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; *Crawfurd's Desc. Dict.* art. *Malacca; Lassen*, IV. 541 *seqq.*; *Journ. Ind. Archip.* V. 572, II. 608-9; *De Barros*, Dec. II. l. vi. c. 1; *Comentarios do grande Afonso d'Alboquerque*, part III. cap. xvii.; *Couto*, Dec. IV. liv. ii.; *Bowring's Kingdom and People of Siam*, I. 72.)

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!

* There is a professed reconstruction of the Malay chronology in Lassen's IVth volume. It gives some useful references, but is not otherwise of value.

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 1.—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 2700 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 Jáwí*, "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 which did not partake of the civilization diffused from Java. In Siamese also the Malay language is called *Chawa;* and even on the Malay peninsula a half-breed born from a Kling (or Coromandel) father and a Malay mother is nicknamed *Jáwi Păkăn*, "a Jawi (*i.e.*, Malay) of the market."

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 Sanscrit one from Pagaroyang, the capital of the ancient Malay state of Menangkabau in the heart of Sumatra, bearing a date equivalent to A.D. 656, entitles the monarch whom it commemorates, Adityadharma by name, the king of "the First Java" (or rather Yava). This Mr. Friedrich interprets to mean Sumatra.

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 coast state of Achin, but because it is Acheh *Proper*. A like feeling may have suggested the Great Bulgaria, Great Hungary, Great Turkey of the medieval travellers. These were, or were supposed to be, the original seats of the Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Turks. And it would 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 *Sumbawa;* 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, &c.; *Friedrich* in *Bat. Transactions*, XXVI.)

NOTE 2.—As regards the *treasure*, Sumatra was long famous for its produce of gold. The export is estimated in Crawfurd'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 civilization, 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-Jáwi*), camphor, *spikenard* (*Sumbul*), &c. *Náráwastu* 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 roiames que sunt de* ceste *partié de ceste ysle, et des autres roiames 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. Crawfurd 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 connexion 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.*

The form *Ferlec* shows that Polo got it from the Arabs, who having no *p* often replaced 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 extremely doubtful, however, whether there *were* Kings of *Achin* in 1205, or for centuries after, so it must also be doubtful whether this date applies to any real event or not.

* 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).

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 civilization, 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 medieval 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, himself 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 that 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 seems unlikely, for their hideous custom seems to be 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.

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, is the PASEI of the Malays, which the Arabs probably called *Basam* or the like, for the Portuguese wrote it PACEM. Pasei is mentioned in the Malay Chronicle as founded

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.

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 was caught and tamed extensively. Ibn Batuta speaks of 100 elephants in the train of Al Dhahir, the King of Sumatra Proper; and in the 17th century Beaulieu says the K. of Achin had always 900. Giov. d' Empoli also mentions them at Pedir in the beginning of the 16th century; and see *Pasei Chronicle* quoted in *J. As.* ser. 4, tom. ix. b. 258-9.

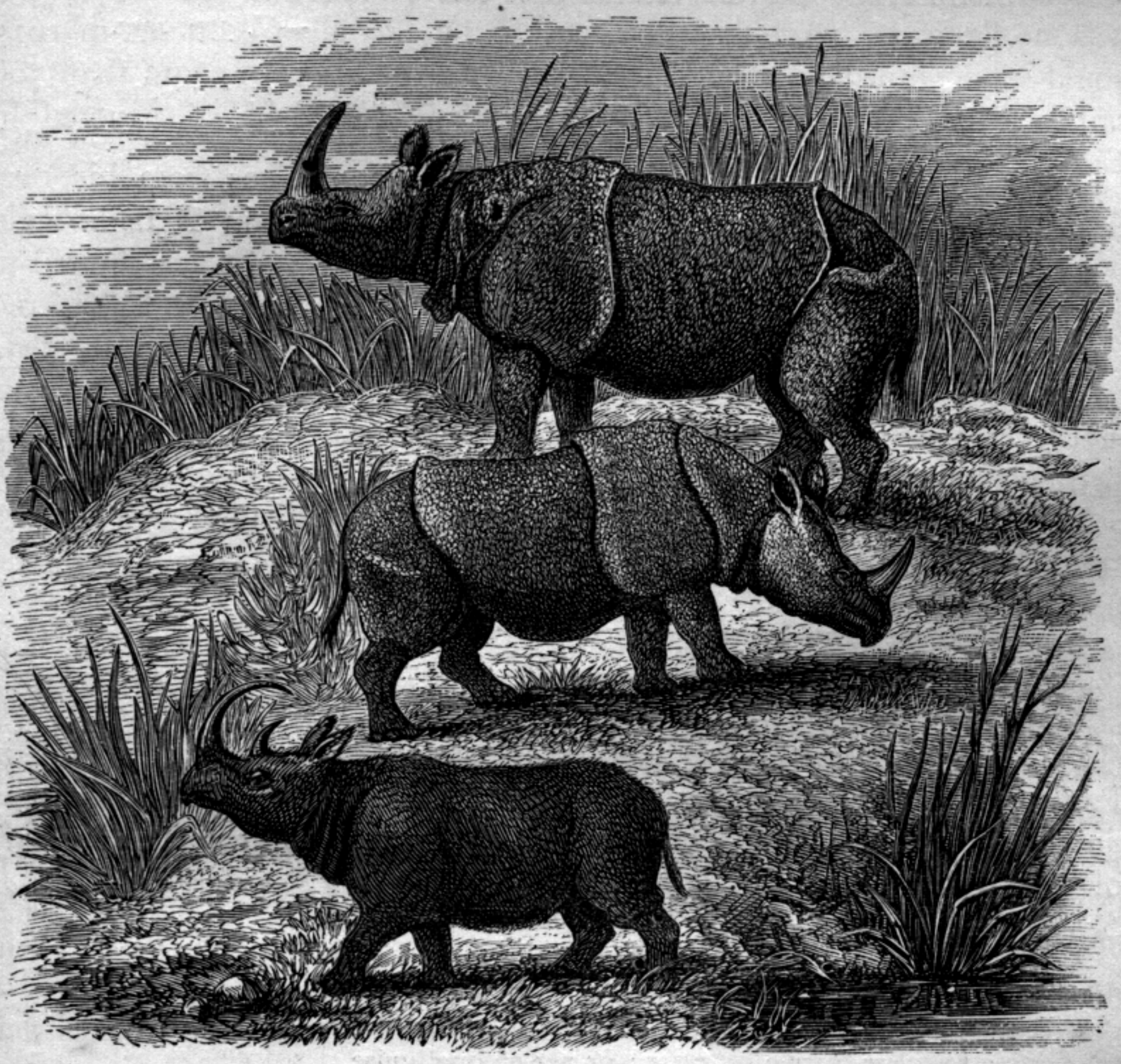
As Polo's account of the rhinoceros is evidently from nature, it is notable that he should not only *call* it unicorn, but speak so precisely of its one horn, for the characteristic, if not the only, species on the island, is a two-horned one (*Rh. Sumatranus*),* and his mention of the buffalo-like hair 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.

What the Traveller says of the animal's 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

* Marsden, however, does say that a one-horned species (*Rh. sondaicus?*) is also found on Sumatra (3d ed. of his *H. of Sumatra*, p. 116).

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 *Bádak-Karbáu*, "the Buffalo-Rhinoceros," and the Sondaicus *Bádak-Gájah*, "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 three Asiatic Rhinoceroses: (upper) Indicus, (middle) Sondaicus, (lower) Sumatranus.

the rough *appearance* of the organ. 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.)

The legend, to which Marco alludes, about the unicorn allowing itself to be ensnared by a maiden (and of which Marsden has made an

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* 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*, *Preh. Times*, 2d ed. 279).

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 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 medieval source the horn of the unicorn is evidently the tusk of a *narwhal*, a mistake which may be traced in the illustrations to Cosmas Indicopleustes from his own drawings, and which long endured, as may be seen in P. della Valle

Monoceros and the Maiden.

(II. 491). And to this popular error is no doubt due the reading in Pauthier's text, which makes the horn *white* instead of black. We may quote also the following quaint version of the fable from the Bestiary of Philip de Thaun, published by Mr. Wright (*Popular Treatises on Science*, &c. p. 81) :—

" Monosceros est Beste, un corne ad en la teste,
Purceo ad si a nun, de buc ad façun ;
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 Monosceros 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 moralize the fable.

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* *Tresor*, p. 253 ; *N. and E.*, V. 263 ; *Jordanus*, p. 43.

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."

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 Maestro[2] 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 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 Sanscrit *Samudra*, "the sea." Possibly it may have been imitated from Dwara Samudra, at that time a great state and city of Southern India. Mara Silu having become King of Samudra was converted to Islam, and took the name of Malik-al-Ṣálih. He married the daughter of the King of *Parlák*, 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 *Sămăthrah* or *Sămŭthrah*. 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 four miles from its port, which the traveller calls *Sărha;* 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 power-

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ful prince. This may have been Malik Al Salih 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," &c. This looks as if the conversion to Islam was still (circa 1323) very incomplete. Rashiduddin also speaks of *Súmútra* as lying beyond Lamuri (*Elliot*, I. p. 70).

The power attained by the dynasty of Malik Al Salih, 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, in the account of the marriage of the Princess of Parlak to Malik Al Salih, we are told that the latter went to receive her on landing at Jambu Ayer, and thence conducted her to the city of Samudra. It seems improbable that the bride should have been landed by her father's fleet so far from Samarlanga if that had been the place. I should seek Samudra near the head of the estuary-like Gulf of Pasei, called in the charts *Telo Samawe;* a place very likely to have been sought as a shelter to the Great Kaan's fleet during the south-west monsoon.

When the Portuguese first reached those regions certainly no state *called* Sumatra continued to exist. Pedir was then the leading state upon the coast; and this *may* have been the representative of Sumatra, with a new capital. 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 Zabád;* but this *may* have been based on old information. Valentyn seems to recognize the existence of a place of note called *Samadra* or *Samotdara*, though it is not entered on his map. 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 early 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 *emporio di dicta insula*" (printed by *De Gubernatis*, *Viaggiatori Italiani*, &c., p. 170).

Among the Indian states which were prevailed on to send tribute (or presents) to Kublai in 1286, we find *Sumutala*, or *Sumontu*. Probably 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 Baldello-Boni, I. lxvii). Pauthier's Chinese extracts also contain a notable passage respecting the disappearance of Sumatra Proper from history. It is stated that in the years *Wen-chi* (1573–1615), the kingdom of Sumatra divided in two, and that the new state took the name of *Achi* (Achin). After that Sumatra was no more heard of. This looks as if *latterly* Sumatra had been identical with Pedir. (*Gaubil*, 205; *Demailla*, IX. 429; *Elliot*, I. 71; *Pauthier*, p. 605, and 567).

NOTE 2.—"*Vos di qe 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'estoile
> 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.

* It might be supposed that Varthema had stolen from Serano; but the book of the former was *published* in 1510.

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 apelent li marinier Maistre *por vij. estoiles qui sont en celui meisme leu*," &c. (*Li Tresors*, p. 122). *Magister* or *Magistra* in medieval Latin, *La Maistre* in old French, signifies "the beam of a plough." Perhaps this accounts for the application of *Maistre* to the Great Bear, or *Plough*.

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 13 species of such parasites, nearly all ferns. The tree appears in the foreground of the cut at p. 216.

Crawfurd 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.)

Note 4.—No one has been able to identify this name, which looks like the Malay word *Dargahayu*, "Good Fortune." Its position, however, must have been near Pedir, and perhaps it was 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.

Note 5.—Gasparo Balbi (1579–87) 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 Paddaei in India; by the Chinese of one of the wild tribes of Kweichau; 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 *Rakshasa*, 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 hemselven welde
Hy hem sleeth, and bidelve
And," &c., &c. —*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.* II. 281 ; *Bickmore's Travels*, p. 111 ; *Cathay*, p. 25, 100.)

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 ; *Tydschrift voor Indische Taal*, &c., 2nd 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 29 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. But there is an apparent inconsistency, or else Lambri enclosed Daya. For in coming round again from the South, his 28th kingdom is *Quinchel* (*Singkel* of our modern maps), the 29th *Mancopa*, "which *falls upon Lambrij*, which adjoins Daya the first that we named." The mention by Polo of Camphor as a product also points to this situation.

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 *Sumutra;* 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. Indeed, I have little doubt that the names *Al-Rami*, *Al-Ramín*, *Al Ramni*, &c. applied by the oldest Arabian Geographers to Sumatra, are mere corruptions of *Lambri*. And it is possible that the *verzino* or brazil-wood of *Ameri* (L'Ameri?) 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. According to Mr. Bennett the conspicuous mountain between Achin and Pedir, known on charts as the Golden Mountain, is called by the natives *Yamori*. Can this be a trace of Lambri or Lamori?

(*De Barros*, Dec. III. Bk. V. ch. i.; *Elliot*, I. 70; *Cathay*, 84 *seqq.*; *Pegol.* p. 361; *Pauthier*, p. 605; *Bennett's Wanderings*, 1834, I. 443.)

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 Rámni (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). Mr. Anderson says there are "a few wild people in the Siak country, very little removed in point of civilization 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.* ser. 4, tom. iii. p. 31. It was a story among medieval Mahomedans that the members of the Imperial House of Trebizond were endowed with short tails, whilst medieval 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 palys!
> Now go, and say your *tayled* King
> That I owe him nothing."
> —*Weber*, II. 83.

(*Ethé'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.)

Note 3.—The Camphor called *Fansúrí* 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, &c. In the second and third the name is miswritten *Ḳansúr*, and by the last *Ḳaisúri*, 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

Middle Ages we come to Garcias, he speaks of the same article under the name of Camphor of *Barros*. And this is the name—*Kápúr-Bárús*, —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 *Kápúr-Chiná* or *Kápúr-Jápun*, 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. 245.) The prescription ends: "and *if you have a supply of camphor* add two ounces of that." (*Aetii Medici Graeci Tetrabiblos.* &c., Froben, 1549, p. 910.)

I am inclined to think that *Fansúr* and *Barús* may be not only the same locality but mere variations of the same name. The place is called in the *Shijarat Malayu*, *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 *Barúsi*. Whether Ptolemy's *Insulae Barussae* have to do with the same name I will not venture to say. The legend in the Shijarat Malayu relates to the first Mahomedan mission for the conversion of Sumatra, sent by the Sheríf 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, chap. 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 at the head of the Bay of Pasei, as a glance at the map will show.

Somewhat against what I have said of the identity of Barus and Fansur is an interesting remark of Valentyn's: "*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." We can scarcely say that Barus is only *a little* in that direction. (*J. Ind. Arch.* V. 312 *seqq.*;

Mas'udi says that the Fansur 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." These superstitions hinged 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 helps to account 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" (*Zánij* for *Zábaj*, *i.e.*, Java or Sumatra) "is the Camphor Tree, which is of vast size, insomuch that its shade will cover 100 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." Compare this with what is probably the best modern account, Junghuhn's: "Among the forest trees (of Tapanuli adjoining Barus) the Camphor Tree (*Dryabanalops 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 of the Archipelago, if not of the world,* reaching a height of 200 feet. One of middling size which I had cut down measured at the base, where the camphor leaks out, 7½ 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, ¼ 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 Crawfurd 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 his 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

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* The Californian and Australian giants were not then known.

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 pikul of* $133\frac{1}{3}$ *lbs.*
Ordinary China, 1st quality	20 dollars.
,, ,, 2nd ,, ...	14 ,,
Formosa	25 ,,
Japan	30 ,,
China *ngaï* (ext. from an Artemisia)	250 ,,
Barus, 1st quality	2000 ,,
,, 2nd ,, ...	1000 ,,

The Chinese call the Sumatran (or Borneo) Camphor *Ping-pien* "Icicle flakes," and *Lung-nau* "Dragon's Brains." It is just to remark however that in the *Aín Akbari* we find the price of the Sumatran Camphor known as *Bhím Seni* (why ?), 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 *Bálús*. 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.* ser. 4, tom. viii. 216 ; *Battaländer*, I. 107 ; *Crawf. Hist.* III. 418, 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 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 *Carvolo*. 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.

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, Daya, *Lambri*, Mancopa, Quinchel, Barros (*Fansur*). (*Dec.* III. v. 1.)

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 1.—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 Gauenispola and the other Necouran," and then: "You sail north about 150 miles and find two Islands, one called Necouran and the other Gauenispola." Ramusio does not mention Gauenispola, 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 Gauenispola 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 Gauenispola," 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 Gauenispola, 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 Oxiental*, Paris 1775, which calls it *Pulo Gommes*. The name is there applied to a small island off Achin Head, outside of which lie the somewhat larger Islands of Pulo Nankai and Pulo Bras, whilst Pulo Wé 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 "*Gomispoda* and Pulo Way" in front of the roadstead of Achin. Giovanni Botero mentions that Gaspar d'Acosta was lost on the Island of *Gomispola*. Linschoten, describing the course from Cochin 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 ڤله), 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. (*Nept. Orient.* Charts 38 and 39, and pp. 126-7; *Hamilton*, II. 66 and Map; *Dampier*, ed. 1699, II. 122; *H. Gen. des Voyages*, XII. 310; *Linschoten*, Routier, p. 30; *Bot. Rel. Univ.*, 1597 II. 3; *J. A. S. B.*, VI. 807.)

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-dvipa*) or Coco-nut Islands of which Hwen Thsang 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. 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. Rashiduddin writes of them nearly in the same terms under the name of *Lákwáram* (but read Nákwáram) opposite Lamuri. Odoric also has a chapter on the island of *Nicoveran*, but it is one full of fable. (*H. Thsang*, III. 144 and 517; *Relations*, p. 8; *Elliot*, p. 71; *Cathay*, p. 97.)

The chief part of the population is believed to be of race akin to the Malays, 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 Col. H. Man, the Superintendent of our Andaman Settlements, lately received spontaneous corroboration of this from natives of the former island, who were on a visit to Port Blair. On seeing the Andaman aborigines they said at once that there was a similar race on their island. 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. Of late years there have been frightful disclosures regarding the massacres of the crews of vessels touching at these islands, and these have led to their being visited by ships of war and eventually to their occupation by the Indian Government. Trinkat and Nancouri are the islands which have been guilty. A woman of Trinkat who could speak Malay was examined by Col. Man, and she acknowledged having seen 19 vessels scuttled, after their cargoes had been plundered and their crews massacred. "The natives who were captured at Trinkat," says Col. 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 areca; and they grow yams, but only for barter. As regards the other vegetation mentioned by Polo, I will quote what Col. 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." A detail of the various European attempts to colonize the Nicobar Islands, with other particulars, will be found in the *Voyage of the Novara*, vol. II. (see also *J. A. S. B.*, XV. 344, *seqq.*).

MARCO POLO — Book III; at end of Chap. 10.

MAP to Illustrate POLO'S Chapters on India.

Cambay
GUJERAT
Baroch
Somnath
Surat
Tana
Bombay
Chaul
Konkan
Warangal
Godaveri R.
Krishna R.
Karnul
Mutapali
Mutabli
Vijayanagar
Goa
Kadapah
Nellúr
Batikola
Bakanur
Dwara Samudra
Madras
S. Thomas's
Mangalur
Kanjerkat
Kanchi
Mt d'Ely
Ely
MALABAR
Kananur
Pandarani
Kalikut
Shaliyat
Trichinopoli
Tanjore
Koveripatam
Nagore
Negapatam
Ramisseram
Madura
Ramnad
Colon
Quilon
Kayal
Comari Cail
Aripo
CEYLON
Trincomalee
Cape Comorin
Putlam
Chilaw
Columbo
Adam's Peak
MALABAR SEA
BAY OF BENGAL

MAP to Illustrate POLO'S Chapters on the Malay Countries.

Patani
Kalantan
Achin
Pedir
Samarlangka
Samarè
Pasei
Tunjong Perlac
Pº Pinang
Tringano
Daya
Perla
Deli
Batubara
Pahang
Tioman
Pº Babi
Arul^ds
Malacca
Pº Nias
Baros
Singapura
Bintang
Batang
Great Nicobar
Necuveran
NORTHERN SUMATRA, Enlarged.
Pº Bras
Pº Wé
Pº Gomez
Golden Mn
Achin
Pedir
Gingyang
Ayer Labu
Samarlangka
Passangan
Samàwé
Pasei
Jambu Ayer
Daya
SAMATRA
BASMA
MALAIUR
Palembang
LAMBRI
DRAGAIAN
FANSURATTAS
LOCAC
LES
ARU
JAVA
FERLEC

72° 74° 76° 78° 80° 96° 98° 100° 102° 104°
22° 20° 18° 16° 14° 12° 10° 8° 6° 4° 2° 0° 2°

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E. Weller, Lithog.

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 1.—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 civilized countries, for so many ages.

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, which they were long believed to be.

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 once if not twice. Thus the most northerly island in the Bay of Bengal which he mentions is called Bazacata. It produces quantities of shells; its inhabitants go naked, and are called *Agmatae*, in which we seem to trace our author's form *Angaman*. But Ptolemy has in the same sea also an island of cannibals called that of *Good Fortune*, Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. It seems probable enough that this was Ἀγδαιμόνοι or the like, "The Agdamans," misunderstood.*

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* It is quite possible (*e.g.*) that the Isles of the Agmatae, Sindae, and Iabadiu on one hand, and the Agathou Daimonos Island, Borussae and Sabadibae on the other, represent the reports of two logs, but the same series of islands. Such duplicates are not uncommon in modern map-making.

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 has been very persistent, though generally rejected since our recent settlement upon the group. 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 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. 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 dog's muzzles; and the old Danes had tales of Cynocephali in Finland. 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 represents 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 Col. 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 Brahmins used to say that the *Rakshasas* 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 Brahminical *Saga;* but I fear it may have been gathered from the Arab seamen. Still it is remarkable that a strange weird-looking island, which rises covered with forest, a steep and regular volcanic cone, straight out of the deep sea to the eastward of the Andaman group, bears the name of *Narkandam*, in which one cannot but recognize **नरक**, *Narak*, "Hell." Can it be that in old times, but still contemporary with Hindu navigation, this volcano was active, and that some Brahmin St. Brandon recognized in it the mouth of Hell, congenial to the Rakshasas of the adjacent group?*

(*Ramusio*, III. 391; *Ham.*, II. 65; *Navarrete* (Fr. Ed.), II. 101; *Cathay*, 467; *Bullet. de la Soc. de Géog.*, ser. 4, tom. iii. 36-7; *J. A. S. B.*, u. s.; *La Porte Ouverte*, p. 188.)

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, 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 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.[1] Now I will tell you all about this Island.

They have a king there whom they call SENDEMAIN, and are tributary to nobody.[2] The people are idolaters,

* I cannot trace any probable meaning of *Andam*; yet it looks as if Narak-*andám* and *Andám-án* were akin.

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.[3]

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.[4]

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.—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*, chap. i. We see from Marco's curious notice of the old charts (G. T. "*selonc qe se treuve 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!

All the derivations of the name Sailan or Ceylon from the old *Sinhala*, *Serendib*, and what not, seem forced. Van der Tuuk suggests

that the name is 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." The Island is really called by an Arab Historian of the 9th century *Jazírat ul Yákút*, "The Isle of Rubies." 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*, *Kochi* (Cochin China), *Champa*, *Kamboja*, *Tanasari*, *Martavan*, &c. It is less obvious how Ceylon should have acquired a name from the same quarter, but the very fact that between the 10th and the 13th centuries the name of *Sarandíb* should have been practically dropt by the Arabs, and that of *Sailán* adopted, requires to be accounted for. That accidents in the history of marine affairs in those seas should have led to the adoption of the Malay and Javanese name is at least conceivable. Tennent (*Ceylon*, I. 549) and Crawfurd (*Malay Dict.* p. 171) ascribe the name Selan, Zeilan, to the Portuguese, but this is quite unfounded, as our author sufficiently testifies. The name *Sailán* also occurs in Rashiduddin, in Hayton, and in Jordanus (see next note). (See *Van der Tuuk*, work quoted above (p. 229), p. 118; *J. As.*, ser. 4, tom. viii. 145; *J. Ind. Arch.*, IV. 187; *Elliot*, I. 70.)

NOTE 2.—The native king at this time was Pandita Prakrama Bahu III., who reigned from 1267 to 1301 at Dambadenia, about 50 m. N.N.W. of Columbo. But the Tamuls of the continent had recently been in possession of the whole northern 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 *Sendernaz* 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 3.—I do not find Ceylonese Brazil, *i.e.*, Sapan-wood, recently mentioned, but Kazwini names it, Ibn Batuta speaks of its abundance (IV. 166), and Ribeyro does the like (ed. of Columbo, 1847, p. 16); see also *Ritter*, VI. 39, 122.

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 *Ethé's Kazwini*, 229, and *Cathay*, 213.)

* The inflexion *Selán* is, I presume, Javanese; the word *Selá* seems to be also Malay; and in both no doubt from Sanskrit, *Silá*, "a stone."

Note 4.—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 Hwen Thsang, 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 thenceforth all recognize and obey him as their king." Odoric too speaks of the great ruby and the Kaan's endeavours to get it, though by some bungle 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." (*I. B.*, IV. 174-5; *Cathay*, p. clxxvii; *Hayton*, ch. vi.; *Jord.* p. 30; *Ramus.* I. 180; *Ceylon*, I. 568.)

CHAPTER XV.

The Same continued. The History of Sagamoni Borcan and the beginning of Idolatry.

Furthermore you must know that in this 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 him replied thas 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, if 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 Sogomoni Borcan, or Sogomoni 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 impression 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.)

"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 Brahmans to be the footstep of Siva, by the Buddhists of Buddha, . . . by the Gnostics of Ieu, by the Mahometans 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.)

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 *Kist-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. 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. 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). 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. 129 *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 what is said in *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 5½ feet. Hardy accounts for this by supposing that the original footmark was destroyed in the end of the 16th century. But Ibn Batuta, in the 14th, states it at 11 spans, or *more* than the modern report. Marignolli, on the other hand, says that he measured it and found it to be 2½ palms, or about half a Prague ell, which corresponds in a general way with Hardy's tradition. Valentyn calls it 1½ ell in length; Knox, I think, 2 feet; Herman Bree (De Bry?), quoted by Fabricius, 8½ 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 *Koeppen*, I. 529, and *Beal's Fah-hian*, p. 27.)

The chains are still maintained. Ibn Batuta gives a particular account of them. The highest was called (he says) the chain of the *Shahádat*, or Credo, because the fearful abyss below made pilgrims recite the profession of belief. Ashraf, a Persian poet of the 15th

century, who has written a poem on the conquests of Alexander, ascribes the establishment of 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.*)

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 localize the legends in regions known to them.

Sakya Sinha, Sakya Muni, or Gautama, originally called Siddhárta, 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.

When the prince was 16 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 decrepid 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 decrepid?' 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, &c., is erroneous. Sakya was 80 years of age when he died under the Sál trees in Kusinára.

In ignorance that the matter had been previously handled, I had prepared a long note upon the extraordinary conversion of the story of the youthful Buddha into the Christian didactic romance of Barlaam and Josaphat, written by St. John of Damascus in the 8th century, and the still more extraordinary conversion which the popularity of that romance brought about of BUDDHA himself into a saint of the Greek and Roman calendars, under the name of Saint Josaphat. But I have been anticipated in this by Professor Max Müller, who has treated the subject with characteristic learning and grace. (See *Contemporary Review* for July, 1870, *On the Migration of Fables.*)*

NOTE 3.—Marco is not the only eminent person who has expressed this view of Sakyamuni's life in such words. Prof. Max Müller, in concluding his luminous exposition of the story just referred to, 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 cœpit, et constituit inter servos suos sacra et sacrificia" (xiv. 13-15). The same story seems to be alluded to by Gower, though I know not whence he takes it:—

> "Of *Cirophanes* seeth the booke
> That he for sorow which he toke
> Of that he sigh his sonne dede
> Of comfort knewe none other rede

* Besides the many versions of the story itself, extending geographically from the Icelandic to the Tagal of the Philippines, the episodes and apologues with which it is rife have directly or indirectly furnished material to Poets and Story-tellers in various ages and of very divers characters, *e.g.*, to Gower and to Boccaccio, to the compiler of the Gesta Romanorum, to Shakspeare, and to the late W. Adams (author of *The King's Messengers*). I recently saw in the Library of Monte Cassino a long French Poem on the Story, in a MS. of our Traveller's age.

But lete do make in remembrance
A faire image of his semblance,
And set it in the market place,
Whiche openly tofore his face
Stood every day to done him ease ;
And thei that than wolden please
The Fader, shuld it obeye,
When that thei comen thilke weye."

—*Confessio Amantis*, lib. v. fol. xci. *v.*, in London Ed. of 1544.

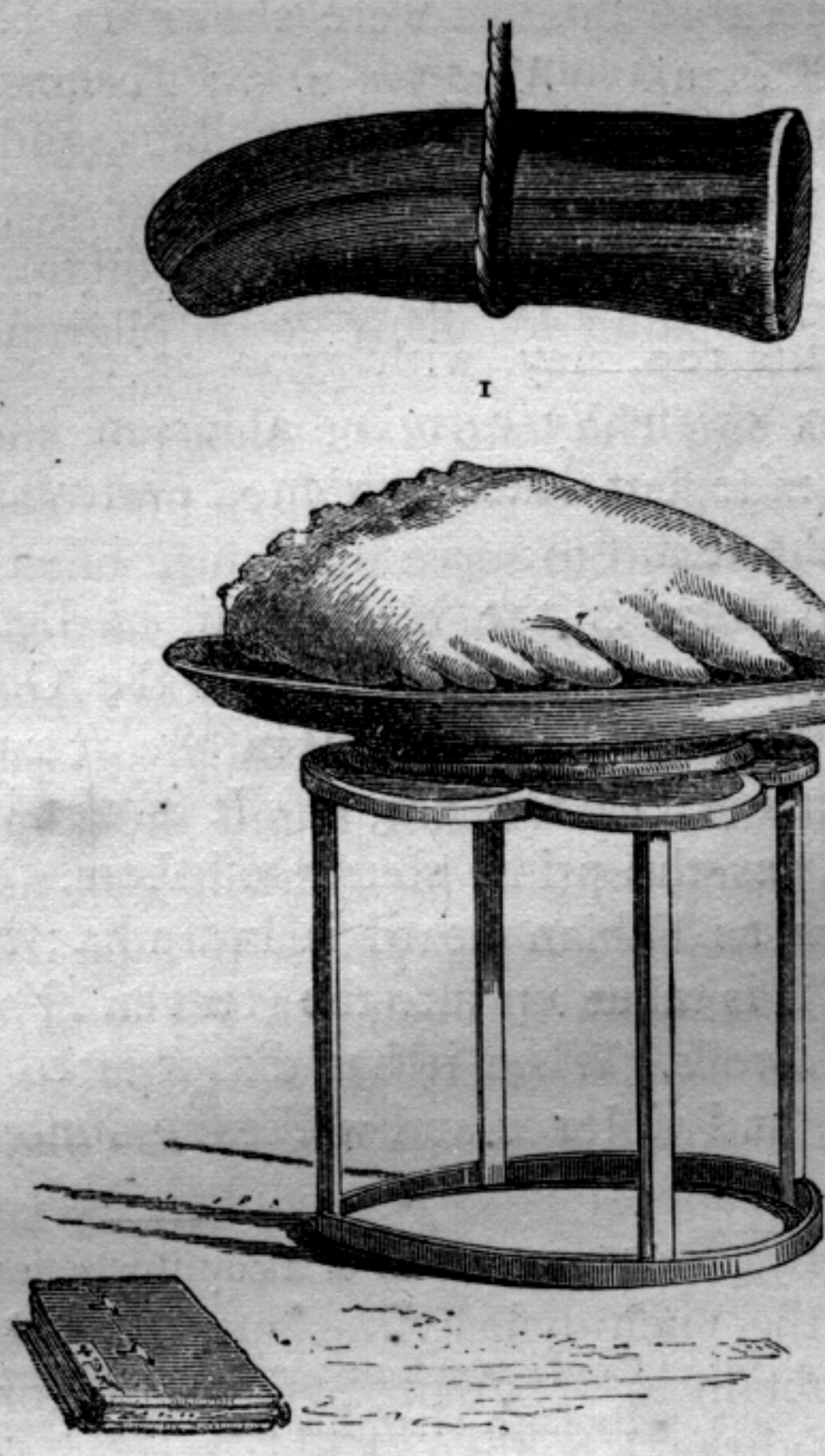
NOTE 5.—Adam's Peak has for ages been a place of pilgrimage to Buddhists, Hindus, and Mahomedans, and appears still to be so. Ibn Batuta says the Mussulman pilgrimage was instituted in the 10th century. Marignolli, on his visit to the mountain, mentions "another pilgrim, a Saracen of Spain ; for many go on pilgrimage to Adam."

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 Asoka 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 Fahian found the alms-pot preserved at Peshawar. Hwen Thsang says in his time it was no longer there, but in Persia. (*Koeppen*, I. 526 ; *Fah-hian*, p. 36 ; *H. Thsang*, II. 106.)

Sir J. Tennent, through Mr. Wylie of Shanghai, obtained the following curious extract referring to Ceylon, from a Chinese work written in 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 Kublai) three separate envoys were sent to obtain it." Sanang Setzen also corroborates Marco's statement: "Thus did the Khaghan (Kublai) 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, the modern Púri or Jaganáth. Here the Brahmins 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 Guhasiva

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.



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2

Teeth of Buddha.
1. At Candy, after Tennent. 2. At Fuchau, from Fortune.

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 present 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 Kublai, is unknown. Other teeth of Buddha were shown in Hwen Thsang's time at Balkh, and at Kanauj. (*Koeppen*, u. s.; *Fortune*, II. 108; *H. Thsang*, II. 31, 263.)

Note 7.—Fahian writes of the alms-pot at Pesháwar, that poor people could fill it with a few flowers, whilst a rich man should not be able to do so with 100, nay, with 1000 or 10,000 bushels of rice; a parable doubtless originally carrying a lesson like Our Lord's remark on the widow's mite, but which hardened eventually into some foolish story like that in the text.

This *Pâtra* 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 *Pâtra* as Fahian heard it in India; its mysterious wanderings over Asia till it is taken up into the Heaven *Tusita*, 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 healed 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 disappeared."
>
> —*Tennyson's Holy Grail.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning the great Province of Maabar, which is called India the Greater, and is on the Main Land.

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 the 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.'

You must know that the sea here forms a gulf between the Island of Seilan and the main land. 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 1.—Maabar (*Ma'bǎr*) 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 geographers, and the earliest use of it that I am aware of is in Abdallatif's account of Egypt, a work written about 1203-4 (*De Sacy, Rel. de l'Egypt*, 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 *Niláwar, 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.

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* So the Barbary coast from Tunis westward was called by the Arabs *Bár-ul-'Adwah*, "Terra Transitûs," because thence they used to pass into Spain (*J. As.* for Jan. 1846, p. 228).

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 Dewar, 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 DEWAR 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-uddín 'Abdu-r Rahmán, son of Muhammad-ut-Tíbí, 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 Dewar's deputy, minister, and adviser, and was a man of sound judgment. Fattan, Malifattan and Káil * were made over to his possession. . . . . In the months of the year 692 H. (A.D. 1293) the above-mentioned Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, died and left behind him much wealth and treasure. It is related by Malik-ul-Islám Jamál-uddín, 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-uddín continued prime minister as before, and in fact ruler of that kingdom, and his glory and magnificence were raised a thousand times higher." †

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* Wassaf 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.* for 1869, 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 Dewar, instead of merely the narrator of the circumstances. This is evidently a mistake, probably of transcription, and Wassaf gives us the true version.

The members of the Arab family bearing the surname of Al-Thaibí (or Thíbí) appear to have been powerful on the coasts of the Indian Sea at this time. 1. The Malik-ul-Islam Jumaluddín Ibrahim Al 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 Jumaluddin, Fákhruddin 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 *Bin Ibrahim* al-Thaibi also appears in Hammer's extracts as ruler of Hormuz about the time of Polo's return (see *ante* vol. I. p. 114); 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 Wazír and Marzbàn in Ma'bar; who was succeeded in that position by his son Surajuddín, and his grandson Nizámuddín. (*Ilchan.* II. 49–50, 197–8, 205–6; *Elliot*, III. 32, 34–5, 45–7.)

Seventeen years later (1310) Wassáf introduces another king of Ma'bar called *Kales Dewar*, who had ruled for 40 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-Mandi*) 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 Kafúr) to conquer Ma'bar.

In the 3rd (as yet unpublished) volume of Elliot we find some of the same main facts, with some differences and greater details, as recounted by Amir Khusru. 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 Dwara Samudra, descends upon Ma'bar in the beginning of 1311 (p. 87, *seqq.*).

We see here two rulers of Ma'bar, within less than 20 years, bearing the name of Sundara Pandi.

In a note with which Dr. Caldwell has favoured me he considers that the Sundar Bandi of Polo and the Persian Historians is undoubtedly to be identified with Sundara Pandi Devar, 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 county 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 inscriptions 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 he had not before him the whole of the information from the Musulman 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 South

Indian kingdoms, as we may judge from the fact that Dr. Caldwell would thus place 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 complied from brief Tamil chronicles then in existence, states that the Pandya race became extinct upon the death of Kún 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 appear 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 40 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, 71-75; *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 connexion 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 (chap. 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 (chapter 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 *Biyyardáwal*.* The name is perplexing, but it now appears in the extracts from Amir 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 Birdhul was not far from the Kaveri (called Kánobari), not far from the sea, and 5 or 6 days' march from Madura. These indications point to Tanjore or some other city in the Kaveri Delta. I should suppose that this Birdhúl was the capital of Polo's Sundara Pandi, and that the port visited was either Negapatam or Kaveripatam. The latter 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.

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 N.W. of Negapatam, popularly bears (or bore) the name of *the Chinese Pagoda*. I do not mean to imply that the building was Chinese, but that the application of that name to a ruin of strange character pointed to some tradition of Chinese visitors. Sir Walter Elliott, to whom I am indebted for the sketch of it given on next page, 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, cele-

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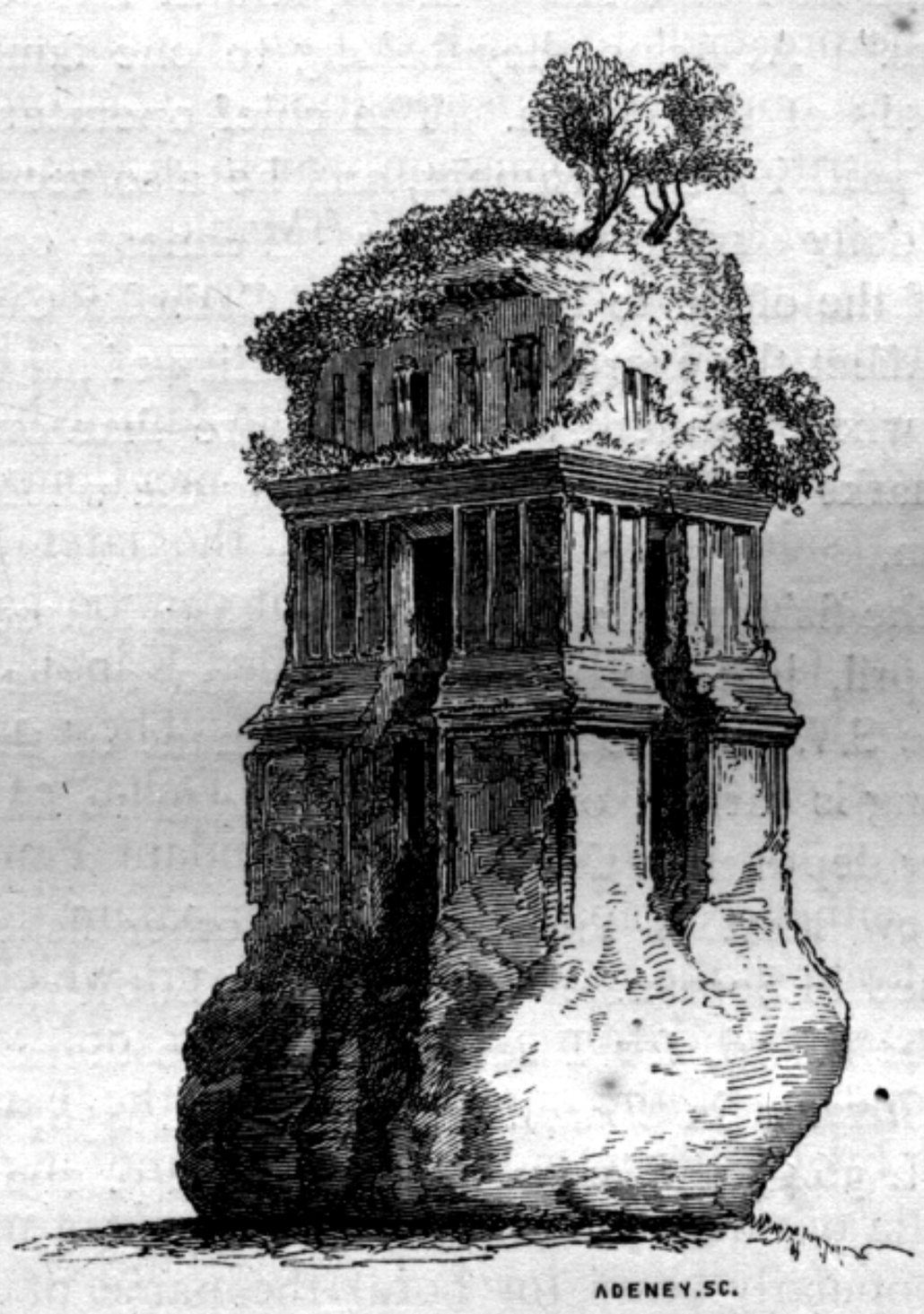
* بيبرداول

brated as a seat of *Buddhist* worship, and this may have been a remnant of their work. In 1846 it consisted of 3 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 I believe it now exists no longer. Sir W. Elliott also tells me that collectors employed 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 medieval 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*, part II. p. 27, *seqq.*; *Taylor's Catalogue Raisonné*, III. 386-89.)



Chinese Pagoda (so called) at Negapatam. From a sketch taken in 1846 by Sir Walter Elliott.

Ma'bar is mentioned (*Maparh*) in the Chinese Annals as one of the foreign kingdoms which sent tribute to Kublai in 1286 (*supra*, p. 239); 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* (Jumaluddín) who had been sent from Ma'bar to the Mongol Court, &c. (see pp. 603, *seqq.*).

Note 2.—Marco's account of the pearl-fishery is still substantially correct. Marsden has identified *Bettelar* the rendezvous of the fishery with *Vedala* or *Vadaulay* on the spit near Rameshwaram. But it seems to me highly probable that the place intended may have been 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, according to Tennent, a corruption of that given by the Tamuls, *Salabham*, "The Sea of Gain." (*Ceylon*, I. 440; *Pridham*, 409; *Ibn Bat.* IV. 166; *Ribeyro*, ed. Columbo, 1847, App. p. 196.)

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-Katti*, 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 N.E. and commencement of the S.W. 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 thirteen.

I do not know what is the site of the other fishery to which he alludes as practised in September and October, but it may have been on the east side of the island, for I see that in 1750 there was a fishery at Trincomalee. (*Stewart* in *Trans. R. A. S.*, III. 456, *seqq.*; *Pridham*, u. s.; *Tennent*, II. 564-5; *Ribeyro*, as above, Ap. p. 196.)

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 they do 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 ever

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 cow-dung.[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 any-thing 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

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 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 20 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

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* The (G. T.). has *nuns*, "*Li nosnain do mostier.*" But in Ramusio it is *monks*, which is more probable, and I have adopted it.

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 communication 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.—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 bit 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, &c., and was valued at 200,000 *dinárs*, or a good deal more than 100,000*l.* (Elliott, 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 *Bagavâ* or *Pagavâ*, 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."

Ward says: "The Hindús believe the repetition of the name of God is an act of adoration . . . . *Jăpă* (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, p. 217-18.)

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 108^2 times, one in gold 108^3 times; according to the Malabar Chronicle Parasurama established in that country 108 Iswars, 108 places of worship, and 108 Durga images; 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, &c., &c. 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 *Miṣḳál.*

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 *Féoilz* or Trusty Lieges: "When a King in India dies, many persons voluntarily burn themselves with him. These are called *Balánjaríyah* (sing. *Balánjar*), as if you should say 'Faithful

* M. Pauthier has suggested the same explanation in his notes.

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.)

Barbosa briefly notices a like institution 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.) 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 *a-muck*), is called in the island of Bali *Bela*, a term applied also to one kind of female Suttee, probably from S. *Bal*, "a sacrifice." (See *Friedrich* in *Batavian Trans.* XXIII.) In the *Balánjar* of Mas'udi we have probably the same word, compounded perhaps with *angár* "fire," or with *anug*, "a follower." The King of the Russians in the 10th century, according to Ibn Fozlan, had 400 followers bound by the like bond; and so, at an earlier date, according to a quotation in Athenaeus, had the king of a Celtic tribe called Sotiani. His 600 *Féoilz* were called *Siloduri*, or "Bound under a Vow," to live and die with him. (*Fraehn*, p. 22; *Yonge's Athen.* VI. 54.) 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.

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 *Masálak-al-Absár*, had been flowing into India for 3000 years, and had never been exported. Firishta speaks of the enormous spoils carried off by Aláuddin, 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'abar about 1309, had accumulated 1200 crores of gold, *i.e.*, 12,000 millions of dinars, enough to girdle the earth with a fourfold belt of bezants! (*N. and E.* XIII. 218, 220-1; *Briggs's Firishta*, I. 373-4; *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 SUHÁR, 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 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." (*Elliot*, III. 34.)

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. Wassáf'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*.*

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,

* See *Journ. Asiat.* ser. 6, tom. xi. pp. 505 and 512.

without any knowledge of these authorities, had heard that an instrument for this purpose was formerly preserved at Kshíra, 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. 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 reattach 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; *I. B.* IV. 246; *Ward*, Madras ed. 249-50; *J. A. S. B.* XVII. 833.)

Note 9.—On the former prevalence of Suttee in certain parts at least of the South of India, see a note in *Cathay*, p. 80. In 1815 there are said to have been one hundred in Tanjore alone. (*Ritter*, VI. 303.)

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 any other cause, they cook and eat it. The name *Paraiyar*, which means 'Drummers,' does not appear to be ancient. The name given to this class in the ancient poems is *Kayavar*, which means 'low people.' Possibly this was the name which Marco meant to denote when he said they were called Gavi." (*Note by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell.*)

Foreigners may have imagined the name mentioned by Dr. C. to be connected with the beef-eating which distinguished the caste, and so corrupted it into *Gaui* or *Gavi* (Pers. *Gáo*, "an ox"). The low castes are often styled from their unrestricted diet, e.g. *Halál-Khor* (Pers. "to whom all food is lawful"), *Sab-khawá* (Hind. "omnivorous").

Note 11.—The word in the G. T. is *losci de 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. Geog. also has *pinguedinem*, and in a parallel passage about the Jogis (*infra*, chap. xx.), Ramusio's text describes them as daubing themselves with powder of ox-*bones* (*l'ossa*). Apparently *l'osci* 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 Maḍura 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.* ser. 3, tom. iii. p. 127.)

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 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 N.E. monsoon beginning in October, whereas both eastern and western India have theirs from the S.W. monsoon between June and September.

NOTE 16.—Abraham Roger says of the Hindûs of the Coromandel coast: "They judge of lucky hours and moments also by trivial acci-

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," &c. (*Abr. Roger*, p. 75-6.)

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 carcase?
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 XVth Century*, p. 10.)

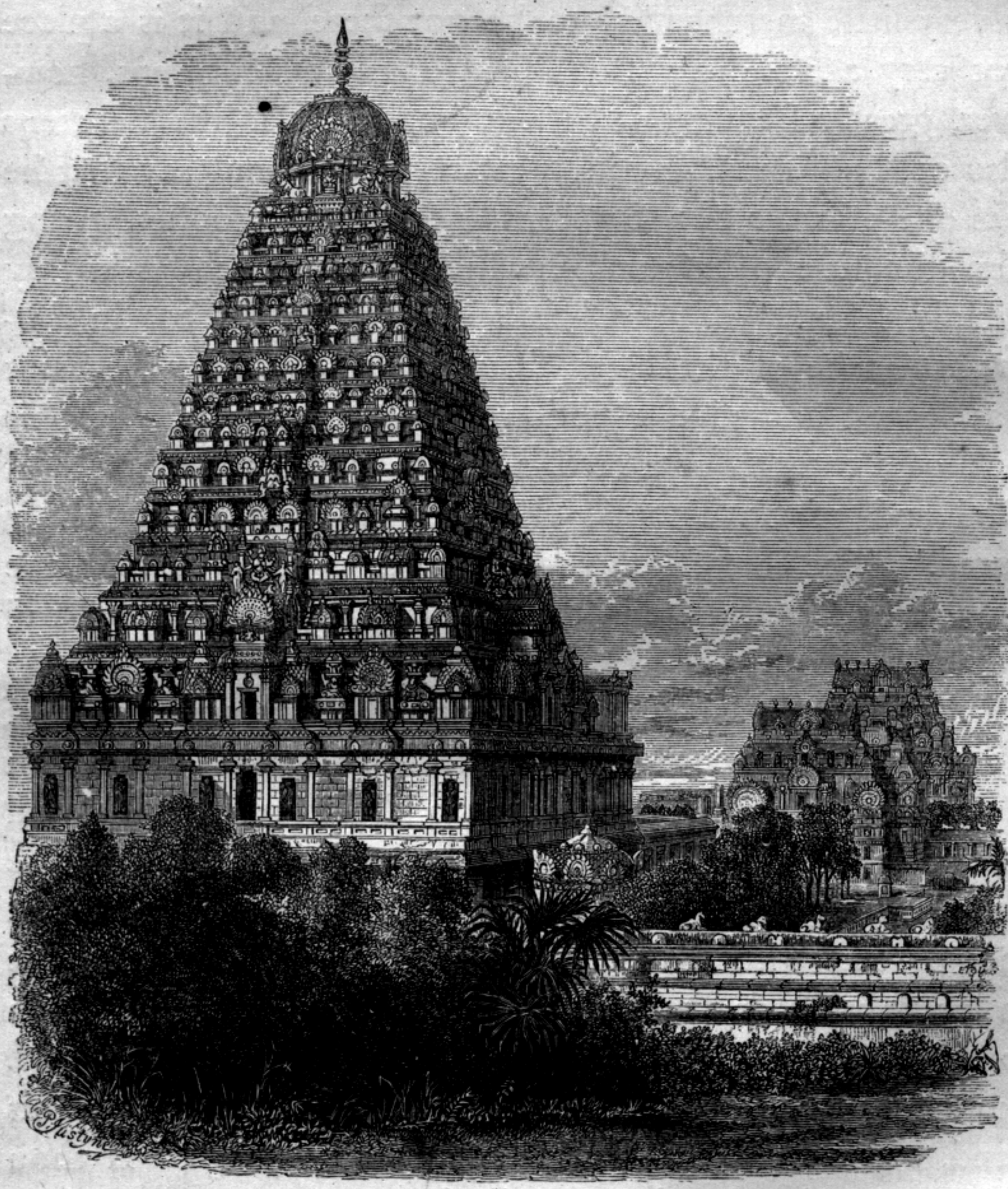
"Rice is frequently given by natives to their horses to fatten them, and a sheep's head occasionally to strengthen them." (*Note by Dr. Caldwell.*)

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 only 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 ἱερόδουλοι, 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 recently 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 cane-work, 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 la Val, 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." (*Charton*, IV. 277.)



Pagoda at Tanjore.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Discoursing 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 á certain little town having no great population; 'tis a place whither few traders go, 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. Fór the Saracens also dó 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 potion 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

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 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]

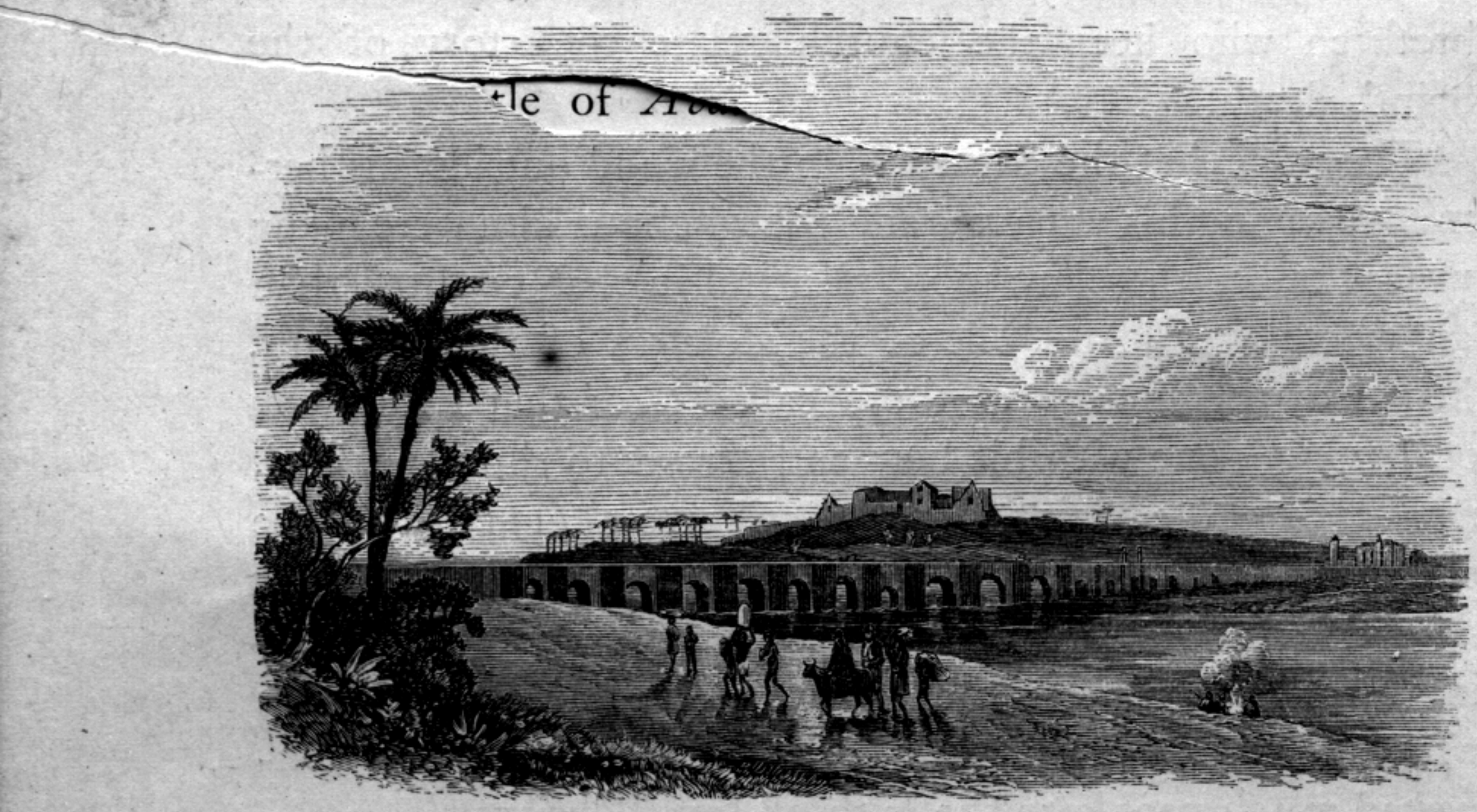
The children that are born here are black enough, but the blacker they be the more they are thought of; wherefore from the day of their birth their parents do rub them every week with oil of sesamé, so that they become as black as devils. Moreover, they make their gods black and their devils white, and 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

* Should be "year" no doubt.

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 3½ miles South of Fort St. George.



The Little Mount of St. Thomas, near Madras.

Note 2.—The title of *Avarian*, given to St. Thomas by the Saracens, is judiciously explained by Joseph Scaliger to be the Arabic *Ḥawáríy* (pl. *Ḥawáriyún*), "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 1348-49. 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: "*Signátur*

et sanctificatur hic Hanana (*pulvis*) *cum hac* Taibutha (*gratiâ*) *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.)

Fahian 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).

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. About the very time of Polo's homeward voyage, John of Monte Corvino on his way to China spent 13 months in Maabar. He also speaks of the church of St. Thomas there, and 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 Thomâ in India*, cum Petro Romae, cum Paulo in Illyrico," &c. (*Scti. Hieron. Epistolae*, LIX., *ad Marcellam*). I do not know if the date is ascertained 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 Roman Martyrology calls the city of martyrdom *Calamina*, but there is (I think) a fair presumption that the spot alluded to by Gregory was Mailapúr, and that the Shrine visited by King Alfred's envoy, Sighelm, was the same.

Marco, as we see, speaks of certain houses belonging to the church, and of certain Christians who kept it. Odoric, some 30 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, 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, &c. 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 connexion 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; *Assemani*, III. pt. ii. p. 32, 450; *Novus Orbis* (ed. 1555), p. 210; *Maffei*, Bk. VIII.; *Cathay*, pp. 81, 197, 374-7, &c.)

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 extract from De Couto in Valentyn, V. p. 382). Camoens again substitutes the old legend from the Martyrologia (X. 117).

NOTE 5.—Dr. Caldwell, speaking of the devil-worship of the Shanars of Tinnevelly (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 Tinnevelly 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 striking 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 1000 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, insomuch that any one going to that region runs fearful peril; for many have been destroyed by those 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 now 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, N.E. of Hyderabad. But Marco, according to a practice which he seems to have followed on several occasions, gives 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 MORUPALLÉ, 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. (*Desc. of Hind.*, II. 94; see *Milburne*, II. 85; *Note by Mr. A. Burnell*).

The proper territory of the kingdom of Waraṅgol 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 28, or as another record states for 38, 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.)

I may add that 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 500 miles instead of 1000; this is 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 Kadapah 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 12 Jewels in the *Rationale* or Breastplate of the Hebrew High Priest, a work written before the end of the fourth 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 *Kirkhîr* (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. It is found in the Chinese Narrative of the Campaigns of Hulaku, translated by both Rémusat and Pauthier. 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. Nicolo Conti relates it of a mountain called Albenigaras, 15 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 XII. Gemmis*, &c., Romae, 1743; *Jaubert, Edrisi*, I. 500; *J. A. S. B.*, XIII. 657; *Lane's Ar. Nights*, III. 93; *Rém. Nouv. Mél. Asiat.*, I. 183; *Raineri, Fior di Pensieri di Ahmed Teifascite*, pp. 13 and 30; *India in XVth Cent.*, p. 29-30; *J. C. Scal. de Subtilitate*, CXIII. No. 3; *An. des Voyages*, VIII. 195; *Garcias*, p. 71; *Transcaucasia*, p. 360.)

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.

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 Abraiaman 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 Abraiaman 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, is ascribed by Pauthier to a phonetic practice in Tamul. There appears to be no foundation for this. I suspect it represents an incorrect Arabic plural, such as *Abráhamin;* the correct form is *Barâhimah.*

What is said here of the Brahmans coming from "*Lar*, a province west of St. Thomas's," of their having a special King, &c., is all very obscure, and that I suspect through erroneous notions.

Lar-Desa, "The Country of Lar," was an early name for the territory of Guzerat and the northern Konkan, embracing *Saimur* (the modern Chaul as I believe), Tana, and Baroch. It appears in Ptolemy in the form *Larike.* The sea to the west of that coast was in the early Mahomedan times called the Sea of Lar, and the language spoken on its shores is called by Mas'udi *Lári.* Abulfeda's authority, Ibn Said, speaks of Lar 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 was the country from which the latter chiefly came, there is some 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 similar testimony is so constant among medieval travellers that it must have had some solid foundation. We may also refer to the high character given to the Hindus by Abul Fazl (*Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery*, III. 8). After 150 years of European trade 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 3 Jews to make a Chinaman, and 3 Chinamen to make a Banyan (p. 114). But what shall be said on the other side? Does the character of English trade and English goods stand as high in Asia as it did half a century ago?

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 Manaar.

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 *Tyâjya*, '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 *Col. Warren's Kala Sankatila*, Madras, 1825, p. 388. The Tamil pronunciation of the word is *tiyâchâm*, 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 *tiyâch*, 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:

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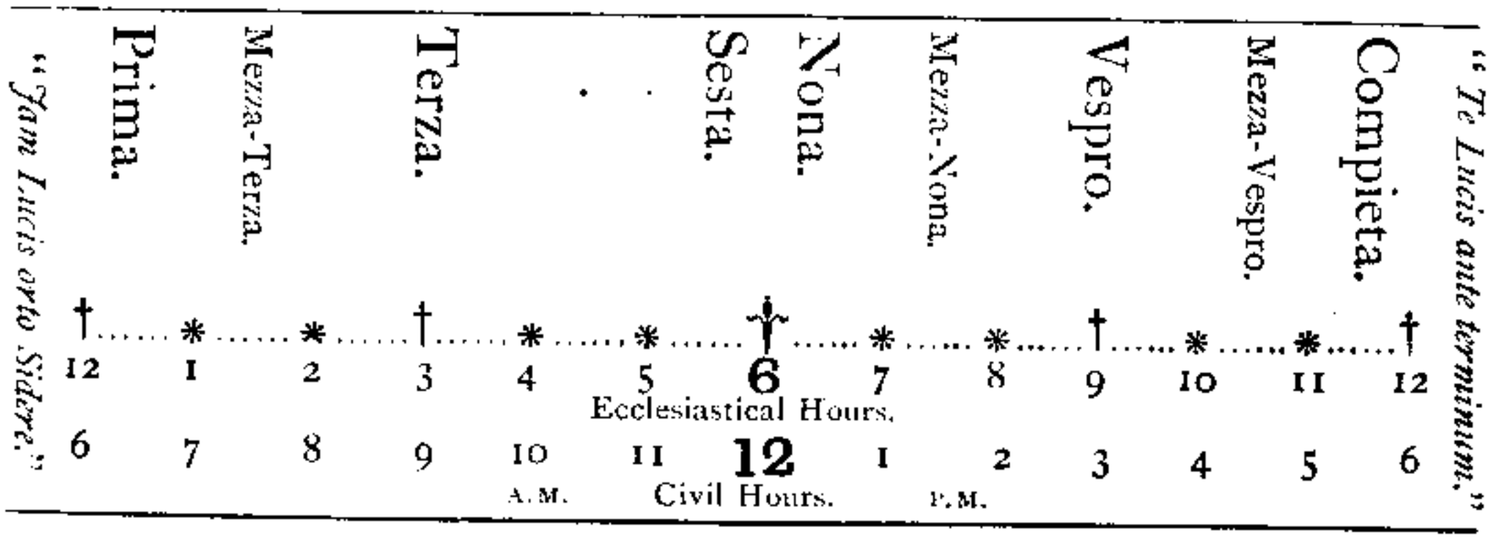
* I may add that quite possibly the real reading may have been *thoiach*.

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 eures de la nuit estoit-il toudis en sa première force." (Quoted in introd. to *Messire Gauvain*, &c., edited by *C. Hippeau*, Paris, 1862, p. xii-xiii.) The term *Half-Tierce* is frequent in medieval Italian, *e.g.*, in Dante :—

"*Lévati 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.).

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 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 :—



Note 4.—Valentyn mentions among what the Coromandel Hindus reckon unlucky rencounters 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, &c., &c. (p. 91). See also *Sonnerat*, 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. 391-3, 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. Bellov. Spec. Natur.* VII. c. 60, 62, and *Bl. Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 40.)

"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 Tamil 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 Jogis alluded to probably belonged to the *Jangamas*, a Linga-worshipping sect of Southern India, who also pay special worship to the *Nandi* or sacred bull. It is stated in one of the Mackenzie documents that they wear a copper or silver *linga* either round the neck *or on the forehead;* whilst they are particularly addicted to smearing themselves with ashes. The name of *Jangama* is stated to be derived from *Jangam*, "movable," owing to their wearing and worshipping the portable symbol instead of the fixed one like the proper Saivas. (See *Lassen*, IV. 623-4; *Wilson, Mack. Coll.* II. 3; *Athenæum*, June 25, 1870, p. 841.)

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.[3]

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.

[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.[3] 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.[4]]

NOTE 1.—KAIL, now forgotten, was long a famous port on the coast of what is now the Tinnevelly District of the Madras Presidency. It is mentioned as a port of Ma'bar by our author's contemporary Rashid-uddin, though the name has been perverted by careless transcription into *Báwal* and *Kábal* (see *Elliot*, I. pp. 69, 72). It is also mis-transcribed as *Kábil* in Quatremère's publication of Abdurrazzák, 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, in the report of what was learned on his first voyage, notes it as *Caell*, a state having a Mussulman King and a Christian (for which read *Kafir*) 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 sea-port, 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, like others before me, supposed the still existing Kayal Pattanam 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:

"The identification of CAIL with Kayalpattanam is found on careful examination to be inadmissible; for there are no relics of ancient greatness in Kayalpattanam, 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 Sônagarpattanam.*

"There is another small port in the same neighbourhood, a little to the north of Kayalpattanam, called Pinna Cael in the maps, properly

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* "Sônagar or Jônagar 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 *Mâpillas* on the Malabar coast, and *Lubbies* in the neighbourhood of Madras" (Dr. C.'s note).

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 Kâyalpattanam, state that their ancestors came originally from Kâyal, subsequently to the removal of the Portuguese from that place to Tuticorin.

"The Cail of Marco Polo, commonly called in the neighbourhood *Old Kâyal*, and erroneously named *Koil* in the Ordnance Map of India, is situated on the Tâmraparnî River, about a mile and a half from its mouth. The Tamil word *Kâyal* means "a backwater, a lagoon," and the map shows the existence of a large number of these *Kâyals* 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 Kayal was naturally given to a town erected on the margin of a *kâyal;* and this circumstance occasioned also the adoption of the name of Punnei Kâyal, and served to give currency to the name of Kâyalpattanam assumed by Sonagarpattanam, 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 Mahommedans 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 manufacture, and several mounds are apparent, in which, besides the shells of the pearl-oyster and broken pottery, mineral drugs (cinnabar, brimstone, &c.) 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 Tinnevelly.*

"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.†

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* I am sorry to say that the coin never reached its destination.

† Dr. Caldwell here goes at some length into the identity of Kayal with the *Fattan* of Ibn Batuta, which he strongly maintains. I have put before him some difficulties in reference to that view; but in any case a full discussion of the subject scarcely appertains to Marco Polo, so I omit it.

"Captain Phipps, the Master Attendant at Tuticorin, says: 'The roadstead of Old Cael (Kâyal) 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.'

"The importance of Kayal in the times of which we are treating, and the probability of identity with the place which Ibn Batuta calls *Fattan*, or 'The City,' are further illustrated by a tradition preserved by the Mahommedans in Ceylon. Casie Chitty, a learned Singhalese Judge, in a letter quoted in Sir Emerson Tennent's *Ceylon* (I. p. 631), speaking of the 'Moors,' or half-Arab half-native Mahommedans of Ceylon, says: 'Their first settlement in India was formed at Kailpatam (properly, as we have seen, *Kâyal*) to the east of Cape Comorin, and that place is still regarded as the "fatherland of the Moors." This settlement is said to have taken place in the early part of the 8th century.'

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"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 *Mâra-mangalam*, '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 Tinnevelly the earth used ceremonially at the annual festival is brought from Korkai.

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 Tinnevelly generally, that 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 Tinnevelly, but whether he was independent of the King of Madura, or only a viceroy, the people cannot now say. We may conjecture that he was nominally subject to Madura, but that he made himself at times virtually independent. The tradition of the people of Kayal is that *Sûra-padma-Raja* was the name of the king by whom the fortifications of the place were erected, and that *Sûr-Raja* was the name of the last king of the place. They state that this last king was a Mahommedan, a statement which agrees with that of Rashiduddin, but though Sûr-Raja does not sound like the name of a Mahommedan prince, they all agree in asserting that this was his name. The priest of the small temple of Mînâkshi in Kayal asserts that there is a copper plate preserved in the temple recording a grant made to it by this Sûr-Râjâ. He refused to show the plate, but as he also asserted that Sûr-Raja was a Mahommedan, and as grants of land from Mahommedan princes to Hindu temples, though not unknown, are very rare, there may be some truth in a story which is not in accordance with ordinary events. 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-vai-Kuntham, 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 Sanscrit 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.' " *

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* See above, p. 270, as to Dr. Caldwell's view of Polo's Sonderbandi.

NOTE 3.—*Tembúl* is the Persian name for the betel-leaf or *pán*. 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 *Káphúr* 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.

Garcias da Horta 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). Abdurrazzak also says: "The manner of eating it is as follows. They bruise a portion of *fanfel* (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," &c. (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. Mél.* I. 84.)

NOTE 4.—Barbosa, speaking of the Kingdom of Battecala in Canara, says: "In this kingdom it is a common custom for two men to defy each other to mortal combat on account of any trifle about which they may have fallen out. The King immediately appoints the time, the place, and the weapons, and likewise gives each a second who stands by his principal. They engage without armour, only from the waist upwards they wear a tight jacket, and have a quantity of cotton cloth wrapt tight round the chest and shoulders. Their arms are sword and target, of dimensions prescribed by the King; and so they commence their sword-play, showing great dexterity therein, but making no use of the point, for that is prohibited. The combat lasts till one or both be left for dead in the presence of the King and all the people, and no one dares say a word except the seconds, who are constantly cheering them on." (*Ram.* I. f. 300.)

This is the only passage of Ramusio's version, so far as I know, that suggests the possibility of interpolation from a recent author, as distinguished from mere editorial modification.

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 merchandize 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 necessaries 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 1.—Futile doubts have been raised by Baldello 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 (the name means 'a Tank,') 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 *Ballád-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 Mahommedans 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. Odorić describes it as "at the extremity of the Pepper Forest towards the south," and astonishing in the abundance of its merchandize. Friar Jordanus of Sévérac was there as a missionary some time previous to 1328, in which year he was at home and was nominated Bishop of the See of Kaulam, Latinized as *Columbum* or *Columbus*. 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 Christians.

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.

Kublai had a good deal of diplomatic intercourse of his usual kind with Kaulam. Demailla mentions the arrival at Thsiuanchau (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 Yangtingpi (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*

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* 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. A vague tradition of extensive trade with China yet survives.

† The translated passage about *'Apuhota* is a little obscure. The name looks like *Katuhada*, which was the site of a palace north of *Calicut* (not in Kaulam) that

represents *Vénáḍan*, "the Lord of the Venádu," or *Venaṭṭu*, that being the name of the district to which belonged the family of the old kings of Kollam, and *Venáḍan* being their regular dynastic name. The Raja of Travancore who inherits their titles is still poetically styled Venádán. (*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 *colombino*. In another passage where he enters into some detail 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 backwaters 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 seems to be identical with the Tamil name *Chapangam*. It is the wood of the *Caesalpinia Sapan*, and is known in Arabic (and in Hindustani) as *Bákám*. 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. The tree is both wild and cultivated, and is grown rather extensively by the Mahommedans of Malabar, called *Moplahs* (*Mapillas*, see p. 307), 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 Brazil, 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 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 name of Brazil has had a curious history. Etymologists refer it to the colour 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 monopolized by that imported from the new country. The Region of Brazil had been originally styled *Sancta 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 I lately have noted a curious instance of the persistence of nautical traditions in a passage which shows that the legend of this Island of Brazil still survived 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 fancy to be sometimes seen to the west of their own Islands. (See *Once a Week*, Nov. 16th, 1867; and *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. Cleghorn; 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 medieval 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," &c. (*Della Dec.* III. 359.) A century later, in G. da Uzzano, we still find the *Colombino* and *Belladi* ginger (IV. 111, 210, &c.). 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

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* 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*, &c.,

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 naturalized in Spanish with the meaning "of small value." (*Elliot*, I. 67; *Ramusio*, I. f. 275 v. 323; *Dozy and Engelm.* p. 232-3; *Douet d'Arcq*, 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 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, &c. (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 Baldaccheo or Bagdadeo (see p. 371). 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 by-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 export of sappan-wood, ginger, and pepper, though all trade there is now very feeble. These, and previous particulars as to the present Quilon, I owe to the kindness of Mr. Ballard, British Resident at Trevandrum.

NOTE 5.—The Lions black all over were probably black Leopards which are met with occasionally, both in India and the Malay countries.

NOTE 6.—These last lines are probably founded on some 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.

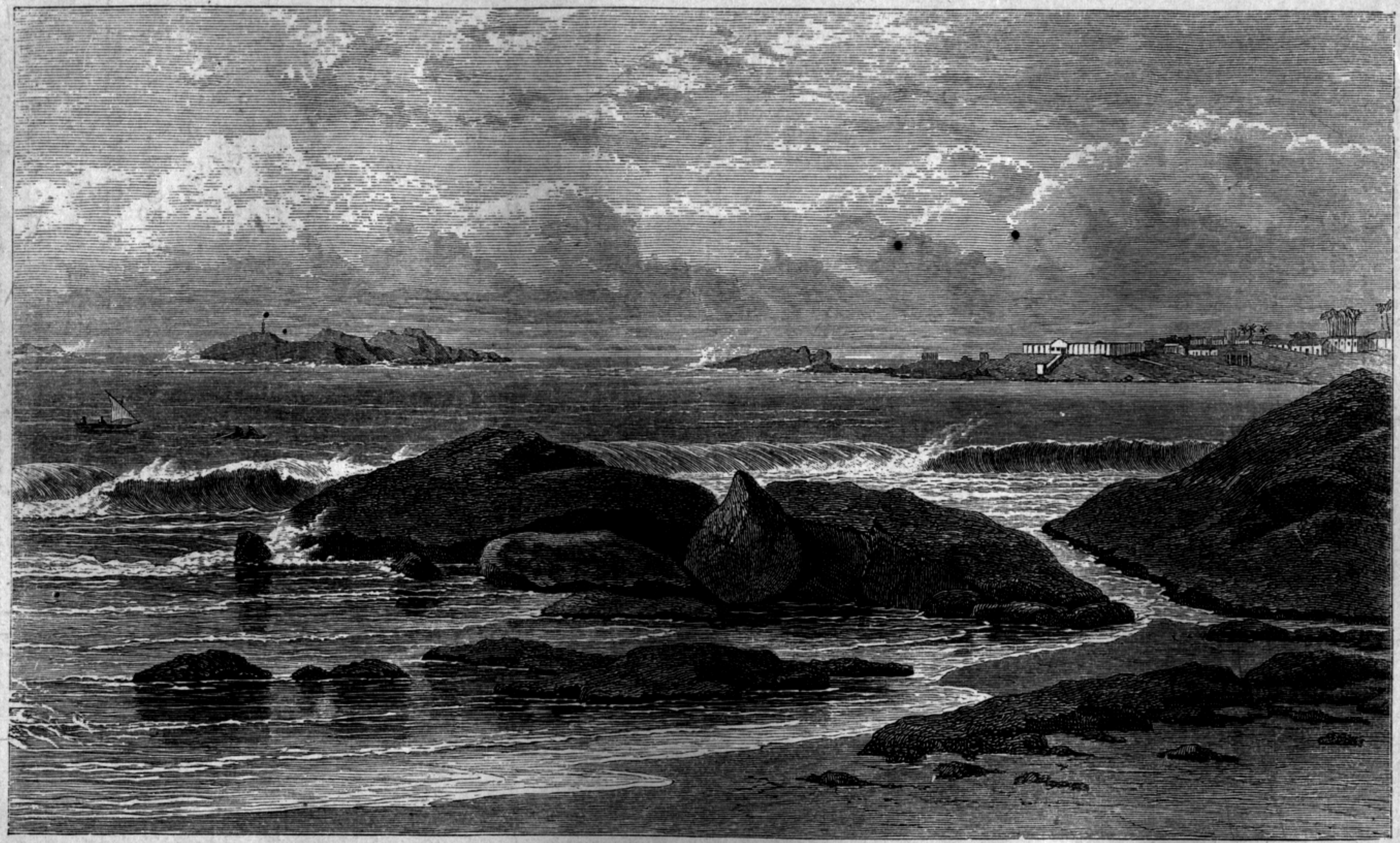
Comari is a country belonging to India, and there you can see something of the North Star which we had not been able to see from the Lesser Java thus far. In order to see it you must go some 30 miles out to sea, and then you see it about a cubit above the water.[1]

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 *gat-pauls*[2] in wonderful diversity, with bears, lions, and leopards, in abundance.

Note 1.—Comari can only be the country about Cape Comorin, the Κομάρια ἄκρον of Ptolemy, a name derived from the Sanskrit *Kumâri*, "a Virgin," an appellation of the goddess Durga. The temple of the goddess still exists, and the 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 Kumhari* as the limit between Malabar and Ma'bar. *Kumări* is the Tamul pronunciation of the Sanskrit word and probably *Comări* 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. Kumari has been confounded by some of the Arabian Geographers, or their modern commentators, with *Kumar* 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.)

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*," &c. *Gatto maimone* for an ape of some kind, is common in old Italian, the latter part of the term, from the Pers. *Maimún*, being 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," &c. (f. 431 v.). So also the *Diccion. de la Lengua Castellana*



Cape Comorin, from a sketch by Mr. Foote, of the Geological Survey of India.

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 Paulas;* (see *Navarrete*, Fr. ed. III. 21, also 147–8). 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 a 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 1.—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, 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*. This part of Malabar was noted for the export of cardamoms; and as the great cardamom was called by the Arabs *Hil* or *Hail*,—in Sanskrit *Ela*,—it seems possible that the name is connected with this.

There is, perhaps, a trace of ELI in the *Ela*-Barake of the Periplus, but the passage is defective and obscure. There is a clearer one in the *Elima* of the Ravenna geographer, who mentions it next below Nelcinna or Nelcynda, generally supposed to be Nileshweram, some miles north of Mount d'Ely. Rashiduddin mentions simply "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

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* I have to apologize for having in another work included the Atlas of India in this charge; it does not apply to that work.

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* (*Faknúr*, of Rashid and Firishta, probably *Baccanor*) and Helli. But we read that in 1527 the Portuguese under Simon de Melo burned the cities of *Marabia* and *Monte d'Elli*. When Da Gama on his second voyage was on his way from 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 *Marawi* is still preserved in *Madavi* or Mádai, 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 Kolastri (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 very near.

The state of *Hili-Marawi* is also mentioned in the Arabic work on the early history of the Mahomedans in Malabar, called *Tuhfat-al-Mujáhidín*, 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 has always borne the name of *Kolatiri*.†

The Ramusian version of Barbosa is very defective here, but in Stanley's version (Hak. Soc. *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 Nileshweram) "along the coast is the mountain Dely (of Ely) on the edge of the sea; it is a

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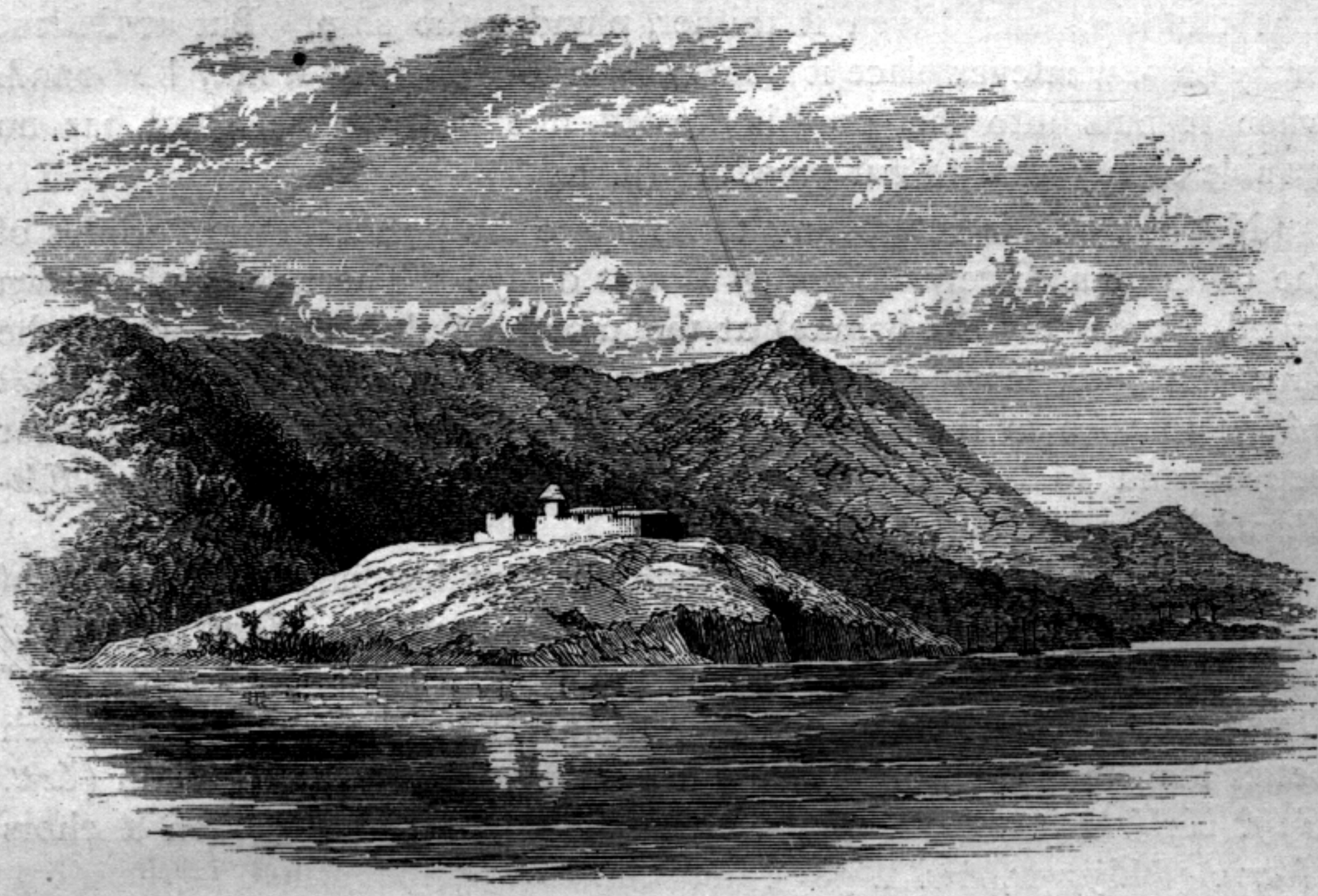
* I had unfortunately not recognized this when the map was engraved, and Maudoy has been omitted. Its position is on the right bank of the river just at the top of the H in "Hili Marawi."

† As *printed* by Rowlandson, the name is corrupt (like many others in the book), being given as *Hubace Muraiee*. 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 هبلي مارأوي, *Hilí Márawi*. (See *Rowlandson*, pp. 54, 58–59, and MS. pp. 23 and 26.)

round mountain, very lofty, in the midst of low land; all the 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. p. 145, 312-13; *Gildem.* p. 185; *Elliot*, I. 68; *I. B.*, IV. 81; *Conti*, p. 6; *H. Gen. des Voyages* (12mo.), II. 9; *Madras Journal*, XIII. No. 31, p. 14, 99, 102, 104; *De Barros*, III. 2, cap. 5, and IV. 2, cap. 13.)



Mount d'Ely, from the Sea, in last century.

NOTE 2.—This is from Pauthier's text, and the map 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 *foces* (and in Pauthier *fouis*), equivalent, I believe, to the Italian *foce* from *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 the Nileshweram River, or the Madai River alluded to above. Neither could be entered by vessels now, but there have been great littoral changes.

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, mirobolans, cassia fistula, zerumbet, and zedoary. The two last items are two species of *curcuma*, for-

merly 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 eaten 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).

Note 5.—It is interesting to compare the notice in the Periplus of the ports immediately adjoining Mount d'Ely : " There is another town called Barake (or Ela-Barake) at the mouth of the river, at which the ships touch on leaving Nelcynda, and ride at anchor in the roads (*ἐπὶ σάλον*) to take in their cargo. . . . . Many ships visit these ports for pepper and Malabathrum." It is not impossible that Barake (or *Ela-Barake*) was Marawi or *Hili-Marawi.*

With regard to the anchors, Pauthier's text has just the opposite of the G. T. which we have preferred : "*Les nefs du Manzi portent si grans ancres de fust* que il seuffrent moult *de grans fortunes aus plajes.*" Demailla 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, &c.* 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 befal them at times.'

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 sendals; 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. 30.

Malabar is a name given by the Arabs, and varies in its form; Ibn Batuta and Kazwini write it المليبار, *al-Malíbár*, Edrisi and Abulfeda المنيبار, *al-Manibár*, &c., 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 Kumhari; 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 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 Mount 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 stript 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 *Garcias* (f. 26, *seqq.*). The latter says the Ceylon cinnamon exceeded it in value as 4 : 1. Uzzano discriminates *canella* lunga, *Salami*, and *Mabari*. The *Salami*, I have no doubt, is *Sailani*, Ceylonese; and as we do not hear of any cassia from Mabar, 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 Garcias says that a small quantity grew there. There is some ambiguity in statements about it, because its popular name *Kábab-chíní* seems to be also applied to the cassia bud. Cubeb pepper was much used as a spice in the middle ages, and imported into Europe as such. But the importation had long ceased, when its medical uses became known during the British occupation of Java, and the demand was renewed.

Budaeus and Salmasius have identified this drug with the κώμακον, 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., *Kumukus*. 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 fourth century B.C.

(*Buchanan's Mysore*, II. 31, III. 193, and App. p. v; *Garcias*, Ital. version, 1576, f. 39-40; *Salmas. Exerc. Plin.* p. 923; *Bud. on Theoph.* 1004 and 1010.)

NOTE 5.—We see that Marco speaks of the merchants and ships of Manzi, or Southern China, 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, as a port where they used to moor for the winter when they spent that season in India. By the winter it is clear that he means the rainy season, as Portuguese writers on India constantly do by the same expression (*I. B.*, 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 Cranganor given 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." 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 probable 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 Ching-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.* ser. 2, tom. x. p. 327-8.)

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. 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 12 years indeed the trees give good spinning cotton, but from that age to 20 years the produce is inferior.[2]

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.[3]

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.

NOTE 2.—Marsden 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 H. of India (*ed. by Prof. 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, in describing the wonders of Siwi (Sehwan) 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 *Gossipium Arboreum*, and sometimes termed *G. Religiosum*, from its being often grown in S. India near temples or abodes of devotees; though the latter name has been applied also to the Nankin cotton. That of which we speak is however, according to Dr. Cleghorn, termed in Mysore *Deo Kapás*, of which *G. Religiosum* is 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 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. This kind of cotton appears to be grown in China, from a passage in Amyot'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 3.—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 vos en diroi? Sachiés tout voiremant qe en ceste reingne se laboure* roiaus dereusse *de cuir et plus sotilment que ne fait en tout lo monde, et celz qe sunt de greignors vailance.*"

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 naught and unworthy of a king.

NOTE 1.—The city of TANA, on the landward side of the island of Salsette, still exists, almost as a suburb of 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 Tana. 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*. Abulfeda speaks of it as a very celebrated place of trade, producing a kind of cloth which was called *Tanasi*, bamboos, and *Tabashir* derived from the ashes of the bamboo.

In Polo's time Tana 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 30 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. There were still pirates doing business from the port, but on a reduced scale. Giovani 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).

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.—Marsden is scarcely justified in saying that the brown incense, which Marco asserts to have been *produced* in the region of Tana, must have been Benzoin imported from Sumatra. There are several products of Western India which might be meant, and one of which probably *is* meant:

I. The *Boswellia Thurifera*, which is found plentifully in the mountains of Central India, and less so among the rocky hills and ravines of the Deccan down to 18°, produces a resin which is believed to be identical with the *Lúbán* of the Arabs, and the *thus* and λίβανος of the ancients. The resin hardens into reddish or pale yellow tears, and occurs also in dense opaque brittle masses. It is not now known to have been collected for sale in the Bombay territory. And indeed Garcias da Horta denies that it was produced in India at all, saying it was brought from Arabia, though then very cheap in Western India, and exported thence to India and China.

II. The *Gúgal*, or *Balsamodendron Mukul*, growing in Sind, Kattiawar and the Deesa district, the resin of which is used as an incense and as a cordial medicine. It is believed to be the *Bdellium* of the ancients, mentioned (βδέλλα) in the Periplus as exported from the Indus, and brought down with *costus* through *Ozene* (Ujjain) and *Barygaza* (Baroch—see *Müller's Geog. Graec. Min.* I. 287, 293). It is mentioned also

(*Mukl*) as a product of Cutch by Albiruni (see *Reinaud* in *J. As.* ser. 4, tom. iv. 263; and Dowson's note to *Elliot*, I. 66). "This substance occurs in masses of variable size and shape, sometimes as large as a walnut, in oblong or angular pieces of a yellow, red, or brownish colour" (*Eng. Cyc.* art. *Bdellium*).

III. *Vateria Indica*, producing the Indian Copal or Gum Animé of the English market. The northern limit of this appears to be North Canara, but it is now exported from Bombay and might have been from Tana. It is the *Chloroxylon Dupada* of Buchanan, and I imagine the *Dupu* or Incense Tree of Rheede (*Hort. Malab.* IV.). The Hindus use it as incense, sometimes forming it into fragrant tapers. Garcias thinks it is the *Cancamum* of the ancients. It is used as a substitute for pitch, and is probably the *thus* with which Joseph of Cranganor says the Indian vessels were payed.

IV. *Boswellia Glabra* yields a fragrant resinous substance known in Tamul as *Koondricum*, which is much burnt as incense by the Hindus.

V. *Costus* of the Ancients, *Kuṭh* of the Hindus (Sansc. *Kushṭh*) is still exported from Western India as well as Calcutta to China, under the name of *Putchock*, to be burnt as an incense in the Chinese temples. Its identity has been ascertained in modern times by Drs. Royle and Falconer, but this was known also to Garcias, who gives a drawing, and mentions *Pucho* as the Malay name. Alex. Hamilton at the beginning of last century calls it *Lignum Dulcis* (*sic*). The Periplus mentions it as just noted among exports from Sind and Guzerat. It was used by the ancients for incense.

The produce of the Balsamodendron, *Mŭkl* or *Bdellium*, answers best to the slight indications, and it is that which appears prominently in the Arab writers as a product of this coast.

(*Report on Indian Gum-Resins, &c., by Mr. Dalyell*, Sup. of the Botanic Garden at Bombay; *Buchanan*, II. 44, 335, 359; *Garcias; Drury's Useful Plants of India; A. Hamilton*, I. 127; *Milburne*, I. 290; *Eng. Cyc.* art. *Putchuk*.)

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 1.—CAMBAET is nearer the genuine name of the city than our CAMBAY. Its proper Hindu name was, according to Colonel Todd, *Khumbavati*, "the City of the Pillar." The inhabitants write it *Kumbáyat*. 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 Sanuto, as one of the two chief Ocean Ports of India; and in the fifteenth century Conti calls it fourteen 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 was still 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 by the armies of Aláuddin Khilji of Dehli in the end of the century.

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 to be sure cruel Idolaters.[1]

Note 1.—Somnath is the site of the celebrated Temple plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni. 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 civilization! He does not give Somnath so good a character as Polo does; for he names it as one of the chief pirate-haunts.

Somnath is properly the name of the Temple; the City was and is Deva-pattan, containing, when visited by Col. Todd some 40 or 50 years ago, 5000 souls, but exhibiting fine tanks and other remains of prosperity, and innumerable Mahommedan graves.

The temples and idols of Somnath were a second time destroyed, a few years after our Traveller's visit, (in 1300) by the forces of Alauddin Khilji of Dehli.

Semenat appears in the Carta Catalana with fair accuracy as to position. (*Gildem.* 185; *J. As.* 4, iv. 254; *Todd's Travels*, 335; *Elliot*, III. 74.)

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 northwest. You see, from Maabar, 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 1.—In spite of clouds raised by M. Pauthier there is no room for doubt that *Kesmacoran* is the province of MEKRAN, known habitually all over the East as KIJ-MAKRAN, from the combination with the name of the country of that of its chief town, just as we lately met with a similar 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. A. S.*, ser. 1, tom. ix. 72; and *J. A. S. B.*, V. 463); by Sharifuddin (*P. de la Crpix*, I. 379, II. 417-18); by Pietro della Valle (I. 724, II. 358); 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 Mekran 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.*, Mekran, Kandahar, Herat, and Kabul) . . . . whilst others class all these together under the name of Ariana" (VI. 23). "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 Khurdádbah 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.*, ser. 6, tom. v. 283.) In the Geography of Bakui we find it stated that "Hind is a great country which begins at the province of Mekran." (*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. 103).

We may add a Romance definition of India from *King Alisaunder*:—

> "Lordynges, also I fynde
> *At Mede begynneth Ynde:*
> For sothe ich wote it stretcheth farest
> Of alle the Londes in the Est;
> And oth the South half sikerlyk
> To the See taketh of Afryk;
> And the north half to a Mountayne
> That is yclepèd Caucasayne"—L. 4824–4831.

It is probable that Polo merely coasted Mekran; he seems to know nothing of the Indus, and what he says of Mekran 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 tables 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.

	Real order.
Maabar, including	1. Mutfili (*Telingana*)
	2. St. Thomas's (*Madras*).
	3. Maabar proper, Kingdom of Sonder Bandi (*Tanjore*).
	4. Cail (*Tinnevelly*).
	5. Comari (*C. Comorin*).
Melibar, including	6. Coilum (*Travancore*).
	7. Eli (*Cananore*).
Guzerat, or Lar, including	8. Tana (*Bombay*).
	9. Canbaet (*Cambay*).
	10. Semenat (*Somnath*).
	11. Kesmacoran (*Mekran*).

	Polo's order.
	1. Mutfili.
Maabar, including	2. St. Thomas's (Lar, west of do.).
	3. Maabar proper, or Soli.
	4. Cail.
	5. Coilum.
	6. Comari.
	7. Eli.
	8. (Melibar).
	9. (Gozurat).
	10. Tana.
	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, Somnat 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 connexion 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 either from actual visits or 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 note 4 to Book I. chap. i. Pauthier's text has "*celles qui sont* en ferme terre," which is nonsense here.

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

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, and 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 1.—It is not perhaps of much use to seek a serious identification of the locality of these Islands, or to rationalize it as Marsden has done. The fable 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 Kesmacoran," but if we take his indication of "half way between Mekran 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 five miles from Socotra, and yet 100 miles 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 Sanuto's map) Arabic; (*Nabílah*, 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. (*Faria y Souza*, I. 118; *Bartoli, H. della Comp. di Gesu*, 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 Mahábhárata 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.)

Hwen Thsang'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.)

The Chinese accounts, dating from the 5th century, of a remote Eastern Land called Fusang, which Neumann fancies 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.) 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 subterraneous caverns in which they took refuge if any one went thither except at the established season," &c. (*P. Martyr* in *Ramusio*, III. 3 *v.* and see 85.)

Mendoza heard of the like in the vicinity of Japan (perhaps the Fusang story), though he opines judiciously that "this is very doubtfull to be beleeved, 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.) 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 enceintes by the Wind, or by eating a particular fruit, or, as in a Chinese edition related by Magaillans, by looking at their own faces in a well! The like fable is localized 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.

(*Magail.* 76; *Gildem*, 196; *N. et Ex.* II. 398; *Pigafetta*, 173; *Marsden's Sumatra.*)

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

[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.']

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 now-a-days 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 statements in the text (from Ramusio) clearly however point to the Spermaceti whale.

"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 points to the sperm whale. (*Ethé*, 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.)

Note 2.—*Scotra* probably represented the usual pronunciation of the name Socotra, which is traced to a Sanskrit original, *Dvipa-Sukadara*, "the Island Abode of Bliss," from which (contracted *Diuscatra*) 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 *Muza* and sometimes from *Limyrica* and *Barygaza* (Canara 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 colonized 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 colonizing by Alexander is doubtless a fable, but invented to account for facts.

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, such as we have alluded to at p. 251. 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.

Some indications point rather to a connexion 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. Both he and Faria y Souza call them Jacobites. 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 reverenced the cross, placing it on their altars, and hanging it round their necks. Every village had its minister, whom they called *Kashís* (*Ar.* for a Christian Presbyter), to whom they paid tithe. No man could read. The Kashís repeated prayers in a forgotten tongue, frequently scattering incense; a word like *Alleluia* often recurred. For bells they used wooden rattles. They assembled in their churches four times a day, and held St. Thomas in great veneration. The Kashíses 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 about 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. Maḳám*, "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, &c. 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.

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 may faintly commemorate 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. Mahommedanism 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 civilization and Greek may have been confined to the littoral foreigners. (*Müller's Geog. Gr. Minores*, I. p. 280–1; *Rélations*, 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. 108-9; *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 *Bawárij*, 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 *Bawárij* were corsairs of Cutch 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

Dehli. 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 chap. 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. 362-3).

NOTE 4.—We have seen that P. Vincenzo alludes to the sorceries of the people; as do Faria y Souza (I. 118), and De Barros quoted by Pauthier.

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.' 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 boar's 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 1.—Marco is, I believe, the first writer, European or Asiatic, who mentions MADAGASCAR by that name, 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 Mahommedan 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 Somali 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 Sumali practice. (See *J. R. G. S.*, VI. 28, and XIX. 55). *Perhaps* the *Shaikhs* (*Esceqe*) also belong to the same quarter, for the Arab traveller says that the Sultan of Makdashau had no higher title than *Shaikh* (183); but see below.

It is, however, true that there are traces of a considerable amount of ancient Arab colonization 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°, 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 Bambeluka Bay, Capt. 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 suggestive of Polo's four sheikhs (*Ellis*; I. 131; *Owen*, II. 102, 132. See also *Sonnerat*, II. 56). 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, but it is not quite clear that the *Kanbălú* of which he speaks was the latter island as the translator supposes. I should rather suspect *Comoro*. (See *Prairies d'Or*, I. 205, 232, and III. 31.)

NOTE 2.—There is, or used to be a trade in Sandal-wood from Madagascar. (See *Owen*, II. 99.)

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).

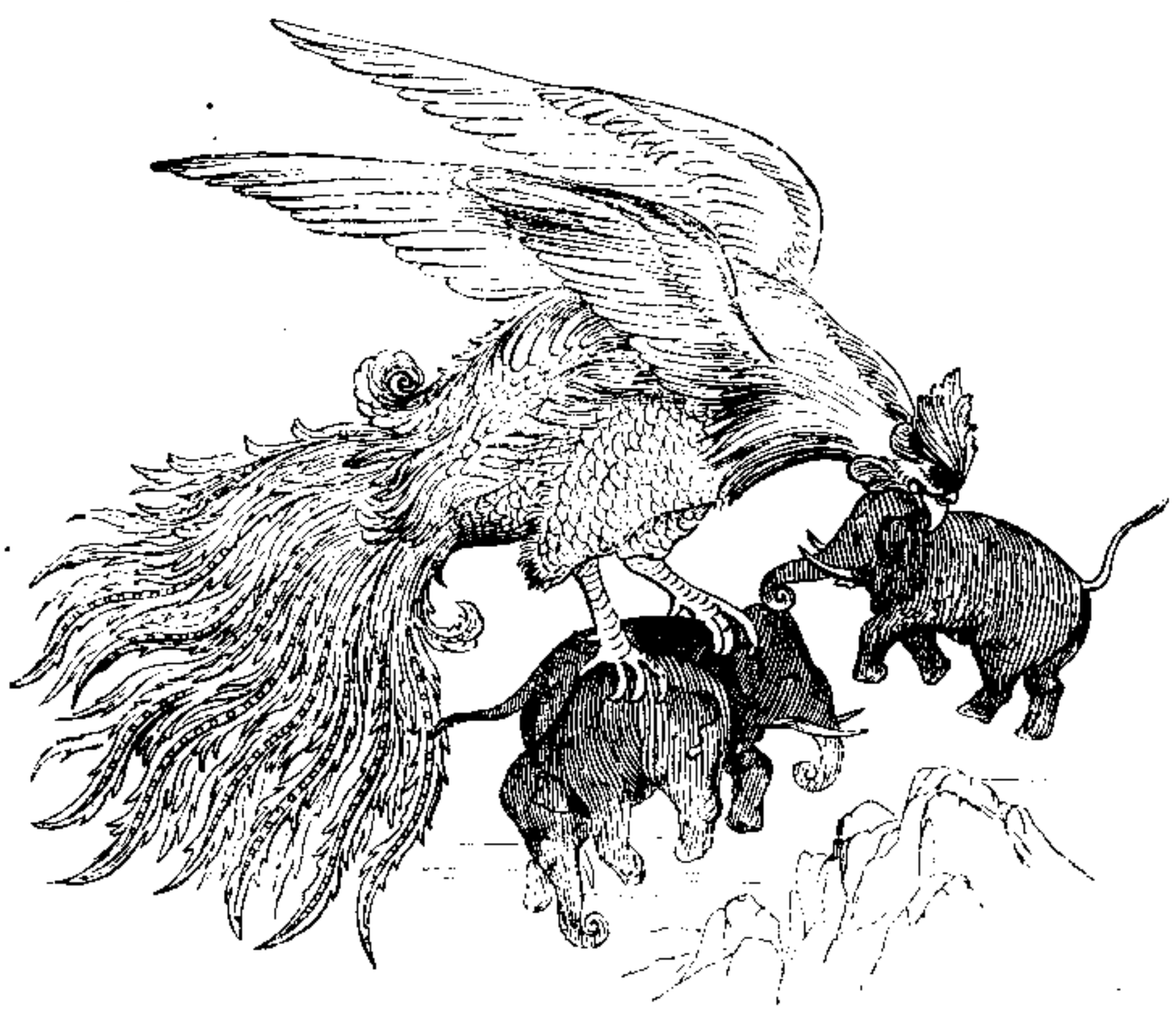
The word which I have rendered *Oil-heads* is *Capdoilles* or *Capdols*, representing *Capidoglio*, the appropriate name still applied in Italy to the Spermaceti whale. The *Vocab. Ital. Univ.* quotes Ariosto (VII. 36):—

—— "*I* Capidogli *co' vecchi marini*
Vengon turbati dal lor pigro sonno."

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 seas in the cold antarctic region beyond 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" (in *Ram.* I. 387 *v*). 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." (*Ethé*, p. 214-15; 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.)



The Rukh, from Lane's 'Arabian Nights,' after a Persian drawing.

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 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 *Nesnás* (see vol. i. p. 183) or of the *'Angka*, and other beings of that rare and wondrous order; for there is nothing in their existence incompatible with 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 70 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 classes 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 con-

* "*De la grandeza 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.

dor'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 give, in the frontispiece of this volume, a drawing of the great Aepyornis egg in the British Museum of its true size, as the nearest approach we can make to an illustration of the *Rukh* from nature. The actual content 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.)

Sindbad's adventures with the Rukh are too well known for quotation. 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, &c. 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 this 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 grifae 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 volvamur in illis,
Ut nos tollentes mentita cadavera Grifae
Pullis objiciant, a queis facientibus armis
Et cute dissutâ, nos, si volet, Ille Deorum
Optimus eripiet."

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 Arimaspia inhabited by the Cyclops; and so on. The Gryphon story also appears in the romance of Huon de Bordeaux.

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 localized 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 Hamdallah, 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

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* 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).

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 (Sansc.) *rath* a chariot.

(*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; *Lane's Arabian Nights*, Notes on Sindbad; *Benj. of Tudela*, p. 117; *De Varia Fortuna Ernesti Bavariae 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. &c., chez les Persans*, 30, *seqq.*)

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 Thévénot; 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 5 palms in length, of the thickness of an average man's arm, and of extreme strength and hardness. 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.)

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 *Tsengszu* in the S.W. 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. *Tsengszu* seems to be *Zinj* or Zanjibar, as Klaproth notes (*J. As.*, ser. 2, tom. xii. 235-6).

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.

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 boars' 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 *Zangibar* (hard *g*), which polite Arabic changed into *Zanjibar*, 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.

India the Greater is that which extends from Ma-

abar 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 Mutfili, 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 the Zinjis dwelt at Mombasa. In recent times the name is by Europeans almost appropriated to the Island on which resides a Sultan of the Maskat family. 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.

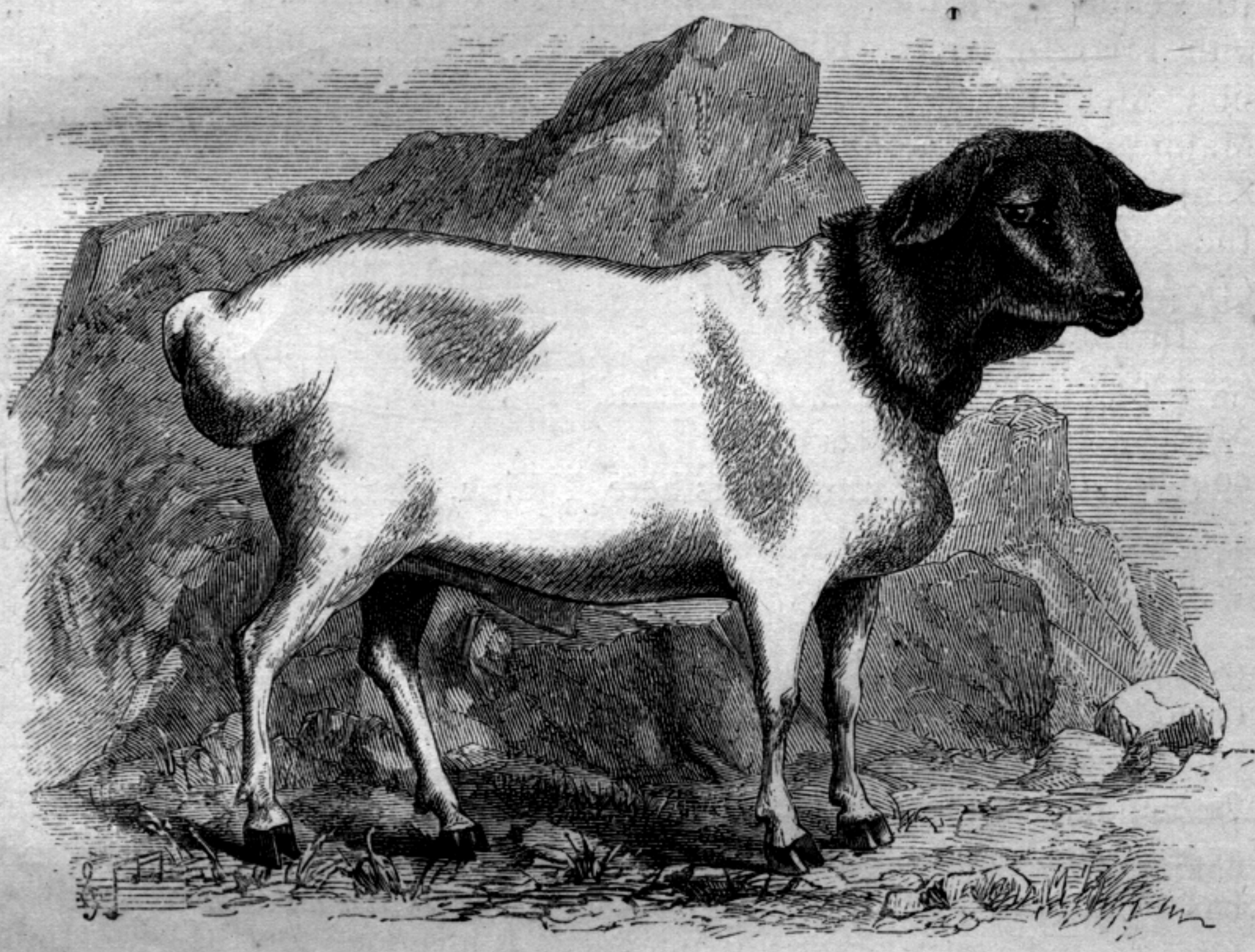
NOTE 2.—These sheep are common at Aden, whither they are imported from the opposite African coast. They have hair like smooth goats, no wool. Varthema also describes them (p. 87). In the Cairo Museum, among ornaments found in the mummy-pits there is a little figure of one of these sheep, the head and 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 she-panthers (*Kington*. I. 471; *Makrizi*, I. 216; II. 106, 108). The giraffe is sometimes wrought in the patterns of medieval 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 Garcias da Horta.

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 mentions 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 Zinjes 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



Ethiopian Sheep.

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 Pyrard 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 Pyrard, says that he believes the actual number of islands to be treble or fourfold of 12,000. (*P. de Laval* in *Charton*, 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 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. 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.

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) Cambaet, (9) Semenat, (10). Kesmacoran. 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 king-

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), *Sylen* (Ceylon), *Java*, three or four kings, *Telenc* (Polo's Mutfili), *Maratha* (Deogir), *Batigala* (in Canara), and in *Champa* (apparently all Indo-China) many kings. According to Firishta there were about a dozen *important* principalities in India at the time of the Mahommedan conquest, of which he mentions *eleven*, viz., (1) *Kanauj*, (2) *Mírat* (or Dehli), (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 *Masálak-al-Absár* of Shihabuddin Dimishki, written some forty years after Polo's book, gives a list of the provinces into which India was then considered to be divided. It runs—(1) *Dehli*, (2) *Dewagír*, (3) *Multan*, (4) Kehran (?), (5) *Sámán* (Samána, N.W. of Dehli?), (6) *Siwastán* (Sehwán), (7) *Ujah* (Uchh), (8) *Hasi* (Hansi), (9) *Sarsati* (Sirsa), (10) *Ma'bar*, (11) *Tilink*, (12) *Gujerat*, (13) *Badáún*, (14) *Audh*, (15) *Kanauj*, (16) *Laknaoti* (Upper Bengal), (17) *Bahár*, (18) *Karráh* (in the Doab), (19) *Maláwa* (Málwa), (20) *Lahaur*, (21) *Gwalior*, (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 are accounted for. (See *Not. et Ext.* XIII. 170.)

CHAPTER XXXV.

Treating of the Great Province of Abash which is Middle India, and is on the Main Land.

Abash is a very great Province, and you must know that it constitutes the Middle India; and it is on the main land. 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 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 kinds 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*, *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 India, 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," &c. (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 ebenum,"

says explicitly "*Indiam omnem plagam Æthiopiæ accepimus.*" The Ecclesiastical Historians Sozomen and Socrates (I take these citations, like the last, from Ludolf), in relating the conversion of the Abyssinians by Frumentius, speaks 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*. St. Epiphanius (end of 4th century) says *India* was formerly divided into nine kingdoms, viz., those of the (1) *Alabastri*, (2) *Homeritae*, (3) *Azumiti*, and *Dulites*, (4) *Bugaei*, (5) *Taiani*, (6) *Isabeni*, and so on, several of which are manifestly provinces subject to Abyssinia,* and possibly all. 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 occurs in Matthew Paris 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

* 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

from the King of Abyssinia to Portugal in 1513, which was printed at Antwerp in 1532, bears the title "*Legatio Magni* Indorum *Imperatoris*," &c. (*Ludolf, Comment.* p. 2 and 75–76; *Epiphanius de Gemmis*, &c., p. 15; *R. Bacon, Opus Majus*, p. 148; *Matt. Paris*, p. 372.)

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, *i.e.*, between the eyes and on either cheek. 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.

Map to illustrate the position of the Kingdom of ELY in MALABAR

English Miles

10 5 0 10

"Et li est un roiaume ver ponent ... en ceste province n'a nul port mais il a moult de fluns et grans qui ont boñes foces." ...

Nileshwar

Kanwai

Mount d'Ely
or Yellipâd

Yelli Redoubt

Supposed position of Hili Marani

Cherakan

Kannapuram

Kalliacheri

Baliapatam

Palace of Cherakal

Cananor

12°

75° 30'

Sketch shewing the position of KÂYAL IN TINNEVELLY.

English Miles

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

78°

8° 40'

Tuticorin

GULF OF MANAR

Punnai Kâyal

Kâyal

Korkai

Site of Korkai (Colchoi)

Mura manggalam

Srivaikuntham

Tamraparni River

Alvar Tinnevelly

Kâyalpattanam

Trichendur

"Sachiés qe à ceste cité de Cail font port toutes les nés qe vient de ver Ponent"

Lit. Frauenfelder. Palermo

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 Sanuto 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.

(*Orient und Occident*, Göttingen, 1862, I. 453; *Frescob.* 114; *Clavijo*, 163; *Ramus.* I. f. 290, v., f. 184; *Marin. Sanut.* 185, and III. pt. viii. ch. iv.; *Clusius, Exotica*, pt. ii. p. 142; *Orland. Fur.* XXXIII. st. 102; *Voyage en Perse, dans les Années* 1807-9; *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.)

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 1 the appearance of this confusion in R. Benjamin; and I may add that also in the Map of Marino Sanuto Aden is represented on the western shore of the Red Sea. But is it not possible that in the origin of the Mahommedan 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 medieval 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. 640) had the *Nubas* and *Bejas* hastened to the help of the Greek Christians of Oxyrhynchus (*Behnasa* of the Arabs) . . . . . against the first invasion of the Mahommedans, 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 Mahommedan 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." And the facts which this may have referred to 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 xv. cent.* 37; *Ludolf*, I. 10, 32; *Armandi, H. Militaire des Éléphants*, p. 547.)

Note 5.—To the tenth century at least the whole coast country of the Red Sea, from near Berbera probably to Suakin, was still subject to

* *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, I. cclxiii.

† *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 from a Spaniard, *Marmol*, who travelled (he says) in Abyssinia in the beginning of the 16th century; but the passage seems

Abyssinia. At this time we hear only of "Musalman 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 Mahommedan communities 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 Mahommedan governors, whose allegiance to the Negush, if not renounced, had become nominal.

One of the principal Mahommedan communities was called *Adel*, the name, according to modern explanation, of the tribes now called Danákíl. 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 Mahommedan 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 Mahommedan 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, Rüppell, and Salt; the latter using a different version of the Annals from the other two. I set down all three.

Bruce.			Rüppell.	Salt.		
Reigns.	Duration of reign.	Dates.	Duration of reign.	Reigns.	Duration of reign.	Dates.
Icon Amlac.....	15	1268—1283	15	.. ..	14	1255—1269
Igba Zion	9	1283—1292	9	Wodem Arad ...	15	1269—1284
Bahar Segued				Kudma Asgud ...		
Tzenaff ,, ...				Asfa ,, ...	3	1284—1287
Jan ,, ...	5	1292—1279	5	Sinfa ,, ...		
Hazeb Araad				Bar ,, ...	5	1287—1292
Kedem Segued ...				Igba Zion	9	1292—1301
Wedem Arad	15	1297—1312	15	.. ..	..	..
Amda Zion	30	1312—1342	30	.. ..	30	1301—1331
Saif Arad.....	28	1342—1370	28	.. ..	28	1331—1359
Wedem Asferi	10	1370—1380	10	.. ..	10	1359—1369
David II.	29	1380—1409	29	.. ..	32	1369—1401
Theodorus	3	1409—1412	3	.. ..	1	1401—1402
Isaac.....	17	1412—1429	15	.. ..	15	1402—1417
Andreas	$0\frac{7}{12}$	1429	$0\frac{7}{12}$	.. ..	7	1417—1424
Haseb Nanya	4	1429—1433	4	.. ..	5	1424—1429
Sarwe Yasus	$1\frac{1}{12}$	1433—1434	1	.. ..	5	1429—1434
Ameda Yasus.....						
Zara Jacob	34	1434—1468	$34\frac{1}{3}$	.. ..	34	1434—1468
Beda Mariam	10	1468—1478	10	.. ..	10	1468—1478
Iskander	17	1478—1495	$17\frac{7}{12}$	.. ..	16	1478—1494
Ameda Zion						
Naod	13	1495—1508	13	.. ..	13	1494—1507
David III.....	32	1508—1540	32	.. ..	32	1507—1539
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* Amlák, which occurred in A.H. 672 or 673, *i.e.* A.D. 1273-74. This would fall within the reign of Icon Amlac 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. 1381-2).

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 4 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 Rüppell 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-Mahommedan war was going on), that Prince tells the Sultan that he is a protector of the Mahommedans 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.

Rüppell 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 probable 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 Mahommedan low country) originally tributary to the Hati (or Negush) of Amhara, viz., *Aufat*, *Dawaro*, Arababni, *Hadiah*, Shirha, Bali, Darah. Of these Ifat, Dawaro, and Hadiah 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 Makrizi that *about* A.H. 700, the reigning governor of Aufat 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,

* 834 for 836.

the son of Ahmed, obtains the mastery in Aufat, defeats Saif Arad completely, and founds a city in Shoa called Vahal, which superseded Aufat 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 *Salt's Second Journey to Abyssinia*, II. 270, &c.; 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 Islamiticarum in Abyssinia*, &c., Lugd. Bat. 1798; *Rüppell*, Dissert. on Abyss. Hist. and Chronology in his work on that country; *Quat. Makr.* II. 122-3; *Quat. Mém. sur l'Égypte*, II. 268, 276.)

The residence of the Kings of Abyssinia was at this period in the southern provinces, Shoa and Amhara. The following passage regarding the court of Abyssinia is quoted by Signor Berchet, as from Polo's contemporary, Marino Sanuto. I think there must be some accidental error in the reference, which I cannot trace in Sanuto, but the passage is too curious to be omitted. After stating that the King has not a fixed residence, but moves about followed by an immense encampment, it goes on: "The King goes on horseback with the crown on his head, but encompassed with red curtains and great flags, borne by the soldiers who surround him. Before him go pages, illustrious chiefs on horseback, and the foreign envoys if there be any. Of the vast numbers that follow the King perhaps a tenth part are well clothed, and consist of the rich men who have tents of great price, the remainder being poor and clothed in skins only. He often marches straight ahead, nobody knows whither, and in that case his escort consists of a few, well mounted, and with their faces covered so that one does not know the other. The King usually takes with him, loaded on mules, the holy stones for 13 altars, which are erected under white tents kept for that purpose. Music and song always indicate the monarch's quarters, but still more do the libations and sacrifices to Venus and Bacchus." (*Boll. della Soc. Geog. Ital.* Fascic. II. p. 160.)

Note 6.—The last words run in the G. T.: "*Il ont singles de plosors maineres. Il ont* gat paulz (see note 2, chap. xxiii. *supra*), *et autre gat maimon si devisez qe pou s'en faut de tiel hi a qe ne senblent a vix d'omes.*" The beautiful cocks and hens are, I suppose, Guinea fowl.

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 dò 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 *Mahmúdiah*, is also called *Il Caligine* in the journey of Simon Sigoli (*Frescobaldi*, p. 168). Brunetto Latini, too, discoursing of the Nile, says:—

" Così serva suo filo
Ed è chiamato Nilo:
D' un suo ramo si dice
Ch' è chiamato *Calice.*"
—*Tesoretto*, p. 63.

Also in the Sfera of Dati:—

—— " Chiamasi *Caligine*
E Gion e Nilo, e non si sa l' origine."

The word is (Ar.) *Khalíj*, applied specially to the canals drawn from the full Nile. The port on the Red Sea would be either Suakin or Aidháb; the 30 days' journey seems to point to the former. Polo's contemporary, Marino Sanuto, 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 Luksor), 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, &c., 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." (Book 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, Crest. Arabe*, II. 556.)

NOTE 2.—The words describing the horses are (P.'s text): "*de bens 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 packsaddle.

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 packsaddle.* Thus Cobarruvias explains the phrase *Hombre de dos sillas*, "Conviene saber de la gineta y brida, *ser de silla y albarda* (packsaddle), *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 thorough-breds 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*)," &c. (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 Adel and Aden does not extend to this chapter.

The "Soldan of Aden" was the Sultan of Yemen, whose chief residence was at Ta'izz, N.E. of Mokha. The prince reigning in Polo's day was Malik Muzaffar 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.

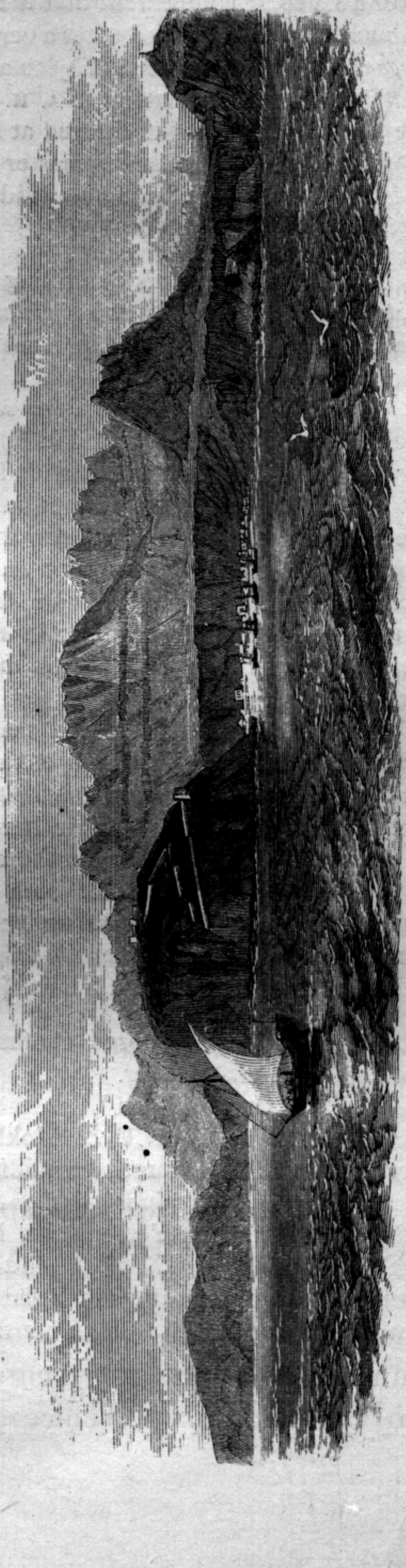
Ibn Batuta speaks of it thus correctly: "It is enclosed by mountains, and you can enter by one side only. It is a large town, but has

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, Ḳálikúṭ, Fandaráina, Sháliát, Manjarúr, Fákanúr, Hinaur, Sindábúr,* &c. 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.

There is a good account of Aden in 1517 by Andrea Corsali. He says that Aden, Malacca, Calicut, and Hormuz had been the chief ports and richest marts of the East till the arrival of the Portuguese, but their importance was already sorely fallen. (*Makrizi*, IV. 26-27; *Playfair, H. of Yemen*, p. 7; *Ibn Batuta*, II. 177; *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



View of Aden in 1840.

* All ports of Western India: Pandarani, Shalia (near Calicut), Mangalore, Baccanore, Onore, Goa.

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.)

"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. 151-2.) 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

bar, 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.)

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.*

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. My friend the Rev. G. P. Badger 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."

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).

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.

Note 1.—*Dufar.* The name ظفار is variously pronounced Dhafár, Dhofar, Zhafár, and survives attached to a well-watered and fertile plain district opening on the sea, nearly 400 miles east of Shéḥr, 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. Professor Sprenger, however, is satisfied that the city was in the eastern part of the plain.

This Dhafár is supposed to be the *Sephar* of Genesis (X. 30), and, *perhaps*, the *Sapphara metropolis* of Ptolemy. There was, however, another Dhafár about halfway between Aden and Sanaa, which was one of the royal residences of the Himyarite kings. (*Playfair's Yemen*, p. 31; *Haines in J. R. G. S.*, XV. 116, *seqq.*; *Fresnel* in *J. As.*, ser. 3, tom. v. 517, *seqq.*). *Dofar* is noted by Camoens for its fragrant, incense (X. 101).

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 Melik 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 the 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.[1]

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.—*Ḳalhát*, 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 Kutb-uddin 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 Kalhat 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 Kalhat.

NOTE 2.—"Of the interior." Here the phrase of the G. T. is again "en fra tere *a mainte vité et castiaus*." (See *supra*, Bk. I. ch. i. note 2.)

There was still a large horse-trade from Kalhat 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 *saraffii* per head. If these *ashrafis* were pagodas, this would be about 15*l.* a head; if they were *dinárs*, it would be more. 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 Hormuz, 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.

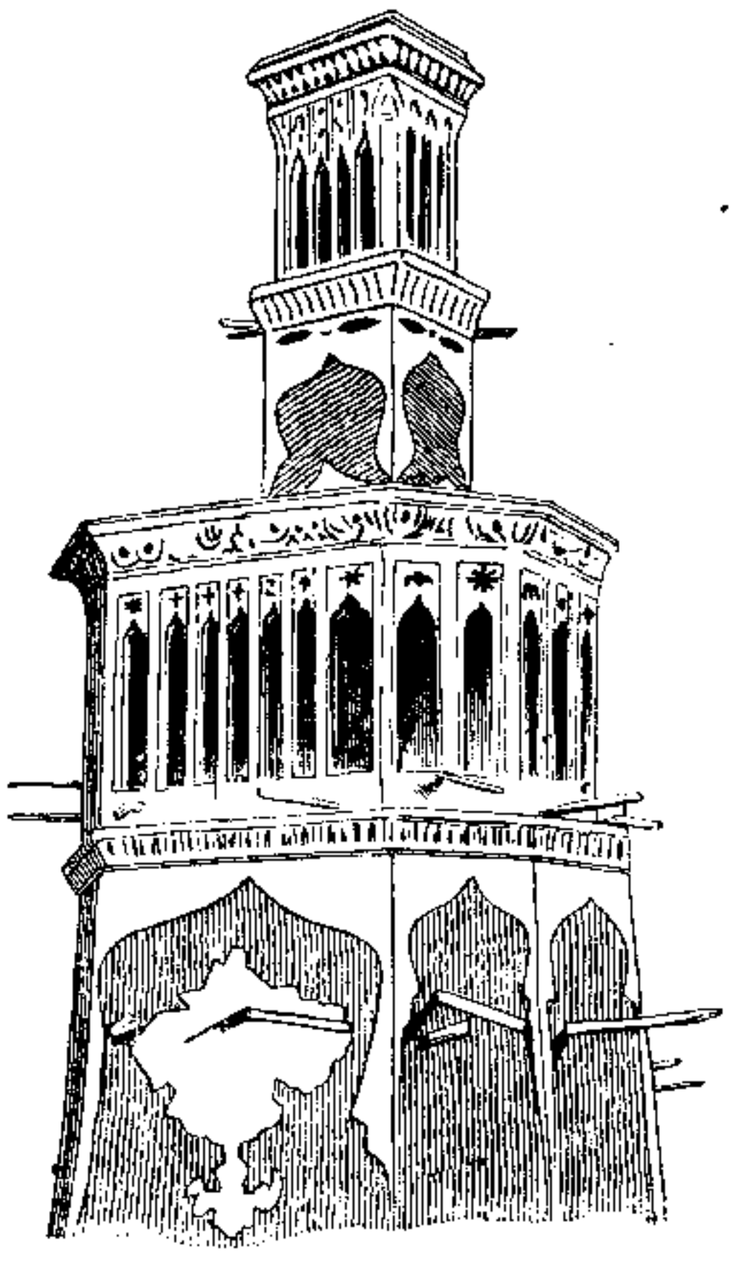
Now, however, we will quit this part of the world, and tell you about Great Turkey. First, however, there is a point that I have omitted; to wit, that when you leave the City of Calatu and go between west and north-west, a distance of 500 miles, you come to the city of Kis.[3] Of that, however, we shall 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 realize what seems to have been his idea of the Arabian coast.

Note 2.—These ventilators are a kind of masonry windsail, known as *Bád-gír*, or "wind-catchers," and in general use over Oman, Kerman, the province of Baghdad, Mekran, and Sind. A large and elaborate example, from Hommaire de Hell's work on Persia, is given in the cut which follows. 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. 333-5; *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.

Note 3.—On *Kish* see Book I. ch. vi. note 2.

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 Kais, or "*the old Hormuz.*" This shows that the traditions of the origin of the island 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.* ser. 1, tom. ix. 67.)



A Persian Wind-catcher.

BOOK FOURTH.

WARS AMONG THE TARTAR PRINCES

AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES.

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.

* 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 formulae 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 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.

In truth, as he had several times been in revolt, he dreaded that the Kaan might take the opportunity to destroy 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. 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 Kublai and Kaidu, and as to the descent of the latter (see Vol. I. p. 172) was not a slip, but persistent. The name of Kaidu's grandfather is here in the G. T. written precisely Chagatai (*Ciagatai*).

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 Kublai, 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 Chagatai he exercised great influence over its princes, and these were often his allies in the constant hostilities that he maintained against the Kaan.

* The Jihun or Oxus.

Such circumstances may have led Polo to confound Kaidu with the house of Chagatai. 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 Chagatai 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 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 Chagatai in making submission to Teimur Kaan, the successor of Kublai; 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.

NOTE 2.—"To the N.N.W. a desert of 40 days' extent divides the states of Kublai from those of Kaidu and Dua. This frontier extends for 30 days' journey from east to west. 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 corps are cantoned on the verge of the desert; a sixth in the territory of Tangut near Chagan Núr,* a seventh in the vicinity of Karakhoja, a city of the Uigurs, which lies between the two states and maintains neutrality." (*Rashiduddin*, see *Cathay*, p. 274.)

CHAPTER II.

OF CERTAIN BATTLES THAT WERE FOUGHT BY KING CAIDU AGAINST THE ARMIES OF HIS UNCLE THE GREAT KAAN.

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

* Not the Chagan Núr of Book I. ch. lx.; but probably a lake of that name N.E. of Kamul.

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 strown 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 *Harems* 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 Kublai 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 Uigur 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 Kublai, 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 10 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 KAAN SAID TO THE MISCHIEF DONE BY KAIDU 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 *Aigiaruc,* though printed in the edition of 1824 as *Aigiarm.* It is Oriental

Turkish, Ai-Yárúḳ, 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 *Kutulun*. 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. 143-4.)

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 trial, for fear of the shame of being beaten by her." (*I. B.* IV., 253–4). 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).

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 this 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 Abaga, under Abaga by Arghun, and under Arghun by Ghazan. (See *Hammer, passim.*)

We have already spoken amply of the Arbre Sol (Vol. I. p. 120, *seqq.*). Since that long note was printed, I have met with a very learned and interesting paper by Signor Adolfo Mussafia, "On the Legend of the Wood of the Cross" (*Sulla Legenda del Legno della Croce*, Vienna, 1870), which, though not touching on many of the curious ramifications of the myth of the "*Arbre Sec*" which we have indicated, gives a very full account of that fundamental legend which we have alluded to at the bottom of p. 128, Vol. I., and of its numerous versions, and throws great light on the idea of the Cross as at the base of them all. Adam, drawing near his end, sends Seth to the Gate of Paradise to seek the Oil of Mercy which had been promised to his penitence. Seth is allowed to put his head in at the Gate. "In the midst of Paradise he beheld a glorious fountain, from which flowed forth four Rivers. . . . . And over the Fountain rose a Great Tree, with vast roots, but bare of bark and leaves." A great 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 (as the legend proceeds in a poetical French version, from a MS. in the Vienna Library, given by Mussafia):—

"Les larmes qui de lui issoient
Contreval l'Arbre en avaloient.
Adonc regarda l'enfant Seth
Tout contreval de L'ARBRE SECQ;
Les rachines qui le tenoient
Jusques en Enfer s'en aloient,
Les larmes qui de lui issirent
Jusques dedens Enfer cheïrent."

The Angel of the Gate gives Seth three seeds from the fruit of the Tree. Seth returns in time to see his Father die. He buries him in the *Valley of Hebron*, and places the three grains under his tongue. A

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 communicated the healing virtue), and is taken to form the Cross on which Our Lord suffered.

Note 2.—Barac or Borrak, who has been already spoken of in chap. iii. of the Prologue (Vol. I. p. 9), was no brother of Kaidu's. He was the head of the house of Chagatai, and in alliance with Kaidu. The invasion of Khorasan by Borrak took place in the early part of 1269. Arghun was only about 15, and his father Abaka 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 Badghis (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.' 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 accord-

ingly, 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.—Abaka 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. 221, 222), 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 Abaka he had a strong party and seized the throne. Arghun 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 Melic[1] 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*, a chief or prince. (See remark at p. 21 *supra*.)

Note 2.—In the spring of 1284 Ahmad marched against his nephew Arghún, and they encountered in the plain of Aḳ Khoja near Kazwin. Arghun'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, Buga, 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 RECOGNIZED AS SOVEREIGN.

AND when Argon had done as you have heard, and remained in possession of the Throne and of the Royal 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.—Arghun, a prisoner (see last note), and looking for the worst, was upheld by his courageous wife BULUGHÁN (see Prologue, chap. 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 Abaka, and had resentments against Ahmad, got up a conspiracy in favour of Arghun, 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 Arghun 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*, *Kurmishi*, and *Arkasun Noian*. Those named by Polo are not mentioned on this occasion, but the names are all Mongol. TAGÁJAR, ILCHIDAI, TUGHAN, SANAGHAR 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 Arghun, Ghazan, 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 Arghun'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.)

NOTE 2.—Arghun 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 Arghun's death have been noticed already (*supra*, p. 304).

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]

* *Frer carnaus* (see I. p. 172).

NOTE 1.—KAIKHÁTÚ, of whom we heard in the Prologue (Vol. I. p. 33), was the brother, not the uncle, of Arghun. On the death of the latter there were three claimants, viz., his son Ghazan, his brother Kaikhatu, and his cousin Baidu, the son of Tarakai one of Hulaku's sons. The party of Kaikhatu was strongest, and he was raised to the throne at Akhlath, 23rd July, 1291. He took as wives out of the Royal Tents of Arghun the Ladies Bulughán (the 2nd, not her named in the Prologue) and Uruk. All the writers speak of Kaikhatu'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; *Reiske, 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.

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 1.—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 Ghazan's conversion to Islam, exhibit sometimes Mahommedan 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 Arghun, but of Ahmad

Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." Raynaldus, under 1285, gives a fragment of a letter addressed by Arghun 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 Mahommedan profession of faith.

The European Princes could not get over the belief that the Mongols were necessarily the inveterate enemies of Mahommedanism and all its professors. Though Ghazan 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 Ghazan. (*Fraehn de Ilchan. Nummis*, vi. and *passim*; *Raynald.* III. 619; *Kington's Frederick II.* I. 396; *Capmany, Antiguos Tratados*, &c. p. 107; *Rymer*, 2d Ed. III. 34; see also p. 15.)

There are other assertions, besides our author's, that Baidu professed Christianity. Hayton says so, and asserts that he prohibited Mahommedan proselytism among the Tartars. The continuator of Abulfaraj says that Baidu's long acquaintance with the Greek *Despina Khatun*, the wife of Abaka, 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 Mahommedan practices. But he would only employ Christians as Ministers of State. His rival Ghazan, on the other hand, strengthened his own influence by adopting Islam; Baidu's followers fell off from him, and delivered him into Ghazan's power. He was put to death 4th of October, 1295, about seven months after the death of his predecessor. There does not seem to have been a battle such as the text speaks of.

NOTE 2.—Hayton testifies from his own knowledge to the remarkable personal beauty of Arghun, whilst he tells us that the son Ghazan was as notable for the reverse. After recounting with great enthusiasm instances which he had witnessed of the daring and energy of Ghazan, 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."

Pachymeres says that Ghazan 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.)

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 Pharoah'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.'

The people who dwell in the valleys and mountains adjoining that tract of 13 days' journey are great huntsmen, 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 1.—There are two Kuwinjis, or Kaunchis, as the name, from Polo's representation of it, probably ought to be written, mentioned in connexion 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. Arghun, on his defeat by Ahmad (*supra* p. 401) 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 *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 Pharoah's Rat, see Vol. I. p. 222.

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 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 dinárs 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).

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 usually attached to a sledge is 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 specially trained for the purpose." The like is related of the Esquimaux dogs. *Kennan's Tent Life in Siberia*, quoted in the *Athenæum*, Nov. 12, 1870; *Wood's Mammalia*, p. 266.)

NOTE '.—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).

Vair, so often mentioned in medieval 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'Arcq*, 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.

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 *Masálak al-Absár*, 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 E.*, 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 Rashiduddin. 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, Temudschin*, 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. xxxix.)

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.)

Abulfeda gives exactly the same account of the trade; and so does Herberstein. Other Oriental writers ascribe the same custom to the *Wisu*, a people 3 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 *Wüsu* (*Golden Horde*, App. p. 429; *Büsching*, IV. 359-60; *Herberstein* in *Ram.* II. 168 v.; *Fraehn*, *Bolghar*, p. 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 Seres by Pliny, of the Sasians 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, &c., &c.

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 *Clarté.*

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.

ROSIA 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. 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. 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 (vide *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 5 and 8) 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

Medieval Russian Church, from Fergusson.

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. 153.) 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.) The *ruble* was, therefore, perhaps originally the same as the *saumah* of Ibn Batuta, the *sommo* of Pegolotti. In Herberstein's time the ruble appears to have been equal to two Hungary ducats, but I cannot interpret that equation. 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.

Russia was overrun with fire and sword as far as Tver and Torshok by Batu Khan (1237-38), 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.

Note 2.—Though the direction should have been north-east rather than north-west, the *Lac* of this passage appears to be the country of the Wallachs in their original Asiatic seat, east of the Wolga, and adjoining the Bashkir country. Abulfeda calls them *Aulák;* 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.*

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 Rurik 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. 376, *seqq.*; *Fraehn* in App. to *Ibn Fozlan*, p. 177, *seqq.*; *Erman*, I.

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 TOTAMAŃGUL, 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 *Polowczer* 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.

Alania, the country of the Alans on the northern skirts of the Caucasus and towards the Caspian; Lac, the Wallachs as above; Menjar, probably the country about *Májar*, on the Kuma River, a city which was visited by Ibn Batuta, and is mentioned by Abulfeda as *Kumajar*. It was in the 14th century the seat of a Franciscan convent. Coins of that century, both of Majar and New-Majar, are given by Erdmann. The building of the fortresses of Kichi Majar and Ulu Majar (little and great) is ascribed in the *Derbend Nameh* to Anushirwan. The ruins of Majar were extensive when seen by Gmelin in the last century, but when visited by Klaproth in the early part of the present one there were few buildings remaining. Inscriptions found there are, like the coins, Mongol-Mahommedan of the 14th century.

Klaproth, with reference to these ruins, says that *Majar* merely means in "old Tartar" a stone building, and denies any connexion with the *Magyars* as a nation. However that may be, and whether or no the city on the Kuma was their head-quarters,* there was evidently a people in this region known in the middle ages as *Majar*. One such mention from Abulghazi has been quoted in note 2 to chap. xxii.; in the *Masálak-al-Absár*, the *Cherkes*, *Russians*, *Aas* (or Alans), and Majar are associated; the Majar *and Alán* in Sharifuddin. (*Rubr.* p. 246; *D'Avezac*, p. 486, *seqq.*; *Gold. 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.)

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 medieval 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 *Capitanus Gotiae;* and a remnant of the tribe still survived, maintaining their Teutonic speech to the middle of

* This doubt arises because Abulfeda also speaks of *Majgaria*, "the capital of the country of the *Madjgars*, a Turk race" of nomads, by whom he seems to mean the *Bashkirs* (*Reinaud's Abulf.* I. 324). And it is to the Bashkir country that the Franciscan travellers seem to apply the term Great Hungary, showing that they were led to believe it the original seat of the *Magyars* (*Rubr.* 274, *Plan. Carpin.* 747; and in same vol., *D'Avezac*, p. 491).

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*, p. 498-9; *Heyd*, II. 123, *seqq.*; *Cathay*, p. 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, *Sartak*, *Ulagchi* (these two almost nominal), BARKA, MANGU TIMUR, TUDA MANGU, *Tula Buka*, *Tuktuka* or TOKTAI. Polo here omits Tula Buka (though he mentions him below in chap. 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, whom he has split into two kings. He 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.* p. 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 pugnavit." This Good Prince was indeed *crudelissimus in pugnâ.* 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.*, ser. 4, tom. xvii. p. 109; *Büsching*, V. 493; also *Gold. Horde*, p. 142, note.)

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. 414 *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.)

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 the 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. 51. The Caspian is here called the Sea of *Sarain*, probably for *Sarai*, after the great city on the Wolga. 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 *Shirwán*; see Vol. I. p. 56 note.

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

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 rigmarole :

"In the winter of 662 (A.D. 1262-3) when the Almighty Artits 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," &c., &c. (*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.)

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 mean time 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 them-

* "*Il asemble encore ses parlement de grand quantité des buens homes.*"

selves 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 1.—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 Tewal, 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 Mahommedan 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 1298-99, 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. Makrizi*, 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.)

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 NERGHI.)

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 circumstance 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 part and scatter before him like a flock. They are routed and pursued, losing 60,000 men, but King Toctai escapes, and so do the two sons of Totamangu.)

CHAPTER XXXIV. AND LAST.

CONCLUSION.*

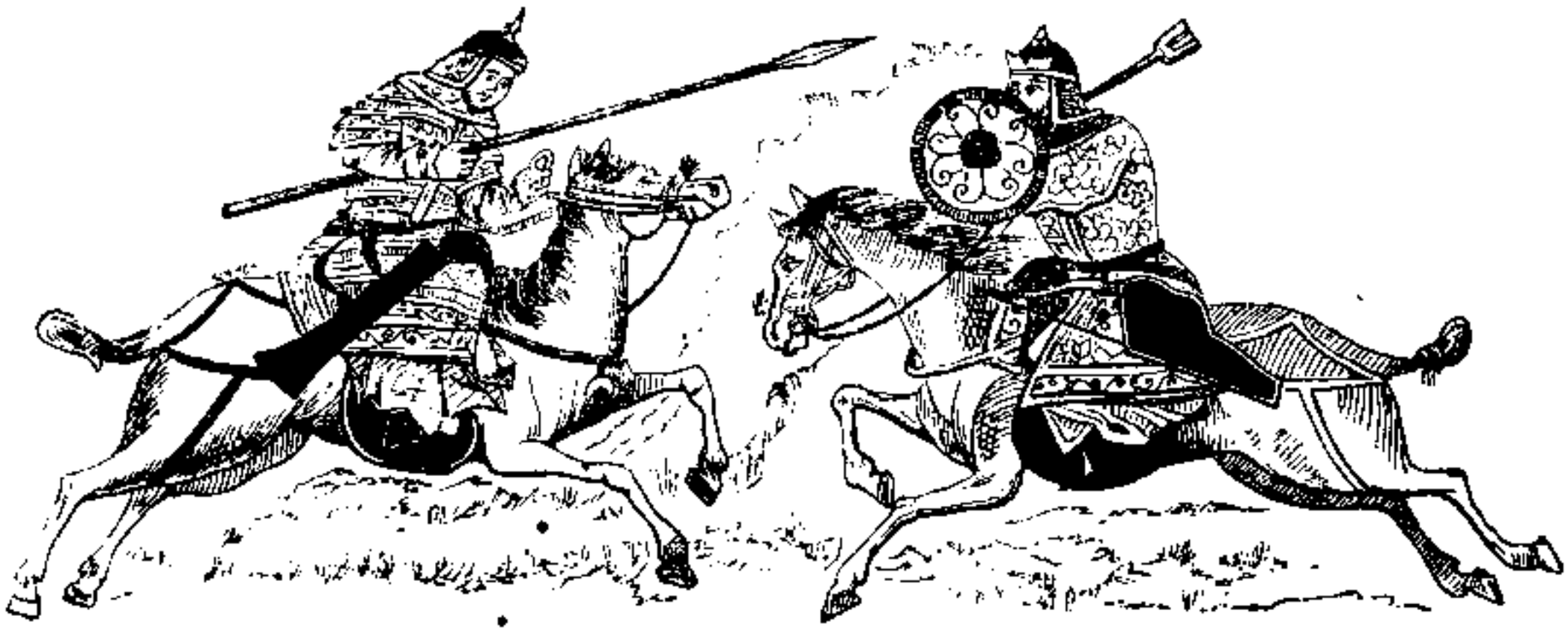
AND now ye have heard all that we can tell you about the Tartars and the Saracens and their customs, and likewise about the other countries of the world as far as our researches and information extend. Only we have said nothing whatever about the GREATER SEA and the provinces that lie round it, although 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 begin-

* 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

ning 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 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!

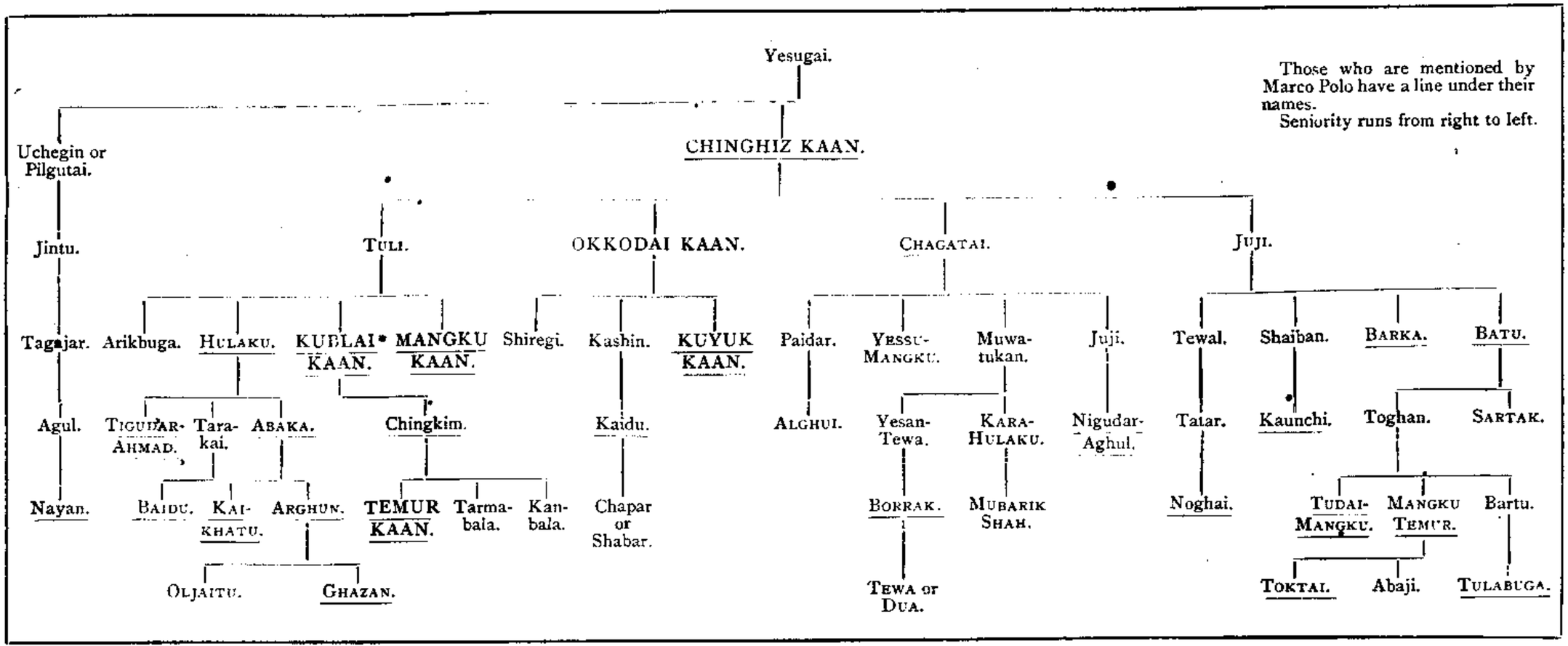


ADENEY-SC

Asiatic Warriors of Polo's Age, from a contemporary Persian Miniature.

APPENDICES.

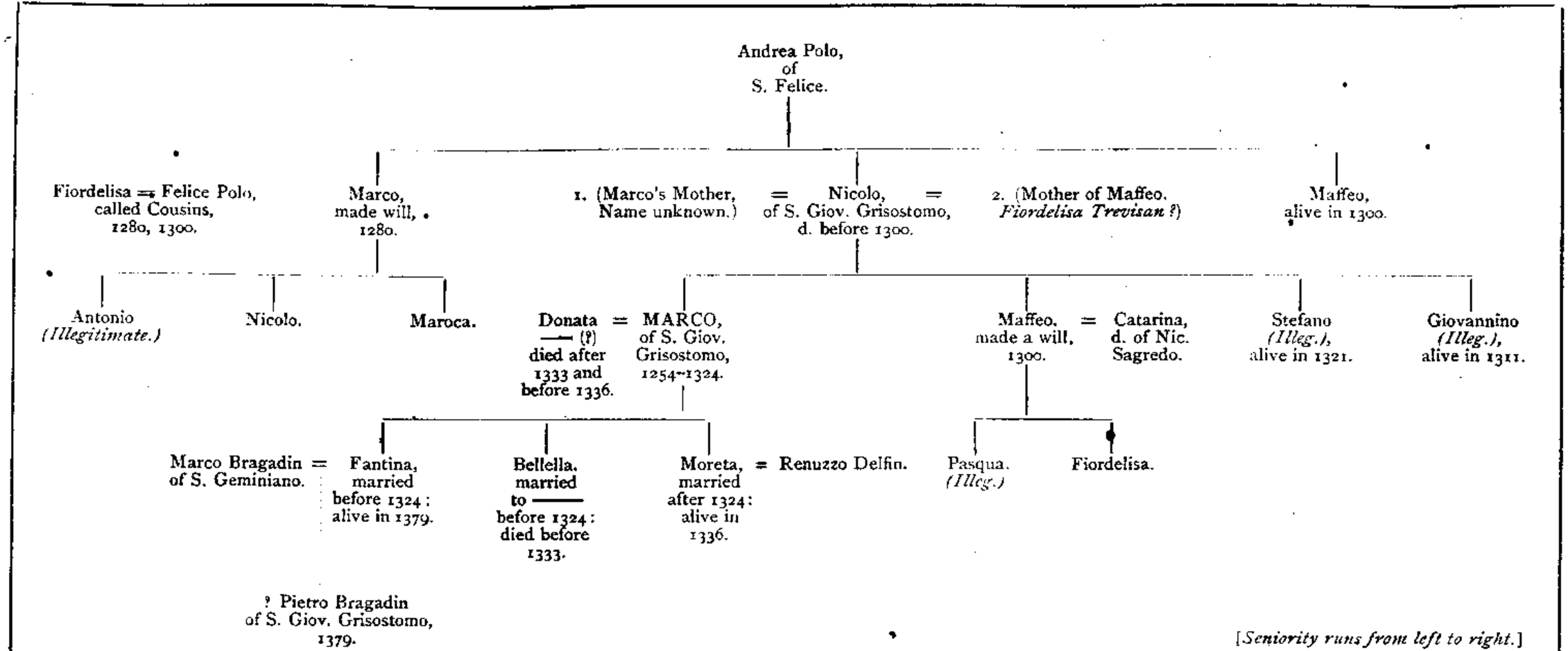
APPENDIX A.—*Genealogy of the House of Chinghiz, to end of Thirteenth Century.*



Supreme KAANS in large capitals. KHANS of KIPCHAK, CHAGATAI, and PERSIA in small capitals.
* For other sons of Kublai, see Book II. chapter ix.

APPENDIX B.—*The Polo Families.*

(1.) GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF MARCO POLO THE TRAVELLER.



[*Seniority runs from left to right.*]

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 certainly belonged the following :—

1302. Marco Polo of Cannareggio, see vol. i. p. xcv. (The Church of S. Geremia stands on the canal called Cannareggio.)

(1319. Bianca, widow of Giovanni Polo ?) *

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 *Lire*. ‖ A history of that war also states that he ("Donado Polo del Canareggio") presented the Government with 1000 ducats, 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 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. ††

1379. In addition to those already mentioned we have Nicolo assessed at 4000 *lire*. ‖

1381. And apparently this is the Nicolo, son of Almoro (*Hermolaus*), who was raised to the Great Council, for public service rendered, among

* Document in *Archivio* of the *Casa di Ricovero*, Bundle LXXVII., No. 209.

† " " " " " 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 Nicoleti Paulo*).

‖ In *Gallicciolli, Delle Mem. Ven. Antiche*, Ven. 1795, II. p. 136. In the MS. of *Capellari, Campidoglio Veneto*, in the Marciana, the sum stated is 3000 only.

¶ *Della Presa di Chiozza* in *Muratori*, Scriptt. xv. 785.

** Documents seen by the Editor in the Arch. of the Casa di Ricovero.

†† *Cicogna*, I. p. 77.

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.†

1408 and 1411. CHIARA, daughter of Francesco Balbi, and widow of ERMOLAO (or Almoro) Polo, called of *Sta. Trinità*.†

1416. GIOVANNI, perhaps the Giovannino mentioned above.†

1474, *seqq.* 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 *Provveditore* 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. ci). Capellari states distinctly that this Marco was the father of the Lady who married Azzo Trevisan (see Introd. pp. cv, cvi).

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 (*Dandulo* in *Mur.* XII. 410, 490).

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. liv, lv).

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 p. xcii of vol. i.

3.—(1302).

Archivio Generale—Maggior Consiglio—Liber Magnus, p. 81.‡

1302, 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 ,, ,, ,,
Ego MARCUS SIBOTO de mandato ipsorum cancellavi.

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* *Capellari*, MS.; *Sanuto, Vite de' Duchi di Ven.* in *Muratori*, XXII. 730.

† Documents seen by the Editor in the Arch. of the Casa di Ricovero.

‡ Communicated by Signor Berchet. There is some doubt if this refer to our Marco Polo (see vol. i. p. xciv).

4.—(1305).

Resolution of the *Maggior Consiglio*, in which Marco Polo is styled Marcus Paulo Milioni. (See p. xcv of vol. i.) In the *Archivio Generale, Maggior Cons. Reg. MS.*, Carta 82.*

"Item quod fiat gratia BONOCIO de Mestre de illis Libris centum quinquaginta duobus, in quibus extitit condempnatus per Capitaneos Pǫstarum, 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 id quod ad solvendum dictum quartum deficiat per eum vel suos plegios integre persolvatur. Et sunt plegii *Nobiles Viri* PETRUS MAUROCENO et MARCHUS PAULO MILIOÑ et plures alii qui sunt scripti ad Cameram Capitaneorum Postarum."

5.—(1311.)

Decision in Marco Polo's suit with Paulo Girardo, 9th March, 1311. (From the Archives of the *Casa di Ricovero* at Venice, *Filza* No. 202.)

"In nomine Dei Eterni Amen. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Jesu Christi millesimo trecentesimo undecimo, Mensis Marci die nono, intrante Indicione Nona, Rivoalti . . . . .

"Cùm coram nobilibus viris Dominis CATHARINO DALMARIO et MARCO LANDO, Judicibus Peticionum, Domino LEONARDO DE MOLINO, tercio Judice curie, tunc absente, inter Nobilem Virum MARCUM 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 pectebat pro manchamento unius sazii de musclo, quem dicebat sibi defficere 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 libre sei de grossi, et va a so risico et da sua vintura et damelo in cholganza a la mitade de lo precio.*'" * * * * "Quare cum ipse PAULUS noluerit satisfacere de predictis, nec velit ad presens * * * * * * Condempnatum 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 judicant ipsi domini judices quod capi debetur ipse PAULUS GERARDO et carceribus Comunis Venetiarum precludi, de quibus exire non posset donec sibi MARCO PAULO omnia singula suprascripta exolvenda dixisset, non obstante ab-

* For the indication of this I am indebted to Professor Minotto.

† This perhaps indicates that Marco's half brother Giovannino was in partnership with him.

sencià ipsius PAULI GERARDO cum sibi ex parte Domini Ducis proministeriale Curie Palacii preceptum fuisset ut hodie esset ad Curiam Peticionum.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Ego KATHARINUS DALMARIO Judex Peticionum manu meâ subscripsi.
"Ego MARCUS LANDO Judex 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 GALLETTI *investe della proprietà 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.

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. 10 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 inspiracionis 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 compleret. 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. Primiter 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. grossorum* 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 Johanis

* We print this line for line with the original; see facsimile at p. xcviii. of vol. i.
† *I. e.*, 9th January, 1324.

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 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 sûâ suo labore, et insuper dimitto libras *denariorum Venetorum* centum. Residuum vero dictarum duarum millia librarum absque decimâ distribuatur 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 repromissam et stracium et omne capud massariciorum cum tribus lectis corredatis. Omnia uero 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 disposicionem et ordinacionem quamquam in hoc et in omni casu ex formâ statuti specificater 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 predicitur 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 que in hoc meo testamento essent contra statuta et consilia Communis Veneciarum corrigantur 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 interpellandi 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, intromittendi et interdicendi petendi et exigendi sive excuciendi omnia mea bona, et habere a cunctis personis ubicumque et apud quemcumque ea vel ex eis poterint invenire, cum cartâ et sine cartâ, in curiâ et extra curiâ, 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 stabille esse iudico in perpetuum. Si quis ipsum frangere vel violare presumpserit maledicionem Omnipotentis Dei incurrat, et sub anathemate trecentorum decem et octo Patrum constrictus permaneat, et insuper componat ad suprascriptas meas fidecommissarias aurcas libras quinque, et hec mei Testamenti Carta in suâ permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti Domini Mârci Paulo qui hec rogavit fieri.

"Ego PETRUS GRIFO testis presbiter.

Ego NUFRIUS BARBERIUS testis.

✝Ego JOHANES JUSTINIANUS presbiter Sancti Proculi et notarius complevi et roboravi."

9.—(1325).

Release by the Lady Donata and her three daughters, 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 collegancîâ 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, BELLELLE 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.

"†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."

10.—(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 trecentesimo tregesimo tercio niensis Julii die duodecimo, intrantis indicione

primâ Rivoalti. Testificor Ego DONATUS Gastaldio Dni. nostri Dni. Francisci Dandulo Dei gratiâ inclyti Venetiarum Ducis, et Ministerialis Curie Palacii, quod die tercio intrante suprascripti menisis 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 terciò, mensis Maij die nono, exeunte Indictione sextâ, Rivoalti, quam fieri facit Dnus. Johannes Superantio D. G. Veneciarum Dalmacie atque Croacie olim Dux, cum suis judicibus examinatorum, suprascripto Marco Paulo postquam venit ante suam suorumque judicum 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 indictione 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, videlicit 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 porticuum 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, &c.]—'declaraverunt et determinaverunt omnes suprascripti cancellarii in concordiâ 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 suprascriptus 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 confiniatis in cartâ noticie supradicte. Et hoc per verum dico testimonium. Signum supradicti DONATI Gastaldionis Dni. Ducis, et Ministerialis Curie Palacii, qui hec rogavit fieri."

11.—(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).

12.—(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 POLLO 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 febbruarij 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 Marcij et Notarius complevi et roboravi."

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* About 90*l.* † About 180*l.*

FRENCH.

1. MS. PARIS LIBRARY, 7367 (now Fr. 1116).
(Geographic Text.)

Quant l'en se part de le isle de PENTAM e l'en ala por ysceloc entor cent miles, a donc treuve le ysle de JAVA LA MENOR; mès si sachiés q'ele ne est pas si peitite q'ele ne gire environ plus de deus mille miles, et de ceste ysle voz conteron toute la virité. Or sachiés qe sor ceste ysle ha huit roiames et huit rois coronés en ceste ysle, e sunt tuit ydres et ont langajes por elles. Car sachiés che chascun des roiames ont langajes por eles. En ceste ysle a mout grand isme habundance de trezor et de toutes chieres especes e leingn aloe et espi, et de maintes autres especes que unques n'en vienent en nostre pais. Or vos voil conter la maineres de toutes cestes jens, cascune por soi, e vos dirai primermant une cousse qe bien senblera à cascun mervoilliose cousse. Or sachiés tout voirmant qe ceste ysle est tant à midi qe la stoille de tramontaine ne apert ne pou ne grant. Or noz retorneron à la mainere des homes, e voz conteron tout avant dou rouiame de FERLEC.

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 Javva 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 viij. royaumes et viij. rois courronnés. Ilz sont tuit ydolastres; et si a, chascun royaume, son langaige 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. Et sachiez que ceste isle est si vers midi que l'estoille tremontainne n'y apert.

Or nous retournerons à notre matiere, et vous conterons tout avant du royaume de

3. BERN MS.
(T. de Cepoy's Type.)

Quant l' en se part de l'isle de MALAIUR, et l' en a nagie par seloc environ IIII^{xx} 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^{c} milles. Et si vous conterons de ceste isle tout l' affaire et verité.

Ore sachiez que sous ceste isle y a viij. 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.

Ore retournons nous a nostre manière

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 IAVA LA MINORE, ma ella non è si piccola ch' ella non giri ii. M miglia: e di questa isola vi conterò 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 conterò 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 mezzodì, che la tramontana non si vede nè poco nè assai. Or torneremo alla maniera degli uomeni, e dirovvi del reame di FERBET.

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 $\overset{m}{\text{ii}}$. 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 dell' isola PENTAN, e che s' è navigato circa a cento miglia per scirocco, si truova l' Isola di CIAUA MINORE. Ma non è però cosi 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, diversa dalla favella degli altri regni. V' è abondanza di thesoro & di tutte le specie & di legno d' aloe, verzino, ebano, & di molte altre sorti di specie che alla patria nostra per la lunghezza 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 mezogiorno 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 viddi.

LATIN.

7. MS. of Paris Library, 3195. (Geographic Latin.)

Quando homo recedit de insula de PENTAY et vadit per silochum 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 Fanfur. In aliis autem duobus non fui; et secundum quod sunt 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 ipsius, nunc computemus de moribus hominum ipsius insulae, et

8. Pipino's Version (British Museum, King's Libr. 14 c. xiii.).

Ultra Insulam Pentayn per Syrocum post miliaria centum invenit insulam quae dicitur JAUA MINOR quæ in suo ambitu continet miliaria duo millia. Ibi sunt octo regna cum singulis regibus et est ibi propria lingua. Et omnes habitatores hujus insulæ ydolatrie sectatores sunt. Ibi enim est omnium aromatum copia, quarum similitudinem nunquam vidimus citra mare. Hec regio in tantum est ad meridiem posita, quod de ipsâ Poli Artici videri non poterit stella seu illa quæ dicitur vulgariter Tramontana. Ego autem Marcus fui in sex regnis hujus insulæ, sc. in regno FERLECH, BASMAN, SAMARA, DRAGOIAN, LAMBRI et FAMSUR. In aliis autem duobus non fui. Primo igitur dicam de regno Ferlech.

9. Version of Cicogna MS. in Museo Civico, Venice.

Ab ynsulâ Pentain circa 100 mil. versus Syroch est ynsula JAUA que licet Minor dicatur per respectum alterius supradicte est in circuitus [*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 apportantur. Et est hec ynsula in tantum versus meridiem possita quod Polus Articus breviter non apparet.

* Word doubtful.

10. Version printed in the Novus Orbis of Grynæus.

Ultra insulam PETAN, per sirochum navigando, est JAUA MINOR, centum distans milliaribus a PETAN: et hæc in circuitu continere dicitur circiter duo millia milliarium. Dividitur insula in octo regna, habetque linguam propriam. Producit 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 hâc insulâ, lustravique sex ejus regna, nempe regnum Ferlech, Basman, Samara, Dragoiam, Lambri, et Fansur. In aliis vero duobus non fui.

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 earth 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

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.
				GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.	
1	BRITISH MUSEUM LIBRARY.	Harleian MSS., No. 5115.	*Latin* . .	Pipino's Version; with the work of Hayton the Armenian. Parchment; written about A.D. 1400 in a careful hand.	*
2	,,	Arundel, XIII. Plut. 163 c.	,, . .	Pipino's; followed by Odoric in same hand, but more carelessly written. Parchment.	*
3	,,	Bibl. Reg. XIV. c. 13, Plut. 12 f.	,, . .	Pipino's. A well-written folio on parchment, containing Ranulf of Chester; Præfationes Historiographorum; Gyraldus Camb. de Conq. Hiberniæ; Libellus de Mirab. Sanctæ Terræ; Odoric; Rubruquis; Polo; Verses of Master Michael of Cornwall; &c.	*
4	,,	Additional MSS., No. 19,952.	,, . .	Pipino's. Paper, small 4to. Appended is a notice of Mahommed and the Koran: *Incipit Noticia de Machometo et de Libro Legis Sarracenorum*, &c. Appears to be the work of William of Tripoli. See vol. i. p. 22.	*
5	,,	Sloane MSS., No. 251	*Italian dialect.*	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	*

APPENDIX F.—*List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, &c.*—continued.

No.	Localities.	Indications.	Language.	Description of MSS.	Authorities.
				GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND—*continued.*	
				Toctai and Nogai at the end of the Book. It does not however contain the majority of the historical chapters forming our Book IV. At the end is "Esplizizit Liber Milionis Zivis Veneziani. Questo libro scrissi Salvador Parusi (?) del 1457 a viazo di Baruti [Patron Messer Cabual Volassero, chapit. Messer Polo Barbarigo]." (The latter words from Marsden; being to me illegible).	
6	OXFORD . . .	Bodleian, No. 264 .	*French* . .	This is bound up with the celebrated Alexander MS. It is a beautiful work, embellished with 37 miniatures, some of which are exquisite, *e.g.*, the Frontispiece, a large piece of about 9½ in. × 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 at p. xlviii of vol. i. is an extract. Another fine work 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 "*Johannes me fecit.*" 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. A comparison of a good many readings, as well as of the point where the version breaks off, and the words, "*Explicit le Livre nommé du Grant Caan de la Graunt Cité de Cambaluc, Dieux ayde Amen,*" indicate that	

				this MS. is of the same type as Pauthier's C (No. 17 in this List) and the Bern MS. (No. 56). The name given in the colophon as above has 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.	
7	,,	Merton College, No. 312.	*Latin* . .	Pipino's; followed by Hayton, and Palladius de Agriculturâ.	*Coxe, Catal. Codd. MSS. Oxon.* Pt. I. p. 123.
8	CAMBRIDGE .	University Library, D. d. I. 17, No. 12.	,, . .	Pipino's. The same folio contains Jaques de Vitry, Hayton, several works on Mahommedanism, among others that of William of Tripoli (vol. i. p. 22), Piers Plowman, &c., &c.	*Catal. of MSS. in Lib. of Camb. University*, I. 22.
9	,, .	Ditto, D. d. VIII. 7 .	,, . .	Fragment of *Marci Pauli Veneti Historia Tartarorum* (probably Pipino's).	*Ditto.*
10	,, .	Gonville & Caius College, No. 162.	,, . .	Pipino's; with Odoric, and other works relating to Asia.	*Cat. of MSS. of Gonville and Caius Coll. Library, by Rev. J. J. Smith*, 1849.
11	GLASGOW . .	Hunterian Collection, S. 5. 7.	,, . .	Pipino's Version, with illuminated initials, in a volume containing Guido Colonna's Hist. destruct. Trojæ; De Gestis Alex. Magni; Turpinus de Gestis Caroli Magni; M. P. V.; Odericus de Mirabilibus Tartariae; and Mandevile. Parchment, 4to.	*Note by Rev. Prof. W. P. Dickson, D.D.*
12	,, . .	Ditto, Q. 6. 21 . .	,, . .	Pipino's, also with illuminated initials, and also followed by Odoric. Parchment, 4to.	*Ditto.*
13	IRELAND . .	Lismore Castle, and a Transcript in Library of R. Irish Academy, Dublin.	*Irish* . .	See vol. i. p. cxxviii	*O'Curry's Lectures, and special Note by Mr. J. Long, Dublin.*

APPENDIX F.—*List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, &c.*—continued.

No.	Localities.	Indications.	Language.	Description of MSS.	Authorities.
				FRANCE.	
14	PARIS . . .	Great Paris Library, No. 7367 (now Fr. 1116).	*French* . .	This is the most precious of all the MSS. of Polo. It has been fully spoken of (vol. i. pp. cix, *seqq.*) under the name of the *Geographic Text* (or G. T.) because it was printed by the Société de Géographie in 1824. A large 4to. of thick parchment, very clearly though not very neatly written in Gothic text.	*
15	,, . . .	Ditto, No. 8329 (now Fr. 2810).	,, . .	"Ce Livre est des Merveilles du Monde. Cest assavoir de la Terre Sainte, du Grant Kaan Empereur des Tartars et du Pais d'Inde, lequel Livre Jehan Duc de Bourgoingne donna a son oncle Jehan, Fils de Roi de France, Duc de Berey et d'Auvergne, Conte de Poitou d'Estampes et de Boulojngne et d'Auvergne. "Et contient le dit Livre six Livres. Cest assavoir MARC POL, Frère Odric de l'Ordre des Frères Meneurs, Le Livre fait de la requeste du Cardinal Taleran de Pieregort [Book of Boldensel], L'Estat du Grant Kaan, Le Livre de Messire Guillaume de Mandeville, Le Livre de Frere Jehan Hayton de l'ordre de Premonstre, Le Livre de Frere Bieul [for Ricold] de l'ordre des Freres Prescheurs. Et sont en ce dit Livre Deux cens soixante six histoires. N. Flamel." Of the 266 *histoires* or miniatures in this splendid book, 83 belong to the story of Polo. We have given an engraving from one at p. 14 of vol. i. Its value is estimated in the catalogue of the Library of the Duke de Berry in 1416 (quoted by Pauthier) at 125 *livres*, equivalent (if *parisis*) to about 115*l.* This is Pauthier's MS. B. See vol. i. p. cxx. Large folio on vellum.	*

16	,, . . .	Ditto, 10,260 (now Fr. 5631.	,, . .	"Ci commencent les rebriches de cest Livre qui est appellez le Deuisement 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 Kublai on his *bretesche* carried by 4 elephants (vol. i. p. 301); and after the prologue another apparently representing the Princess Aijaruc wrestling with her wooer (vol. ii. p. 395). This is Pauthier's MS. A (vol. i. p. cxx), and also was in the Duc de Berry's Library, valued at 6 *livres* 5 *sols*.	
17	,, . . .	Ditto, 10,270 (now Fr. 5649).	,, . .	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. At the end is "*Bertran Pichart scripsit hoc.*" Small 4to. parchment, in a clear enough half-current hand. Came from the library of the Archb. of Rheims.	*
18	,, . . .	Ditto, ? (675) ? . . .	,, . .	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.	*See preceding column.*
19	,, . . .	Ditto, No. 3195. . .	*Latin* . .	This is the old Latin version published by the Soc. de Géog., and which I have cited as *Geographic Latin* or G. L. See vol. i. p. cxvi.	*Printed Text.*
20	,, . . .	Ditto, No. 1616 . .	,, . .	Pipino's	*Table in the G. T.*
21	,, . . .	Ditto, No. 6244 . .	,, . .	Ditto	*Ditto.*
22	,, . . .	Ditto, Codd. Ital., No. 10,259.	*Italian* . .	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.	*

APPENDIX F.—*List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, &c.*—continued.

No.	Localities.	Indications.	Language.	Description of MSS.	Authorities.
				FRANCE—*continued.*	
23	PARIS	Former Library of Baron C. Walckenaer.	*Latin* . .	A Miscellaneous Volume, containing an imperfect copy of Pipino's version. Present locality not known.	*Table in the G. T.*
				LUXEMBURG.	
24	LUXEMBURG .	City Library, No. 50 .	*Latin* . .	Volume containing several works; and among them *Marchi* (Pauli) *Veneti Liber Narrationum Morum*, &c. Paper; written 1448 by Tilman Pluntsch, "canonicus ecclesie SS. Chresanti et Darie monasterii Eyfflie."	*Pertz, Archiv*, VIII. 594.
				ITALY.	
25	VENICE . . .	St. Mark's Library, Cl. X. Codd. Lat. 72.	*Latin* . .	Pipino's. Formerly belonged to the monastery of St. John's *in Viridario* 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. lv.)	*Lazari.*
26	,, . . .	Ditto, Cl. X. Codd. Lat. 128.	,, . .	Another of Pipino's. Paper, 4to., of 15th century .	*Ditto.*
27	,, . . .	Ditto, Cl. VI. Codd. Ital. 56.	*Italian* (Ven. dialect).	A rude translation of Pipino's Version, written late in the 15th cent. Also contains a translation of the same Pipino's Tract *De Locis Terræ Sanctæ*. Belonged to T. G. Farsetti.	*Ditto.*

28	,, . . .	Ditto, Cl. VI. Codd. Ital. 208.	,,	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, &c., being of the beginning of the 16th cent. Paper, 4to. Belonged to Morelli.	* *Lazari.*
29	,, ...	Museo Civico, *Coll. Cicogna*, No. 2389.	*Latin* . .	Volume also containing Odoric and other matter. This is the MS. noticed at vol. i. p. cxxvii 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 Fogán ?) in Friuli, whilst studying Rhetoric at Padua. Paper, large 4to.	*
30	,, . . .	Library of Count Donà dalle Rose.	*Italian*, with a Venetian tinge.	It begins: "Quegli che desiderano d'entendere le maraviglose chose del mondo de l'Asia de Armenia persia e tartaria dell indie et diverse parti del mondo legano questo libro et intenderano quello chel nobelle citadino Veneciano Miss. Marcho Pollo," &c., and ends: "Explicit liber Millionis civis Veneciarum. Expleto ad CCCCXLVI mensis setembris die vigesimo-octavo." These extracts indicate that it belongs to the same type as the Sloane MS. No. 5 in our list.	*Note by Signor Nicolò Barozzi, Director of the Museo Civico at Venice.*
31	FERRARA . .	Public Library, No. 35 n (336, N. B. 5).	,,	*Incipit prologus Libri qui vulgari hominum dicitur El Milione.*" This looks as if it were *not* Pipino's.	*Note by the Abate S. B. Mondino.*
32	MILAN . . .	Ambrosian Library, M. 526, Sc. D.	*Latin* . .	Fragments extracted from Pipino's Version inserted at end of 2nd part of the *Cronica Libri Ymaginis Mundi* of Fr. Jacopo d'Acqui (vol. i. p. lxxxii). Paper, folio. 14th cent.	*Lazari.*
33	MODENA . . .	Este Library	,, . .	Pipino's. Parchment of 14th cent. Muratori speaks of this (*Scriptt.* VII.) as "*fortassis autographum.*"	*Muratori; and Prof. Bianconi, Degli Scritti di Marco Polo, &c.*

APPENDIX F.—*List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, &c.*—continued.

No.	Localities.	Indications.	Language.	Description of MSS.	Authorities.
			ITALY—*continued.*		
34	FLORENCE . .	Bibb. Magliabecchiana (now Nazionale), Cl. XIII., Plut. IV. c. 104.	*Italian* (Tuscan).	The Crusca MS., of which an account has been given vol. i. p. cvii *seqq.* Paper, folio, early in 14th cent.	*
35	,, . .	Ditto, ditto, ditto, c. 73	*Italian* . .	Many liberties taken with the text, and much abridged and disarranged. Thus, after the Prologue it proceeds: "*Al nome di Dio io. Marcho Polo Veneziano racconterò tutte le maravigliose chose ch' io trovai e vidi,* &c. &c." It ends at the chapter on Russia with the following impertinence: "*E se volete sapere più innanzi dimandatene un altro ch' io Marcho Polo non cercai più avanti.*" The Khalif is called *Largaliffe;* Reobarles, *Reubarbo,* with a marginal note in an old hand, "*Reubarbe* città di Persia, donde viene il reubarbero herba medicinale." Completed by Dolfo Spini, 16th July, 1425. Paper. Belonged to the Strozzi Collection.	*
36	,, . .	Ditto, ditto, ditto, c. 61	,, . .	This corresponds to the *Pucci* MS. noted below (No. 40). It contains the colophon quoted at vol. i. p. cxxxix. Paper, folio, 1392. Not well written. Ex Bibl. Gaddianâ.	* *Baldelli-Boni.*
37	,, . .	Ditto, ditto, c. 136 . .	,, . .	Both beginning and end are missing. Slightly different from the Crusca.	* *Ditto.*
38	,, . .	Riccardian Library . .	,, . .	Ends with Chapter on Russia. Followed by an extract	*

				of Mandevile and a valuable coll. of geographical documents of 15th cent. and beginning of 16th. Paper, 4to. 16th cent.	
39	,, . . .	,, .	*Latin* . .	Pipino's; but reaching only to Bk. III. ch. 31. Paper. 14th cent.	
40	,, . .	Library of Pucci Family	*Italian* . .	See remarks at vol. i. p. cxvii. Completed 20th Nov. 1391.	
41	,, . . .	Bibb. Palatina (now united to Nazionale), Cod. 572.	,, . .	The language differs slightly from that of the Crusca, and, where I have compared it, is less compressed. Ends with *Rossia.* Paper, small 4to. 14th cent. Written somewhat roughly in a very old hand. Rustician is "*Messer Restazo da Pisa.*" The Grand Kaan gives the Polos a "tovaglia *d'oro.*"	
42	LUCCA . . .	Library of Lucchesini Family.	*Italian* (Ven. dialect).	Corresponds to the corrupt Venice epitome published in 1496. Contains also Odorico. Completed 12th March, 1465, by Daniel of Verona, "*in sul ponte de Berettari.*" Paper, 4to.	*Baldelli-Boni.*
43	SIENA . . .	Public Library, C. V. 14.	*Italian* . .	This is a miscellaneous MS. which, among other things, contains a fragment of Polo, "Qui comīcio ellibro di Missere Mācho Polo da Vinegia de le cose māuiglose che trovo p̄ lo mondo," &c. It calls Rusticiano *Missere Stacio da Pisa.* N.B.—Baldello 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.	*
44	ROME . . .	Vatican Library, Cod. 2207, *Ottoboniano.*	*French* . .	A fragment, going no further than the Chapter on Georgia, and ending thus: "Autre chose ne vous en scay dire parquoi je vous fois fin en ce livre; le nom de notre Seigneur soi benoist et de sa benoiste Mere. Amen. Loys de Luxembourg." Parchment. 14th cent.	*Baldelli-Boni.*

APPENDIX F.—*List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, &c.*—continued.

No.	Localities.	Indications.	Language.	Description of MSS.	Authorities.
				ITALY—*continued.*	
45	ROME	Vatican Library, No. 2935.	*Latin* . .	An old Latin abridgment of Polo, entitled *De Mirabilibus Mundi.* The same volume contains a tract, *De Mirabilibus Romæ*, to which also Polo's name is given. Paper. 14th cent.	*Ditto, and Lazari.*
46	,, ...	Ditto, No. 3153 . . .	,, . . .	Pipino's. Very neat and clean; apparently of 14th cent. Parchment.	*
47	,, ...	Ditto, No. 5260 . . .	,, . . .	Ditto. Very clearly and regularly written. Apparently 15th cent.	*
48	,, ...	Barberini Library, XXXIV. 4.	,, . . .	A MS. volume, containing Ricold of Monte Croce; Tractatus divisionis et ambitûs Orbis Terrarum, &c.; Liber de divisione Orbis Terrarum; Libellus de Mirabilibus Urbis Romæ; and "*Incipit de Morum et Gentium Varietatibus editus a Marcho Polo Veneto.*" It is very cramply written, much compressed, and has no division into books or chapters. Ends with "*Roscia, provincia maxima.*" "*Explicit libellus editus a Dno. Marcho Polo de Venetiis de diversis provinciis et gentibus mundi, et earum ritibus et moribus diversis et artibus.*" Parchment, large thin 4to. 14th cent.	*
49	,, ...	Ditto, LVIII. 40 . .	*Italian* (Venetian dial.)	This is the fragment spoken of vol. i. p. cxxvii, note. It is a transcript made apparently in the 17th cent. from a MS. written in 1465.	*
50	,, ...	Ditto, No. 934 . . .	*Italian* . .	I give this on Baldello's authority. I did not see it on my visit to the Barberini.	*Baldello-Boni.*

51	,, . . .	Corsini Library, No. 1111.	*Italian* (?) .	. . . . .	*Ditto.*
52	,, . . .	Chigi Library, M. VI. 140.	*Italian* . .	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.	*Ditto.*
			SPAIN.		
53	ESCURIAL . .	Library	*Latin* . .	Pipino's	(?)
54	TOLEDO . . .	Cathedral Library . .	,, . .	Seems to be different from any of the other Latin versions. It has the prefatory address to "*Domini Imperatores, Reges, Duces,*" &c. 8vo. Paper. Of 15th cent.	*Baldello-Boni.*
55	,, . . .	Ditto	*Italian* (Venetian).	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.	*Ditto.*
			SWITZERLAND.		
56	BERN . . .	Canton Library . . .	*French* . .	I have examined this MS. minutely, and am satisfied that it is a copy of Pauthier's C, *i.e.*, No. 17 in our List. Like that (and no other) it bears the certificate regarding the Seigneur de Cepoy (vol. i. pp. xcvi–xcvii). 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. It belonged to Bongars, whose autograph is on it:—"*Bongars—l'a de la courtoisie de Mr. de Superville.*"	

APPENDIX F.—*List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, &c.*—continued.

No.	Localities.	Indications.	Language.	Description of MSS.	Authorities.
				SWITZERLAND—*continued.*	
57	BERN	Canton Library . . .	*Italian* (Venetian dial.)	In a neat running-hand resembling italic type. It is much abridged, especially in the latter part. Small paper 4to. It is inscribed: "*Bongars, de la courtoisie de Mr. Aurel, tiré de la biblioteque de Mr. de Vutron*" (?).	
				GERMANY.	
58	MUNICH . . .	Royal Library, Codd. Lat. 249.	*Latin* . .	Pipino's. Folio, paper. 15th cent. Also Pipino's tract *De Locis Terræ Sctæ.* and Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium.*	*Lazari.*
59	,, . . .	Ditto, Codd. Lat. 850 .	,, . .	Ditto. Paper, 4to. 15th cent. Also Pipino's tract *De Locis Terræ Sctæ.* &c.	*Ditto.*
60	,, . . .	Ditto, ?	,, . .	*Excerpta de ejus Historia, principaliter Orientalis* . .	*Private Memo.*
61	,, . . .	Ditto, ?	,, . .	*Narrationes ex ejus libro de partibus transmarinis* . .	*Ditto.*
62	,, . . .	Ditto, Cod. Germ. 696	*German* .	The version published at Nuremberg in 1477. Paper, 4to.	*Lazari.*
63	,, . . .	Ditto, 252	,, . .	Fragment	*Ditto.*
64	,, . . .	?	,, . .	The whole	*Private Memo.*

65	,, . . .	?	,, . .	Translated for Duke William of Bavaria, 1582 . .	*Ditto.*
66 & 67	WOLFENBÜTTEL	Ducal Library . . .	*Latin* . .	Two MSS. of Pipino's. (One of these is perhaps that containing Polo, Odoric, Ricold, and Boldensel, marked No. 40 mst Weiss, from which Ricold was published by Mr. J. C. Laurent—"*Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor.*" Lipsiæ, 1864.)	*G. E. Lessing, quoted by Marsden.*
—	—	—	,, . .	A fragment or extracts, different from Pipino's . .	*Ditto, ditto.*
68	BERLIN . . .	Royal Library . . .	,, . .	Pipino's. Also contains *Mappa-Mundi, Expositio Libri Meteorum*, &c. I believe this is the Codex Brandenburgensis collated by Andreas Müller in his edition (1671).	*Private Memo.*
...	,, . . .	Ditto	*German* .	A modern MS., said to be a copy of the *Wiener MS.*(?).	*Ditto.*
69	WÜRTZBURG .	Royal Library . . .	*Latin* . .	*Marcus Paulus de Mirabilibus Mundi.* Paper . .	*Pertz, Archiv*, VII. 110.
70	GIESSEN . . .	University Library, No. 218.	,, . .	*M. Paulus de Venetiis de Regionibus Orientis* (with other matter), probably Pipino's. Paper. Folio. 15th cent. (I know not if it is a second, which is cited by Mr. Major (*Notes on Russia*) from *Catalogus Codd. MSS. Academ. Gissenses*, by *J. V. Adrian*, Frankfort, 1840, as bound up with Eusebius and entitled *M. P. de Ven. de condit. et consuet. Orient. Regionum.*	*Ditto*, IX. 576.
71	JENA	University Library . .	,, . .	Pipino's. Followed by H. of Alexander . . .	*Ditto*, VIII. 698.
72	MENTZ . . .	Metropolitan Chapter No. 52.	,, . .	Pipino's. A collection containing in Latin, besides Polo, Odoric, Ricold, and Boldensel.	*De Gudenus, Sylloge I. Variorum Diplomatariorum*, &c. Frankf. 1728, p. 381.

APPENDIX F.—*List of MSS. of Marco Polo's Book, &c.*—continued.

No.	Localities.	Indications.	Language.	Description of MSS.	Authorities.
				AUSTRIA.	
73	PRAGUE . . .	Chapter of St. Vitus .	*Latin* . .	Pipino's	*Pertz, Archiv*, IX. 474.
74	VIENNA . . .	. . . . .	*German?* . .	There appears to be a MS. at Vienna; for above I have registered (without numbering) one at Berlin which is called a copy of the Vienna MS., but I have not been able to get any particulars regarding it.	
				SWEDEN.	
75	STOCKHOLM .	?	*Unknown* .	Unknown	*Santarem, H. de la Cosmographie*, I. 193.

I have no information respecting libraries in Belgium, Holland, or Portugal, each of which probably would add to this List. The general distribution of MSS. is as follows :—

By *Country:*

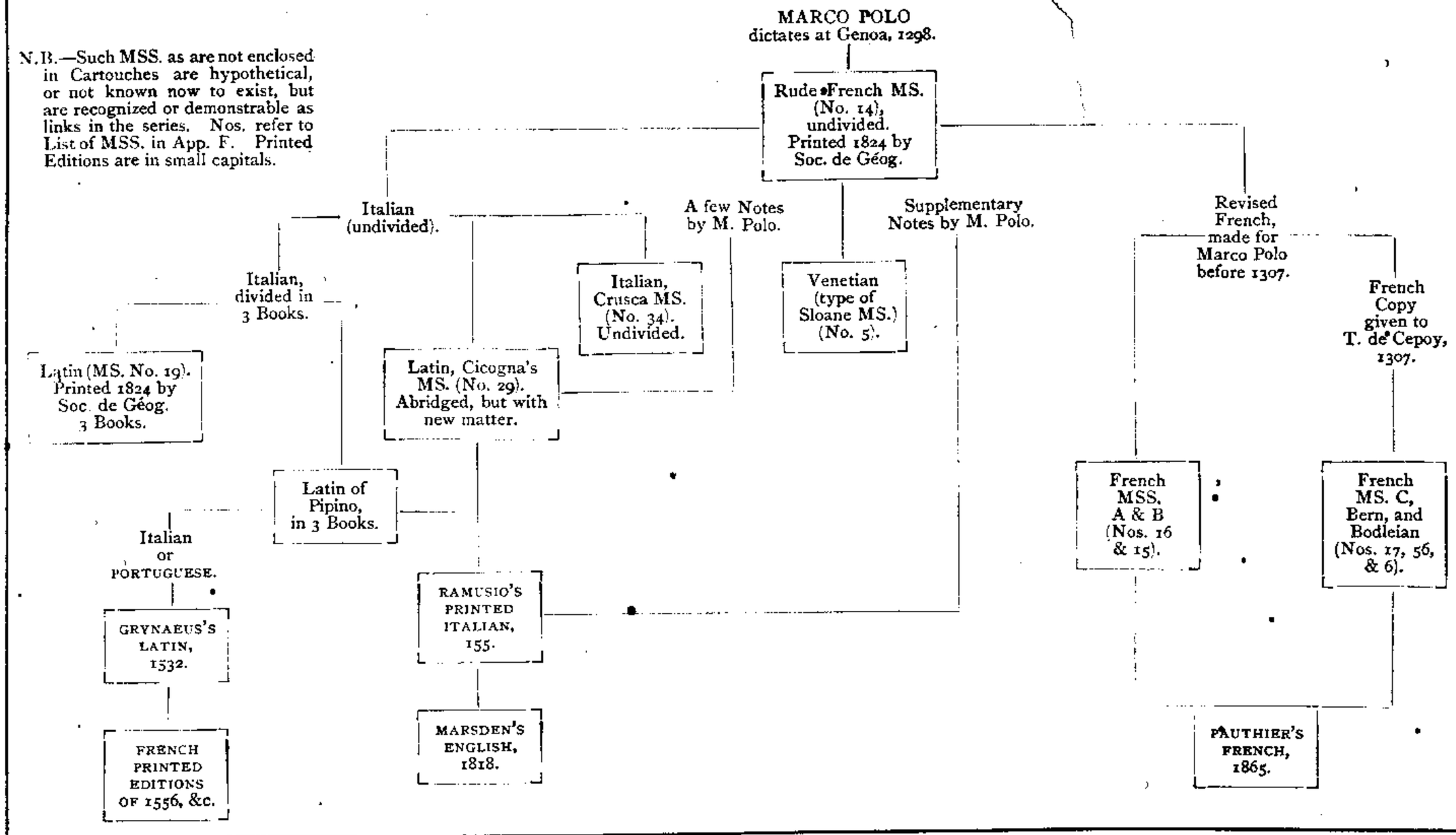
Great Britain and Ireland . . .	13
France	10
Italy	28
Germany and Austria	17
Switzerland	2
Spain	3
Sweden	1
Luxemburg	1
— Total . .	75

By *Language:*

Pipino's Latin version . . .	29	
Other Latin versions or abridgments	11	
	—	40
French		8
Italian		20
German		4
Irish		1
Uncertain		2
	— Total . .	75

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.

I do not intend to attempt a list of all the editions of Polo; a task for which I have no advantages, and which will be found well done in Lazari's Appendix, based on Marsden. But it may be useful to mention the chief Editions, with their dates.

1477. The first Printed Edition is in German. We have given a reduced Facsimile of its Frontispiece at page ciii. "*Diss hat gedruckt Fricz Creüssner zu Nurmberg nach cristi gepurdt Tausent vierhundert vnd im siben vnd sibenczigte iar*" (Marsden).

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.

1496. Edition in Venetian Dialect, printed by G. B. 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. 239). Stated to have been translated from the MS. presented by Venice to Prince Pedro (vol. i. p. cliv).

1520. Spanish version by Rodrigo de Santaella. *Sevilla.*

1529. Ditto. Reprinted at Logrono.

1532. Novus Orbis—Basileæ (see vol. i. p. cxxi).

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 Logrono.

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 Chataiâ.* The Editor appears to have been an enthusiast in his subject, but he selected his text very injudiciously (see vol. i. p. cxxi).

1735. Bergeron's interesting collection of Medieval 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. cix). It also contains the Latin Text (No. 19 in our list of MSS.).

1827. Baldello-Boni published the Crusca MS. (No. 34), 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* (App. F, No. 15).

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.

II.—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, ATHANASIUS. *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 considerables de ce Grand Empire.* Paris, 1688.

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. ———, ———. *Frammento inedito di, intorno ai Viaggiatori Veneziani;* accompanied by Remarks on Bürck's German edition of Marco Polo, by TOMMASO GAR (now Director of the Venice Archives). In *Archivio Storico Italiano,* Append. Tom. IV. p. 89, *seqq.*

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).

12. FORSTER, J. REINHOLD. *H. des Découvertes et des Voyages faits dans le Nord.* French Version. Paris, 1788.

13. 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.

14. ZURLA, Abate PLACIDO. *Dissertazioni di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani, &c.* Venezia. 1818–19.

This book is said to have procured a Cardinal's Hat for the author. It is a respectable book, and I dare say the reward has been often worse earned, though it seems inappropriate.

15, 16. QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. XXI. (1819), contains an Article on Marsden's Edition, written by John Barrow, Esq.; and that for July, 1868, contains another on Marco Polo and his Recent Editors, written by the present Editor.

17. ASIA, *Hist. Account of Discovery and Travels in.* By HUGH MURRAY. Edinburgh, 1820.

18. KLAPROTH, JULIUS. A variety of most interesting articles in the *Journal Asiatique* (see Ser. I. Tom. IV., Tom. IX.; Ser. II. Tom. I., Tom. XI., &c.), 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.*, Ser. I. Tom. IV. p. 380). But the examination of his papers after his death produced little or nothing of this kind.

19. CICOGNA, EMMANUELE. *Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane, Raccolte ed Illustrate.* Venezia, 1824–1843.

Contains valuable notices regarding the Polo Family.

20. RÉMUSAT, JEAN PIERRE ABEL-. *Mélanges Asiatiques.* Paris, 1825. *Nouvelles 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.

21. 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.

22. ANNALI UNIVERSALI DI STATISTICA. Vol. XVI. p. 286. Milano, 1828. Article by F. CUSTODI.

23. WALCKENAER, Baron C. *Vies de plusieurs Personnes Celèbres.* Laon, 1830.

This contains a Life of Marco Polo, but I have not seen it.

24. ST. JOHN, JAMES AUGUSTUS. *Lives of Celebrated Travellers.* London, (circa 1831.)

Contains a Life of Marco Polo, which I regret not to have seen.

25. COOLEY, W. D. *Hist. of Maritime and Inland Discovery.* London, (circa 1831).

Contains a good chapter on Marco Polo.

26. RITTER, CARL. *Die Erdkunde von Asisu.* Berlin, 1832, *seqq.*

This great work abounds with judicious comments on Polo's geography, most of which have been embodied in Bürck's edition.

27. DELECLUZE, M. Article on Marco Polo in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July, 1832. Vol. VII.

28. PAULIN-PARIS, M. Papers of much value on the MSS. of Marco Polo. &c., in *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie* for 1833, Tom. XIX, pp. 23–31 ; as well as in *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. II. Tom. XII. pp. 244–54 ; *L'Institut, Journal des Sciences, &c.*, Sect. II. Tom. XVI. Jan. 1851.

29. MALTE-BRUN. *Précis de la Géog. Universelle*, 4ième Ed. par HUOT. Paris, 1836.

Vol. I. (p. 551, *seqq.*) contains a section on Polo, very poor and full of errors.

30. DE MONTEMONT, ALBERT. *Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages.*

In Vol. XXXI. pp. 33-51 there is a Notice of Marco Polo.

31. 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.

32. 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. p. 407, *seqq.* Paris, 1839. Also article in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géog., &c.*, for August, 1841; and in *Journal Asiat.* Ser. II. Tom. XVI. p. 117.

33. PARAVEY, M. Article in *Journ. Asiatique*, Ser. II. Tom. XVI., 1841, p. 101.

34. HAMMER-PURGSTALL, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géog.*, Tom. III., No. 21, p. 45.

25. QUATREMÈRE, ÉTIENNE. His 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. XIV. Pt. I. pp. 281-286, Paris, 1843, there are some excellent remarks both on the work itself and on Marsden's Edition of it.

36. MACFARLANE, CHARLES. *Romance of Travel.* London. C. Knight. 1846.

A good deal of intelligent talk on Marco Polo.

37. 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.

38. THOMAS, Professor G. M. A paper on Marco Polo in the *Proceedings of the Munich Academy*, about 1860–62, the note of which I have unfortunately lost.

39. KHANIKOFF, NICOLAS DE. *Notice sur le Livre de Marco Polo, édité et commenté par M. G. Pauthier.* Paris, 1866. Extracted from the *Journal Asiatique.*

40. CAHIER, PÈRE. Criticism of Pauthier's *Marco Polo*, and reply by M. Pauthier, in *Etudes Littéraires et Religieuses* of 1866 and 1867. Paris.

Not seen by present editor.

41. BARTHÉLEMY DE 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.

42. DE GUBERNATIS, Prof. ANGELO. *Memoria Intorno ai Viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie Orientali, dal secolo XIII. a tutto il XVI.* Firenze, 1867.

43. BIANCONI, Prof. GIUSEPPE. *Degli Scritti di Marco Polo e dell' Uccello Ruc da lui menzionato.* 2 parts. Bologna, 1862 and 1868.

A meritorious essay, containing good remarks on the comparison of different Texts.

44. KINGSLEY, HENRY. *Tales of Old Travel rénarrated.* London, 1869.

This begins with Marco Polo, the only one of the "Tales" that I have read. Having much respect for Mr. Kingsley, and Kingsleys in general, I regret that

he should have put forth the very eccentric geography and history to be found in this. Mr. Kingsley is the author of another story about Marco Polo in a magazine, but I cannot give the reference.

45. GHIKA, Princess ELENA (*Dora d'Istria*). *Marco Polo, Il Cristoforo Colombo dell' Asia.* Trieste, 1869.

APPENDIX I.—*Titles of Works which are cited by abbreviated References in this Book.*

ABR. ROGER. See *La Porte ouverte.*

ACAD. *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions.*

AIN-I-AKBARI or AIN AKB. BL., refers to Blochmann's Transl. in *Bibliotheca Indica.* Calcutta, 1869, *seqq.*

ALEXANDRIADE, *ou Chanson de Geste d'Alexandre-le-Grand,* de Lambert de Court et Alexandre de Bernay. Dinan et Paris, 1861.

AM. EXOT. Engelbert Kaempfer's *Amœnitatum Exoticarum Fasciculi* V. Lemgoviæ, 1712.

AMYOT. *Mémoires Concernant les Chinois, &c.* Paris, v. y.

AVA, MISSION TO, *Narrative of Major Phayre's.* By Capt. H. Yule. London, 1858.

AYEEN AKBERY, refers to Gladwin's Translation. Calcutta, 1787.

BABER, *Mem. of.* Trans. by Leyden and Erskine. London, 1826.

BACON, Roger. *Opus Majus.* Venet. 1750.

BAER, und Helmersen. *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches, &c.* St. Petersburg, 1839, *seqq.*

BIOT. *Dict. des noms, &c., des villes, &c., de la Chine.* Paris, 1842.

BRIDGMAN, Rev. Dr., *Sketches of the Meaou-tszé,* Translated by. In *J. North China Br. R. A. S.* for Dec. 1859.

BUCHON. *Chroniques Étrangères Relatives aux Expeditions Francaises pendant le XIIIe siècle.* Paris. 1841.

BURNES. *Travels.* 2nd ed. London, 1835.

BÜSCHING'S *Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie.* Halle, 1779, *seqq.*

CAHIER ET MARTIN. *Mélanges d'Archéologie.* Paris, v. y.

CARP., CARPINI. Ed. in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires.* Tom IV. Paris, 1839.

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APPENDIX K.—*Values of certain Moneys, Weights, and Measures occurring in this Book.*

The **Livre Tournois** of the period may be taken, on the mean of the valuations cited at pp. 82, 83 of this volume, as equal in value of silver in modern French money to . . . . . 18·8 *francs.*

In English money equivalent to . . . . . 14*s.* 8*d.*

The **Livre Parisis** was worth one-fourth more than the Tournois,* and therefore equivalent to . . . . . 22·72 francs.

Or . . . . . 18*s.* 4*d.*

The **Mark of Silver** may be taken as equivalent to 44*s.* or thereabouts.†

The Venice Gold Ducat (or Zecchin), first coined in accordance with a Law of 31st Oct. 1283, was in our standard gold value worth ‡ . 9*s.* 4·284*d.*

But accounts at Venice were kept in *Lire*, of which there were several kinds, *viz.*:

1. The **Lira ai Grossi** (in Latin documents, *Libra denariorum Venetorum ad grossos*) was reckoned by decree of 2nd June, 1285, to go 2 to the ducat.

* See (*Duprè de St. Maur*) *Essai sur les Monnoies*, &c. Paris, 1746, p. xv. Also *Douet d'Arcq*, pp. 5, 15, &c.

† The English Pound sterling of that period was equivalent in silver value to £3 5*s.* 2*d.* The Mark was $\frac{2}{3}$ of £1; hence = 43*s.* 5·44*d.*

The Cologne Mark, according to Pegolotti, was the same as the English mark.

The French Mark of silver about 1294-6, according to Duprè St. Maur, was = about 3 *livres.* If these are *Tournois* this will be exactly 44*s.*

The Venice Mark of silver, according to Pegolotti, was = 1 English Tower Mark and 3½ *sterlings* (i. e., pence sterling of the time). This makes the Venice Mark = 44*s.* 4*d.*

‡ 11·82 *francs* (*Cibrario, Pol. Econom. del Med. Evo*, iij. 228).

2. The **Lira dei Piccoli** (*L. den. Venet. parvulorum*) was reckoned at 3 to the Ducat. Like every *Lira*, or Pound, it consisted of 20 *soldi*, and each of these consisted of 12 *deniers*, or *piccoli*.*
3. The **Lira dei Grossi** (*L. den. Venet. grossorum*) was equivalent to 10 Ducats.†

The Venice **Grosso**, or Groat, was a silver coin which, according to some authorities, was originally reckoned the equivalent of 24 *piccoli*,‡ in which case it would run 20 to the ducat. But the Act for the coinage of the ducat declared it to be equivalent to 18 *grossi*, which makes the grosso equivalent to 26⅔ piccoli.

In estimating the *lire* and *grosso* in modern English money on the basis of their relation to the ducat, it must be recollected that the relative value of gold to silver was in Europe then about 12 to 1 instead of about 15 to 1 as now. Hence we must reduce the apparent value by ⅕.

	£.	s.	d.
The **Lira ai Grossi** will then be equivalent in present silver value to about	0	3	9
Lira dei Piccoli	0	2	6
Lira dei Grossi	3	15	0

(So that the latter was by about ⅛ greater than the Pound sterling of the period.) And the Grosso will be equal to about 5*d*. §

The **Tornese** or **Tornesel** was, according to Romanin (III. 343) = 4 Venice deniers (or piccoli), and this is probably correct, as 4 such *deniers* will correspond (within $\frac{1}{10}$) with the denier Tournois = $\frac{11}{15}d$. ‖

The term **Bezant** is used, I believe, by Polo, as it is by Joinville, by Marino Sanuto, and by Pegolotti, for the Egyptian gold dínár, the intrinsic value of which varied somewhat. But it can scarcely be taken at *less* than 10*s*. 6*d*. or 11*s*.¶

The Venice **Saggio**, a weight for precious substances, was $\frac{1}{6}$ of an ounce, and hence corresponded to the weight of the Roman gold *solidus* (which was $\frac{1}{6}$ of a Roman ounce), whence again was taken the Arab *Miṣḳál*. So that when Polo uses *saggio* for *miṣḳál*, as we suppose him to do (vol. ii. p. 173), he is correct.

Old Venice Measures of Length.

4 fingers	=	1 handbreath.
4 handbreaths	=	1 foot.
5 feet	=	1 pace.
1000 paces	=	1 mile.
4 miles	=	1 league.

—(Cited in *Jal, Archéol. Navale*, I. 271.)

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 9½ *inches* to over 10. The Genoa Palm is stated at 9·725 *inches*.

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* Everybody seems to be tickled at the notion that a Pound Scotch was only 20 pence. Nobody seems to think it funny that the Pound French or Italian is only 10 pence.

† See *Venezia e sue Lagune*, I. Pt. II. p. 23, *seqq*. But there are obscurities about the relations of the gold ducats, silver grossi, and lire of account which I find nowhere thoroughly dealt with. Thus the equivalence of a *soldo dei grossi* to half a ducat, or of a *lira dei grossi* to 10 ducats, is repeatedly assumed by Marino Sanuto the Elder. And yet from 3 documents (of 1303, 1327, and 1340) quoted by Liruti (in *Argellati de Monetis Italiae*, II. 158) it is clear that the *soldo dei grossi* was in all these reckoned as equivalent to 12 grossi. This indeed makes the term *lira dei grossi* intelligible, as the grosso thus forms its denier or 240th part. But it also would seem to make the grosso run 24 to the ducat, instead of 18, as it ran only a few years before.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 39, and note.

§ I have made a slight error in the value of the grosso at vol. i. p. 381, having reduced the apparent value by ¼ instead of ⅕.

The *grosso* contained 42 $\frac{68}{114}$ Venice grains of pure silver. If the Venice grain be the same as the old Milan grain (·051 grammes), this will give exactly the same value of 5*d*.

‖ According to Gallicciolli, in the Levant *piccoli* (perhaps in the sense of small copper coin generally) were called **τορνέσια** (ii. 53).

¶ See *Cathay*, p. 440-441, and see also *J. As.*, ser. VI. tom. XI. p. 506-7.

APPENDIX L.—*The Alleged Invention of Movable Types by Panfilo Castaldi* (see vol. i. p. clvii).

It will have been seen that the account of the invention of movable types by Panfilo Castaldi, as quoted by Mr. Curzon from a local periodical, assumes the plausible form of a connected history, thus :—

1. "Marco Polo brings block-printed books from China (1295).
2. "Pietro de' Natali, Bishop of Equilio towards the end of the 14th century, devises a scheme for printing the initial letters of MSS. with stamps of glass.
3. "Panfilo Castaldi of Feltre (stated to have been born 1398, and to have died 1464*) previous to 1426, having seen the Block-books brought home by Marco Polo, combines the Chinese method with the Bishop's invention, by making movable wooden types, and with these prints several broadsides, &c., at Venice, in the year named. Some of these sheets 'are said' to be preserved at Feltre.
4. "John Fust comes to Italy, passes some time with Castaldi at Feltre, acquires his art, and carries it to Germany, where he developes it into the Art of Printing."

This story, in its main features at least, has of late years been diligently propagated in Northern Italy, and has resulted in the erection at Feltre of a public statue of Panfilo Castaldi, of which an engraving is now before me, bearing this inscription (besides others of like tenor) :—

"*A Panfilo Castaldi, Scopritore generoso dei Caratteri Mobili per la Stampa, Tributo di Onore tardissimo Italia porge.*"†

Now, on what foundation does this story rest?

I have carefully read the pamphlets that were circulated by the promoters of the statue, in order to stir up the enthusiasm of Lombardy ;‡ as well as a Collection of Documents issued in commemoration of its erection.§ The books to which these refer are in general not within my reach, but the authors may be safely assumed to have quoted all that can in any way support their case ; and, omitting a portentous amount of irrelevance, it amounts to this :—

1. There is no ground for connecting Marco Polo's name with the matter. And the introduction of the Chinese block-books is a pure supposition.
2. The story of the Murano glass types appears to rest wholely and solely on a somewhat obscure passage of Sansovino, who says that under the Doge Marco Corner (1365–1367) "*certo Natale Veneto lasciò un libro della materia delle forme da giustar intorno alle lettere, ed il modo di formarle di vetro.*"‖ There is nothing whatever to connect this Natale with the Bishop of Equilio, and no further detail as to the use made of the *forme*.
3. The authority for the further invention of Castaldi is entirely confined to the passages cited below ; one from an unpublished History of Feltre,

* These dates are given in the *Monumenti* quoted below. And another pamphlet (*Bernardi's*, p. 26) asserts that "His contemporaries and the Historians affirm that Castaldi was a man not less modest than learned and laborious, very temperate and of sweet and noble manners, and so generally beloved." But not the slightest indication is given of the authorities by whom these dates and characters are afforded.

† The chief contributors to the statue were the working printers of Milan.

‡ Dissertations by Abate. Iacopo Bernardi, Professor Antonio Zanghellini, and Professor Antonio Valsecchi, issued together in a 4to. form under the title *Intorno a Panfilo Castaldi da Feltre e alla Invenzione dei Caratteri Mobili per la Stampa*, Milano, 1866.

§ *Monumenti a Vittorino de' Rambaldoni e Panfilo Castaldi in Feltre.* Feltre, 1869, 4to.

‖ *Descrizione*, &c., ed. of 1663, p. 572 (quotation from Bernardi's pamphlet).

written by a Franciscan, P. Antonio Cambruzzi, and completed by him late in the 17th century;* the other from a printed work by the Count Antonio dal Corno, called *Memorie Storiche della Città di Feltre*, Venice, 1710.† It is evident that both have drawn from one source. The former, as fullest, we translate :—

"This year [1456] Marco da Lezze succeeded to the government of Feltre, and at the same time flourished there among the most eminent citizens Panfilo Castaldio, jurist and poet, who, as we gather from the ancient records of our native city, invented printing, the noblest and most excellent art of all that were ever discovered. From him Faustus Comesburg, who was living with him at Feltre to learn Italian, acquired the art, and after his return to Germany practised the same in the city of Mentz, whereby he gained with some people the credit of being the first inventor. What he did however indeed invent was the damping of the paper to facilitate the impression of the types."

This is the whole. The old records, and the chronicles of Feltre to which Cambruzzi is supposed here to refer for his authority, have all disappeared; except one indeed, which is acknowledged to exist in the Museo Civico of Venice; but which (strange to say) none of the supporters of Castaldi's claims appear to have examined.‡

But we see that nothing is found here about "movable types," wooden or otherwise; nothing about "broadsides and single leaves" alleged to have been printed at Venice in 1426; nothing about *anything* that happened in 1426. And as to the prinfed sheets "said" to be preserved at Feltre, we now hear nothing, and may safely assume that nothing of the kind exists. Evidence in the shape of work ascribed to Castaldi there is none. Mention of Castaldi and his invention by contemporaries there is none produced. The story of Lawrence Coster of Haarlem is supported by vastly better evidence, and has found acceptance with some really *unbiassed* as well as capable persons, which the Castaldian Legend on its present evidence never will. In one version of the Haarlem story, too, it is insinuated that the ubiquitous John Fust robbed Coster not only of his invention but of his tools; and it is singular that none of Castaldi's advocates advert to this.

Such stories have been attached to nearly all the great discoveries of former days. And now that Castaldi, on such evidence as has been set forth, has got his statue from the printers of Lombardy, would it not be merely equitable 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?§

* "Successe quest' anno [1456] Marco da Lezze nel reggimento di Feltre, dove fioriva tra' più ragguardevoli cittadini Panfilo Castaldio, giureconsulta e poeta, il quale, come si raccoglie dalle antiche memorie della nostra patria, inventò la stampa dei libri, arte la più nobile e degna di quante mai fossero ritrovate. Da lui la apprese Fausto Comesburgo, che seco abitava in Feltre per imparare l'idioma Italiano; e, ritornato in Germania, coll' esercitarla nella Città di Magonza, acquistò presso alcuni il credito di primo inventore, sebbene ègli trovò il modo di inumidire li fogli, perchè riuscisse piu facile l'impressione dei caratteri."

† "Panfilio, della Famiglia Castaldia, Poeta eruditissimo, trovò l' arte di stampare i libri l' anno 1440, e poscia la comunicò a Fausto Comesburgo suo grande amico, che la mise in uso in Germania nella città di Magonza l' anno 1450." What can be meant by *Comesburgo?* Is it a translation of *Burggraf?*

‡ The chronicle is that of *Pasole*. See *Monumenti*, &c., p. 15.

§ See Mr. Markham's *Garcilasso della Vega* (Hak. Soc.), pp. 22, *seqq.*

APPENDIX M.—*Supplementary Notes to the Book of Marco Polo.*

CHARCHAN, PEIN, AND BOLOR. (Vol. i. pp. 179, 176, and 168.)

After the Text and notes of this work had been printed I saw Mr. Douglas Forsyth's interesting letter to Sir Roderick Murchison, on his return from Yarkand, which was read at the Royal Geographical Society, Nov. 15, 1870.

CHARCHAN.—Mr. Forsyth has learned that there is still a town of some size called CHARCHAND, situated about 450 miles, or 30 marches, east of Khotan. It is said to be reached by a road which skirts the northern base of the Kuen Lun, and to lie in the gorge of one of many ravines on that side of the range. The people are said to be Mahomedan; twelve rivers are said to flow from the range, and to unite before entering Lake Lop. Charchand is famous for precious stones; and merchants travel between it and Khotan.

This must be, as Mr. Forsyth conceives, the Charchan of Marco Polo; but I think that also there can be little or no doubt, in spite of the discrepancy as to its distance from Khotan, that it is the *Cháchan* of Mr. Johnson, with which I have already identified Polo's Charchan. Mr. Forsyth's information makes the distance 30 marches, or about 450 miles; Johnson's only 13 marches, estimated by him at 223 miles. If Mr. Forsyth's information be correct (and he informs me that it came from two distinct sources), it will remove the difficulty about the longitude of Lake Lop, which I have referred to at p. 181. Marco Polo unfortunately omits his usual data as to the distance from Pein to Charchan; but I have pointed out that Mr. Johnson's distance *from Charchan to Lop* substantially agrees with Marco's—and this is so far in favour of Johnson's accuracy.

PEIN.—Mr. Forsyth hearing the expression *Páin Mulh* or "Lowlands" applied to the desert country north of the cultivated tracts at the base of the Kuen Lun, a country said formerly to have contained cities now buried by sand, it struck him at once that this was the PEIN of Marco Polo. It may be so, but from the ancient Chinese use of the name *Pima* (vol. i. p. 177), I should rather conceive that *Pein* or *Pim* was the proper name of a lost city about Kiria. I may note that Ritter, finding this very word *Páin* as part of the name of a station (*Yerek lak-Payin*), on Izzat Ullah's route from Yarkand to Ladakh, was led to place Polo's Pein there, though quite in the wrong direction from Khotan (*Ritter*, VII. 382; and see *Cathay*, p. 545).

BOLOR.—And Bolor Mr. Forsyth is inclined to believe to be merely the opposite term *Bala*, "high," which is locally pronounced as *Bolor*, and is, according to Col. Gardiner, applied (*Bala-mulh*) to the highlands about Pamir. This seems likely, but my note at p. 168 will show that *Bolor*, *Bilaur*, and *Malaur* occur in Arabic, Persian, and Pushtu compositions, as the proper name of this region. Still these may have been corruptions of *Bala*, written in accordance with local pronunciation.

LIST OF INDIAN PROVINCES IN 14TH CENTURY. (Vol. ii. p. 360.)

No. 4 in the List from *Masálak-al-Absár* should be *Kohrám*, as indicated in Mr. Edward Thomas's new work *The Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Dehli* pp. 160 and 203; but I cannot point to its position. No. 21 should be, not *Gwalior* as I had erroneously concluded, but (as printed in the *Notices et Extraits*) *Kalánúr*, mentioned in Mr. Thomas's work pp. 395 and 428. A place so called (Calanore) appears in *Hamilton's Gazetteer* as 70 m. east from Lahore.

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INDEX.

N.B.—*References to Editorial Matter are in ordinary Type.*
References to the Text of Marco Polo are in **heavy type** *and* **figures.**

—AÁS.

A.

Aás, Asu (or *Alans*, q. v.).
Abacan, a Tartar general, II. **200**, 207.
Abah, see *Ava*.
Abaji, son of Kublai, 323.
Abaka (**Abaga**), Khan of Persia, 32, 87, 97; II. **395**, **396**, 397, **398**, **399**, **405**, **406**, **408**, 409, 425.
Abano, Pietro of, his notice of Polo, cxliii.
Abash (*Habsh*, i. e. Abyss*inia*, q. v.), II. **356**, **360**, **361** *seqq.*
Abba Gregory, II. 366.
Abbott, Mr. Consul Keith E., 76, 77, 85 *seqq.*, 106 *seqq.*, 117, 118, 139.
Abdul Kuri Islands, II. 338.
—— Mejid, 166.
Abher, 36, 77.
Abnús, the word, II. 215.
Abraha, Ruler of Yemen, II. 368.
Abraiaman (*Brahmans*, q. v.), employed as shark-charmers, II. **267**, 274; **297**, **298**; high character, **299**; distinctive thread, *ib.*; their king; their heed to omens; longevity, **300**; the word, 302.
Abubakr, Atabeg of Fars, 81; II. 285.
——, Ibrahim and Mahomed, engineers employed by Kublai, II. 130.
Abulfeda, xxxvi; at the Siege of Acre, II. 126.
Abyssinia (**Abash**), II. **360** *seqq.*; outrage by Soldan of Aden causes the King of to attack the latter, **363**; his vengeance, **364**; further particulars regarding, *ib.*; dominion on the Coast, 368; Medieval Hist. and chronology, 369; Table of Reigns, 370; Wars with Mahomedan States, 371; curious account of kings, 372.
Acbalec Manzi, II. **19**, 20, 21.
——, or **Acbaluc** (Chingtingfu), II. **6**, 7.
Accambale, K. of Champa, II. **212**, 214.

—ADEN.

Acheh, Achem, see next word.
Achin, II. 229; Gold of, *ib.*; Lign-aloes, *ib.*; conversion of, 230; 232, 243, 245, 248.
—— Head, II. 243, 249.
Achmath (*Ahmad*, q. v.) the Bailo, his power, oppressive malversations, death, and posthumous condemnation, **370** *seqq.*
Acomat Soldan (*Ahmad Sultan*), seizes throne of Tabriz, II. **398**; goes to encounter Argon, **399**; rejects his remonstrance, **400**, **401**; defeats and takes him, *ib.*; but hears of Argon's escape, is taken and put to death, **404**, **406**; Notes on the history, II. 402, 405, 406.
Acorn bread, 115.
Acqui, Friar Jacopo d', his notice of Polo, lxxxii, xciv.
Acre; Broils at, between Venetians and Genoese, lxx; **16–21**; plan of, 17; capture by Saracens, II. 126, **373**; wickedness of, 377.
Adam, Legend of, Seth, and the Tree of Life, 128; II. 397.
——'s Apple, 93.
——'s **Sepulchre** on Mountain in Ceylon (Adam's Peak), II. **256**; —'s teeth, hair, &c. **259**, **260**; the Footmark, 260 *seqq.*; the Peak, 261, 262.
Adamodana, 55.
Adel, perhaps confused with Aden, II. 367; 369; 375.
Aden, Horse and other Trade with India, II. **276**, 285, **306**, **373**, 375, 376; **325**, 334, **341**, 349; **361**; the Soldan's treatment of a Bishop, **362**; Vengeance of the K. of Abyssinia on him, *ib. seqq.*; apparently confused with Adel, 367; account of the Km. of, **373**; 374; the Sultan, **375**, **377**; Trade with China, 375; Tanks, 376; **380**, 384.

Adoration of the Emperor, **347**.
Adulis, II. 365; Inscription of, 368.
Aepyornis and its Eggs, II. 350.
Aëtius, his prescription of musk, 245; of camphor, II. 245.
Africa, Sea surrounding, to the South, II. 349.
Agathou Daimonos, Island, II. 251.
Aghrukji, son of Kublai, 323.
Agmatae, II. 251.
Aguil, Mongol general, II. **98**, 100.
Ahmad of Fenaket, Kublai's oppressive Minister, see **Achmath**, and hist. notes, 375, 376, 377.
—— Sultan, Khan of Persia, see **Acomat**.
—— Shah Durani, 154.
Ahmadi, 107.
Aidhab, II. 374.
Aidhej, 80.
Aijaruc, Kaidu's daughter, II. **393**; her strength and prowess, *seqq.*; her name, 395; the real lady, 396.
Ajmir, II. 360.
Akaas of Bolor, 169.
Akbar and Kublai, 311.
Ak-bulak salt-mines, 146.
Akhaltzike, 55.
Akhtuba River, 5, 6.
Ak-khoja, II. 402.
Aktar, 91.
Alabastri, II. 365.
Alacou (Hulaku), **217**, see **Alau**.
Alamut, Castle of the Ismaelites, 133, 134, 138, 139.
Alania, II. **421**, 422.
Alans, Massacre of a party of, at Changchau, II. **140**, 142; note on employment of, under the Mongols, 141.
Alaone, the name, lxxxiv.
Alarm Tower, at Cambaluc, 335; at Kinsay, II. 148.
Alau (*Hulaku*, q. v.), Khan of Persia, **4**, 8, **10**; takes Baghdad, **60**, and puts the Khalif to death, **61**; Longfellow's Poem on the subject, 63; makes an end of the Old Man of the Mountain, **138**; II. **408**, **421**; his war with Barka, I. 4; II. **424** *seqq.*
Aláuddin (**Aloadin**), the Old Man of the Mountain, **132** *seqq.*; 139.
—— (*Alaeating* of *Mufali*), an engineer in Kublai's service, II. 130.
—— Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, II. 124, 131, 270, 333, 334.
Albenigaras, II. 298.
Al Biruni, 98.
Alchemy, the Kaan's, **378**.
Alexander the Great, allusions to the Legendary History of, and Romances regarding, cxxxvii *seqq.*; 13, **50**, 52; **119**, 121, 123, 125, 126; **142**, 143, **149**; II. 262, 416.
—— Extract from French prose romance of, 126.
—— builds the Iron-gate, **50**; site of battle with Darius, **119**, 130; kills a lion, 144.
—— Wall of, 51; Princes claiming descent from, **149**, 151; fixes chains on Adam's Peak, II. 262; said to have colonized Socotra, 343; tower of, 416.
Alexandria, ix; II. **185**; trade to, from India, **325**, **373**.
Alhinde, *Alfinde*, 88.
Alihaiya, general of Kublai's, II. 129.
Alinak, II. 405.
Alligator, described, and mode of killing, II. **45**; eaten, **47**, 49; prophecy about, at Bhartpúr, II. 112.
Almalik, II. 392.
Almanacs, Chinese, **399**, 401.
Almonds, **145**, 146.
Aloes, Socotrine, II. 343.
—— wood, the name, II. 213, and see *Lignaloes*.
Al-Ramni, Al-Ramin (Sumatra), II. 231, 243.
Altai Mountains, 194.
—— (**Altay**), the mountain where the Kaans were buried, **217**, **236**; what mountain intended, 218.
—— used for the Khingan Range, 261.
Altun Khan (mountain), 218.
Altun Khan (Sovereign), II. 10.
Al-Thaibi, Family of, II. 269.
Amazons, II. 339.
'Ambar-i-Rasúl, 108.
Ambergris, II. 250; **338**, **340**; how got, **341**, 342; **346**, **356**, 358.
Amda Zion, K. of Abyssinia, his wars against the Mahomedans, II. 369; not the K. mentioned by Polo, 371, 372.
Ameri, kind of Brazil wood so called, II. 243, 315.
Amhara, II. 370, 371, 372.
Amien (Burma), II. **71**, **72**, 74, same as **Mien**, q. v.
Amita Buddha, 407, 408.
Amphora, *Anfora*, II. 350.
Amu, Aniu, see **Anin**.
Amuki, or Devoted Comrades of the King, II. 284.
Anamis R., 108.
Ananda, II. 17.
Anarauhta, K. of Burma, II. 64, 265.

Ancestor Worship, II. **53**, 60.
Anchors, Wooden, II. **321**, 324.
Andaine, Andena, Andanicum, kind of iron, see **Ondanique**.
Andaman Islands, II. 249; Natives, **250**, 251, 252, see **Angamanain**.
Andragiri, II. 244.
Andrea Bianco's Maps, 126.
Andreas, K. of Abyssinia, II. 370.
Andrew, Bishop of Zayton, II. 189.
Andromeda Ovalifolia, poisonous, 197.
Andun, Andan, words for steel, 89.
Angamanain (Andaman Islands), II. **248**, 249; described, **251**; form of the word, 251; **253**.
Angelic French, cxiii.
'Angka (Gryphon), II. 349, 350, 352.
Animal Patterns, see *Beast*.
Anin, Province of, described, II. **82**; 83, 84; **85**, 90, 91, 92, 93; 211.
Annals of the Indo-Chinese States, Remarks on the Written, II. 70.
'An-nan, or Tongking, II. 83, 211.
Antarctic, Star at the, as drawn by Marco Polo, cxliii.
Anthropoides Virgo, 262.
Antongil Bay, II. 348.
Apostoille (for 'Pope'), 12.
Apples of Paradise, **91**, 93; II. **301**.
'Apuhota (Kapukada?), II. 314.
Apusca (Apushka), Tartar Envoy from Persia, **30**, 32.
Arab Seamen's Traditions about Java, II. 218.
—— colonies in Madagascar, II. 348.
—— **Horses**, trade in, see **Horses**.
—— **Merchants** in S. India, II. **312**.
Arabi, People called (Arabs), **57**.
Arabia, see Vol. II. pp. 373-383.
Arababni, II. 371.
Arachoti, II. 335.
'Araines,' the word, II. **391**, 392.
Arakan, II., 65, 232, 241.
'Aram' (*Harámi*), the word, **132**, 133.
Ararat, **45**; ascents of, 49.
Arblasts, II. 122, and see **Crossbows**.
Arbre Sol or **Arbre Sec**, Region of the (Khorasan), 36, **79**, **119**; II. **396**, **405**, **406**. Note on the subject, I. 120 *seqq*.
—— —— described, **119**; the *Chinar*; various readings, 120; the Tree of the Sun Legend (*Arbre Sol*), 121–123; the Christian Legend of the Dry Tree (*Arbre Sec*), 123; engrafted in the Legends of Alexander, 125; Trees of Grace in Persia, 127; Dry Trees in Mahomedan Legend, 128; in Rabbinical and Buddhist stories, and in the Legends of the Wood of the Cross, 128 (and again, II. 397); Polo's **Arbre** to be sought near Damghan, 129; the *Chinar*, and Sabaean Apologue regarding it, 130.
Arbre Sec, cxxxix.
—— *Seul* (a wrong reading), 120, 130.
Arcali, Arculin, see **Erculin**.
Archbishop of **Socotra**, II. **338**, 339, **340**, **341**, 342, 343.
Architectural Remains in Indo-China, **xliii**.
Areca, II. 311.
Areng Saccharifera, II. 240.
Argaeus, Mount, 45.
Argali, II. 414.
Arghun Khan (**Argon**, Lord of the Levant, of Polo), of Persia, lii, liii; sends an embassy to the great Kaan for a wife, **30**, 32; is dead when she arrives, **33**, 36; 95; II. **32**; his unhappy use of the Elixir Vitae, 304; **395**, **396**, **397**; advances against his uncle Ahmad, **399**; harangues his chiefs, **400**; sends Ahmad a remonstrance; is taken prisoner, **401**; released by certain chiefs, **402**; gets the sovereignty, **404**, and puts Ahmad to death; is recognised as sovereign, **405**; his death, *ib*. Notes on these events, 402, 405–406. **408**; his beauty, 409; 412.
Argons or Half-breeds (*Arghún*), 96; **250**, 254, 255.
Arii, Ariana, II. 335.
Arikbuga, brother of Kublai, 298.
Arimaspia, II. 352, 353.
Ariora Keshimur, 82; **93**, 98; meaning of *Ariora*, 98.
Aripo, II. 272, 274.
Arjish (**Arzizi**), 48.
Arkasun Noian, II. 405.
Arkhaún, applied to Oriental Christians or their clergy, 254.
Armenia, Lesser (or Cilician), xli; characterized, **41**, 42.
—— **the Greater**, **45**, **98**.
Armenians, **43**, **45**, **70**.
Armenian Christians, 255.
Arms of Kerman celebrated, **86**, 89.
—— of the Tartars, **228**, 230; II. **390**.
Arrows, Tartar, II. **390**.
Artacki, 247, 248.
Arts, the Seven, **13**.
Aru (in Sumatra), II. 245.
Aruk, II. 405.
Arya Chakravarti, II. 256.
Aryavartta, 98.
Arziron (Erzrum), **45**.
Arzinga (Erzingan), **45**, 48.

Arzizi (Arjísh), **45**.
Arulun-Tsaghan-Balghasun, 261, 269.
Asbestos and the Salamander, 194–195.
Asceticism of the **Sensin, 267**; of the Jogis, II. **301**.
Asciar, see **Ashar**.
Asedin Soldan (Ghaiassuddin), an Indian Prince, **93**, 98.
Ashar, King of Cail, II. **305–6**; Note on, 310.
Ashishin (Assassins), **132, 135**.
Asikan, Mongol general, II. 205, 206.
Asoka, II. 264.
Asper, II. **12**, 13.
Assassins, see *Ismaelites*.
Asses, Fine, in Persia, **79**, 83.
——, **Wild**, in Persia, **84**, 85, **116**, 203; in Mongolia, **202**, 203; **353**; in Madagascar, II. **347**; in Abyssinia, **364**; in Far North, **410**, 412.
Astrolabe, 399.
Astrology, Astrologers, in Tangut, **185**; of Chinghiz, **213**; at the Kaan's Court, **265**, **347**; at Cambaluc, **399**; at Kinsay, II. **150, 151, 160**; in Maabar, **280**; in Coilum, **313**.
Atabegs, of Lúr, 80; of Fars, 81, 113, II. 285; of Yezd, I. 84; of Kerman, 87.
Atkinson's Explorations impugned by Russians, 193.
Atlas, Chinese, in Magliab. Library, II. 153.
Auberoche, Siege of, II. 124, 127.
Audh (Oudh), II. 360.
Aufat, Ifat, II. 369, 371, 372.
Augury, see *Omens*.
Aung Khan (**Unc Can**, the **Prester John** of Polo, q. v.), **204**, 208, 211; 251, 252, 253; Chinghiz's victory over, 271; II. 10.
Aurangzíb, 160.
Aurora, striking description of, 7.
Aussa, II. 369.
Ava (Avah or Abah), one of the cities of the Magi, **76**, 76–77, 78.
Avicenna's classification of Iron, 88.
'**Avigi**,' the word, **50**, 54.
'**Avarian**,' epithet of St. Thomas, II. **290**; explained, 292.
Axum, inscription, II. 365; Court of, 368.
Ayas (**Layas**, Aiazzo, Giazza, &c., a port of Cilician Armenia), xlix; sea-fight at, lxvii, lxxi *seqq.*, lxxxiii; **15, 19, 22, 41, 43**, 44.
Ayuthia, II. 221, 222.
Azumiti, II. 365.
Azure (Ultramarine); Mines in Badakhshan, **150**, 153; Mines in Tenduc, **249**, 254; ore of, **327**, 329.

B.

Bâba Buzurg, worshipped by the Lurs, 80.
Baboons, etym. of the word, II. 318; **364**.
Babylon, Babylonia (Cairo or Egypt), **22**, 23; II. **180**, 183; **373**, 375; Sultan of, **374, 404**.
Babylonish garments, 62.
Baccadeo, Indigo, II. 317.
Baccanor, II. 322.
Bacsi (Bakhshi), i.e. Lamas, **266, 267**, 277; various changes of meaning, 278; 279; **368, 398**.
Badakhshan (**Badashan**), **93**, 97; 143, **146**; People of, 146, 151; Mirs of, 147, 148, 152, 164; Capital, 148; described, **149**; Kings of, claim descent from Alexander, **149**, 151; dialect, 151; scenery, **151**, 154; depopulation of, 149, 154; Forms of the Name, 152; **159**; River of (Upper Oxus), **162**.
Badáún, II. 360.
Badger, Rev. G. P., II. 379.
Badghís, 141; II. 398.
Badgír, or Wind-catchers, II–**383**, 384.
Badruddin Lulu of Mosul, 58.
Bafk, 85.
Baft, 105.
Baghdad (**Baudas** q. v.), **60** *seqq.*
—— Indigo of (*Baccadeo*), II. 317.
Bagratidae, of Armenia, 42; of Georgia, 51.
Bahar, II. 360.
Bahâuddin Ayaz, 113, 114.
Bahrein, II. 285.
Bai, 176.
Baiberdon (Baiburt), 49.
Baidu, II. 407; seizes the throne of Persia, **407**; displaced and put to death by Ghazan, **408**; alleged to be a Christian, **407**, 408.
Bailo, the title, **371**; etym. of, 376.
Baku; Naphtha of, **46**, 49; Sea of (Caspian), 56.
Bakhtiyáris of Luristan, 83.
Bala-Sagun, 206.
Balánjariyah, or Devoted Lieges of Indian Kings, II. 283.
Balas Rubies, 149, 152; II. 298.
Balc (Balkh), **142**, 143.
Baldac, see **Baudas**.
Baldacchini, Brocades made at Baldac or Baghdad, 62.
Baldwin de Courtenay, Emp. of Constantinople, **2**.
Bali, Island of, II. 229.
—— (in Abyssinia), II. 371.

Balios, 376.
Balish (a money of account), II. 174.
Balista, medievally always a crossbow, II. 122.
Balkhash, Lake, II. 389.
Ballads, Genoese, on sea-fights at Ayas and Curzola, lxxii *seqq*.
Ballad-ul-Falfal (Malabar), II. 314.
Ballard, Mr., II. 317, 322.
Balor, Balaur, Bilaur, Malaur, see **Bolor**.
Balsamodendron Mukul, II. 331, 332.
Balti, 152, 168.
Balustrade, etym. of the word, lxvii.
Bamboos; Multifarious uses of, 271; Jungle of, on fire, II. 30; largest size of, *ib.*; in Chekiang, 177, and see **Canes**.
Bamian, Caves at, 148; enormous recumbent image at, 200.
Bam-i-dunyah, 166.
Bamm, 107.
Bamó, River of, II. 72, 74, 76.
Bander-Abbasi, 100, 105, 108, 112.
Bangala, see *Bengal*.
Baptism accompanied by **branding** in Abyssinia, II. **361**, 366.
Bara, II. 248.
Barac (*Borak* q. v.) Khan of Chagatai, **9**, 10; his war with Arghun, II. **397**, 398.
Barberino, Francesco da, lxv; mentions Cathay, cxli; 110.
Bargu, Plain of, 237, 238.
Barguerlac, Bird called (*Syrrhaptes Pallasii*), **237**, 239.
Barguchin Tugrum, 238.
Barguzinsk, *ib.*
Barin, Mongol Tribe, II. 110.
Bark, Fine cloths from, II. **88**.
Barka Khan (**Barca**), Ruler of Kipchak, **4**, 5; II. 357, **421**, 423; his war with Hulaku, I. **4**, 96; II. **424** *seqq*.
Barkul, 308.
Barkút, Eagle trained to the chase, **353**, 355.
Barlaam and Josaphat, Story of Saints, borrowed from Legend of Buddha, II. 263.
Barley, Huskless, 150, 153.
Baroch, II. 302.
Baron-tala, name applied to Tibet, 193.
Barozzi, Dr. Nicolo, lix, xcviii.
Barskul (**Barscol**), **307**, 308.
Barsauma (**St. Brassamo**) **72**, 73.
Barus, Barros, in Sumatra, and its Camphor, II. 245, 246, 247, 248.
Barussae Insulae, II. 245, 251.
Barygaza, II. 331, 342.
Bashai (**Pashai**), 157.
Basma (Pasei, q. v.), a Km. of Sumatra, II. **227**, **228**, **235**, 237.
Basmuls, 256, see **Guasmuls**.
Baspa Lama and the Mongol character called after him, 28, 315; II. 30.
Basra (**Bascra** or **Bastra**), **60**, 62.
Bathang, II. 29, 31, 36, 37, 41, 42.
Baths; Natural Hot, near Hormuz, **104**, 114; Hot, in Cathay, **395**; Public, at Kinsay, II. **149**, 155.
Batigala, Batticala, Battecala, II. 311, 360, 378.
Batochina, II. 244.
Bats, Large, in India, II. **281**.
Battas of Sumatra and their cannibalism, II. 231; 240, 241.
Batthala (Patlam in Ceylon), II. 274.
Battles described; Kublai's with Nayan, **301**, and *note*, 305; Tartars and the King of Mien, II. **66**; Kaidu and the Kaan's Forces, **390**, and *note*, 392; Borrak and Arghun (*details omitted*), **397**; Arghun and Ahmad (*do.*), **401**; Hulaku and Barka (*do.*), **426**; Toktai and Noghai (*do.*), **429-30**. Remarks on the authorship of these passages at p. cxxxvii.
Batu, Khan of Kipchak, surnamed *Sain* or Good, xlii; Founder of Sarai, 5; **216**, 218; his invasion of Russia, II. 420, 423; made into two Kings (**Sain** and **Patu**) by Polo, **421**, 423; character and cruelty, 423.
Bavaria, Duke Ernest of, a Medieval Romance, II. 351.
Baudas (Baghdad), described, **60**; taken by **Aláu** (Hulaku), *ib.*; Calif of, and the Miracle of the Mountain, **65** *seqq*.
Baudekins, see *Baldacchini*.
Bauduin de Sebourg, the Romance of, and its borrowings from Polo, cxliv-cli; 133–134; 137; 174, 194.
Bavárij Corsairs, II. 344.
Bayan Chingsian, a great Mongol Captain under Kublai, 10; 298; 323; II. 100; prophecy connected with his name, **107** *seqq*., 112; his conquest of Manzi or S. China, **108**, 113; note on his history and character, 110; his exceptional cruelty at Changchau, **140-141**, 142; 165; 392.
——, one of the Kaan's Masters of the Hounds, **356**, 357.
——, son of Nasruddin, II., 69.
—— Khagan of the Avars, II. 110.
Bazacata, II. 251.
Bdellium, II. 331, 332.
Beads, Hindu, II. **275**, 283.
Bearcoote, see *Barkut*.
Bears, **352**, **353**, **356**; II. **18**, **24**, **26**, **27**, **47**; **318**, **343**, **364**; white, in far North, **410**, 412.

Beast and Bird Patterns on silks, &c., **60**, 62; **86**, 91; 354; II. 357.
'**Beaten Gold**,' **343**, 344.
Beauty of Georgians, **49**, 51; of women of Khorasan, **120**; of women of Kashmir, **158**; of women of Sinju, **242**; of the half-breeds or *Argons*, **250**; of the tribe of **Ungrat** (*Kungurat*), 318; of people of **Coloman**, II. **85**; of the women of **Kinsay**, **146**; of Kaidu's Daughter, **393**; of Arghun Khan, 409; of the Russians, **417**.
Beds, arrangement of, in India, II. **282**, 289.
Beef not eaten in Maabar, II. **277**, except by the **Govi**, *ib.*, 286.
Bejas of Red Sea Coast, II. 358, 365, 368.
'**Belic**' for '**Melic**,' II. 21, 402.
Bell, Great, at Cambaluc, **332**, 335; **368**.
Bellal Rajas, II. 302.
Belledi (or *Balladi*); Ginger, so called, II. 316; Spanish use of the word, 317.
Bendocquedar, see *Bibars Bundukdári*.
Benedict XII., Pope, II. 141.
Bengal (**Bangala**), xliii; the King of Mien (Burma) and —, II. **63**; how Polo came to unite these titles; relations between medieval Burma and —; modern claim preferred by K. of Burma, 64–65; described, **78**; alleged Mongol invasion of, a mistake, 79; **83**; 90; confounded by Polo with Pegu, 91; 93.
Benjamin of Tudela on the Gryphon, II. 351.
Benzoin, etym. of, II. 228; 331.
Berbera, Sea of, II. 349.
Berchet, Cavaliere G., lvii; II. 372, 438.
Bern MS. of Polo's Book, xcvi, cxvii, cxx.
Berrie, meaning and etym., 209.
Bettelar, rendezvous of Pearl Fishers, II. **267**, 274.
Beyamini, Wild Oxen called, II. **32**, 33.
Bezants, **343**, **360**, **378**, **379**, **397**; II. 25; **146**; 472.
Bhagavata! II. 283.
Bhartpúr, Prophecy regarding, II. 112.
Bianconi, Prof., on the Text of Polo, cxxiv.
Biar, II. 248.
Bibars Bundukdári (**Bendocquedar**), Mamlúk Sultan of Egypt; invades Cilician Armenia, **22**, 23; his character; extraordinary Letter of, **24**; 138; killed by *Kumiz*, 227; II. 357; 367, 370; 424.
Bielo Osero, II. 417.
'**Bigoncio**,' 341.
Bilúchis, 95; their robber raids, 100.
Binh-Thuan (Champa), II. 213.
Binkin, II. 183.
Bintang (**Pentam**), II. 223.
Birch-bark Books, 159.
Bird-hunts, Siberian, **237**, 239.
Bir-Pandi or Pira-Bandi, II. 270, 272.
Bír-dhúl or Biyardawul, capital of Ma'bar, II. 272.
Birthday of the **Great Kaan**, its celebration, **343**.
Bishbalik, 193, 394.
Bishop; of Male Island, II. **338**, 339; story of an Abyssinian, **361**.
Bitter Bread, **104**, 115.
—— **Water**, **104**, **115**, **119**, **178**.
Blac, Blachia (**Lac**, Wallach), II. 420.
Black Crane, **260**, 262.
—— Sect in Tibet, 288.
—— **Saints, White Devils** in India, II. **291**, 294.
Blacker the more beautiful, II. **291**.
Block-Books; supposed to have been introduced from China, clvii, II. 473.
—— Printing in Persia, 384.
Blood-sucking, Tartar, **229**, 231, 232.
'**Blous, Bloies**,' the words, 291.
Boar's Tusks, Huge (Hippopotamus), II. **347**, 354.
Boccaccio, possible allusion to Polo's Work by, 134.
Boccassini, the word, 59.
Bodhisatva Avalokiteçvara, II. 210.
Bodleian MS. of Polo, xlviii, cxvii, cxx.
Boeach, a mistake for Locac, and its supposed position, II. 222.
Boemond, Prince of Antioch, Letter of Bibars to, 24.
Boga (Buka), a great Mongol officer, delivers Arghun, II. **402**, **403**, 405.
Bohea Country, II. 177, 178.
Boikoff, Russian Envoy, 196.
Bokhara (**Bocara**), **9**, **10**; II. 389.
Bolgana, Queen, see *Bulughan*.
Bolghar (**Bolgara**) on the Wolga, **4**; account of, 6; Ruins of, 7; Court of, 340; II. 415, 423.
Bolghar, **Borgal**, i. e. Russia Leather, **350**, 351.
Bolivar, Padre, S. J., his account of the Condor (*Rukh*) of Africa, II. 353.
Bolor, **163**, 168, 169; II. 475.
Bombay, II. 331.
Bonga, II. 60.
Boniface VIII., lxxiii, lxxx, lxxxiii.
Bonoccio di Mestre, xcv; II. 439.
Bonpos, Old Tibetan Sect, 278, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290.
Bonús (Ebony), II. 213.
Book of Marco Polo; its contents, cvi; ori-

ginal language French, cvii; oldest Italian MS. *ib.*; "Geographic Text" in rude French, its peculiarities and indications of originality, cix *seqq.*; Various Types of Text—(1) The "Geographic," cxv; (2) Pauthier's MSS. cxvii; (3) Pipino's Latin, cxx; Grynaeus's Latin, cxxi; Müller's reprint, *ib.*; (4) Ramusio's Italian edition, and its peculiarities, cxxii–cxxvi; probable truth about it, cxxvii; Bases of it, *ib.*; discovery of a MS. with some of its peculiarities, cxxvii; General View of the relation of the Texts, *ib.*; Notice of an old Irish version, cxxviii; Tabular View of the Filiation of the Chief MSS. and editions, II. 463; Geographical data in the Book, cxxxiv; how far it is influenced in form by Rustician, cxxxvi; perhaps in descriptions of Battles, cxxxvii; Estimate of diffusion, and number of MSS., cxl; Bases of present version, clix *seqq.*

Bore in Hangchau Estuary, II. 165.

Borgal, see *Bolghar.*

Borneo, Tailed Men in, II. 244.

—— Camphor, see *Camphor.*

Borobodor, xliii.

Borrak (**Barac**), Khan of Chagatai, **9**, 10; 97; II. 389; **397**, 398.

——, Amír, Prince of Kerman, 87.

Bostam, 128, 129, 130.

Boswellia Thurifera, II. 331.

—— *Glabra*, II. 332.

Bouqueran, see *Buckram.*

Boxwood Forests in Georgia, **50**, 54.

Bozzi, the word, 191.

Bragadino, Marco, Husband of Marco Polo's Daughter Fantina, civ–cv.

——, Pietro, supp. son of the preceding, cv.

Brahmans (**Abraiaman**); Fish-charmers to the Pearl Fishery, II. **267**, 274; Polo's view of them as merchants, II. **299**, 302; virtues ascribed to them, **299**, 303; their auguries, *ib.*; 308; Palladian Legend of, 339.

Brahmanical Thread, II. 299.

Brahuis, 95.

Brakhimov, 6.

Brambanan, Ruins at, xliii.

Bran diet, 267, 285.

Brazil (Wood); in Locac, II. **219**; 222; in Sumatra, **241**; manner of growth, *ib.*; **248**, 250; in Ceylon, **254**, 255; in Coilum, called **Coilumin, 312**, 314, 315; different kinds, *ib.*; vicissitudes of the word, 316; Atlantic Island of Brazil, 316; use of, prohibited by Painters' Guild, 317.

Brephung Monastery, 283.

'**Bretesche**,' the word, 302.

Brichu (**Brius**, the Upper Kiang), II. 41.

Bridges; of Pulisanghin, II. **1**; at Sindafu (Chingtu), **23**; of Suchau, II. **143**, 144; of Kinsay, **146**, 153–154, 168, 169, 170; at Kienningfu, **179**, 181; Fuchau, 184; at Zayton, or Chinchau, 189.

Brine-wells, see *Salt.*

Brius, the River (Kinsha Kiang), II. **36**, **39**, 41.

Brown, Sir Thomas, on Polo, cxxxix.

Bruce's Abyssinian Chronology, II. 369 *seqq.*

Brunetto Latini's Book *Li Tresor*, cxiv, cxl.

Bucephalus, Breed of, **150**.

Buckrams; of Arzinga, **45**; note on the stuff so called by Polo, 46; etymologies, 48; at Mardin, **57**, 59; II. **29**; at Mutfili, **293**, 298; in Malabar, **325**; **330**, **333**; **364**.

Buddha, see *Sakya Munì.*

——; his Footmark on Adam's Peak, II. 260; a Saint of the Greek and Roman Churches, 263; his Tooth Relic, **259**, 264; his Alms Dish, **259**, 260, 264, 266.

Buddhism; in Kashmir, 159, 160, 161; in Tangut, 186; in Kamul, 190; **Ameliorating effect of, on rude nations, 399**; Occasional spiritual force of, in China, 406 *seqq.*; in S. India, II. **273**, and see *Idolatry.*

Buddhist; Decalogue, 161; Idols, II. 210, and see *Idols.*

Buffet and Vessels of the Kaan's Table, **338–9**, 341.

Bujaei, II. 365.

Buka (**Boga**, q. v.), a Great Mongol chief, II. 405.

Bularguchi, or 'Keeper of Waifs,' **358.**

Bulgaria, Great, II. 229, and see *Bolghar.*

Bulughán, the Lady (**Bolgana**), xx; **30**, 31; II. 405.

—— (another), II. 407.

Bundúkdári, see *Bibars.*

Burkan Kaldun, 218.

Burma, King of, II. 265, and see **Mien.**

Burning the Dead; in Tangut, **184**; in China, apparently common in Middle Ages, see **Dead.**

Burning paper imitations of property at funerals, **185**, 187, **235**; **II. 151.**

—— Heretical Men and Books, 285, 286.

—— **Widows** in South India, II. **277**, 286.

Buryats or Buraets, 225, 248.

Butchers; in Kashmir, **159**; in Tibet, 162; in S. India, II. **278.**

Butiflis (for **Mutfili**), II. 297.

C.

Ca' Polo, or Ca' Milion, the House of the Polos at Venice, **xxxvi**, liv, lv *seqq.*; xcviii; II. 443.

Caaju, Castle of, **216**.

Cacanfu (Hokiang-fu), II. **89**, **95**.

Cachanfu (P'uchau-fu), II. **7**, **12**, **13**, 14.

Cachar Modun, **359**, 363.

Cachilpatnam, II. 322.

Caesalpinia, II. 315, see **Brazil**.

Caesarea of Cappadocia (**Casaria**), 44.

Caichu, Castle of, II. **7**, **8**, 15.

Caidu, see *Kaidu*.

Caiju (on the Hoang-ho), II. **104**, 106.

Caiju (on the Kiang, Kwachau), II. **133**, **136**, 137.

Çaiton, see **Zayton**.

Cail (Káyal), II. 272; **302**; a great port of commerce, **305**; the King, **306**; identified, 307; meaning of name, 308; remains, 309, 310; 336.

Caindu (a region of Eastern Tibet), II. **32**, **33**, **34** *seqq.*, 41, 42.

Caingan, II. 145.

Cairo; Museum at, II. 357; 374; Ventilators at, 384; see **Babylon**.

Cala Ataperistan (or Gueber's Castle), **74**.

Calachan, **247**, 248.

Calaiate, see *Kalhat*.

'**Calamanz**,' the word, II. 215.

Calamina, the city, II. 293.

Calatu, see *Kalhat*.

Caldwell, Rev. Dr. R.; On Shahr-Mandi and Sundara Pandi, II. 270; on **Pacauta**, 283; on *Govis*, 286; on singular custom of **Arrest**, 287; on **Rainy Season**, 287; on food of horses, 288; on the word **choiach**, 303; on portable images of oxen, 305; on the city of Cail or Káyal, 307–8; on *Kolkhoi*, 309; on King Ashar of Cail, 310; on *Pinati*, 314.

Calendar, Ecclesiastical Buddhist, **198**; The Tartar, **400**, 403.

—— of Documents relating to Marco Polo and his Family, II. 438.

Calicut; the King of, and his costume, II. **282**, 283; 321; 327.

Calif, see *Khalif*.

Caligine, Calizene (*Khálij*, a canal from Nile), II. 374.

Camadi, a ruined city, **91**, 105, 106; identified, *ib.*; 107.

Cambaluc (Khanbalig or Peking), the capital of Cathay; the Kaan's return thither from campaign against Nayan, **309**; the Palaces there, **324** *seqq.*; the City, **331** *seqq.*; its extent, **331**; Walls and gates, **332**; plan, Bell-Tower, &c., *ib.*; **362**; **365**, **366**; its vast suburbs, hostelries, &c. **367**; cemeteries; women; patrols; **368**; great Traffic; Palace of the 12 Barons at, **385**; Roads radiating from, **388**; Astrologers of, **399**; II. **1**; **95**; 168; **260**, see *Peking*.

'Cambuscan' of Chaucer, origin of the name, 218.

Cambay (**Cambaet**, Cambeth), Km. of, II. **329**; described, **332**; 333, 336, 337, 359, 376, 379.

Camels; Camlets from wool of, **247**; white, *ib.* and 248; Incensing, 272; alleged to be eaten in Madagascar, II. **345**, but really in Magadoxo, 347–8; ridden in war, **356**, 358.

Camexu, Kamichu, 199, 247, see **Campichu**.

Camlets (**Cammellotti**), **247**, 248, **250**; what? 248.

Camoens, II. 211.

Camphor; Trees of (*Laurus Camphora*), in Fokien, II. **185**, and manufacture there, 187.

—— of Sumatra, II. 229; **241**; **Fansuri**, **242**; 243; details regarding, 244 *seqq.*; earliest mention of, 245; superstitions regarding, 246; description of the —— Tree (*Dryobalanops Camphora*); value attached to, by Chinese; recent prices of different kinds, 247, 250; use of with Betel, **306**, 311.

Campichu (Kanchau), City of, **197**, 199; **202**; **237**; **241**.

—— oil, II. 246.

Camul (Kamul, Komul), Province of, described, **189**, 190.

Camut, or fine shagreen leather, **350**, 351.

Canal, Grand, of China, II. **95**, **101**, 106, 114, 115, 117; construction of, **136**, 137; 177.

Canale, Cristoforo, MS. by, lxiv, lxv.

—— Martino da, French Chronicle of Venice by, cxiv.

Cananore, II. 321.

Canara, II. 326.

Cancamum, II. 332.

Candahar, II. 335.

Cane, Canes (always means *Bamboos* in Polo); Kaan's Palace at Chandu made of, **264**; how used to make roofs, *ib.*, 270; Great, on banks of Caramoran R., II. **12**; Forests of, and their loud explosions when burning, II. **26**, 30; Ropes of, **133**, 136; of great size in Chekiang, **175**, see *Bamboos*.

Canela Brava, II. 326.

Cannibalism; ascribed to Tibetans, &c.,

266; Foundation for such charges, 275 *seqq.*; ascribed to Hill-people in Fokien, II. **179**, 181; to Islanders in the Seas of China and India, **209**; in Sumatra, **227**, **235**, **236**, **237**, 231, 240; the Battas and regulations of their —, 231; ascribed to the Andaman Islanders, **251**, 252, 253.
Cannibals, *i. e.* Caribs, II. 340.
Canonical Hours, II. 303–4.
Cansay (**Kinsay**, q. v.), II. 168.
Canton, iii; II. 156; 188, 190, 191; 198.
Cape Corrientes, or of Currents, II. 349; 350.
—— Delgado, II. 357.
—— of Good Hope, II. 350.
Capidoglio, '**Capdoille**' (Sperm. Whale), II. 348.
Caracoron (Karà Korum), **203**; **236**; II. **390**.
Caraian, II. 42; but see
Carajan Province (Karájáng or Yunnan), li; II. **36**, **39**; 40, 42, 43; **53**; 55.
——, City of, (Talifu), II. 41, 42, **45**.
Caramoran, R. (Hoang-ho), II. **12**, **104**, 106, **114**, see *Hoang-ho*.
Caraonas (Karaunahs, q. v.), **92**.
Carats, 321.
Carbine, etym. of the word, 95.
Cardamom, II. 321, 323.
Cardinal's Wit, 20.
Caribs, II. 340.
Carpets; of Turcomania (Turkey), **43**; of Kerman, 89.
Carriages; at Kinsay, II. **162**; Chinese, 167.
Carrion shot from Engines, II. 124.
'**Carte, à la,**' the expression, II. 417.
Caryota Urens, II. 247.
Casan, see *Ghazan Khan*.
Casaria (*Caesarea* of Cappad.), **44**, 45.
Cascar (Kashgar), **169**.
Casem (Kishm, q. v.), **145**.
Casoni, Giovanni; on the Ca' Polo, lviii; on Medieval Galleys, lxiii-lxiv.
Caspian; Ancient error about, xxxiv, cli; **51**; Names of, 56; II. **424**.
Cassay (**Kinsay**, q. v.), II. 168.
Cassia, II. 38; 326.
—— Buds, II. 38; 326.
—— Fistula, II. 323.
Castaldi, Panfilo, his alleged invention of movable Types, clvii, and II. 473.
Casvin (Kaswín), a Km. of Persia, **79**, 80.
Catalan Map of 1375 (or *Carta Catalana*), characterized, cliii-cliv; 56; II. 191; 297, 322, 331, 334, 424.
Catalan Navy, lxvii, lxix, lxxii.
Cathay (Northern China), xxxiv; Origin of Name, xlii; xlvi; known by name in Europe before Polo's return, cxli; in Maps, cliii *seqq.*; 72; **250**; Cambaluc the Capital of, **324**, **327**, 331 *seqq.*, **362**, **367**, **385**; **388**; **373**; 394; **395**; II. **4**; **89**; **95**; **97**; **101**; **102**; **152**; 327; **387**. Generally Cathay is treated of in Book II. Pts. 1 and 2.
Cathayans; their conspiracy against Ahmad, **372** *seqq.*; their wine, **394**; astrologers, **399**; Religion of, **404**; transmigration *ib.*; politeness; filial duty; gaol deliveries, **405**; gambling, *ib.*
Catholicos; of Sis, 42; of the Nestorians, **57**, 58; II. 341.
Cators, or Great Partridges (*Chakors?*), **261**, 262.
Cat's-Head Tablet, 317.
Cats in China, II. 287.
Caucasian Wall, 51.
Caugigu, Province of, II. **79**, **80**, 81, **83**; **85**; 90; 91, 93.
Caulking of Chinese Ships, II. **196**, 197.
Cauly, see *Kauli*.
Causeway, south of the Yellow R., II. **115**.
Cauterizing heads of children, II. 366.
Cavo de Eli, II. 321.
—— de Diab, II. 350.
Cave-houses, **145**, 148.
Cayu (Kao-yu), II. **115**.
Celtic Church, II. 305.
Census of Houses in Kinsay, II. **152**.
—— **Tickets** ——, *ib.*
Ceremonial of Mongol Court, see *Etiquette*.
Ceylon (**Seilan**), II. **253**, **256** *seqq.*; circuit of, 254; Etym. of name, 255; the mountain of Adam's sepulchre, otherwise of Sagamoni Borcan's, **256**; the history of this person (Buddha) and the origin of Idolatry, **257** *seqq.*; subject to China, II. 327.
Chachan (properly Charchand), see **Charchan**.
Chagan-Nur (N. E. of Kamul), 193; II. 389.
—— ——, site of a Palace of Kublai's, **260**, 261, 269; 377.
—— Balghassun, 261; II. 7; **22**.
—— Jang, II. 43.
Chagatai, son of Chinghiz, xli, xlii, **93**; **170**, 172; II. **387**, 388, **390**.
Chakor (kind of Partridge), 262.
Champa (**Chamba**), Kingdom of, II. **212**; Kublai's Exp. against, *ib.*; the King and his Wives, **213**; products, *ib.*; 218, 219; **357**; 360.

Chandra Banu, II. 255.
Chandu (Shangtu), City and Summer Palace of the Kaan, 25; **263** *seqq.* 268; **365, 389.**
Changan, II. **143.**
Changchau (**Chinginju**), II. 141, 142.
Changgan, II. 16.
Changlu, II. **95,** 96, 99.
Changshan (**Chanshan**), II. 155; **175,** 177, 178, 191.
Chang-y, 376.
Chao or Paper Money, 381.
—— Khanahs, Bank-note offices in Persia (1294), 384.
——, the Siamese Title, II. 43.
—— *di Bux*, 54.
Chaohien, Sung Prince, II. 113.
Chaotong, II. 92.
Chapu, II. 156.
Characters, Written; Four acquired by Marco Polo, **27,** 28; one in Manzi, but divers spoken dialects, II. **186.**
Charchan (Chachan of Johnson, Charchand), **178,** 179, 180; II. 475.
Charities of the Kaan, 397–8.
——, Buddhistic and Chinese, 399.
—— at Kinsay, II. **148,** 155.
'**Chasteaux,**' sense of the word, 42.
Chaukans or Temporary Wives at Kashgar, 178.
Chaul, II. 302, 379.
Cheapness in China, II. **159.**
Cheetas, 353–354.
Cheinan, Gulf of, II. 211.
Chekiang into Fokien, Roads from, II. 178.
Chenching (Cochin-China), II. 213, 214, 220.
Chenchu conspires with Vanchu against Ahmad, **372;** puts A. to death, **373.**
Cheu, the Seven, II. 220.
Chibai and **Chiban,** II. **390.**
Chilaw, II. 274.
Chin, the Sea of, II. **209, 210.**
China; appears in Maps, clv; the name, II. 210; King of Malacca at Court of, 225; trade to, from Arabia, 285; from Sofala in Africa, 334.
Chinangli (T'sinan-fu), II. **96, 97,** 99.
Chinár, see *Plane.*
Chinchau or Ichin-hien, II. 117, 130, 134.
Chinchau, Chincheo, Chwanchew, Tsiuanchau, II. 184, 188, see **Zayton.**
Chinese; Marco ignorant of language, cxxxv, 28; Epigrams, 162; Funeral Customs, 187; feeling towards Kublai, **372,** and see 375; Religion, **404,** and character for irreligion, 406 *seqq.*; politeness, **405,** 408; respect to parents, *ib.*; gambling, **405;** mourning customs, II. 157; character as regards integrity, 167; written character, **186,** 191; ships, **195** *seqq.* (see *Ships*); Pagodas (so-called) at Negapatam, 272; and elsewhere, 327; coins found in S. India, 273; pottery, do., 308; trade with S. India, 308, 314, **321, 325,** 327; its cessation, 327.
Chinghian-fu (Chinkiang-fu), II. **137,** 139, 140.
Chinghiz Kaan; xli, xlii; reported to be a Christian, 14; his capture of Talikan, 146; ravages Badakhshan, 154; at Samarkand favours Christians, 172; his campaigns in Tangut, 186, 216, 247; 204; Rubruquis's account of, 208; 209; made King of the Tartars, **209**; his system of conquests, **210**; asks Prester John's daughter; is refused with scorn; note on this, 211; his anger and advance against P. John, **211**; arrival at plain of Tenduc, **212**; calls his Astrologers, **213**; Presage of victory; he gains it, **215**; his death, **216**; his favour to Christians, 215; his alleged relation to Aung Khan, *ib.*; real circumstances of his death, 216; wound received, 216; his tomb, **217,** 218–19; funeral, 219; **265**; his presage of Kublai's capacity, 293; rewards his captains, 312; **321**; alleged invasion of Tibet by, II. 29; his mechanical artillery, 130; his cruelty, 142; **388, 410,** 412; Table of Genealogy of his Descendants, 435.
—— Tora, II. 412.
Ching-hoang Tower at Hangchau-fu, II. 170.
Chinghu, II. 178.
Chinginju (Changchau), II. **140.**
Chingintalas, Province of, **191**; the region intended, 193.
Chingsang, **Chincsan** (Ch. *Ching-siang*), title of a Chief Minister of State, 386; II. **107,** 112, 141, 174.
Chingting-fu (**Acbaluc**), II. 7, 8.
Chingtsu or Yunglo, Emperor, II. 327.
Chinkiangpu, II. 106.
Chinkin, Chinglim, Kublai's Heir Apparent, **321,** 322, 323; his palace, **327,** 331; **372–73,** 376.
Chin-tan, or Chinasthána, Chinese etym. of, II. 82.
Chinuchi (or **Cunichi**?), **356,** 357.
Chipangu (Japan), II. **197**; described, **199**; Kublai sends an expedition against, **200**; its disasters, **201** *seqq.*; history of the expedition, 205 **seqq.**
Chitral, 146, 152, 156, 157.

Chochau (**Juju**), II. 5; 93.
'**Choiach**,' the term, II. **300**; 303.
Chola, or Sola-desam (**Soli**, Tanjore), II. 270, 282, **299**, 303.
Chonka, Km. of, (Fokien), II. **183**; explan. of name difficult, 184; **187**.
Chonkwé, II. 184.
Chorcha (the Churché or Manchu Country), **204**, 205; **307**, 308; II. 207.
Christian; Astrologers, **213**, **399**; Churches, Early, in China, II. 16; Inscription of Singanfu, *ib.*; Alans in the Mongol Service, **140**, 142.
Christians; of the Greek Rite (Georgians), **50**, (Russians), II. **417**; at Mosul, I. **46**, **57**; among the Curds, **57**; 58, 59; the Calif's plot against the, at Baghdad, **65** *seqq.*; in Kashgar, **169**; at Samarkand, **170**; their arrogance when in favour, **171**, 172; miracle of the Stone removed, *ib.*; in Yarkand, **173**; in Chingintalas, **191**; in Suhchau, **196**; in Kanchau, **198**; in Chinghiz's camp, **213**; in Erguiul, **241**; in Sinju, *ib.*; churches of, in Egrigaia, **247**; in authority in Tenduc, **250**; on the borders of Cathay towards Sindachu, *ib.*; Nayan one, **302**; gibes at the, on his account, **307**, and the Kaan's judgment thereon; at the Kaan's Court, **344**; in Yunnan, II. **39**; at Cacanfu, **95**; at Yangchau, 117; churches of, at Chinghianfu, **139**; one at Kinsay, **152**; at St. Thomas's, **290**, **291**; at Coilum, **312**; in the Male and Female Islands, **338**; in Socotra, **340**, **341**, and note on, 342–3; in Abyssinia, and their fire-baptism, **361** *seqq.*, and 365–6; of the Girdle, 366; **378**; in Lac (Great Wallachia), **418**.
Christianity; attributed to many Chinghizide Princes, 14, II. **407** and 408–409; Kublai's views on, I. 310; Former, of Socotra, II. 342–344.
Chrocho (The Rukh), II. 350.
Chronology and chronological data discussed; of First Journey of Polos, 2; of the war of Barka and Hulaku, 8; of the Polos' stay at Bokhara, 10; of their departure on their Second Journey from Acre, 23; of their return voyage and arrival in Persia on return, liii, 36; and of their arrival at Venice, liv; of the story of Nigudar, 98; of Princes of Hormuz, 113; of destruction of the Ismaelites, 138; of history of Chinghiz, 210, 214, **216**; of Kublai's accession and birth, 297; of Nayan's rebellion, 298; of Polo's visit to Yunnan, li and II. 48; of the Battle with the K. of Mien, 69, and other wars between Chinese and that country (Burma), 69–70, 74, 77; value of Indo-Chinese, 70; conquest of S. China, 113; of capture of Siang-yang, 129; of Kublai's dealings with Japan, 205; of ditto, with Champa, 214, and of Marco's visit to that country, 215; of Kublai's expedition against Java, 218; Review of the Malay, 225; of events in Ma'bar, 269 *seqq.*; of cessation of Chinese navigation to India, 327; of Abyssinia, 369 *seqq.*; of Kaidu's wars, 392; of Mongol revolutions in Persia, see notes from 398 to 407; of wars of Toktai and Noghai, 428.
Chloroxylon, II. 332.
Chuchau-fu (in Chekiang), II. 178.
Chuchu (in Kiangsi), II. 178, 182.
Chungkwé ('Middle Kingdom'), II. 184.
Chungtu (Peking), xliii.
Chughis, see *Jogis*.
Churches, Christian; in Kashgar, **169**; in Samarkand, **170**, 171; in Egrigaia, **247**; in Tenduc, 253; Early, in China, II. 16; at Yangchau, 117; at Chinkiang-fu, **139**; at Kinsay, **152**, 157; at Zayton, **189**; at St. Thomas's, **290**, 293; in Coilum, **314**; in Socotra, 343.
Churché or Nyuché, xli, and see **Chorcha**.
Cielstan, 81.
Cinnamon, II. **32**, 33; **36**, 38; Ceylon, 255; Malabar, **325**, 326; story of, in Herodotus, 298.
Circumcision, Forcible, of a Bishop, II. **362**; of Socotrans, 363; of Abyssinians, 366.
Cirophanes, Story of, II. 263.
Civet of Sumatra, II. 238.
Clement IV., Pope, 17, 18.
Clepsydra, II. 170.
Cloves, II. **217**; 248, 250; Clove-like plant in Caindu, **35**, 37, 38.
Coal; ancient store of, in Palace Garden at Peking, 330; burned in Cathay, **395**; numerous fields of, in China, 396; in Scotland in Middle Ages, *ib.*; II. **172**.
Cobinan (Koh-banán), **116**, **117**; identified, *ib.*; **119**, 129.
Cobler, the Story of the Holy, **67** *seqq.*
Cocachin (Kukáchin) the Lady, lii, liii; selected as bride of Arghun Khan, **31**; made over to Kaikhatu in Persia, and married to Ghazan, **33**; wept at parting with Polos, 34; notice of her in Persian history, 36.
Cochin-China, the medieval Champa, II. 213, 220.

Coco-nut (**Indian Nut**), **102**; II. **236**; **248**, 249, 250; **291**; **325**.
—— Islands, II. 249, 250.
Coeur-de-Lion, his mangonels, II. 126, 128.
Coffins, Chinese (in Tangut), **185**.
Cogachin (or Hukaji), son of Kublai, II. **45**, and see I. 323.
Cogatai, **373**, **374**.
Cogatal, a Tartar sent envoy to the Pope, **12**; is left behind ill, **15**.
Coiganju (Hwaingan-fu), II. **104**, **110**, **114**.
Coilum (Kaulam, Quilon), Km. of, II. **312**; identity of, 313; meaning of name, *ib.*; Church of St. George at, 314; Kublai's intercourse with; modern state of, 317; 336; 337; 359.
Coilumin, *Colombino*, *Colomni*; Brazil-wood so called, II. **312**; Ginger so called, *ib.*
Coins; of Cilician Armenia, 42; of Mosul, 58; with Lion and Sun, 314; found at Siang-Yang, II. 132; of Tartar Heathen Princes bearing Mahomedan and Christian formulae, 408.
Coja (Koja), Tartar envoy from Persia to the Kaan, **30**, 32; 35.
Cold, intense, in Mns. of Kerman, **87**; in Russia, II. **418**.
'—— Mountains,' 108.
Coleridge's verses on Kublai's Paradise, 269.
Colombino, see **Coilumin**.
Columbum (**Coilum**, q. v.), the see of a Latin Bishop, II. 314; 360.
Columbus; Polo paralleled with, xxxv; Remarks on such a parallel, cxxx; shows no knowledge of Polo's Book, cxxxi.
Coloman, **Province of**, II. **85**, 86, **88**; 90; **92**, 93; **211**.
Colon, II. 313, see *Coilum*.
Colossal Buddhas, Recumbent, **198**, 199.
Comania, **Comanians**, **50**; II. **421**, 422.
Combermere, Prophecy applied to Lord, II. 112.
'**Comercque**,' the word, II. **23**, 25.
Comari, Comori (Cape Comorin and adjoining district), II. **313**, **318**, **320**, 337, 359.
Comorin, Cape, see above; also II. 268, 309, 326.
Comoro Islands, II. 348.
Compartments in Hulls of Ships, II. **195**, 197.
Compass, Mariner's, clvi.
Competitive Examinations in Beauty, 321.
Conchi, King of the North, II. **410**, 412.
Concubines, how selected for the Kaan, **318**.
Condor; habits of, II. 350; Temple's account of, 351; Padre Bolivar's of the African, 353.
Condur, **Sondur and**, II. **219**.
Condux (Sable or Beaver), 364.
Conia (Iconium), **44**.
Conjeveram, II. 270.
Conjuring; Weather-, **92**, 100, **158**, 159, **265**, 272 *seqq.*, 310; Lamas', 279–280; Extraordinary, 280–283; 308–309, see *Sorcery*, also *Devil-Dancing*.
Conosalmi, **93**.
Constantinople, **2**; II. 126; **418**.
Convents, see *Monasteries*.
Cookery, Tartar horse-, 282.
Cooper, Mr. T. T., II. 24, 31.
Copal, Indian, II. 332.
Copper; Token currency of Mahomed Tughlak, 384; imported to Malabar, II. **325**, to Cambay, **333**.
Coral; highly valued in Kashmir, Tibet, &c., **159**, 162; II. **32**, 33.
Corea, 298.
Corn, **the Emperor's Store** and distribution of, **396**.
Coromandel (**Maabar**, q. v.), II. 268; Rainy Season in, 287; omens followed in, 303, 304.
Corsairs, see **Pirates**.
Corte del Milione, lv *seqq.*
—— Sabbionera at Venice, lvii, lviii.
Cosmography, Medieval, cli *seqq.*
Costus, II. 332.
Cotan, see *Khotan*.
Cotton; at Mardin, **57**; in Persia, **79**; at Kashgar, **169**; at Yarkand, **173**; at Khotan, **174**; at Pein, **175**; not grown at Aksu, 176; in Bengal, II. **79**; Bushes of gigantic size, **328**, 329; **330**; **333**; stuffs of, I. **45**, 47, **57**; II. **286**, 298; **325**; **330**, **333**; **340**, **364**.
Counts in Vokhan, **162**, 164; at Dofar, II. **380**.
Courts of Justice at Kinsay, II. **160**.
Couvade, Custom of, II. **52**, 57.
Cowdung, how used in Maabar, II. **279**, **301**.
Cowries, currency of, II. **39**; value and extensive use of, 44, **45**, **52**; II. **219**, 222.
'**Cralantur**' (?), the word, 67.
Cramoisy, **43**, **60**, 62.
Cranes, **Five Kinds of**, described, **260**, 262.
Crawfurd, John, II. 220.
Cremesor (Garmsir), **70**.
Cross, Legend of the Tree of the, 128; II. 397.
——, Gibes against, on defeat of Nayan, **307**.

Cross on Monument at Singanfu, II. 16, 93.
Cross-bows, on galleys, lxvi; II. **47**, 50, 51; 122.
Cruelties, Tartar, 143, 146, 232, 233; II. 142.
Crusca MS. of Polo, cviii.
Cubeb Pepper, II. **217**, 326.
Cubits, Astron. altitude estimated by, II. **318**, **324**, **328**.
Cublay, see *Kublai*.
Cucintana, II. 331.
Cudgel, use of, among the Tartars, **234**, 235, **368**.
Cuiju, Prov. of, (Kweichau), II. **88**, 90, 92, 93.
Cuirbouly, **228**, 230; II. **47**, 50.
Cuju, II. **176**, 178, 182.
Cuncun, Prov. of, II. **14**, **17**, 18, 20.
Cunningham, M.-Gen. A., 98, 99, 148, 164–5.
Cups, Flying, **266**, 278, 308, 310.
Curds and **Curdistan**, **57**, 59; **79**, 80; 96; **135**.
Curmosa (Hormuz, q. v.), **79**, 82.
Currency, Paper, in China, **378** *seqq.*, 380 *seqq.*; attempt to institute, in Persia, 384; allusions to, II. **88**, **89**, **95**, **97**, **101**, **102**, **103**, **115**, **116**, **118**, **119**, **132**, **136**, **139**, **140**, **142**, **147**, **175**, **176**.
——, Copper Token, in India, 384.
——, **Salt**, II. **29**, **35**, 36, 37.
——, **Cowrie**, II. **39**, 44, **45**, **52**, **85**.
——, Leather, 384.
Current, Strong South, along E. Coast of Africa, II. **346**, 348, 349.
Currents, Cape of, or Corrientes, II. 349, 350.
Curzola, Island of, lxxiv; Battle there and victory of Genoese, xxxvii–viii; lxxvi *seqq.*; Map of, lxxviii.
Curzon, Hon. R., on Invention of Printing, clvii, II. 473.
Customs, Custom House, II. **23**, 25; **161**; **172**; **186**.
Cutch Pirates, II. 344.
Cuy Kaan (Guyuk), **216**.
Cycle, Chinese, **400**, 403.
Cynocephali, II. **251**, 252.
Cypresses, Sacred, of the Magians, 123.

D.

Da Gama, II. 321, 327.
Dabul, II. 379.
Dagroian, Km. of, in Sumatra, described, II. **236**; possible etymology, 240, and position of, *ib.*
Daïtu-(Peking), 268, 269, 333.
Dailiu (Tali), II. 43.
Dakinus, City of, 106.
Dalada, or Tooth-Relique of Buddha, II. 264.
Dalai Lama with four hands, II. 210.
D'Albuquerque, II. 224–226, 343, 382.
Dalivar, Dilivar, a prov. of India, **93**, 98–99.
Dalmian, II. 240.
Damascus, **135**; Siege of, II. 127.
Damasks with *Cheetas* on them, **354**; with Giraffes, II. 357, see *Silk and Gold*.
Damghan, 129.
Dancing Dervishes, II. 61.
—— **Girls** in Hindu Temples, II. **281**, **282**, 288.
Dandolo, Andrea, Admiral of the Venetian Fleet at Curzola, xxxvii; lxxiv *seqq.*; captivity and suicide, lxxviii; funeral at Genoa, *ib.*
D'Anghieria, Pietro Martire, lxiv, cxliii.
Dantapura, II. 264.
Dante; Number of MSS. of, cxl; does not allude to Polo or his Book, cxli.
Darabjird, 81.
Darah, II. 371.
Dárápúr, 99.
Darius, **119**, **142**, 143, **149**.
Dark Ocean of the South, II. 350.
Darkness, Magical, **92**, **93**, 100, **158**.
——, **Land of**, II. **412**, **414**; how the Tartars find their way out of, **415**; the people and their peltry, *ib.* and 416; Note on, 415; Alexander's legendary entrance into, 416; Dumb Trade of, *ib.* and 417.
Darraj or Black Partridge, 94.
Daruna Salt Mines, 146.
Darwaz, 152.
Dasht of Baharak, 148.
Dashtishtan, 81.
Dates (*i.e.* Trees or Fruit); Woods of, **60**, 62, **84**, 85; **91**, **103**, **104**, 105, 106, 109; II. **377**; wine of, **101**, 108, II. **356**; — and Fish, Diet of, **102**, 109; II. **382**.
Dates (Chronol.) in Polo's Book; generally erroneous, liv, 2; stated, **2**, **16**, **34**, **60**, **138**, **209**, **296** (2); II. **62**, **78**, **107**, **139**, **204**, **212**, **213**, **259**, **290**, **361**, **389**, **394**, **405**, **407**, **408**.
Daughters of Marco Polo, xcvii, xcviii *seqq.*, civ, cv; II. 440, 441, 442.
David, Kings of Georgia, **49**, 51, 54.
——, King of Abyssinia, II. 370.
Dawaro, II. 369, 371.
Daya, II. 243; 248.
De Barros, Geography of J., xxxv.
De Bode, Baron, 80.

De Borron, Robert and Helie, lxxxvi-lxxxviii.
De Cepoy, Thibault; his mission to Venice and receipt of a copy of the Book from Marco himself, xcvi *seqq.*; cxvii; cxlii.
——, John, xcvii.
De Gast, Luces, lxxxvi–viii, cxii.
Dead; Door of the, 188; Tartar aversion to meddle with things of the, II. **74**.
——, Disposal of the, **184**, **185**, 187; at Cambaluc, **367**; in Coloman, II. **85**; in China, partial change in Custom, 96; in Dagroian, **236**; by the Battas, &c., 241, see next head.
——, Burning of the, **184**; II. **95**, **97**, **102**, **103**, **114**, **115**, **116**, **118**, **119**, **132**, **151**, **175**, **176**; **277**.
Debt, Singular Arrest for, II. **279**, 287.
Decima, or Tithe on Bequest at Venice, xcix.
Decimal Organization of Tartar Armies, **228**, 231.
Degeneration of Tartars, **230**, 233; and of other warlike conquerors of China, II. 10.
Deh-Bakri, 106, 107.
Del Negro, Andalo, lxxxvi.
Delhi, Sultans of, xliii; II. 360.
Del Riccio, Pier, cviii.
D'Ely, Mount, II. 321 *seqq.*, 326.
Demoiselle Crane, 262.
Depopulation of Badakhshan, 149, 154.
Derbend; Wall of, 57; II. 425.
Deserts; of Kerman or of Lút, **115**, 116; **119**; of Persia, 120; of Khorasan, **140**; of Lop (Gobi), **180**, 176, 177, 181; of Karakorum, **201**.
——, Haunted, **181**–183, **241**.
Despina Khatun, II. 409.
Devagir or Deogir, II. 360.
Devapattan, II. 334.
Devadási, II. 288.
Devil-Dancing, 279; II. **53**, 61, 62.
Devils, White, II. **291**, 294.
Dhafar (**Dofar**, Zhafar), II. **276**, 284; 379, **380**; its incense, &c.; two places of the name, 381.
Dhárani or mystic charms, 279.
Dhúlkarnain (Alexander), 52.
Dialects, Chinese, II. **186**, 191–2.
Diamonds in India, and how they are found, II. **295–6**; Mines of, 297; diffusion of the legend about, 298.
Dictation of their Narratives by celebrated Travellers, **cxv**.
'**Diex Terrien**,' 133, 134.
Diláwar, supp. **Dilivar** of Polo, 99.
Dínárs, 381; II. 25, 174, 283, 284; 472.
—— of Red gold, II. 285.
Dioscoridis Insula, II. 342.
Dir, **93**, 97, 155, 156.
Dirakht-i-Fazl, 127 *seqq.*
——*i-Khushk*, 128.
Dish of Sakya or of Adam, II. **259**, 264.
Diul-Sind, 82.
Divination by Twigs or Arrows, **213**, 214.
Dixan, Branding with Cross at, II. 367.
Dizabulus, Pavilion of, 341.
Djao Naiman Sumé, 269.
Doctors at Kinsay, II. **160**.
Dofar, see *Dhufar*.
Dogana (Juzgána?), **142**.
Dog-headed Races, II. **251**, 252.
Dogs; the Kaan's Mastiff-, **356**; Tibetan, II. **29**, **32**, 33; Fierce, in Cuiju, **88**, 90.
Dog-sledging in Far North, II. **411**, 413; Note on the dogs, *ib.*
Dolfino, Ranuzzo, Husband of Polo's daughter Moreta, ciii.
Dominicans sent with the Polos but turn back, **21–22**.
'**D'or plain**,' the expression, 236.
Doria Family at **Meloria**, **lxxxiv**.
——, Lamba, xxxvii; Admiral of Genoese Fleet sent to Adriatic, lxxiii; his victory, lxxvi *seqq.*; his honours, lxxviii; tomb and descendants, lxxix; at Meloria with six sons, lxxxiv.
——, Octaviano, Death of, lxxvi.
——, Tedisio, Exploring voyage of, **lxxix**.
Dorjé, 322.
Douglas, Mr. R. K., II. 153.
Doyley, Sir Fulk, II. 128.
'**Draps entaillez**,' 348.
Drawers, Enormous, of women in Badakhshan, **151**, 155.
Drawing after Marco Polo, cxliii.
Dreams, Notable, 269.
Drums, Sound of, in certain Sandy Tracts, **181**, 183.
Dryabalanops Camphora, II. 246.
Dua Khan, II. 389, 392.
Duel, Mode of, in S. India, II. **306–7**, 311.
Dufour on Medieval Artillery, II. 124.
Dukuz Khatun, 254.
Dulcarnon, 152.
Dulites, II. 365.
Dumb-Trade, II, 416–17.
Dungen or *Tungani*, q. v.
Duplicates in Geography, II. **251**, 343.
Dupu, II. 332.
Dürer's Map of Venice, so-called, lix.
Dursamand, II. 360.
Dushák, 84.
Dust-storms, 100.

Duties; on goods at Kinsay and Zayton, II. **172, 186**; on Horses, **373**, 383. See **Customs** and **Tithe**.
Dwara Samudra, II. 237, 302, 360.
Dzegun-tala, name applied to Mongolia, 193.
Dzungaria, 193.

E.

Eagle Mark on shoulder of Georgian Kings, **49**.
Eagles trained to kill large game, **353**, 355.
—— **White**, in the Diamond country, II. **296**.
Eagle-wood; origin of the name, II. 215, see **Lign-aloes**.
Earth honoured, II. **278**.
East, State of the, circa 1260, xl.
Ebony, II. **213**, 215.
Edward I.; lxxxvii, xc, xci; 20.
—— II.; correspondence with Tartar Princes, II. 409.
Effeminacy in Chinese Palaces, II. **9**, 10; **164**.
Eggs of the Ruc, and of the Aepyornis, II. 350, 354, 354.
Egrigaia, Province of, **247**.
Ela (Cardamom), II. 321.
Elabarake, II. 321, 324.
Elchidai, II. **402**, 405.
Elephantiasis, **173**; II. 286.
Elephants; Kublai carried by Four, on a timber Bartizan, **301**; The Kaan's, **346**, 348; his litter borne by, **359**, 363; of the K. of Mien, II. **63**; numbers of men alleged to be carried by, 65 (also 356); how the Tartars routed them, **66**; the Kaan begins to keep, **68**; **71**, **74**, **80**, 82; in Champa, **213**, 214, 215; in Locac, **219**, 222; in Sumatra, **227**, 232; 287; in Madagascar and Zanghibar; trade in Teeth of, **345**, **356**; carried off by the Ruc, **346**, 350, 354; in Zanghibar, **355**; used in war, **356**; an erroneous statement, 358; Nubian, 357; fable about, *ib.*; alleged to be used in war by Abyssinians, **363**; not bred there, **364**; Note on alleged use by Abys., 367; and on training of African elephants, *ib.*; War of the Elephant, 368.
Eli, **Ely**, Elly (Hili), Kingdom of, II. **320**; position, 321–22; 336; 337; 359.
Elima, II. 321.
Elixir Vitae of the Jogis, II. **300**, 304.
Elliott, Sir Walter, II. 272.
Embroidery; at Kerman, **86**; of leather in Guzerat, **328**, 330.
Empoli, Giov. d', II. 188.
Empusi, 183.
Enchanters; at Socotra, II. **341**, 345.
Enchantments; of the Caraonas, **92**, **93**, see **Sorcerers**.
'**En fra terre**,' the phrase, 43; II. 337; 383.
Engano, Legend reg. Island of, II. 340.
Engineers, Growing Importance of, in Middle Ages, II. 127, 128.
Engineering Feat, Curious, lxxix.
English Trade and Character in Asia, II. 303.
Enlightenment, Land of, 406–7.
Erculin, Arculin (an animal), II. **412**, 413, **415**, **418**.
Erguiul, Prov. of, **241**, 243.
Ermine, **360**; II. **412**, **415**, 416.
Erzingan (**Arzinga**), 46, 48.
Erzrum (**Arziron**), 48.
'**Eschiel**,' the word, II. 326.
Esher (Shehr, Es-shehr), II. **374**; described, **377**; trade with India; Incense; ichthyophagy, **378**; singular sheep, *ib.*; position, &c., 378; 380.
Essentemur (Isentimur), grandson of Kublai, II. **39**.
Estimo, The Venetian, or Forced Loan, lxxv.
Ethiopia and India, Confusion of, II. **365**.
Ethiopian Sheep, II. **355**, 357, 358.
Etiquettes of the Mongol Court, **339**, **340**, 341, 342, **347**, 348, **405–6**.
Etymologies. *Balustrade*, lxvii; **Buckram**, 48; **Avigi**, 54; *Gelix*, 56; **Muslin**, 59; **Baudekins**, 62; **Cramoisy**, 62; **Ondanique**, 88; *Carbine*, 95; Dulcarnon, 152; **Balas**, 152; **Azure** and *Lazuli*, 153; **None**, 164; *Mawmet* and *Mummery*, 174; **Salamander**, 195; *Berrie*, 208; *S'ling*, 243; *Sichatoun*, 249; **Argon**, 255; *Tungani*, 255; **Guasmul**, 257; **Chakor**, 262; *Jádú*, 275; *Tufur*, 277; **Bacsi**, *ib.*; **Sensin**, 285 *seq.*; *P'ungyi*, 290; **Carquois**, 327–8; **Keshikan**, 336–7; **Vernique**, 340; **Camut, Borgal**, *Shagreen*, 351; **Chinuchi** or **Chunichi**, 357; **Toscaol**, 363; **Bularguchi**, 363; **Fondaco**, 370; **Bailo**, 376; **Comerque**, II. 25; **Porcelain**, 44; **Sangon**, 99; **Faghfur**, 110; **Mangonel**, *Mangle*, &c., 125; **Galingale**, 182; *Chini and Misri*, 183; *Satin*, 189; *Eagle-wood*, 215; *Aloes-wood*, *ib.*; **Bonús**, *ib.*; **Calamanz**, *ib.*; *Benzoin*, 228; *Balánjar*, 284; *A-muck*, 284; *Pariah*, 286; **Govi**, *ib.*; **Avarian**, 292; **Abraiaman**, 302; **Choiach**, 303; **proques**, 305; **Brazil**, 316; *Balladi*, *Belledi*, 317; **Gatpaul**, 318; *Baboon*

ib.; *κώμακον*, 326–7; Rook (in chess), 353; **Araine**, 392; **Vair**, 414.
Etymologies (of Proper Names); **Curd**, 59; *Dzungaria*, 192; **Chingintalas**, *ib.*; *Cambuscan*, 218; **Dagroian**, II. 240; **Ceylon**, 25; **Ma'bar**, 268; *Sonajarpattanam*, 307; *Punnei-Káyal*, *ib.*; **Kayal**, *ib.*; **Kollam** (Coilum), 313; **Hili** (Ely), 321; *Mangla and Nebila*, 339; **Socotra**, 342; *Colesseeah*, 344; *Caligine*, 374; **Aijaruc**, 396; *Nemej*, 423.
——, Chinese, II. 82.
Etzina, **202**.
Eunuchs; **318**; procured from Bengal, II. **78**, 79.
Euphrates; 43; said to flow into Caspian, **51**, 56.
Euphratesia, 43.
Execution of Princes of the Blood, Mode of, 64, **306**, 308.
Eyircaya, 247.

F.

Facen, Dr. J., clvii.
Faghfur (**Facfur**, the Emp. of S. China), II. **107**; meaning of title, 110; **163**, 168; his effeminate diversions, **164**; decay of the Palace of, **165**, see **Manzi, King of**.
Faizabad in Badakhshan, 147, 148, 154.
Fakata, II. 207.
Fakhruddin Ahmad, 114; II. 269.
Faknúr, II. 376.
Falcons, see **Hawks**.
Falconers, the Kaan's, **299**, **358**.
Famine Horrors, 277.
Fanchan, i. e. *P'ingchang*, title of a 2nd class Cabinet Minister, 386; II. 141.
Fanchan Lake, II. 17.
Fanching, Siege of, II. 129, 130.
Fandaraina, II. 321, 327, 376.
Fansur, Km. of, in Sumatra, II. **242**; position of, 245.
Fansuri Camphor, II. **242**, 244.
Fanwenhu, or Fanbunko, a general in Japanese Expedition, II. 205, 206, 207.
Faro of Constantinople, II. **421**.
Farriers; none in S. India, II. **277**, **382**.
Fars, Prov. of, 81; II. 313, 314; 336.
Fassa, 81.
Fasting Days, Buddhist, **198**, 200.
Fattan in Ma'bar, II. 269, 308, 309.
Fausto, Vettor, his great Quinquereme, lxi, **lxiii**.
Female attendants on Chinese Emperors, II. **9**, 10; **164**.
Ferlec, Km. of, in Sumatra (Parlák, q. v.), **227**, 230, 237, 248.
Fernandez or Moravia, Valentine, II. 239.
Festivals, Order of the Kaan's, **338** *seqq.*
Fidawi, or Ismaelite adepts, 136, 137.
Filial Piety in China, **405**, 408.
Finn, 114.
Fiordelisa, supposed to be Nicolo Polo's 2nd wife, xlix, liv, lvii.
——, daughter of younger Maffeo Polo, xlix, xcii.
——, wife of Felice Polo, lv, xciii.
Firando, Island of, II. 206.
Firdús, a Castle of the Ismaelites, 139.
Fire; affected by height of Plain of Pamer, **163**, 167; regulations about, at Kinsay, II. **148**.
—— **Baptism** ascribed to Abyssinians, II. **361**, 366.
Fire-Worship; in Persia, **74**; by the *Sensin* in Cathay, **268**, 287.
—— *Pao* (or Engines of War), supposed Rockets, 305, 306.
Fish; Miracle regarding, in Georgia, **50**, 54, 55; — and Date diet, **102**, 109; supply of, at Kinsay, II. **159**; food for cattle, **377**, 379.
Florin or Ducat, II. **171**; 471.
Flour, Trees producing (Sago), II. **242**.
Flückiger, Dr., II. 181.
Fokien; II. 174, 176, 177, 181; Dialect of, II. 191.
Folin (Byzantine Empire), II. 339.
Fondaco, 370; II. 188, 189.
Foot-mark on Adam's Peak, II. 261; discrepant dimensions, *ib.*
Foot-posts in Cathay, **389**.
Forg, 81.
Formosa, Plain of, **101**, 108; the name, *ib.*
Fortune, Mr. R., II. 176, 177, 178, 182.
Foundlings provided for, II. **109**, 114.
Four-horned Sheep, II. **378**, 379.
Fowls with hair, II. **180**, 182.
Foxes, Black, II. **410**, **412**, **415**, **418**.
Fra Mauro's Map, cliv, 126; II. 91; 331; 339; 350.
'**Fra Terre**,' see **En fra terre**.
Fracastorius, Jerome, xxxiv.
Franciscan Convents; in the Wolga region, 5, 8, II. 422; at Yang-chau, II. 117; at Zayton, 188.
Francolins, **92**, 94; **101**, 106; 262.
Frankincense, see **Incense**.
French; the original language of Polo's Book, cviii *seqq.*; its large diffusion in that age, cxii *seq.*; cxlvi.
—— Expedition up the Kamboja River, II. 41, 83, and see *Garnier*.

French Missions and Missionaries in China, II. 24, 30, 33, 37, 41, 42, 60, 61, 81, 90.
'**Frère Charnel**,' meaning of, 172.
Frere, Sir Bartle, 89, 109, 112; II. 330.
Frederic II., the Emperor; his account of the Tartars, 52; his *Cheetas*, 354; his leather money, 384; his Giraffe, II. 357.
Fuchau (**Fuju**, q. v.); Paper money at, 383; II. 113; 184; Tooth-relique at, 266.
Fuju (Fokien and Fuchau), II. **176**, **179** *seqq.*, **187**; city, **180**, 182; **183**, **185**.
Funeral rites (Chinese), in Tangut, **184** *seqq.*; of the Kaans, **217**, 219; at Kinsay, **151**, 157, see **Dead**.
Fungul, City of, II. **88**, 90, 92.
Furs of the Northern Regions, **224**, **360**, 365; II. **410**, 413–14, **415**, **418**.
Fusang, fancied Mexico, II. 339, 340.
Fuyang (**Tanpiju**?), II. 176, 177.

G.

Galashkird, 100.
Galeazza, Venetian, lxv.
Galingale, II. **79**, **179**, **180**, 181, **217**.
Galletti, Marco, xxv; II. 440.
Galleys of the Middle Ages, On the War-, lx *seqq.*; peculiar arrangement of the oars, lx–lxiii; number of oars, lxiii–lxiv; dimensions, lxiii; tactics in fight, lxvii; toil in rowing, *ib.*; strength of crew, *ib.*; cost, lxviii; Staff of a Fleet, *ib.*; description from Joinville, lxix; some customs of, *ib.*
Galley-slaves, not usual in Middle Ages, lxvii.
Gamalec (**Cambaluc**, q. v.), II. 21.
Gambling prohibited by the Kaan, **405**.
Game; References to, see **Sport**.
—— supplied to the Court at Cambaluc, **352**, **356**.
—— Laws, Mongol, **354**, **361**; II. **6**.
Ganapati Kings, II. 297.
Gandhára, 77, II. 266; the name applied to Yunnan by the Buddhists, II. 43.
Ganfu, the Port of Kinsay, II. **149**.
Gantanpouhoa, son of Kublai, 323.
Gantúr, II. 297.
Gardenia, Fruit and Dye, II. 181.
Gardner, Mr. C., II. 154, 156, 157.
Gardiner's (misprinted *Gardner*) Travels, 154, 169.
Garmsir, Ghermseer (**Cremosor**), 94.
Garnier, M. Francis, II. 37, 38, 44; his daring journey to Talifu, 48; 56, 57, 63; 83, 84, 86, 92, 93, 155; 214.
Garrisons, Mongol, in Cathay and Manzi, 300; II. 150, 157; disliked by the people, **162**; **183**.
Garuda, II. 288; 349.
Gate of Iron, Existing, ascribed to Derbend, 54.
Gates; of Kaan's Palace, **324**, 328; of Cambaluc, **332**, 334.
'**Gat-pauls**,' *Gatopaul*, *Gatos-paulas*, II. **318**, 318–19, 372.
'**Gatto-maimone**,' II. 318.
Gauenispola, Island of, 144; II. **242**, 248; its position, 249.
Gazaria, II. **421**, 423.
Gedrosi, II. 335.
Gelath, Iron Gate at, 54.
Geliz, the word, 56.
Genealogy of Polos, xliv; Errors in, as given by Barbaro, &c., cvi; Tabular, II. 436.
—— of House of Chinghiz, II. 435.
Genoa and Venice, Rivalry and Wars of, lxx *seqq.*
—— —— Pisa, Do. do., *ib.* and lxxxiv.
——, Polo's Captivity at, xxxviii, lxxix *seqq.*
Genoese; their growth in skill and splendour, lxxi; Character given of, by an old Italian author, lxxvi; their navigation of the Caspian, **51**, 56; their merchants at Tabriz, **70**, 71, and in Fokien, II. 189.
'Geographical Text' of Polo's Book; character of its language, cix; proofs that it is the original, cx; peculiarities of language, *ib.*; indications of verbal dictation, *ib.*; Tautology, *ib.*; proof that it is the source of the other Texts, cxi; its use essential to a full view of Polo's Work, clix.
George, King, of the line of Prester John, **249**, **250**, 252, 253; possible true form of his name, 253; II. **390** *seqq.*
Georgia (**Georgiania**) and Georgians described, **49** *seqq.*; their Kings, **49**, 51; beauty of people, *ib.*
Gerfalcons; **237**, 240, **263**; **358**, **359**; II. **418**.
——, Tablets engraved with, **33**, **313**, 317.
German Follower of the Polos, II. **120**.
Ghaiassuddin Balban, 98, 99.
Ghazan Khan (**Casan**) of Persia, son of Arghun; liii, liv; knew the Frank tongue, cxiii, 28; his regard for the Polos, **34**; marries the Lady Kukachin, 36; 84; 97; 114; 130; 272; 384; II. **32**; 127; 396, 397; set to watch the Khorasan Frontier, **405**, 406; **406**, **407**; obtains the throne, **408**.
Ghel or Ghelan (**Ghel-u-chelan**), Sea of, *i. e.* the Caspian, **51**, 55.
Ghellé silk (*Gili*), **51**, 56.
Ghiuju, II. **175**, 177, 178.
Ghúls (Goblins), 183; II. 349.

Ghúr, 96.
Giglioli, Prof. H., lxxix.
Gîl or Gîlan, 55.
Gilgit, 152.
Ginao Mountain and Hot Springs, 114.
Gindanes of Herodotus, II. 30.
Ginger, II. **12**, **19**, **35**; alleged to grow in Kiangnan, **143**, but it is believed incorrectly, 144; **179**, **180**; at Coilum, **312**; Different qualities of, 316; prices, 317; at Ely, **320**, 324; in Malabar, **325**; in Guzerat, **328**.
Giraffes, II. **347**, 354; described, **355**; medieval notices of, 357; **364**.
Girardo, Paul, Marco Polo's Lawsuit with, xcvii; II. 439.
Girdkuh, an Ismaelite Fortress, its long Defence, 139.
Girls consecrated to Idols in India, II. **281**.
Glaza (*Ayas*, q. v.), lxxxii.
Gleemen and Jugglers conquer Mien (or Burma), II. **73**.
Goa, II. 294, 383.
Gobernador, Straits of, II. 224.
Goës, Benedict, l, 166, 170.
Gog and Magog; Legend of, 52; Country of, **250**; Wall of China suggests the name, 257; 259.
Gogo, II. 333.
Goître at Yarkand, **173**.
Golconda Diamond Mines, II. 297.
Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh, their mystic meanings, **74**, 76.
——; dust in Tibet, II. **32**; in Caindu exchanged for salt, **35**, 37; dust and nuggets in Carajan, **45**, 59; **70**, 71; in Caugigu, **80**; in Coloman, **85**; in Chipangu infinite, **199-200**, 202; in Islands of Sea of Chin, **209**; dust in Islands of Gulf of Cheinan, 211; not really found in Java, 217; in Locac, **219**, and the Malayo-Siamese territories, 222; in Sumatra, **226**, 229; vast accumulations of, in S. India, xi, **276**, 284; imported into Malabar, **325**; and to Cambay, **333**; purchased in Socotra, **341**.
—— to Silver, Relative value of, 381, II. 59, and see II. **39**, **45**, **52**, **70**, 202.
——'and Silver Towers of Mien, II. **73**.
—— of the Gryphons in Herodotus, explained, II. 353.
——, Cloths of, **41**, **50**, **57**, **60**, 62, 79, **250**, **343**, II. **13**, see *Silk and Gold*.
—— -Teeth (Zardandan), a people of Western Yunnan, II. **52** *seqq.*, 55, 56.
Golden King, Tale of the, II. **8**.
Golden Island, II. 136, **137**, 138.
Golden Mountain, Sumatra, II. 243.
—— Horde, II. 423.
Golfo, Indigo di, II. 317.
Gomispola, Gomispoda (Gauenispola, q. v.), II. 249.
Gomushtapah, Wall of, 54.
Gomuti Palm, II. 240.
Gor Khar, or Wild Ass, 85.
Gordon's 'Ever-Victorious Army,' II. 141.
Goriosan, II. 206.
Goshawks; in Georgia, **50**, 54; **358**; Black, II. **228**, **281**.
Gothia (Crimean), II. **421**; its limit, 422; language, 423.
Govy, a low caste in Maabar, II. **277**, **278**, 286, **291**.
Gozurat, see *Guzerat*.
Grail, Buddhist Parallel to the Holy, II. 266.
Granaries, Imperial, **396**, 397.
Grass-Cloths, II. 90.
Grasso, Donato, liv.
Great or Greater Sea (The Black Sea), **2**, 3; II. **418**, **421**, **430**.
—— Bear, II. **235**, 240.
—— and Little, Force of these epithets in application to certain regions, II. 229.
Gregorieff, Mr., his excavations at Sarai, 5.
Gregory X., Pope, see Theobald.
Greek Fire, lxvi; II. 142.
Greeks in Turcomania, **43**.
—— and Greek Tongue in Socotra, II. 342, 343; possible relic of, 344.
Green Island, Legendary, II. 316.
—— Islands, II. 350.
—— Mount at Cambaluc, **326-7**, 330.
—— River, see *Tsien Tang*.
Groat, or Venetian Grosso, **378**, 381; II. **12**, **39**, **115**, **143**, **179**, **186**, 190, **291**; 472.
Grueber and Dorville, Jesuit Travellers, 243.
Grus Cinerea, — *Antigone*, — *Leucogeranus*, — *Monachus*, 262.
Grynaeus's Version of Polo, cxxi.
Gryphon, The, alias Ruc, II. **346**; 349, 351.
Guasmul, **250**, 254, 256.
Gudderi, the Musk Animal, II. **28**.
Guebers, 84, 91.
Gueoni, People called, II. 81.
Gugal, or Bdellium, II. 331.
Guilds of Craftsmen at Kinsay, II. **146**.
—— Venetian, xcix.
Guinea-fowl, II. **364**, 372.
Gum Animé, II. 332.
Gumish-Khánah silver-mines, 49.
Gunpowder, clvi.
Gurgan, a Tartar chief, II. 405.
Gurgan ('Son-in-law'), a title, 254.

Gurkhan, a title, 206.
Gutturals, Mongol elision of, 8, II. 214.
Guzerat (**Gozurat**), II. 302, **324, 325**; described, **328**, 329, 336, 337, 359, 360.
Gwalior, II. 360, but should be *Kalánúr*, see 475.

H.

Habsh (**Abash**, Abyssinia, q. v.), II. 364.
Hadiah, II. 371.
Haffer, II. 380.
Hainan, Gulf of, II. 211.
Hairy Men in Sumatra, II. 243.
Hajji Mahomed, 190, 199.
Hakeddin, II. 371.
Half-breeds, *see* **Argons.**
Hammer-Purgstall on Marco Polo, cxxxix.
Hamúm Arabs, II. 378.
Hamza-Pantsúri, II. 245.
Han River, II. 18, 21; 111; 128.
Hanbury, Mr. D., II. 144, 181, 182.
Hanchung, II. 18, 19, 22.
Hangchau-fu, xliii; II. 145; 152, 153, but see **Kinsay.**
Hankau, II. 136.
Hansi, II. 360.
Harhaura, a region of India, 98.
Harmozia, 108.
Harsuddi, Temple of, II. 286.
Haru or Aru, II. 245.
Hasik, II. 379.
Hashishín (**Ashishin**), **132** *seqq.*, 133.
Hastings, Letter of Warren, 54.
Haunted Deserts, 181, 182; **241.**
Hawdriy (**Avarian**), the term, II. 292.
Hawks, Hawking; in Georgia, **50**, 54; in Yezd and Kerman, **84, 86**, 91; in Badakhshan, **150**; in Etzina, **202**; among the Tartars, **220**; on the shores and islands of the Northern Ocean, **237**, 240, also II. **418**; Kublai's sport at Chagannur, I. **260**; his hawks in mew at Chandu, **263**; trained eagles, **353**, 355; Kublai's hawking establishment, **358**, and sport, **359, 360, 361, 362**, 365; II. 6; in Tibet, **32**; in Sumatra, **228**; in Maabar, **281.**
Hayton I., King of Lesser Armenia, 42.
Hazaras; their Mongol origin, 96; Lax custom ascribed to, 191; II. 36.
Hazbana, K. of Abyssinia, II. 370.
Heat, Vast, at Hormuz, **101, 102**; 112; II. **383**; in India, II. **280, 312.**
'**Heaven, City of**' (**Kinsay**), II. **143**, 144, **145, 160.**
Heibak, Caves at, 148.
Height, Effects on fire of great, 163, 166, 167.
Helli, II. 322.
Hemp of Kweichau, II. 90.
Heraclius said to have loosed the shut-up nations, 54.
Herat, 141; II. 335.
Hereditary Trades, II. 146, see 154.
Hereford Map, 127.
Hermenia, see *Armenia.*
Hermits of Kashmir, **158**, 160, 161.
Hides, II. **333**, see *Leather.*
Hil, Hail (the great Cardamom), II. 321.
Hili, Hili-Marawi (**Ely**), II. 321, 332, 323, 324, 327, 337.
Hill-people, Wild, of Fokien, II. **179**, 181.
Hinaur, see *Hunáwar.*
Hind, II. 336; 359.
Hindu character, Apparent deterioration of, II. 303.
Hing-ngan, II. 22.
Hing-yuen, II. 18.
Hippopotamus Teeth, II. **347**, 354.
Hips, Admiration of large, **151.**
Hoang-ho, 216, 247, 248, 251; II. 13, 15; changes in its course, 99, 105, 106; its embankments, 104; 114, see **Caramoran.**
Hochang-fu (**Cachanfu**), II. 14.
Hochau, Mangu Kaan's death at, 216.
Hokian-fu (**Cacanfu**), II. 96.
Hokow or Hokeu, II. 177, 178.
Holy Sepulchre; Oil from Lamp of, **13, 19, 26**; II. **361, 362.**
Homeritae, II. 365.
Homi-chau or Ngo-ning, II. 84, 92, 93.
'**Homme**,' technical use of the word, 26, 305.
Honan, II. 128.
Honhi Tribe (**Anin**), II. 83, 84.
Horiad Tribe (Uirat), **265**, 271.
Hormuz (**Hormos, Hormes, Curmosa**), 1; **79**, 83; **101** *seqq.*; trade with India; heat and sickliness; diet of people, **102**; ships; intolerably hot and fatal wind; crops, **103**; mourning customs; the King of, **104**; another road from, to Kerman, *ib.*; road from Kerman to, 104; site of the old city, 104–105; Foundation of, 108; History of, 113; II. **276**, 284; **305**; **336**; 376, **381**; the Melik of, *ib.*; **382, 383**; great heat, **383**; **384**; Old —, Confusion about, 384; **388.**
——, Island of, or Jerun, 104, 105; *Organa* of Arrian, 108; 113, 114.
Hormuzdia, 105.
Horns of *Ovis Poli*, **163**, 166.

Horoscopes in China, **400**; in Maabar, II. **280**.
Horse-Posts and **Post-houses**, **388**, 390, 392.
Horses; Turkish, **43**, 44; of Persia, **79**, 82; of Badakhshan, **150**; sacrificed over Tombs of Kaans, **217**; Tartar, **228**, 231; and Mares, White, **265**, 271, presented to the Kaan on New Year's Day, **346**; of Carajan, II. **39**, **47**, 49; tails of, docked, **47**, 50; of Anin, **83**; tracking by, 136.
——, none, or only wretched ones, bred in S. India, II. **276**, **278**, 287; **381**.
——, **Great Trade** in importing, to India; from Persia, **79**, 82; mode of shipment, **102**; from Carajan, II. **47**; from Anin, **83**; from Kis, Hormuz, Dofar, Soer, and Aden, **276**, 285, **306**, **330**, (Aden) **373**, (Esher) **377**, 379, (Dofar) **380**; (Calatu) **381**, 383; great prices fetched in India, I. **79**, 82; II. **276**, 285; **373**. Duty on, **373**, 383; captured by pirates, **330**. Extraordinary treatment and diet of, in India, II. **277**, **281**, 285, 288, **381**.
Hospitals, Buddhist, 399.
Hostelries; at Cambaluc, **367**; on the post-roads of Cathay, **388**; II. **18**; at Kinsay, Regulations of, **152**.
Hot Springs; in Armenia, **45**, 46; near Hormuz, **104**, 114.
Hounds, Masters of the Kaan's, **356**, 357.
Hours; struck from bell-tower at Cambaluc, **332**, **368**; at Kinsay, II. **148**.
——, **Unlucky**, II. **300**.
——, Canonical, II. 303–4.
Huc, Père, II. 24.
Huchau-fu (Vuju), II. 145.
Hukaji (Cogachin), son of Kublai, 323; II. **45**, 48.
Hukwan-hien, II. 182.
Hulaku Khan (**Alau**, and in one place **Alacou**), brother of Kublai, and founder of Mongol Dynasty in Persia, xli; his enterprise against Baghdad, **60**, 63; puts the Khalif to death, **61**, 64; 81; goes against the Ismaelites, **138**, 139; 144; **217**, 218; his first campaign, 298; II. 110; treachery of, 142; 397; 399; his war with Barka Khan of Kipchak, I. **4**, 8, 96; II. **424** *seqq.*
Hüllmann's extraordinary view of Polo's Book, **cxxxix**.
Human fat, used for combustion in war, II. 142.
—— sacrifices, 187.
Hunáwar (Onore, Hinaur), II. 326, 376.
Hundred-Eyes, The Prophecy of the, II. **107–8**, 112.
Hunḍwániy, see **Ondanique**.
Hungary, Great, II. 229, 422.
Hunting Establishments, Kublai's, **354**, **356**, 362.
—— **Expedition** of Kublai described, **357**; of Kanghi, 362.
—— **Preserves**, II. **6**. See *Sport*.
Hushikien, 143.
Hwai R., II. 105.
Hwailu, II. 8.
Hwaingan-fu (**Coiganju**), II. 105, 112, 114.
Hwen-ho, II. 3.
Hwen Thsang, 143, 156, 161, 165, 166, 168, 174, 176, 177, 182, 200; II. 249, 256, 264, 266, 339.
Hyena, 354.

I.

Iabadiu, II. 251.
Ibn Batuta; 4; 5; 6; 8; 9; 35; 44; 72; 81; 95; 112; 157; his account of Chinese Juggling, 280; 309; of Khansa (**Kinsay**), II. 169; of Zayton, 199; in Sumatra, 237; at Adam's Peak, 261; 264; 308; at Kaulam, 314; 315; at Hili, 321; 326; 327; 331; 333; 335; 345; 347; his sight of the Rukh, 352; 358; 360; 375; 379; 380; 382; 396; 413; 416; 419.
—— Fozlan, Old Arabic writer on Russian Countries, 6; II. 419.
Ichau, II. 103.
Ichthyophagous Cattle and **People**, II. **378**, 379.
Ichin-hien, II. **117**, 130, 134, 136.
Icon Amlac, K. of Abyssinia, II. 369, 370, 371.
Idols; Tartar, **224**, 225, **404**, 406, II. **410**; in Tangut, I. **198**, 199; of the **Bacsi** or Lamas, **267**; of the **Sensin**, **268**, 288, 290; of the East generally, II. **208**, 210; in India, II. **281–282**.
Idolatry (*i. e.* Buddhism) and **Idolaters**; in Kashmir, **158**, 159, 160, 161; in Tangut, **184**, 186; **189**; **191**; **198**, 200; **230**; **241**; **247**; **250**; **265** *seqq.*; **397**; **344**.
—— **Origin of**, **158**, II. **258–9**, 263.
—— **of Brahmans**, II. **299**; of Jogis, **300–302**.
Ἱερόδουλοι, II. 288.
Ieu, II. 260.
Ifat, Aufat, II. 369, 371, 372.
Ig, Ij, or Irej, 81.

Igba Zion, Iakba Siun, K. of Abyssinia, II. 370, 371.
Ilchi, mearing of the word, 28.
Ilchi, Cap. of Khotan, 174.
Ilchigadai Khan, 172.
Imago Mundi of Jac d'Acqui, l.
Incense; Sumatran, II. 228; Brown, in W. India, **330**, 331; White, in Arabia, **377**, 379, **380**.
India, xliii; **1**, **103**, **159**, **368**; II. **45**, **47**, **78**, **187**; Trade from, to Manzi or China, **149**, **172**, **183**, **185**; **187**, **197**; believed to breed no horses, **287**, **381**, and see **Horses**; Western limits of, **335**, 336; Islands of, **356**, and see *Islands*; Division of, **356–7**; Sundry Lists of States in, 360; Trade with Persia and Arabia, **306**; with Aden and Egypt, **373**, 374–5; with Arabian ports, **377**, **380**, **382**. Vol. II. pp. **266–335** treats specially of India.
India and Ethiopia, Confusion of, II. 365.
—— **the Greater**, II. **267** *seqq.*; **335**; its extent, **356**, 359.
—— **the Lesser**, its extent, II. **357**, 359, 365.
India, Middle (Abyssinia), II. **356**, **360**; Remarks on this title, I. 365.
—— Tertia, II. 339, 365.
—— Maxima, II. 359.
—— **Superior**, II. **186**, 359.
—— **Sea of**, see **Sea**.
Indian Steel (**Ondanique**, q. v.), 88.
—— Geography, Dislocation of Polo's, II. 313, 326, 329, 331, 336.
—— **Nuts**, see *Coco-nuts*.
Indies, The Three, and various distribution of them, II. 359.
Indifference, Religious, of Mongol Emperors, 14, 311, II. 408 *seqq.*
Indigo; at Coilum, and mode of making, II. **312**, 317; in Guzerat, **328**; at Cambay, **333**; prohibited by London Painters' Guild, 317.
Indo-China, II. 360. Vol. II. pp. **39–85**, and **212–219** treats of Indo-Chinese States.
Infants, Exposure of, II. **106**, 114.
Ingushes of Caucasus, 236.
Inscription, Jewish, at Kaifongfu, 309.
Insult, Mode of, in S. India, II. **306**.
Intramural Interment prohibited, **367**.
Invulnerability, Devices for, II. **205**, 207, 208.
'Irák, **70**, 71.
Irghai, 247, 248.
Irish accused of eating their dead kin, II. 241.
Irish MS. Version of Polo's Book, cxxviii.
Iron; in Kerman, **86**, 87; in Cobinan, **117**, 118.
Iron-Gate (Derbend); said to have been built by Alexander, **50**, 51; gate ascribed to, 54; II. 423, **424**.
Irtish R., II. 423.
Isaac, K. of Abyssinia, II. 370.
Isabel, Queen of L. Armenia, 42.
Isabeni, II. 365.
Isentemur (**Sentemur, Essentemur**), gdson. of Kublai, II. **39**, 48, **63**.
Ish—, The prefix, 148; —Kashm, 148, dialect, 151; 164.
Iskandar Shah of Malacca, II. 225.
Islands; of the Indian Sea, and their vast number, II. **197**, **356**, 358; of China Seas, II. **209**, and see **Java, Chipangu, Angaman, Nicoveran, Malaiur, Seilan, Scotra, Madagascar**, &c.
—— **Male and Female**, II. **337** *seqq.*
Isle of Rubies (Ceylon), II. 220.
—— d'Orleans, II. 220.
Ismaelites or Assassins, 80; **132** *seqq.*; assassinations by, 137; destruction of, **138** *seqq.*; recent traces of, 139.
Ispahan, 81.
Israel in China, 309, see *Jews*.
Istan, see
Istanit (supp. Ispahan), a Km. of Persia, **79**, 81.
Iteration, Wearisome, II. 96.
Ivongu, II. 348.
Izzuddin Muzaffar, 384.

J.

Jacinth, II. 298.
Jacob Baradaeus, 58.
Jacobite Christians; at Mosul, **46**, **57**; Note on their Church, 58; at Tauris, **70**; at Yarkand, **173**; perhaps in China, 255; II. 343; 336, 337.
Jadah, Jádá, &c., 273, see *Yaduh*.
Jade (stone) of Khotan, &c., **175**, 176, 177, **178**.
Jaeschke, Rev. H. A., 188, 201, 214, 278, 288.
Jaffa, Count of; his brave galley, lxix.
Jahángír, 160.
Jaipál, Raja, II. 282.
Jajnagar, II. 360.
Jaláluddin of Khwarizm, 87, 207.
Jamáluddin Al-Thaibi, II. 269, 285.
—— Envoy from Ma'bar to Khanbalig, II. 273.

James of Aragon, King, II. 124, 409.
Jamisfulah (**Gauenispola**), II. 249.
Jamui Khatun, Kublai's favourite Queen; her kindness to the captured Chinese Princesses, 37; II. 113; 320; 323.
Jangama Sect, II. 305.
Janibek Khan of Sarai, 6.
Japan (Chipangu, q. v.), II. **201**; Kublai's expedition against, 205.
Japanese Paper-Money, 383.
Jaroslawl, II. 420.
Jasper and Chalcedony, 175, 178.
Jatolic (*Catholicos*) of the Nestorians, **57.**
Jauchau, II. 191.
Java the Great, xliii; described, II, **217**; its circuit, 217; empires in, 218; Kublai's expedition against, *ib.*; 219.
—— **the Less**, *i. e.* Sumatra; Polo's party touched at, **33**; described with its Kingdoms, II. **226** *seqq.*; 228; application of the name, *ib.*; later meaning of 'Little Java,' 229; **248**; **318.**
—— the Greater and Lesser; meaning of these terms, II. 229, 359.
——; in the sense of the following, II. 360.
Jáva, *Jávi*; applied by the Arabs to the Islands and products of the Archipelago generally, II. 228.
Jerun, Zarun (the Island on which the later Hormuz stood), 104, 105, 108, 113, 114.
Jesujabus, Nestorian Patriarch, II. 313, 335.
Jews; in the Kaan's Camp and Court, **307**, 310; in China, 308; at Kaifongfu, and their inscription there, 309; end of the Synagogue there, *ib.*; in Coilum, II. **312**; in Abyssinia, **361**, 365, 369.
Jibal Nákús, 183.
—— ul-Thabúl, *ib.*
Jiruft, 100, 106, 107.
Jogis (**Chughi**), Account of, II. **300** *seqq.*; 304, 305.
Johnson, Mr., his visit to Khotan, 174, 176, 177, 179, 180–181, II. 475.
Johore, Sultan of, II. 223, 225.
Jon River (Jihon or Oxus), II. **388**, **396**, **397.**
Jorfattan (Baliapattan), II. 322.
Jubb R., II. 357.
Jugglers; at Kaan's Feasts, **340**, 342, **347**; and Gleemen conquer Mien (or Burma), II. **73**, 77.
Juggling Extraordinary, 280 *seqq.*
Juji, eldest son of Chinghiz, xli; 5; II. 412.
Juju (Chochau), II. **4**, 5; **89**, 93.
Julman, II. 416.
Junghuhn; on Batta Cannibalism, II. 231; on Camphor Trees, 246.
Junks, II. 269, and see *Ships.*
Justinople (Capo d'Istria), lv.
Juzgana (**Dogana**), **142**, 143.

K.

Kaan, The Great; see **Kublai Kaan.**
Kaans; their Burial Place, **217**; massacre of all met by the funeral party, *ib.*; 219.
Kabul, 156; II. 335.
Kuchkar, or Wild Sheep (*Ovis Vignei*), 154.
Kadapah, II. 297.
Kafchi-kúe, II. 91.
Kafirs of Hindu Kush; their wine, 83, 147; 146; 156.
Kaidu Khan (**Caidu**), cousin and lifelong opponent of Kublai, xlii; **170**, 171; **173**; 192; plots with Nayan, **297**, 298; **309**; II. 111; his differences with Kublai, II. **387**, and constant aggressions, **388**; his real relation to Kublai, 388; his Death, 389; end of his House, *ib.*; account of an expedition of his against the Kaan, **389**, and victory, **390**; of another expedition, **390** *seqq.* Historical note, 392; the Kaan's resentment, **393**; the story of his Daughter, and her valour, **393** *seqq.*; note on her, 396; **396**; sends a Host against Abaga, **397**; **398**; **408.**
Kaifung-fu; Jews and their Synagogue there, 309; the Siege of, II. 130.
Kaikhatu (**Kiacatu**) Khan of Persia; liii; seizes the throne, **33**, also II. **406**; not the lawful Prince, I. **34**; 36; 87; his dissolute character, II. **406**, 407; his death, **406**; 412; his Paper-Money scheme, I. 384.
Ḳáil, see **Cail.**
Ḳain, a City of Persia, 82, 133.
Kaiping-fu (Kaiminfu, **Kemenfu**, q. v.), **25**, 204, 268, 269.
Ḳaisariya (*Caesaraea*, **Casaria**), **44**, 48.
Ḳais, see *Kish.*
Kakateya Dynasty, II. 297.
Kakhyens, Kachyens, Tribe on west of Yunnan, II. 49–50, 56, 83.
Ḳakula, II. 222.
Ḳala'a Safed, 81.
Kalajan (**Calachan**), 248.
Ḳalandar, 67.
Kalantan, II. **222.**
Kalánúr, II. 475.
Ḳalchi, *Ḳálakchí*, 337.
Kales Devar, King of Ma'bar, II. 270; 271; his enormous wealth, 284.
Kalgan or Chang-kia-keu, 260.

Ḳalhát (Kalhátu, **Calatu**, Calaiate), 113, II. 285; described, **381**; 382; idiom of, *ib.*; 383; **384**.
Kalidása on the Yak, 245.
Kálikút, II. 321, 376.
Ḳálim or *Ḳálin* (marriage price), 224, 348.
Kalinga, II. 264, 266.
Kalinjar, II. 360.
Kalmia Angustifolia, Poisonous, 197.
Ḳamárah, Ḳomar, II. 222.
Kambala, grandson of Kublai, 322.
Kambáyat (Cambay), II. 285.
Kamboja, II. 97, 221, 222, 318.
Kam-u, II. 42.
Kamul (Ḳomal, **Camul**), **189**; loose character and customs, *ib.*; 190; 193.
Ḳanát-ul-Shám (**Conosalmi**), 100.
Kanauj, II. 360.
Ḳanbalu Island, II. 348.
Kanchau (**Campichu**, q. v.), 199, 247, 248.
Ḳandahár, Kandar, II. 43; 335.
Kandy, II. 264.
Kanerkes; Coins of, 164; (Kanishka), 160.
Kanghi, Emperor, 362; II. 4, 144.
Kanpu (**Ganpu**), old Port of Hangchau, II. 156.
Kansuh, 186, 199.
Kao-Hoshang, 376.
Kaoyu (**Cayu**), II. **115**, 117.
Kapilavastu, II. 262.
Kapukada, Capucate, II. 314.
Ḳarábugha, Carabaga, Calabra, a military engine, II. 131,
Ḳará-Hulun, II. 416.
Ḳarájáng (Carajan, *i. e.* Yunnan), li, and see *Carajan*.
Ḳarákhitaian Empire, 206.
—— Princes of Kerman, 87.
Ḳará Khoja, 193; II. 389, 392.
Ḳará Korum (**Caracoron**), **203–4**; **236**; II. **390**.
—— Mountains, 176.
Ḳará Kuniz, a kind of drink, 227.
Ḳarámúren (**Caramoran** q. v.), the Hoang-ho.
Karana, meaning of, 95.
Karáni (vulgo *Cranny*), 95.
Ḳaranút, a Mongol Sept, 95.
Ḳaráún Jidun (or Khidun), 94.
Ḳaráunahs (**Caraonas**), a robber tribe, **92**, **93**, 94 *seqq.*; 83, 114.
Karavat, an instrument for self-decollation, II. 285.
Karens, II. 43.
Karmathian Heretics, 172.
Karnúl, II. 297.
Karrah, II. 360.
——-Mánikpúr, 82.
Ḳasaidi Arabs, II. 378.
Kásh (*i. e.* Jade), 177.
Kashan, 77.
Káshgar (**Cascar**), **169**, 170, II. 389; *Chaukans* of, 178.
Koshish Kashis, 66; II. 343.
Kasia People and Hills, 272; II. 38.
Kashmír (**Keshimur**), 98; **155**; 156; described, **157** *seqq.*; the people and their sorceries; the country the source of Idolatry (*i. e.* Buddhism), **158**, 159, 160, 161; Language, 159.
Kashmíris, 72, **158**, 161.
Kasyapa Buddha, II. 293.
Kataghan, 143, 146.
Ḳatíf, II. 285.
Kattiawár, II. 330.
Kaulam (**Coilum**, q. v., Quilon, &c.), II. 269, 321, 376.
—— Malé, II. 314.
Kauli (**Cauly**), *i. e.* Corea, **307**, 308.
Ḳaunchi Khan (**Conchi**), II. **410**, 412.
Kaveri R., Delta of, II. 272.
Kaveripatam, *ib.*
Káyal, Káil, see **Cail.**
—— Pattanam, II. 307, 308.
——, Punnei-, II. 308.
Kayavar, II. 286.
Kayteu, II. 185.
Kazan, 6.
Ḳazwín (**Casvin**), **79**, 80, 95.
Kehran, II. 360; see 475.
Keiaz Tribe, 169.
Kelinfu (Kienning-fu), II. **179** *seqq.*
Kemenfu, see *Kaiping-fu*.
Kenjanfu, *i. e.* Singan-fu, II. **13**, 14, 16.
Keraits, a great Tartar Tribe, 207, 208, 251, 252.
Kerala, II. 326.
Kermán, 81; **84**; described, **86**, 87; capital, *ib.*; history; steel of, 87; manufactures, 89; **103**, **104**, 113, **115**, 117, 118; King (or Atabeg) of, **103**, **104**; II. **382**, **383**.
—— to Hormuz, Route from, **86–87**, **91–92**, **101**, 104–108.
Keshican, the Kaan's Life-Guard, **336**; true form and probable etymology of word, 336–7; **349**; 351.
Kesmacoran (Mekrán), 82; II. **334**; is *Kij-Makrán*, 335; 336, 337, 339, 359.
Khalíf (**Calif** of the Saracens, or of **Baudas**) of Baghdad (*i. e.* Mosta'sim Billah), **60**; taken by Hulaku (**Aláu**) and starved to

death, **61**. How a former — laid a plot against the Christians, **65**, *seqq.*; its miraculous defeat; he becomes secretly a Christian, **69**.
Khálij, the word, II. 374.
Khan Badshah of Khotan, 174.
Khanfu, II. 156.
Khanikoff's Notes on Polo, 49, 55, 97, 98, 99, 100, 113, 114, 116, 130, 141.
Khan-oolla; site of Tomb of Chinghiz, 218.
Khansá, Khanzai (Kinsay, q. v.), II. 156, 169.
Khazars, II. 423.
Khato Tribe, II. 83.
Khátun-gol (Lady's River, *i. e.* Hoang-ho), 216.
Khinsa, Khingsai, Khinzai (**Kinsay**, q. v.), II. 106, 137, 169.
Khitan, Khitai, xlii.
—— Dynasty of Liao, 206.
—— Character, 28.
Khmer (Komar, Kamboja), II. 222, 318.
Khorasan, 36, 120, 141; II. 398, 406.
Khormuzda, the Supreme Deity of the Tartars, 225.
Khotan (**Cotan**); described, **173**, 174; Routes between — and China, 176; Buried Cities of, *ib.* (and II. 475); Jade of, 177; 179; 181.
Khumbavati (Cambay), II. 333.
Khumdán, II. 16.
Kiaomdo, II. 42.
Kiaking, Emperor, II. 105.
Kiang, the Great (**Kian** and **Kian-suy**, and in its highest course **Brius**), II. **23**, 25; 41; 93; 111; 117; **132**; its vastness and numerous craft, **133**; 134; steamers on, 136; its former debouchure to the south, 156, see also *Kinsha*.
Kiangché, II. 118; Limits of, 174; 178; 184.
Kiang-Hung, Xieng-Hung, II. 82, 91, 92, 93.
Kiangka, II. 30.
Kiang-mai (Zimmé, Xieng-mai), II. 81, 91, 221.
Kiangshan, II. 178.
Kiangsi, II. 178.
Kiangtheu, II. 69, 74, 77.
Kiang-Tung, II. 80.
Kiaochi, *i. e.* Tungking; Chinese etym. of, II. 82; 91.
Kiayu-kuan, 177.
Kien-chau, II. 184.
Kien-kwé, *ib.*
Kienlung, Emperor, II. 4, 154.
Kienning-fu (**Kelinfu**), II. 178.
Kij-Makrán, see **Kesmacoran**.
Kilimanchi R., II. 357.
Kin (or Golden) Dynasty in Northern China, xlii; 205; 259; their Paper-Money, 381; II. 10, 15; 130.
Kincha (Ch. name for Kipchaks), II. 141.
Kinchi or 'Gold-Teeth,' see **Zardandan**.
King of the **Abraiaman**, II. 299.
King of France, Kublai's messages to, **32**.
—— **of England**, do. *ib.*; Intercourse with Mongol Princes, 35, II. 409.
—— **of Spain**, do., *ib.*
Kings, Subordinate, or Viceroys, in China, **322**, 323; II. **14**, 17; **39**, **45**; **150**, 156.
—— **of Maabar**, the Five Brother, II. **267**, 269, 273, **291**, **305**, **306**; their mother's efforts to check their broils, **306**; 269 *seqq.*; 273; 310.
King, Rev. C. W., 329.
Kingssé, II. 152, see *Kinsay*.
Kingsmill, Mr. T. W., II. 117, 145, 165, 176.
Kinhwa-fu, II. 178.
Kinsay (*Kingssé* or 'Capital,' Khansá, Khinsá, Khingsai, Khanzai, Cansay, Campsay), *i.e.* the city now called Hangchau-fu, xliii; II. **108**; its surrender to Bayan, *ib.*, 113; extreme public security, **109**; 111; 117; alleged meaning of the name, **143**, 144, **145**; Description of, **145** *seqq.*; Bridges, **146**; Guilds and wealthy craftsmen, their dainty wives; the Lake, its Islands and Garden-Houses, **147**; Stone-Towers; People, their clothing and food; Guards and Police-regulations, **148**; Fires; Alarm-Towers, **149**; Revenues; Pavements; Public Baths; the Port of Ganfu; the Province of —, and other Provinces of Manzi, **150**; Garrisons; Horoscopes; Funeral Rites, **151**; Palace of the expelled King; vast Census, **152**; Church; House Registers; Hostel Regulations. *Notes:* Name, 152; Circuit of the City, 153; Bridges; Lake Sihu, 154; profusion of silks, 155; Charities; Pavements; Baths; the Estuary and Sea-port, 156; Provinces of S. China; Garrisons, 157; Funeral customs; Nestorian church; Census tickets. *Further Particulars*, **158** *seqq.*; Canals; Market-places and Markets, **159**; fruits and fish; shops, **160**; Women of the Town; City Courts; immense daily consumption, **161**; character of People; behaviour to Women, and to Foreigners; dislike to Soldiers, **162**; Pleasures on the Lake, and in carriage excursions, **163**; Palace of the King; his effeminate diversions, **164**; ruined state, **165**. *Notes:* These additions from Ramusio; Tides; Plan of Hangchau, 166; public carriages,

167. *Notices of Kinsay by other writers:* Odoric, 168; Archbp. of Soltania; Marignolli; Wassáf, 169; *Nuzhat-ul-Kulúb*; *Masálak-ul-Absár*; Ibn Batuta; Martini, 170; **200, 209.**

Kinsay, Revenue of, **149, 150**; Details, **171–174**; **187.**

——, Province of, **150, 175, 176, 179, 182, 187.**

Kinsha Kiang (Upper Br. of Great Kiang; **Brius**), 25, 31, 37, 38, 41, 42.

Kinshan, see '*Golden Island.*'

King-te-ching Porcelain Manufacture, II. 191.

Kinto or Hintu, general against Japan, II. 205.

Kipchák (**Ponent**, q. v.); Events in, related by Polo, liv, and II. **421** *seqq.*; People of, 422; Extent of Empire, 423.

Kirghiz, 272.

Kiria, 177, 179.

Kís, Kísh, or Kais (**Kisi, Kishi**), an Island in Pers. Gulf, **60**; story of the city, 61; **79**, 82; II. **276**, 284, 285, **306**; **384.**

Kishik, Kishikan, Kizik, Keshikchi, see **Keshican.**

Kishm (**Cáshem**), 143; **145**; its position, 147; 164.

Kishm or Brakht, an Island in the Pers. Gulf, 108.

Kistna R., II. 297.

Kiuchau, II. 177, 178.

Kiulong, II. 20.

Kiulan (Quilon, **Coilum**, q. v.).

Kneeling oxen, 92, 94.

Koh-Banán (**Cobinan**), **117**, 118.

Kokan Beg of Kunduz, 154.

Kokcha R., 147, 153.

Kok-Tash or 'Green Stone' of Samarkand, 172.

Kolastri or Kolatiri Rajas, II. 322.

Kollam, see **Coilum.**

Kolkhoi of Ptolemy identified, II. 309.

Koloman, see **Coloman.**

Kolyma, Bird-hunting at, 239.

Κώμακον, II. 326.

Komár, II. 222, 318.

Κομάρια ἄκρον, II. 318.

Konkan, II. 302, 326, 331; and Konkan-Tana, 335.

Korano, The epithet, on Indo-Scythic coins, 95.

Kornish or *Kow-tow*, 349.

Kosakio, a general against Japan, II. 205.

Kosseir, II. 374.

Kotlogh or Kutlugh, Sultan of Kerman, 87.

—— Shah, 97, 114.

Kotrobah, Island of, II. 343.

Kublai (**Cublay**) **Kaan, the Great Kaan**, xli, xliii, xlvi; his reception of Marco, xlix; Papal Missions to, cxli; his Envoys fall in with the Two Elder Polos, **10**; his reception of these, **11**; sends them back as Envoys to the Pope, **12**; gives them a Golden Tablet, **14**; his death announced, 36; his greatness and power, **217, 268**; 269; his greatness, **293**; foretold by Chinghiz, 293; his lineage and accession, **294**, 295; Age; hears of Nayan's Plot, **295**; previous Campaigns, 296; marches against Nayan, **296–7**; surprises him, **298–9**; defeats and captures him, **302**; puts him to death, **306**; rebukes gibes against the Christians, **307**; returns to Cambaluc, **309**; goes no more to the wars, **310**; treats Four Religions with equal respect, 310; views expressed by him regarding Christianity, and his desire for learned missionaries, 311; Religion a matter of policy with him, 311–12; rewards his Captains, **312–13**; personal appearance, **318**; Wives, *ib.* and 320; selection of Damsels for his service, **318**, 320; his Sons, **321**; full list of them, 323; builds Cambaluc, **331**; his Body-guard, **336**; the order of his Feasts, **338**; celebration of his Birth-day, **343**; adopts Chinese Ancestor-Worship, 348; his distribution of Robes, **343, 349**; his New-Year Feast, **346**; his Elephants, *ib.*; his Hunting Establishments, **353, 356**; how he goes on a Hunting expedition, **357**; distribution of his time through the year, **365**; influence of Ahmad over him, **370**; his condemnation of Ahmad after the latter's death, **374**; his severities towards the Mahomedans, *ib.* and 377; Chinese view of Kublai's Administration, 375; his Mint and Paper-Money, **378** *seqq.*; his purchases of valuables, **380**; his twelve Barons who administer, **385**; his Posts and Runners, **388**; his remissions of Taxation, **393**; his Justice, 394; Stores Corn to issue in dearth, **396**; charity to the Poor, **397**; provides for numerous astrologers, **399**; his gaol-deliveries and prohibition of gambling, **405**; his Early Campaign in Yunnan, II. 29, **48**; his dealings with Bayan, 111; his satisfaction with the Mangonels made by the Polos for the capture of Siangyang, **120**; 129; **139**; **145**; **147**; **149**; **150**; his revenues from Kinsay, **171** *seqq.*; from Zayton and its Province, **186, 187**; his Expedition against Chipangu (Japan), **200** *seqq.*; **204**; sends a Force against Champa,

212, 214; could not get Java, **217**; his disastrous attempt, 218; his death stops proceedings, *ib.*; people of Sumatra call themselves his subjects, **227**, **235**, **236**, 239, **241**, **242**; he sends to buy the Great Ceylon Ruby, **254**, 256; sends to Ceylon for reliques of Sakya, **259**, 264, 265; testifies to miraculous powers of Sakya's Dish, **260**; his communications with Kaulam, 314; his missions to Madagascar, **347**; Kaidu's differences and frequent wars with him, **387**, **388** *seqq.*; his wrath against Kaidu, **393**.
Kuché, character of People of, 190.
Kukáchin, see **Cocachin**.
Kúkin-Tána, II. 331.
Kukju, son of Kublai, 323.
Kuku-Khotan, 252.
Kúláb Salt Mines, 146; 152.
Ḳúlán or *Asinus Onager*, 85.
Kulasaikera, II. 271.
Kúmájar, II. 422.
Ḳumár, see *Ḳomar*.
Kumhari, Kumari, II. 318, 326.
Ḳumíz (**Kemiz**), the Tartar beverage, **224**, 226–227; sprinkling of, 272; 341.
Ḳunduz, 146; -Baghlán, 82.
Ḳunduz (Beaver or Sable), 364.
Ḳunguráts, Ḳunḳuráts (**Ungrat**), a Mongol Tribe, 95, 320.
Kuníya (Iconium, **Conia**), 44, 48.
Kúnbúm Monastery, 283.
Kunlun (Pulo Condore), II. 220.
Kurdistan, see **Curds**.
Kuria Muria Islands, II. 339.
Kuridai, son of Kublai, 323.
Ḳurkah or Great Drum, 304, 305.
Kurmishi, II. 405.
Kurshids of Lúristán, 80.
Ḳurút, Tartar curd, 226, **229**, 232.
Kus or Cos (in Egypt), II. 374.
Kutan, son of Okkodai, II. 19.
Kutuktemur, son of Kublai, 323.
Kutulun, Princess, II. 396.
Kuwinji, see *Kaunchi*.
Kwachau (in Kansuh), 187.
—— (**Caiju**), at mouth of G. Canal or the Yangtse Kiang, II. 106, 137.
Kwansin-fu, II. 177, 178, 191.
Kwawa, *i.e.* Java, Chin. etym. of, II. 82.
Kweichau (**Cuiju**) and Kwangsi, II. 86; **88**; 90, 92, 93.
Kweilei R, 308.
Kweiyang-fu, II. 90, 92.
Kyahing, II. 145.
Kychau, II. 15.

L.

Lac (Wallachia), II. **418**, 420, **421**.
Ladies of Kinsay, II. **146**.
Ladies' dresses in Badakhshan, **151**, 155.
Lagong, II. 221.
Lahore, 100; II. 360.
Lahsa, II. 285.
Lake; of Palace at Cambaluc, **328**, 328.
——, Fanchan, II. 17.
—— of Yunnan-fu, II. **40**, 42.
—— of Caindu, II. **34**, 42.
—— of Talifu, II. 48.
—— of Kinsay (Sihu), II. **146**, **158**, 154, 156; Boats and pleasure parties on, **162**; 165; 167; 169; 170.
Laknaoti, II. 360.
Lamas of Tibetan Buddhism; their superstitions and rites, 187, 272; **198**, 200; their magic, 278; Married—, 283; Red—, see *Red*, see also **Bacsi**.
Lamajin Tribe, II. 38.
Lambri, Km. of, (in Sumatra, also Lamuri, Lamori, &c.), II. 238, **241**; its position, &c., 243, 245; **248**, 249.
Lances of Sago-palm, II. 247.
Lanchang, II. 221.
Langdarma, 160.
Langting-Balghasun, 269.
Language of Polo's Book, Original, cvii *seqq.*
Languages used in Mongol court and administration, **27**, 28.
Lanja-Balus, II. 250.
Lanka (Ceylon), II. 260.
Lanner Falcons, **150**; **201**; II. **32**.
Lao-Kiun, or Lao-Tseu, the Philosopher, 286, 289, 290.
Laos, II. 81, 82, 83, 91; 221, see *Shan*.
Lar, Province of, II. **297**, **298**; apparent confusion about, 302; 336.
—— Desa, II. 302.
Larike, *ib.*
Laspur Mountains, 156.
Latin Versions of Polo's Book, xci; cvii, cxvi, cxx, cxxi, cxxvii, and see *Pipino*.
Latins, the term, **10**, **31**.
Laurato, P., Picture by, lxv.
Laurus Camphora, II. 187.
Lawek, II. 221, 222.
Laxities of marriage customs, see *Marriage*.
Layard, Mr., 80.
Layas, see *Ajas*.
Leather, Fine and embroidered, exported from Guzerat, II. **328**, 330; from Tana, **330**; **333**.

Leaves; used for plates, II. **391**; Green —, said to have a soul, *ib.*
Le Blunt or Le Blond, Gasses, lxxxvi.
Lembeser, Ismaelite fortress, 139.
Lenzin, II. 103.
Leon II, K. of Little Armenia, 44.
—— VI, last ditto, 42.
Leopards, II. **318**, **346**, **364**.
——, **Hunting** (or *Cheetas*), **263**, **353**.
Levant; term applied by Polo to the Km. of the Mongol Khans of Persia, **4**, 8; **30**, **34**, **44**, **45**, **60**; **79**; **138**; **142**; II. **32**, **312**, **395**, **396**, **408**, **421**, **424**.
Leung Shan, 216.
Levy at Venice, Method of, lxxv.
Lewchew, II. 327.
Leyes, see *Ayas*.
Lhasa; Monasteries at, 283; II. 41, 44.
Li, the Chinese Measure, II. 41; supposed to be confounded with Miles, 153, 154, 165.
Liampoo (Ningpo), II. 181, 188.
Liangchau-fu, 243, 247.
Liao Dynasty, xlii; 206, 253.
Liaotong, 298, 308.
Λίβανος, II. 331.
Libro d' Oro, xlv.
Lidé, II. 248.
Lieuli-ho, II. 3.
Lign-aloes; II. **186**; **209**; **213**, 215; from Lawak, 221; in Sumatra, **226**, 229; 318.
Ligor, II. 222.
Ligurium, Stone called, 354.
Likamankwas of Abyssinian Kings, II. 284.
Likiang-fu, II. 38, 42, 43, 56.
Lime used for offence at Sea, lxvi.
Limyrica, II. 342.
Linching-hien, II. 103.
Lindsay, Hon. R., II. 30, 44.
Linga, II. 305.
Linju, II. **102**, 103.
Lin-ngan, II. 84, 92.
Linthsingchau, II. 101, 106.
Lion taught to do obeisance to the Kaan, **350**, 352.
Lions; on the Oxus, **142**, 144; II. **346**; **364**; Chinese notion of, I. 354.
—— (apparently for *Tigers* in following passages); trained to hunt, **353**, 354; **360**; II. **24**; **27**; how hunted with dogs, **88**; 170; **175**, **179**, **180**; **318**, **321**.
——, **Black**, II. **313**, 317; **355**.
Lion and Sun, 314.
Lion's Head Tablets, **33**, **313**, 317.
Lire, various Venetian, xcix, II. 472.
—— of Gold, ci. See **Livres**.
Lismore, Book of, cxxviii.
Lisu or Lisau Tribe, II. 38, 56.
Litan, Rebellion of, 276; II. **98**, 99, 100.
Lithang, II. 30, 36, 41, 42.
Little Orphan Rock, II. 136.
Livre des Merveilles, cxliv.
Livres Tournois, **79**, 82.
—— **of Gold**, II. **377**.
Lo, Tribes of S. W. China so called, II. 86, 92, 221.
——; Chin. Name of part of Siam, II. 220, 221.
Lob, see **Lop**.
Locac, Km. of, II. **219**, 220, 222, **223**, 224.
Lockhart, Dr. W., 330, 334, 388; II. 4, 16, 50, 86.
Lohoh, II. 220, 221, 222.
Lolo Tribes, II. 38, 86, 92.
Longevity of Brahmans and Jogis, II. **300**, **301**.
Lop, City (and Lake) of, **176**, 177, **179**, **180**, 181.
—— **Desert of**, **179**, **180**, **189**, **191**, **202**.
Lophaburi, II. 221, 222.
Loping, II. 92, 93.
Lor (Luristán), a Km. of Persia, **79**, 80.
Loredano, Agnes, cv.
——, perhaps the name of Polo's wife **Donata**, xcvii, cv.
Loups-cerviers, 354.
Louvo, II. 221.
Low Castes, II. 286.
Lowatong R., II. 92.
Loyang, Bridge of, II. 189.
Luang Prabang, II. 221.
Lubán, II. 331; —*Jáwi*, II. 228.
Lubbies, II. 307.
Lucky and Unlucky Hours and Days, **300**, 303.
Ludder Deo, II. 297.
Lukyu-Kao (**Pulisanghin**), II. 3.
Lúristán (**Lor**), 80; Great and Little, *ib.*; 81; character of Lúrs, or people of, 80, 81.
Lút, Desert of, 116.
Lutseu Tribe, II. 38.
Lynxes trained to hunt, **353**, 354.

M.

Ma'bar (**Maabar**, *i. e.* Coromandel Coast), a Great Province of India, II. **266**, its Five Brother Kings, **267**, **291**, **306**; Pearl Fishery, **267**, 271, 274; Etym. of Name, 268; limits of, *ib.*, 269; obscurity of history, 270–271; Port of, visited by Marco Polo, 271, 310; Nakedness of People, **274**; the

King, **275**; his Jewels; his many wives, **276**; his Trusty Lieges; great Treasure; Importation of Horses; superstitious customs, **277**; Ox-Worship; The Govis, **278**; no horses bred; other customs; singular mode of arrest for debt, **279**; great heat, **280**; regard for Omens; Astrology; treatment of boys; Birds of the country, **281**; girls consecrated to idols; customs in sleeping, **282**, 285; 287; **290**; **295**; **299**; **302**; **312**; 336; 337; ships of, **346**; 359; 360; **361**.

Maatum or Nubia, II. 365.

Máchín, Maháchin (*i. e.* Great China), used often by Persian writers as synon. with **Manzi**, q. v. 72; II. 21; 109; 138.

Máchin, City of (*i. e.* Canton), II. 137.

Maclagan, Col. Robert, R.E., 99, 147.

Madagascar (**Madeigascar**); described, II. **345** *seqq.*; confused with Magadoxo, 347.

Madai, Madavi, Maudoy, II. 322.

Madjgaria, II. 422.

Madra, 98.

Madras, II. 292, 294.

Madura, II. 270, 271, 272.

Maestro (or Great Bear), said to be invisible in Sumatra, II. **235**; explanation of, 240.

Magadoxo, confused with Madagascar, II. 347.

Magadha, II. 293.

Magellanic Cloud, as drawn by Marco Polo, cxliii.

Magi; Tomb of the, **73**; Legend of the, **74** *seqq.*; as told by Mas'udi, 77; source of fancies about, 78; Names assigned to, 78.

Magic; of Udyana, 156; Lamaitic, 298, **see Sorcerers.**

Magnet Mountain, II. 351.

Magyars, II. 422.

Mahar Amlak, King of Abyssinia, II. 370.

Mahavan, II. 360.

Mahmud, Prince of Hormuz, 113.

—— of Ghazni, II. 334.

Mahmudiah Canal, II. 374.

Mahomed (**Mahommet**); his account of Gog and Magog, 52; his Paradise, 132; his alleged prophecy of the Mongols, 233; his use of mangonels, II. 125.

——, Supposed Worship of idols of, 174.

—— II. uses the old Engines of War, II. 124, 128.

—— **Tughlak of Delhi**; his Copper Token Currency, 384; II. 284.

—— Shah of Malacca, II. 225.

Mahomedan; Revolt in China, II. 17, 43; — conversion of Malacca, 225; of States in Sumatra, **227**, 230, 231, 232, 237, 238, 243, 245; — butchers in Kashmir, **159**, and Maabar, II. **278**; — settlement at Kayal, 309; — grants to Hindu Temples, 310; — settlements on Abyssinian Coast, 369.

Mahomedans (**Saracens**); in Turcomania, **43**; in Mausul, **57**; their universal hatred to Christians, **65**, **69**; II. **362**, **373**; in Tauris, I. **70**; in Persia, **79**; their hypocrisy about wine, **80**; at Yezd, **84**; at Hormuz, **102**; at Cobinan, **117**; in Tonocain, **120**; at Sapurgan, **140**; at Taican, **145**, **146**; in Badakhshan, **149**; in Wakhan, &c., **162**; in Kashghar, **169**; in Samarkand, and their strife with the Christians about a fine stone, **170**; in Yarkand and Khotan, **173**; in Pein, **175**; in Charchan, **175**; in Lop, **180**; in Tangut, **184**; in Chinginitalas, **191**; in Kanchau, **198**; **230**; in Erguiul, **241**; in Sinju, *ib.*; in Tenduc, and their half-bred progeny, **250**; on N. Frontier of China, alleged origin of, 255; their gibes at Christians, **307**; **367**; **372**; Kublai's dislike to, **374**, 377; in Yunnan, II. **39**, 40, 43; in Champa, 214; Troops in Ceylon, **254**; Pilgrims to Adam's Peak, **259**; honour St. Thomas, **290**; **328**; in Kesmacoran, **335**; in Madagascar, **345**; in Abyssinia, **361**; and Aden, *ib.* and **373**; outrage by, and punishment from K. of Abyssinia, **362** *seqq.*; at Esher, **377**; Dufar, **379**; at Calatu, **381**; at Hormuz, **383**. Ahmad Sultan is one, **398**; **430**.

Mailapur (shrine of St. Thomas), II. 292, 294.

Maitreya Buddha, II. 266.

Majapahit, Empire of (Java), II. 218.

Majar (Menjar), II. 422; doubts about the name, *ib.*; cities so called, *ib.*

Major, R. H., on Australia, II. 223.

Makdashau, see *Magadoxo*.

Malabar (**Melibar**, Malibar, Manibar), II. **324**, 326; Products and imports, **325**, 326; Pirates of, *ib.*; extent, 326; Chinese ships in, 321, 325, 327, 329, 336, 337; 359; Princes in, 360.

Malacca; Gold in, II. 222; 224; Chronology of, discussed, 225; 327; 376.

——, Straits of, II. 223.

Malaiur, Island and City, II. **223**, 224; the name, 226.

Malapaga, a Prison at Genoa, lxxix.

Malasgird, 138.

Malay; Peninsula, II. 220; — Chronicle, 222, 225, 230, 231, 245; Invasion of

Ceylon, 255; — origin of many geographical names in use, 255.
Malayo, or Tana Malayu, II. 224.
Malcolm, Sir John, II. 288.
Maldive Islands, their number, II. 358.
Malé (in Burma), II. 76, 77.
Male and Female Islands, II. **335**; described, **337** *seqq.*; the Legend widely diffused, 338 *seqq.*; 349; 350.
Malifattan, II. 269.
Malik al Dhahir, K. of Samudra, II. 231, 237.
—— — Salih, do. II. 232, 237, 238.
—— — Mansúr, II. 232, 237.
—— Kafur, II. 270.
Malpiero, Gasparo, xxxvi.
Malwa, II. 360.
Mamaseni, 81.
Mamre, The Tree of, 123, 124, 128, 129. See II. 397.
Man, Col. Henry, II. 250, 252.
Mán (Barbarians), II. 181.
Mancopa, II. 243, 248.
Mandalé (in Burma), II. 265.
Mangalai, son of Kublai, lii; 323; II. **14**, 17.
Mangalore, II. 321.
Mangi, see **Manzi**.
Mangla and Nebila, Islands, II. 339.
Mangonels; on board Galleys, lxvi; made by Polos for attack of Saianfu, II. **120**, 121; 122; etym. of, 125; 142, see *Military Engines*.
Mangu Kaan (Mängkú, **Mongu**), elder Brother of Kubhai, xli, xlii; 58; 138; **189**; 204, 205; his death, 216; reign, and massacre at his funeral, **217**, 219; 311; II. 19; **26**, 29.
—— -Temur (**Mungultemur**), II. **421**, 423, **426**, 427.
Manjaník, II. 125, 130; — Kumgha, 130, 131; Western, 131, see **Mangonels**.
Manjarur, II. 321, 376.
Manjushri, Bodhisatva, II. 210.
Manphul, Pandit, 146, 147, 148, 151, 153, 164.
Mantseu Tribe, II. 38.
Mantzu or Mantzé, II. 106.
Manufactures, The Kaan's, 398.
Manuscripts of Polo's Book, cvii *seqq.*, cxv *seqq.*
—— of different works, Comparative Numbers of, cxl.
Manzi (or Mangi), a name applied to China south of the Hoang-ho, held by the native Sung Dynasty till 1276, xxxv.; II. **4**; White City of the — Frontier, **19**, 21, 22; **31**; II. **101**, **102**, **103**; entrance to, **104**; the name, 106; Conquest of, **107** *seqq.*; **115**, **119**, 129; Character of the People of, **143**, **161**; divided into Nine Kingdoms, **150**; its 1200 cities, and its garrisons, *ib.*; **171**, **172**; no sheep in, **176**; **180**, **183**, **185**, **187**; written character and dialects, **186**; called **Chin**, **209**, 211; **217**; Ships and Merchants of, in India, **312**, **321**, **325**, 327; **359**; **387**.
Manzi, The King of, styled **Facfur**, II. **107**, 113; flees from his capital, **108**, 113; his effeminacy and his charity, **107**, **109**; dies among the Isles, **110**; his Palace at Kinsay, **151**, **163**–165; his effeminate habits, **164**.
——, **The Queen of**, II. **108**; surrenders, **109**; 113; her official report on the City of Kinsay, **145**.
——, **Princess of**, sent with the Polos to Persia, I. **34**, 36.
Map; Data for one in Polo's Book, and construction from them, cxxxiv; alleged — from an original by Polo, *ib.*; — of Marino Sanuto, cliii; Medicean, *ib.*; Catalan, *ib.*, and see s. v.; Fra Mauro's, cliv, and see s. v.; Ruysch's, clv; Mercator's, &c., clvi; Sanson's, &c., *ib.*; Hereford, 127. See also *Andrea*.
Maps; allusions to, in Polo's Book, II. **192**; **253**, 254; **356**.
Mapillas or Moplas, II. 307, 315.
Mar Sarghis, II. 118, **139**, 140.
Mara Silu, II. 237.
Marabia, Maravia, Maravi, II. 322, 323.
Maramangalum, site of *Kolkhoi*, II. 309.
Maratha, II. 360.
Mardin (**Merdin**), **57**, 59.
Mare's Milk, Sprinkling of, **265**.
Marignolli, John, II. 141, 168; 199; 261.
Markets in Kinsay, II. **159**.
Market-days, 146; II. **70**, 71.
—— **Squares** at Kinsay, II. **158**, 166, 169.
Marks of Silver, **79**; II. **329**; 471.
Marriage Customs; in Tangut, **198**, **242**; of the Tartars, **220**, 222; in Chamba, II. **213**; in India, **313**, 317.
—— of deceased couples, **234**, 235.
—— Laxities of different peoples', **175**, 178; **189**, 191; II. **27**, 30; 31; **34**, 36, 38; **40**, 45.
Marsden's Ed. of Polo, cxxii; 54, and *passim*.
Martini; his Atlas, clvi; his account of Hangchau (**Kinsay**), II. 170, and *passim*.
Martyrs, Franciscan, II. 331.
Masálak-al-Absár, 82; II. 169.

Mashhad, 147.
Maskat, II. 382, 383.
Mastiff Dogs, Keepers of the, 856, 357.
—— **of Tibet**, see *Dogs*.
Mastodon, Bogged, II. 233.
Ma-theu, the term, II. 101.
Mati Dwaja, II. 29–30.
Matitanana, II. 348.
Matityna (Martinique), II. 339.
Maundevile more popular than Polo in Middle Ages, cxl.
Mausul, Km. of, 57.
'**Mauvenu**,' the phrase, II. 11, 404.
Mecchino Ginger, II. 316.
Mediceo, Portulano, cliii.
Mekong R., II. 91.
Mekrán, often reckoned part of India, II. 335, 336; 339.
Mekránis, 100.
Melibar, II. **324**, 336, 337, see *Malabar*.
Melic, the title, II. **381**, **382**, 383; **401**.
Melons, Dried, 140, 142.
Meloria, Battle of, lxxxiv.
Menangkaban, II. 229, 244.
Menezes, Duarte, II. 294.
Mengki, general against Java, II. 218.
Menjar (Majar), II. **421**, 422.
Menuvair and Grosvair, II. 414.
Merghuz Boiruk Khan, II. 10.
Merkit, Mecrit, **Meścript**, a Tartar Tribe, 207; **237**, 238.
Meshed, 141.
Messengers, Royal Mongol, 35.
Miautse, II. 50.
Mien (Burma); The King of, II. **63**; his battle with Tartars, **63** *seqq.*; the name, 63–64; Different Wars with Chinese, 70; **72**; **City of —, 72**; its Gold and Silver Towers, **73**, 77; how it was conquered, **73**. Communications and Wars with Mongols, 74 *seqq.*; Chinese Notices, 77; 91.
Mien, in Shensi, II. 20, 21.
Military Engines of the Middle Ages, Dissertation on, 121 *seqq.*; Two classes, 122; *Balistae* or Crossbows; *Trebuchets* or great slings, described; Shot used, 124; carrion and other things projected; live men; bags of gold; varieties of construction; the *Mangonel*; etymology and derivatives, 125; the Emperor Napoleon's Experiments; vast weights occasionally shot; great bulk of the engines, 126; great numbers used; heavy discharges maintained, 127; accuracy of shooting; growing importance of such artillery; notable passage on *range* from Sanuto, 128; late continuance of these mechanical engines. Effect on the Saracens as described in a romance, 128. Account of Kublai's procuring engines to attack Siangyang, from Chinese and Persian histories, 129–130; not true that the Mongols then knew them for the first time, 130; former examples; the engine *Karabugha*, or *Calabra*; probable truth as to the novelty used at Siangyang, 131; passage from Chinese history, *ib.*
Milk, Portable, or Curd, **229**, 232.
——, **Rite of sprinkling Mare's, 265.**
'Million,' Use of the numeral, xcv, and see II. **171**, 173.
Millione, Milioni, applied as a nickname to Polo, xxxvii; lxxxii; various explanations, xciv; real one, xcv; employment in a State Record, *ib.*, and II. 439; personified in Venice Masques, xcv; cxxxix; cxlii; II. 173.
Millione, Corte del, lv, *seqq.*
Min R. (in Ssechuen), II. 25.
—— — (in Fokien), II. 181, **183**, 184.
Minao, 105.
Minever, see *Menuvair*.
Mines and Minerals, see *Iron*, *Ondanique*, *Silver*, *Rubies*, *Gold*, *Azure*, *Asbestos*, *Turquoise*, *Diamonds*, *Jasper*.
Ming; The Chinese Dynasty which ousted the Mongols, A.D. 1368; their changes in Peking, 333, 334, 335; their Paper Money, 382; II. 8; their effeminate customs, 10; 327.
Mingan, Kaan's Master of Hounds, **356**, 357.
Mingtsing-hien, II. 182.
Minjan, Dialect of, 151.
Minotto, Professor A. S., xxxvii; II. 439.
Mint, The Kaan's, 378.
Miracle stories; Respecting Fish in Lent, **50**, 54–55; of the Mountain moved, cxlix, **65** *seqq.*; of the Girdles of St. Barsamo, **72**; of the Holy Fire, **75**; of the Stone at Samarkand, cxlviii, **170** *seqq.*; at St. Thomas's Shrine, II. **290**, 292, 293.
Mírat, II. 360.
'**Mire**,' the word, 76.
Mirabolans, II. 323.
Miskál (a weight), 315; II. 173, 472.
Missionary Friars; Powers conferred on, 22; in China in 14th cent., clviii.
—— Martyrs, 275.
Modun Khotan, 363.
Moghistan, 104.
Mohammerah, II. 379.
Mokli, II. 393.
Molebar (*Malabar*), II. 360.

Molephatan, II. 360.
Moluccas, II. 210.
Mombasa, II. 357.
Momien, II. 37, 72.
Monasteries of Idolaters (Buddhists), **159**; **183**; **197**; 252; **267**, 283; II. **134**, 136, **137**, 138; 168.
Money Values, see II. 471.
Mongol; Power and Subdivision of it, xli, xlii;—Treachery and Cruelty, 58, II. 142; inroads on India, I. 98, 99; Fall of the — Dynasty, 268, see *Tartar*.
Mongotay (Mangkutai), a Mongol officer, II. **98**, 100.
Mongou Kaan, see *Manju*.
Monjoie (at Acre), lxx.
Monkeys, II. **227**, **228**, **318**, **364**.
Monks, Idolatrous, 267, see *Monasteries*.
Monoceros and Maiden, Legend of, II. **227**, 234.
Monophysitism, 58.
Monsoons, liii; II. **209**.
Monte Corvino, John, Archbp. of Cambaluc, 252; II. 141, 293.
—— d'Ely, II. 321–322.
Montgomerie, Major, R.E., on Fire at great Altitudes, 168.
Monument at Singanfu, Christian, II. 16, 140.
Moon, Mns. of the, II. 349, 353.
Moplas, II. 315.
Mortagne, Siege of, II. 127.
Moscow, Tartar Massacre at, II. 423.
Mosolins, Stuffs and Merchants so-called, **57**, 59.
Mosos, a Tribe, II. 38, 56.
Mosta'sim Billah, last Khalif of Baghdad; Story of his Death, **61**, 63–64; his avarice, 64.
Mostocotto, 84.
Mosul, see **Mausul**.
Motapallé, see **Mutfili**.
Moung Maorong, or Pong, Shan Km. of, II. 48, 77.
Mount, Green, in Palace Grounds at Peking, **326–327**, 330.
—— St. Thomas's, II. 294.
Mountain, Old Man of the, cxlvi, cl; **132** *seqq.*
—— Miracle of the, **65** *seqq.*; 70.
—— Road in Shensi, Extraordinary, II. 18.
Mourning Customs; at Hormuz, **103**; in Tangut, **185**; at Kinsay; II. **151**.
'Muang'; Term applied in Shan Countries (Laos and W. Yunnan) to fortified towns, as
Muang-Chi, II. 40.
Muang Yong, II. 80, 91, 92.
—— Shung, II. 84.
Mulaki, Chinese form of the next.
Muláhidah (**Mulehet**), epithet of Ismaelites, **132**, 133, 134.
Mulberry Trees, 378; II. **7**, **13**.
Mul-Java, II. 285.
Müller, Prof. Max, on the Story of Buddha and of St. Josafat, II. 263.
Multan, II. 360.
Múnál Pheasant, 246; desc. by Aelian, *ib.*
Mungasht, 80.
Mungul (Mongol), **250**.
—— **Temur** and **Mongo-Temur** (Mangku-Temur), II. **421**, **426**.
Murad Beg, 148, 155.
Murghab R., II. 398.
Murray, Hugh, II. 165, 167.
Murus Ussu (Brius, Upper Kiang), II. 41.
Mus and Merdin (Mush and Mardin), **57**, 59.
Musa 'úd, Prince of Hormuz, 113, 114.
Musk; Marco Polo's Lawsuit regarding, xcvii, II. 439; Earliest mention of, and use in medicine, I. 245.
—— **Animal**; described, **242**, 245; **326**; II. **20**, 22; **28**; **35**.
Muslin, 59; II. 298.
Mutfili (Motapallé, but put for Telingana), II. 272; **295**; story of its diamonds, **295–296**; identified, 297; 336; **357**.
Muza, II. 342.
Mynibar, II. 359.
Mysore, II. 302.

N.

Nac, Naques, a kind of Brocade, **60**, 62, **250**, 259.
Nacaires, lxix, same as next.
Naccara or Kettle-Drum; The Great, which signals the commencement of Battle, **301**; II. **391**; account of, I. 303; the word in European languages, 304.
Nakedness of Jogis vindicated by them, II. **301**.
Nakshatra, II. 303.
Names, Baptismal, lxxxiv.
Nan-Chao, Shan Dynasty in Yunnan, II. 43, 48.
Nancouri, II. 249, 250.
Nandi or Sacred Bull, II. 305.
Nanghin (Nganking), II. **116**, **118**.
Nangiass, Mongol name of *Manzi*, q. v., II. 106.

Nankau, Archway in Pass of, with Polyglot Inscription, 28, 409.
Nanking not named by Polo, II. 119.
Nanculi (Lambri ?), II. 243.
Naobanjan, 81.
Naoshirwan, 51.
Napier of Magdala, Lord, alluded to, II. 111.
Naphtha, in the Caucasian Country, **46**, 49.
—— fire in War, 95.
Napoleon III., the Emperor; his Researches and Experiments on Medieval Engines of War, II. 121 *seqq.*, 125; 127.
Narakela-Dvipa, II. 249.
Narkandam, Volcanic Island, II. 253.
Narsinga, K. of, II. 284.
Narwhal Tusk, the Medieval Unicorn's Horn, II. 234.
Nasich, a kind of Brocade, **60**, 62; **250**, 259.
Nasruddin (**Nescradin**), an officer in the Mongol service, II. **66**, 69, 74, 77.
Nassiruddin, K. of Delhi, xliii.
Natigay, a Tartar Idol, **224**, 225; **404**; II. **410**.
Naversa (*Anazarbus*), 55.
Nayan, kinsman of Kublai; revolts, **296**; his true relation to the Kaan, 298; is surprised by Kublai, **299**; defeated and taken, **302**; was a Christian, *ib.*; the story as given by Gaubil, 305; is put to death, **306**; his Provinces, **307**, 308.
Nearchus at Hormuz, 108.
Nebila and Mangla Islands, II. 339.
Nechau, II. 178.
Necklaces, Precious, II. **275**, 282.
Necuveran (Nicobar), II. **248**, 249, 256.
Negapatam, II. 272.
——, Chinese Pagoda at, *ib.*
Negroes described, II. 355.
Negropont, 17, 18.
Nelcinna, Nelcynda, II. 321.
Nellore, II. 268, 269.
Nemej, Niemicz ("Dumb"), applied to Germans by Slavs, II. 423.
Nerghi, Plain of, II. 429.
'*Neri*' for *Pigs*, II. 166.
Nescradin (Nasruddin), a Mongol Captain, II. **66**, 69, 74, 77.
Nesnas (a goblin), 183; II. 350.
Nestorian Christians; at Mosul, **46, 57**; note on, 58; at Tauris, **70**; See of, at Kerman, 87; in Kashgar, **169**, 170; at Samarkand, **170**, 172; at Yarkand, **173**; in Tangut, **184**; at Kamul, 190; in Chingintalas, **190**; at Sukchur, **196**; at Kampichu, **198**; their diffusion in Asia, 208; among the Mongols, 214, 215; at Erguiul, **241**; at Sinju, *ib.*; in Egrigaia, **247**; in Tenduc, **250**; and east of it, 253; in China, 255; in Yachi or Yunnanfu, II. **39**, 43; at Cacanfu, **95**; at Yangchau, 117; one in the suite of the Polos, **120**; Churches of, at Chinghianfu, **139**; Church of, at Kinsay, **152**, 157; 292, 293; Patriarch of, I. **57**, II. 313, 335; **341**; Metropolitans, I. 170, 172, 186, II. 313, 335, 343.
Nevergu, Pass of, 106.
New Year Celebration at Kaan's Court, **346**.
Nganking (**Nanghin**), II. **116, 118**, 119, 134.
Ngantung, II. 392.
Nia, in Khotan, 180.
Nias, Island of, II. 241.
Nibong Palm, II. 247.
Nicobar Islands (**Necuveran**), II. **248**, 249, 250.
Nicolas; Friar, of Vicenza, **21**; Fr. of Pistoia, II. 293.
——, Christian name of Ahmad Sultan, II. 399.
Nigudar (**Nogodar**, q. v.); Mongol Princes of this name, **93**, 96 *seqq.*; 145.
Nigudarian Bands, **93**, 96, 114, 155, 156.
Nilapúr, II. 322.
Niláwar (Nellore), II. 268, 269.
Nile; Sources of, II. 349; **373**, 374.
Nileshwaram, II. 321, 322, 323.
Nimchi Musulman, 146.
Nine, an auspicious Number among Tartars, **346**, 348.
'Nine Provinces,' II. 156-157.
Ninghia, 247, 248.
Ningpo, II. 177, 178, 181, 188.
Niriz, 81, 87.
Nishapúr, 141.
Noah's Ark in Armenia, 45, 49.
Nobles of Venice, xlv; Polo's claim to be one, *ib.*
Nogai Khan, II. 425; his intrigues and wars, **426** *seqq.*; his history, 427; wars with Toktai, and death, 428.
Nogodar (Nigudar), **King of the Caraonas**, Story of, **93**, 96.
Nomade Tribes of Persia, 83.
Nomogan (Numughan), son of Kublai, 323; II. **390** *seqq.*; 392.
'**None**,' *Nono*, a title, **162**, 164.
North, Regions of the Far, II. 410.
—— Star, see *Pole-star*.
Norway, II. 420.
Notaries, Validity attaching to acts of, xciv, ci; *Tabellionato* of, *ib.*

Note-book, Polo's, II. 153.
Novgorod, II. 420.
Noyán, Mongol title, 164.
Nubia; St. Thomas in, II. **291**; 357; **361**; 365; 367; alleged use of Elephants in, 368.
Nukdaris, a tribe W. of Kabul, 96.
Nukra-kuh, 146.
Numbers, Mystic or auspicious; **Nine, 346**, 348; **One Hundred and Eight**, II. 283.
Nuna, see **None.**
Nusi-Ibrahim, II. 348.
Nutmegs, II. **217**; Wild, 250.
Nyuché (Chinese appellation of the *Churché* or race of the Kin Emperors); Character employed by these Emperors, 27; 205.

O.

Oaracta (Kishm or *Brakht*), 108.
Obedience of Ismaelites, Extraordinary, 137.
Obi R., II. 413, 414.
Observatory at Peking, 335, 403.
Ocean-Sea, 101; in Far North, **237**; **359**; II. **1**; encircles the World, **12**; **23**; **36**; **108**; **116**; **149**; **171**; **183**; **197**; all other Seas are parts of, **210**; **418.**
Ocoloro, II. 340.
Odoric, Friar; Number of MSS. of his Book, cxl; 77; 136; 253; 278; 341; 382; his account of Cansay (*Kinsay*), II. 168; of Champa, 215; of Java, 218; of Sumatra, 238.
Ogero the Dane, 123.
Oil; Fountain of (Naphtha, at Baku), **46.**
——, Whale, **102**, 209; Walnut and Sesamé, **150**, 153.
—— -Head (**Capidoglio** or Sperm-Whale), II. **346**, 348.
Oirad or Uirad (**Horiad**), a great Tartar tribe, **265**, 271, 272.
Okkodai Khan, 3rd son of Chinghiz, xli, 204, 218.
Olak, Illac, Aulak, see **Lac.**
Old Man of the Mountain; his Envoys to St. Lewis, 47; **132** *seqq.*; how he trained Assassins, **134**; the Syrian —, 136; subordinate chiefs, 138; the end of him, **138.**
Oman, II. 285, 384.
Omens; much regarded in Maabar, II. **280**, 287; and by the Brahmans, **299**, 303, 304.
Onan Kerule, 208.
Ondanique (a fine kind of Steel); Mines of, in Kerman, **86**; explanation of word, 87 *seqq.*; **117**; in Chingintalas, **191.**
Ongkor, Ruins of, xliii.
Opera-morta, lxiii, lxv.
Oppert's Book on Prester John, 206, 253, 257.
'**Or Batuz**,' 344.
Orang Gugu, II. 243.
Oriental Phrases in Polo's dictation, cix.
Orissa, II. 360.
Orléans, Defence of, II. 126.
——, Isle d', II. 220.
Orloks, or Marshals of the Mongol Host, **231**, II. 393.
Ormanni, Michele, cviii.
Oroech, II. **418**; note on, 420.
Oron, meaning of, 98.
Orphani, strange custom of the, II. 240–241.
'**Osci**,' the word, II. 286.
Ostriches, II. **364.**
Ostyaks, II. 414.
Oulatay (Uladai), a Tartar Envoy from Persia, **30**, 32.
Oxen; Humped, in Kerman, **92**, 94; Wild, Shaggy (Yaks), **241**, 243; Wild, in Eastern Tibet, II. **32**; in Burma, **74**, 78; — of Bengal, **78**, 80; worshipped in Maabar, **277**, 286, 305; and not eaten; reverence for, **291–292**; worshipped by Jogis, **301**; figures of, worn, *ib.* and 305.
Oxyrhynchus, II. 368.
Ozene, II. 331.

P.

Pacamuria (Baccanor), II. 322.
Pacauta! (an invocation), II. **275**, 283.
Pacem, see *Pasei.*
Pádisháh Khátun of Kerman, 87.
Padma Sambhava, 156.
Pagín (in Burma); Ruins at, xliii; II. 64, 71, 76, 77; Empire of, 221.
—— Old, II. 71, 76.
Pagaroyang, II. 229.
Paggi Islands, II. 241.
Pagodas; Burmese, II, **73**, 77, 78; Alleged Chinese, in India, II. 272, 327.
Pahang, II. 222.
Pai or Peyih Tribe, 28; II. 38, 83.
Paipurth (Baiburt), **45**, 48.
Paizah, or Golden Tablets of Honour, 314–15, and see *Tablet.*
—— and *Yarligh*, *ib.* and 286.
Pakwiha China ware, II. 190.
Pala (a Bird), II. 287.
Palace; of the Kaan at **Chagannur, 260**; at **Chandu** (Shangtu), **263**, 269, 270; of Cane there, **264**, 270; at Langtin, 269; at **Cambaluc, 324** *seqq.*; on the Green Mount

there, **327**; of the Heir Apparent, *ib.* Note on Palaces of the character described at Cambaluc, 328.
Palace; at **Kenjanfu** (Singanfu), II. **14**, 17; of the Emperor of Manzi at Kinsay, **151**, **163**, 168; in **Chipangu** paved and roofed with gold, **200**, 202, 218.
Palembang, II. 224, 225.
'**Paliolle, Or de**' for gold-dust, II. 33.
Pamier (Pamer), Plain of, **163**; its Wild Sheep; great height; pasture, &c., *ib.*; described by Hwen Thsang, 165, and by Wood, 166; Goës and Abdul Mejid, *ib.*; meaning of name, *ib.*; 170.
Pan-Asiatic usages, 317; 328; II. 294.
Pandarani or Fandaraina, II. 321, 327.
Pandyan Kings, II. 270, 271; 309.
Panja R., or Upper Oxus, 164.
Panjkora, 97.
Panjshir, 153, 257, II. 419.
Panya (in Burma), II. 77.
Paoki-hien, II. 18, 19, 20.
Paoning-fu, II. 22.
Papé, Papesifu, 28; II. 81, 91.
Paper-Money, The Kaan's; **378** *seqq.*; 380–385; modern, 383, also see *Currency*.
Paradise; of the Old Man of the Mountain, **132**, **134**, 136; destroyed, **138**; 139.
—— in Legend of the Cross, 128; II. 397.
—— **Apples of, 91**, 93.
—— of Persia, 108.
Paramisura, Founder of Malacca, II. 225.
Parasol, the word, 316.
Paravas, II. 308.
Parez, Falcons of, 91.
Pariahs (*Paraiyar*), etym. of, II. 286.
Parlák or Perlak (**Ferlec**), a Km. in Sumatra, II. **227**; 230, 237, 238, 245.
—— Tanjong, II. 230.
Parliament, Tartar, II. **426**.
Paropamisadae, II. 335.
Parrots, **101**; II. **313**; **364**.
Partridges, **84**; Black, 94; Jirufti, 106; Great, called **Cators** (chakors?) **261**, 262; in mew, 263; see *Francolin*.
Parwana, a Traitor, eaten by the Tartars, 275–276.
Paryah Silver-Mines, 153.
Pascal of Vittoria, Friar, 9.
Pasei, Pacem (**Basma**), a Km. of Sumatra, II. **227**, 231; History of, 230, 231, 232; 237; 238; Bay of, 238, 245; 248.
Pasha and Pashagar Tribes, 157.
Pashai, **155**; what region intended, 156; Tribe so called, 156, 157; their language, 156.
—— -Dir, **93**, 97.
Pashai-Afroz, 157.
'**Passo**' (or Pace), Venetian, II. 224, 472.
Patarins, cxxxii; **267**, 284; II. **278**; **300**.
Patlam, II. 274.
Pátra or Alms-dish of Buddha, II. **259**, 264; Miraculous Properties, **260**, 266; the Holy Grail of Buddhism, 266.
Patriarchs, of Eastern Christians, **57**, 58; II. **341**, see *Catholicos* and **Nestorian**.
Patteik-kara, II. 64.
Patu (**Batu**), II. **421**, see **Batu**.
Paukin (Pao-yng) II. **115**.
Paulin-Paris, M., on Polo and Rusticiano, lxxxi, lxxxvii–xc.
Pauthier, M.; Remarks on his Text of Polo, cxvii, and numerous references throughout the work.
Paved Roads in China, II. **149**, 155; — **Streets** of Kinsay, II. **149**.
Payan, see **Bayan**.
Payangadi, II. 322.
Peace; between Venice and Genoa (1299), lxxx; between Genoa and Pisa, xci.
Peaches, Yellow and White, II. **159**; 166.
Peacocks, II. **291**; special kind in Coilum, **313**.
Pearls, **57**; **101**; **312**; **326**; **343**; **346**; **350**; **379**; **380**; in Caindu, II. **34**, 36; **185**; **186**; Rose-coloured in Chipangu, **200**, 203; Fishery of, bet. Ceylon and Maabar, **267**, 274, **280**; Do. at Cail, 307, and at ancient *Kolkhoi*, 310; — and precious stones of King of Maabar, **275**; **299**, 303, 307.
Pears, **Enormous**, II. **159**, 166.
Pedir, II. 232, 239, 240, 241, 248.
Pedro, Prince, of Portugal, cii, cxxii.
Pegu; and Bengal confounded, II. 64, 91.
Peho, II. 22.
Peichau (**Piju**), II. **102**; 103.
Pein, Province of, **175**; identity of, 176–177; II. 475.
Peking (**Cambaluc**), xliii; Plan of Ancient and Modern, 330–331, 333; History of, 333; Walls of, *ib.*; see **Cambaluc**.
Pekung-ching, II. 21.
Pelly, Colonel L., 81, 104, *seqq.*
Pema-ching, II. 21.
Pema-kwan, *ib.*
Pemberton, Capt. R., II. 48, 77.
Pen and Ink, Dislike to, cxv.
Pentam (Bintang), II. **223**, 224, **226**.
Pepper; Daily consumption of, at Kinsay, II. **161**; change in Chinese use of, 166; great importation at Zayton, **185**; duty on, **186**; White, **209**; **217**; in Coilum, **312**;

at Eli and Cananore, **320**, 323; in Melibar, **325**; in Guzerat, **328**; Trade in, to Alexandria, **185**, **373**.
Pepper, Country, II. 314.
Peregrine Falcons, **237**, II. **418**.
Perla (**Ferlec**), II. 230.
Persia; Extension of the name to Bokhara, **9**, 10; spoken of, **73**; its 8 kingdoms, **78**.
—— and India, Boundary of, II. 336.
Persian; Polo's familiarity with, cxix; apparently the language of foreigners at the Mongol Court, cxxxv, 338.
Peter, a Tartar Slave of Marco Polo, c.
Pharaoh's Rats, **220**, 222; II. **411**, 412.
Phayre, Sir Arthur, II. 60, 64, 65, 69, 76, 78.
Pheasants; Large and long-tailed, **242**; probably Reeves's, 245; II. **12**; **115**.
Pheng (the Rukh), II. 354.
Philippine Islands, II. 210, 211.
Phipps, Capt., II. 309.
Phungan, Phungan-lu (**Fungul** ?), II. 90, 93.
Physician, A Virtuous, 408.
Physicians, II. **313**.
Physiognomy, Art of, II. **280**.
Pianfu (P'ing yang-fu), II. **7**, 8.
Pichalok, II. 221.
Pigeon Posts, 392.
Piju (Pei-chau) II. **102**.
Pilgrimages; to **Adam's** Sepulchre in Ceylon, II. **259**, 264; to the Shrine of **St. Thomas**, **290**.
'Pillar-Road,' II. 18.
Pima, 177, 180; II. 475.
Pinati, K. of Kaulam, II. 314; Explanation of name, 315.
Pine-woods in Mongolian Desert, **202**.
—— in South China, II. **194**, 197.
P'ingchang, *Fanchan*, or 2nd Class Minister, 386.
P'ingyang-fu, II. 8, 14.
Pinna-Cael, II. 307.
Pipino, Fr. Francesco; his Latin Translation of Polo's Book, xciv, cvii, cxx; the Man, cxxi; cxlii.
Pirabandi or Bir Pandi (Vira Pandi), II. 270.
Pirada, II. 248.
Pirates; of Malabar, II. **324**, 326; of Guzerat, **328**, 344; of Tana, **330**; of Somnath, 334; of Socotra, **341**, 343, 244.
Piratical Custom at Eli, II. **320**, 324.
Pisa and Genoa, Wars of, lxxxiv.
Pisan Prisoners at Genoa, *ib.*
—— Pronunciation of letter *c*, clx.
Pistachioes, **91**, 108, 117; **145**, 146.
Plane, The Oriental, or *Chinár*, **119**, 120, 128, 130.
Plano Carpini, xlvi.
Poison, Antidote to, II. **47**.
Poisonous Pasture, **196**, 197.
Pole or Jackdaws on Polo scutcheon, xxxix.
Pole-star, invisible in Java the Less, II. **226**, **235**; visible again in India, **318**, **324**, **328**, **332**.
Police; of Cambaluc, **368**; of Kinsay, II. **148**.
Politeness of Chinese, **405**, 408.
Polo, Andrea, grandfather of Marco, xxxix, xlv, lvii.
—— Marco, the Elder, son of Andrea, and uncle of the traveller, xlv; his Will, xlvi, liv–lv, II. 438; lvii; 3, 4.
——, **Nicolo and Maffeo**, sons of Andrea; their First Journey, xlvi-xlvii; cross the Black Sea to Soldaia, **2**; visit Wolga country, &c., **4**; go to Bokhara, **9**; join Envoys going to Great Kaan's Court, **10**; well received, **11**; Kublai's conversation with them on Religion, 308; and sent back as his Envoys to Pope, **12**; reach Ayas, **15**, Acre, **16**, Venice, **17**; find young Marco there, *ib.*
Polo, Nicolo, Maffeo, and Marco; proceed to Acre, **18**; set out for the East; are recalled from Ayas, **19**; set out again with the Pope's Letters, &c., **21**; reach the Kaan's Court, **24**; and are welcomed, **25**. See on their Journey outward also xlix, l; their alleged service in capture of Siangyang, lii, and II. **119** *seqq.*, 129; when they desire to return home, the Kaan refuses, I. **30**; are allowed to go with ambassadors returning to Persia, **31**; receive Golden Tablets from the Kaan, **32**. On return see also lii–lv. Story of their arrival at Venice, xxxvi; and of the way they asserted their identity, xxxvi–vii, liv, its verisimilitude, clxi.
——, **Nicolo**; his alleged second marriage after his return, and sons by it, xxxviii; xlv; probable truth as to time of a second marriage, xlvii–xlviii, xlix; his illegitimate sons, lv; lvii; probable time of his death, xcii; his Tomb, cii.
——, **Maffeo**, brother of Nicolo; in Kanchau, **119**; II. **119**; xlv; xcii–xciii; time of death unknown, xciv.
——, **Marco**, our Traveller; veracity, xxxiii; perplexities in his biography, *ib.*; Ramusio's notices; extracts from these, xxxiv *seqq.*; recognition of his names of places; paralleled with Columbus, xxxv (see cxxx); why called *Milioni*, xxxvii; Story of his capture at Curzola, xxxvii–viii; and the

writing of his Book in prison at Genoa, xxxviii; release and marriage, xxxix; Arms, xxxix–xl; his claim to nobility, xlv; supposed autograph, *ib.*; his birth, xlvi; circumstances of his birth and doubts, xlvii; employment under Kublai, l; mentioned in Chinese Records, *ib.*; his mission to Yunnan, li; government of Yangchau, *ib.*; employment at Kanchau, lii; at Kara Korum, in Champa and Indian Seas, *ib.*; mentioned in his Uncle Marco's Will, lv; commands a galley at Curzola, lxxv; is taken, and carried to Genoa, lxxviii; his imprisonment there, lxxix *seqq.*; meets there Rusticiano, and dictates his Book, lxxx; release and return to Venice, lxxxi; evidence as to the story of his capture, &c., lxxxi–iii; his dying vindication of his Book, lxxxii; executor to his brother Maffeo, xcii; record of exemption from a municipal penalty, xciv; his sobriquet of Milioni, xcv; his present of his Book to T. de Cepoy, xcvi; his marriage and daughters, xcvii; his lawsuit with Paulo Girardo, xcvii; proceeding regarding house property in S. Giov. Grisostomo, *ib.*; his illness and last Will, xcviii–ci; translation of, lxvii (for original see II. 440); dead before June 1325, ci; place of burial, *ib.*; Professed Portraits of, cii–ciii; his alleged wealth, cv; estimate of him and his Book, cxxix *seqq.*; parallel with Columbus futile, cxxx; his real and ample claims to glory, cxxxi; faint indications of his personality, cxxxii; rare indications of humour, cxxxiii, absence of scientific notions; geographical data in his Book, cxxxiv; his acquisition of languages, cxxxv; Chinese evidently not one; deficiencies as regards Chinese notices; historical notices, cxxxvi; had read romances, especially about Alexander, cxxxvii; incredulity about his stories, and singular modern instance, cxxxix; contemporary recognition, cxl; by T. de Cepoy, cxlii; Friar Pipino, *ib.*; Jac. d'Aqui, *ib.*; Giov. Villani, *ib.*; Pietro d'Abano, cxliii; notice by John of Yprès, cxliv; borrowings in the poem of Bauduin de Sebourg, cxlv *seqq.* Influence on geography, cli; obstacles to its effect; character of medieval cosmography; Marino Sanuto's Map, cliii; Medicean; Carta Catalana largely based on Polo, clv; increased appreciation of Polo's Book; confusions of nomenclature, clv–clvi; inventions which have been supposed to have been brought to Europe by —, clvi; story of Invention of Printing by P. Castaldi of Feltre, clvii; the connexion of Polo's name with this arbitrary, clviii (and see Vol. II. 473); dictates his Narrative, **1**; found at Venice by his Father, **17**; his true age, 18; circumstances of his Birth, *ib.*; **22**; **24**; noticed by Kublai, **26**; employed by him, **27**; his tact and diligence; grows into high favour, **29**; goes on many missions, **30**, **31**; escapes from the Karaunas, **93**; hears of the Breed of Bucephalus in Badakhshan, **150**; recovers from illness in the hill climate of that region, **151**; hears from his friend Zulfikar about the Salamander, **192**; at Kanchau on business, **199**; brings home the hair of the Yak, **241**; and the head and feet of the musk-deer, **242**; a witness of the events connected with Ahmad's death, **373**; the notice of him in Chinese Annals, 375; whether he had to do with the Persian scheme of Paper Currency in 1294, 382; is sent by the Kaan into the Western Provinces, II. **1**; is made Governor of Yangchau, **116**; probable extent of his authority, 118; aids in constructing engines for the Siege of Siangyang, **119** *seqq.*; difficulties as to this statement, 129; what he saw and heard of the number of vessels on the Great Kiang, **133**; ignorant of Chinese, 144; his attestation of the greatness of Kinsay, 145; his notes, 153; sent by the Kaan to inspect the amount of Revenue from Kinsay, **172**; his great experience, **187**; never in the Islands of the Sea of Chin, **210**; is in the Kingdom of Chamba, **213**, 215; remark on his Historical Anecdotes, 214; detained five months at Sumatra, **235**, and stockades his party against the wild people; brings Brazil seed home to Venice, **241**; partakes of Tree-flour (Sago), **242**, and brought some home to Venice, 247; was in six Kingdoms of Sumatra, **242**; witnesses a singular arrest for debt in Maabar, **279**; his erroneous view of the Arabian Coast, 384; his unequalled Travels, **431**; Venetian Documents about him, 438 *seqq.*; his Will in full, 440.

Polo, Maffeo, Brother of the Traveller; xlvi; probabilities as to his Birth, &c., xlvii–viii, xlix; lv; abstract of his Will, xcii, II. 438.

——, Nicolo the Younger, cousin of the Traveller, xlv, lv, xciii.

——, Maroca, sister of the last, xxxv, lv, and perhaps xciii.

——, Steffano and Giovannino, illeg. brothers of the Traveller, lv, lix, xciii.

Polo, Antonio, illeg. son of the Elder Marco, lv.
——, Donata, wife of the Traveller, xcvii; sale of property to her husband, *ib.*, and II. 440; xcviii *seqq.*; ciii, cv; II. 441, 442.
——, or Bragadino, Fantina, eldest daughter of the Traveller; xcviii-ci, ciii, cv; II. 440, 441, 442.
——, Bellella, second daughter of ditto, *ib.*
——, or Delfino, Moreta, youngest daughter of ditto, *ib.*
——, Felice, a cousin, lv, xcii.
——, Fiordelisa, wife of last, *ib.*
—— ——, daughter of Maffeo the Younger, ~~xlix,~~ xcii–xciii.
——, Maria, last survivor of the Family, cv; doubts as to her kindred, cvi, II. 438.
——, Marco, last male survivor of the Family, see as in last.
—— ——, Other Persons bearing this name, xciv, ci; II. 437–438.
—— Family; its duration and end, according to Ramusio, xxxiv–xl; Origin of, xliv; Last notices of, civ; Genealogy, II. 436.
—— ——, Branch of S. Geremia, xlv, xciv; II. 437–438.
Polulo (**Bolor**), 168.
Polygamy; **197**, **220**, 222, **242**; supposed effect on population, 392; II. **213**, **276**, **306**.
Pomilo (**Pamer**), 165.
Pompholyx, 118.
Ponent (or 'West'), term applied by Polo to the Mongol Khanate of the Wolga (Kipchak), **4**, 8; **50**; II. **418**; **421** *seqq.*; List of the Sovereigns, *ib.*; errors therein, 423; extent of dominion, *ib.*
Pong (Medieval Shan State), II. 48, 77.
Poods, Russian, 153.
Population, Vast, of Cathay, 391.
Porcelain Manufacture, II. **186**, 190; fragments found at Kayal, 308.
—— **Shells**, see *Cowries*.
Pork, mention of, omitted, II. 166.
Portoladi, lxv.
Postín, 147.
Posts, Post-houses, and **Runners**, **388** *seqq.*, 392.
Potala at Lhasa, 283.
Poultry, kind of, in Coilum, II. **313**; in Abyssinia (Guinea-fowl?); **364**.
Pourpre, 62, 345.
Poyang Lake, II. 177.
Prakrama Bahu K. of Ceylon, II. 255, 265.
Precious Stones; xxxvii; **70**; 72; **101**; **312**; **326**; **343**; **346**; **350**; **379**; **380**; II. **185**, **186**, **187**; **209**; **275**, **299**, 306; how discovered by Pirates, **328**.
Prester John, alias **Unc Can** (Aung Khan), receives tribute from the Tartars, **204**; but they revolt; insults the Envoys of Chinghiz, **210**; comes out to engage the latter, **212**; is slain, **215**. Note on Prester John, 205 *seqq.*; Rise of the notion of such a personage, 205; Letters under his name, *ib.*; first notice, 206; this applies to the Founder of Kara Khitai; ascription of Christianity to him, 207; various persons who came to be afterwards identified with the supposed great Christian Potentate, *ib.*; Aung Khan, chief of the Keraites (Unc Can), 207–208–209; Joinville's account of Prester John, 209; marriage relations with Chinghiz, 211, and **249**, 253; real site of his first battle with Chinghiz, 213; and real fate of Aung Khan, 214. His line remaining in Tenduc, **249**; their continuance under the Mongol Dynasty, 252, and II. **390**. The story of — and the Golden King, II. **9** *seqq.* Oppert's view about him, I. 206, 207, 253.
Prices of Horses, see **Horses**.
Printing; connexion of Polo's name with introduction of, clvii; alleged invention by Panfilo Castaldi, *ib.*, and II. 473.
Prisoners, Pisan, at Genoa, lxxxv; their seal, *ib.*; their release, xci.
Private Names, Supposed, 323.
Probation of **Jogis**, II. **301**; parallel, 305.
Prodieri, lxv.
'*Proques*,' the word,' 305.
Prostitutes; at Cambaluc, **367**; at Kinsay, II. **160**.
Provinces, Thirty-four, of Kaan's Empire, **385**.
Prophecy regarding **Bayan**, II. **107–8**, 112.
Pseudo-Callisthenes, cxxxvii.
Ptolemy, xxxiv; his view of the Indian Ocean, cli; clii.
Ptolemies trained African Elephants, II. 367.
Puching, II. 178, 182.
Puer and Esmok, II. 37, 81.
Pulad Chingsang, II. 174.
Puliho, 168.
Pulisanghin, River and **Bridge**, near Cambaluc, clvi; II. **1**; meaning; other applications, 2; account of, 3.
Pulo Condore (Condur and Condur), II. **219**, 220.
—— Gommes (Gauenispola), II. 249.
—— Nankai, *ib.*
—— Bras, *ib.*
—— 'We' or Wey, *ib.*

Punnei-Káyal, II. 309.
Purchas on Polo and Ramusio, cxxv.
Purpura, see *Pourpre*.
Putchock, II. 332.
Pygmies, Factitious, II. **228**.

Q.

Quails in India, II. **281**.
Queen of Mutfili, II. **295**; identified, 297.
Quicksilver, and Sulphur Potion, II. **300**, 304‡
——, as regarded by Alchemists, 305.
Quills of the Ruc, II. **346, 347**, 351, 352, 353; suggested explanation, 354.
Quilon, Kaulam, &c., see **Coilum**.
Quirino, Ysabeta, M. Polo's sister-in-law, xcix.

R.

Rabbanta, a Nestorian Monk, 215.
Rain-makers, see **Weather-Conjuring**.
Rainy Season, II. **280**, and *note*, 287.
Rajkot Leather-work, II. 330.
Rakka, Rakshasas, II. 240; 252.
Rameshwaram, II. 271.
Rámnád, II. 272.
Rampart of **Gog and Magog**, 52, 257.
Ramusio, Giov. Battista, his Biographical Notices of Polo, xxxiv *seqq.*, lxxxi; his Polo Genealogies, and errors therein, cvi; Notice of —, cxxii; his Edition of Polo, and its Peculiarities, cxxii, cxxvii; II. 165, 167, 311.
N.B.—*Throughout the Book Passages peculiar to Ramusio, if introduced in the Text, are in brackets* [thus]. *And many others are given in the Notes.*
Rana Paramita's Woman Country, II. 339.
'*Ranonano-Rao*,' 164.
Ras Háili, II. 321.
—— Kumhari, II. 318.
Rashíduddín, Fazl-ulla Rashíd *alias*, Persian Statesman and Historian of the Mongols, contemporary of Marco Polo, perhaps drew some information from the latter, cxliv; is quoted frequently in the Notes.
Ravenala tree, II. 354.
Raw Meat eaten, II. **40**, 45, **52**.
Rawlinson, Sir H., 80.
Re d'Or, II. 10.
Red Sea; Trade from India to Egypt by, II. **373**; described in some texts as a River, 374; possible origin of this mistake, cxix.
—— Sect of Lamas, 278, 279, 283, 288.
Refraction, Abnormal, II. 352.
Reg Ruwán of Kabul, 183.
Reindeer ridden on, **237**, 238.
Religion; Indifference of the Chinghizide Princes in, 14, 310 *seqq.*, II. 408 *seqq.*; occasional power of, among the Chinese, I. 406 *seqq.*
Remissions of Taxation by Kublai, **393**.
Rennell, Major James, II. 335.
Reobarles (*Rúdbár-i-Lárs*), **91**, **103**, 105, 107.
Revenue of **Kinsay**, II. **149, 150**; **171** *seqq.*
Rhinoceros (**Unicorn**); in Sumatra, II. **227**, 232; habits, *ib.*; three Asiatic Species, 233.
—— *Tichorinus*, II. 352.
Rhubarb; where got, **196**, 197; also at Suchau (in Kiangnan), II. **123**, which seems to be an error, 144.
Rialto, Bridge of, liv.
Rice; II. **19, 39**, 52, 78, 80, 85, 136, **242, 254, 278, 290, 313, 335, 338, 340**, 342, 343, **356, 364, 377**.
—— **Wine**, see **Wine**.
—— **Trade** on Grand Canal, II. **136**, 137, 138.
Right and Left, Ministers of the, 386.
Rio Marabia, II. 322.
Rishis, 161.
'River of China,' the, II. 177, 190, 191.
Roads radiating from Cambaluc, **388**.
Robbers in Persia, **79**, 83.
Robbers' River, 107.
Robes distributed by the Kaan, **343**, 345; **349**.
Rockets, 306.
'**Roiaus dereusse**' (?), II. 330.
Rome, the **Sudarium** at, **192**, 195.
'*Rondes*,' ingenious but futile explanation of, 364.
Rook in Chess, the word, II. 353.
Rori-Bakkar, 82.
Rosaries, Hindu, II. **275**, 283.
Round-Table Romances compiled by Rustician, lxxxvi. *seqq.*
'**Roze de lAçur**,' 329.
Rubies; xxxvii; **Balas, 149**, 152; of Ceylon, II. **254**; enormous, *ib.*, and 256.
Ruble, Russian, II. 420.
Rubruquis, Friar William de, xlvi; excellence of his narrative, cxxx; studied by Roger Bacon, cliii.
Ruc (Rukh), the Great Bird called; described, II. **346**; its feather, **347**; wide diffusion and various forms of the Fable, 349 *seqq.*; the Eggs of the *Aepyornis*, 350; Genus of that Bird; Fra Mauro's Story; the Condor,

351; Sindbad; R. Benjamin; the Romance of Duke Ernest; Ibn Batuta's sight of the Rukh, 352; probable explanation of that case; parallel stories; the Rook of Chess; the dimensions given by Polo, 353; the Jesuit Bolivar's account; other notices, 354; possible fabrication of the quill.
Rúdbár; River of, 105; 106; ——-i-Lass (**Reobarles**), 107.
Rudder, Single, noted as peculiar by Polo, **102**, II. **195**, because the Double Rudder was usual in the Mediterranean, I. 109 *seqq.*
—— **lifted**, in Junks, II. **223**, 224.
Rúdkhánah-i-Shor (Salt River), 106.
—— -i-Duzdi (Robber's River), 107.
Rudra Deva, K. of Tilingana, II. 297.
Rudrama Devi, Q. of Tilingana, *ib.*
Ruknuddin Mahmud, Prince of Hormuz, 113.
—— Masa'ud, do, 114.
—— Prince of the Ismaelites, 139.
Rúm, 44.
Ruomedan Ahomet, King of Hormos, **101**, 113.
Rupen, Founder of Armenian State in Cilicia, 42.
Rupert, Prince, II. 417.
Rüppell's Table of Abyssinian Kings, II. 370.
Russia (**Rosia**), II. **415**; described, **417**; great cold, **418**; Arab accounts of, 419; subjection to Tartars, 420; conquered by Batu, *ib.*, **421**.
—— **Leather**, 6, 351; cloths of —, 259.
Russians, the King of, his Trusty Lieges, II. 284.
Rusták, 164.
Rusticien de Pise, Rusticiano, or Rustichello; in Prison at Genoa with M. Polo, and writes down his Book, lxxx; Notices of, lxxxiii *seqq.*; perhaps taken at Meloria, lxxxv; mention of, by Sir Walter Scott, lxxxvi; his Romance Compilations, *ib.*; his connexion with Edward I., lxxxvii; extracts and character of his Compilations, lxxxviii *seqq.*; his identity as the amanuensis of Polo, lxxxix–xc; various forms of his name, lxxxix; coincidence of Preamble of one of his Romances with that of Polo's Book, xc; portrait of —, referred to, *ib.*; mistake about a supposed grant to him by Henry III., xci; real name probably Rustichello, *ib.*; cx; cxii, cxiv, cxv; cxxxvi; cxxxvii; clx; his proem to the Book, **1**, and introduction of himself as the Writer, **2**.

S.

Saba (Sava), City of the Magi, **73**.
Sable; its costliness, **360**, 364–5, II. 411; **410**; 412; **415**; 416; **418**.
Sabreddin, II. 371.
Sabzawar, 141.
Sachiu (Shachau), **184**.
Sacrifices; of People of Tangut, **184**, 187.
——, Human, 187; II. 246.
Sadd-i-Iskandar, 52.
Saffron, Fruit serving the purpose of, II. **179**.
Sagacity of Sledge-Dogs, II. 413.
Sagamoni Borcan (Sakya-muni Buddha), 310; Story of, II. **257**; the name explained, 260.
Sagatu, a General of the Kaan's, II. **212**, 214.
Saggio, a weight ($\frac{1}{6}$ of an ounce), see II. 472; I. **313**, 315; II. **35**, **45**, **171**, **172**, 173, **275**, **276**, 283.
Sago described, II. **242**, 247.
Saianfu, see *Siangyang-fu*.
Saif Arad, K. of Abyssinia, II. 370, 371.
Saifuddin Nazrat, 113, 114.
Saimur (Chaul), II. 302.
Sain Khan (or **Batu**), II. **421**, and see 423.
St. Barlaam and St. Josafat, II. 263.
—— **Barsamo**, Brassamus (Barsauma), **72**, 73.
—— **Blaise**, **44**.
—— Brandon, II. 253.
—— **Buddha**! II. 263.
—— **Epiphanius**, II. 298.
—— **George**, Church of, at Quilon, II. 314.
—— **John Baptist**, Church of, at Samarkand, **170**.
—— **Leonard's**, in Georgia, and the Fish-Miracle there, **50**, 55.
—— Lewis, 83; his campaign on the Nile, II. 126.
—— **Mary's** Island, Madagascar, II. 348.
—— **Nina**, 55.
—— Sabba's at Acre, lxx, lxxi.
—— **Thomas the Apostle**, II. 260; his Shrine in India, **278**, **290**, 293, **293**; reverenced by Saracens, **290**, 294; Miracles there, **278**, **290**, 292; Story of his Death, **291**; his murderers, **278**; their hereditary curse, 286; the tradition of his preaching in India, 293; translation of remains to Edessa, *ib.*; but alleged discovery of them in India, 294; schisms about them, *ib.*; 336, 337; 343; in Abyssinia, **361**.
—— ——— Mounts, II. 294.
Saker Falcons, **150**; **201**; II. **32**.

Sakta doctrines, 287, 290.
Sakya Muni (**Sagamoni Borcan**), 156, 161; death of —, 162; recumbent figures of, 198; 286; 288; 310; II. 210; the Story of —, **257**, 262.
Salamander, what it really is, 192, 194.
Salar (Hwaichau), II. 17.
Salghur Atabegs of Fars, see *Atabegs.*
Salsette Island, II. 331.
Salt, H., his version of the Abyssinian chronology, II. 369.
Salt; Rock —, 144, 146; used for **currency, II. 29, 35**, 36, 37; extracted from deep **wells**, 37, **38, 44**; — manufacture in E. China, **95**; **manufacture, revenue, and traffic in —, 114, 116**, 117, **133, 134**; **huge trade in — on the Kiang, 133**; **Junks employed therein**, 136; — manufacture and **Revenue** at Kinsay, **171**, 173.
—— Stream, **115**, 116.
Salwen R., or Lu-Kiang, 287.
Samagar, II. **402.**
Samana, II. 360.
Samara (Sumatra), Km. of, II. **235**, 237, see *Sumatra.*
Samarkand (**Samarcan**); Story of a **Miracle** there, **170**; 172; colony from — near Peking, 255; II. 389; **392.**
Samudra, Samathrah, Samuthrah, see **Samara** and *Sumatra.*
Samsúnji Báshi, 357.
Salem explores the Rampart of Gog, 54.
San Giovanni Grisostomo, Parish in Venice **in which the Ca' Polo was**, xxxvi, lv *seqq.*, **lxxxi**, xcvii, xcviii, cv; cvi; Theatre of, lviii.
—— **Lorenzo in Venice, Burial-place of Marco Polo's Father and of himself, xxxix, xcix, cii.**
—— **Matteo at Genoa, lxxviii; curious engineering at, lxxix; Inscription on, *ib.***
Sand; cities buried by —, 177; II. 475; **Sounds** like **Drums** heard in —, I. **181**, 183.
—— -Grouse, 239.
Sandal-wood; II. **186**; **248**, 250; **345**, 348.
Sandu, 271, and see *Chandu.*
Sanf (**Chambà**, Champa), II. 214.
Sangin, Sangkan R., II. 3.
Sanglich, Dialect of, 151.
Sangon, the title (*Tsangkiun*), II. **98**, 99.
Sanitary Effects of Mountain Air, 151.
Sanjar Sovereigns of Persia, 206.
Sanuto of Torselli, Marino; shows no knowledge of Polo, cxli; his Map* and Geog. knowledge, cliii; his prophetic sense of the importance of long range, II. 128.
Sappan-wood, see **Brazil.**
Sapta-shaila, II. 321.
Sapurgan (Shibrgán), **140**, 141.
'**Saçuta,**' '**Scue,**' Peculiar use of, 391.
Sarai (**Sara**), capital of Kipchak, **4**; the City and its remains, 5; perhaps occupied successive sites, 6; II. **424.**
—— Sea of (Caspian), 56; II. **424.**
Saracens, see *Mahomedans.*
Sáras Crane, 262.
Sardines, II. 379.
Sardu, 108.
Sarghalan R., 148.
Sarha, Port of Sumatra, II. 237.
Sar-i-Kul, Lakes called, 154, **163**, 166.
Sarsáti, II. 360.
'*Satin,*' probable origin of word, II. 189.
Saun, Sommo, silver ingots used in Kipchak, II. 419; perhaps the original *Ruble*, 420.
Sauromatae, II. 396.
Savah (**Saba**), **73**, 76.
Savast (Siwas), **44.**
Scasem, 148.
'**Scherani,**' 94.
Scotra, see *Socotra.*
Sea of India, 31; 33; 102, 158; II. **210**; **356.**
—— **of Chin, II. 209, 210.**
—— **of England**, II. **210.**
—— **of Rochelle**, *ib.*
—— **of Sarain**, II. **424.**
Seal, Imperial, 327, 379.
—— of Pisan Prisoners, lxxxv.
Secreto, Nicolas, xciii.
——, Catharine, wife of Maffeo Polo the Younger, *ib.*
Sees; of Nestorian Church, 170, 172, 185, 189; of Roman Church, 172, II. 189, 314.
Sehwan, Cotton Trees in, II. 329.
Seilan, see *Ceylon.*
Self-decapitation, II. 285–286.
Selitrennoi-Gorodok, 5, 6.
'**Selles, Chevaux à deux**,' the phrase, II. 375.
Semal Tree, II. 329.
Semenat, see *Somnath.*
Sempad, Armenian Prince, 172.
Sendal, a Silk texture, II. 5, **23, 95, 143, 325, 395.**
Sendemain, K. of **Seilan**, II. **253**, 255.
Seni, Verzino, II. 315.
Sensin, an Ascetic Sect, **267**, 285 *seqq.*
Senshing, 286.
Sentemur, II. 63, see *Isentemur.*
Sephar, II. 381.
Sepulchre of Adam in Ceylon, II. **256** *seqq.*, 261, 262.

Sepulchre, Oil from the **Holy, 13, 19, 26.**
Serano, Juan de, II. 239.
Serazi (Shiraz), a Km. of Persia, **79**, 81.
Serendîb, II. 228.
Seres, Ancient character of the, II. 167.
Serpents; Great, *i. e. Alligators*, II. **45** *seqq.*, 49; — in the Diamond Valley, **295.**
Sesamé, 150, 153; II. **364.**
'**Sesnes**,' the word, 261.
Sevan, Lake, 55.
Severtsoff, M., shoots the *Ovis Poli*, 167.
Shabankára or Shawankára (**Soncara**), **79**, 81.
Shabar, Son of Kaidu, II, 389.
Shachau (**Sachiu**), 186, 196.
Shadow, Augury from **length** of, II. **299.**
Shah Abbas, 273; his Court, 341.
—— Jahan, 160.
Shahr-i-Babek, 87.
—— -i-Nao (Siam), II. 222.
——Maudi or — Pandi, II. 270–271.
Shahristán, 81.
Shaibani Khan, II. 412.
Shaikh-ul-Jibal, 134; The Syrian —, 236.
Shaikhs (**Esheks**) in Madagascar, II. **345**, 348.
Shaliát, II. 376.
Shamanism, 278, 289, 290; II. 61, see *Devil-Dancing.*
Shampath, 51.
Shamuthera (Sumatra), II. 238.
Shan; Race and Country, II. 37, 38, 43; — Dynasty in Yunnan, 43, 48; Black and White-bellied —— 5, *ib.*; 55, 57; 71; 81; 82, 83.
Shanars of Tinnevelly, II. 62, 294.
Shangking and Tungking, 308.
Shangtu, Shangdu (**Chandu**), 25; 268; Kublai's Annual Visits to, 271.
—— Keibung, 268, 269.
Shanhai-Kwan, 362.
Shankárah, Shabankára (**Soncara**), **79**, 81, 82.
Shansi, II. 8.
Shantung, II. 99; Silk in, **98**, 99; Pears from, 166.
Shaohing-fu, II. 176, 178.
Sharakhs, 141.
Sharks and Shark-charmers, II. **267**, 274.
Shawankára, 81.
Shawls of Kerman, 89.
Sheep; Fat-tailed in Kerman, **92**, 94; Wild — of Badakhshan, **150**, 154, of Pamer, **163**, 166; none in Manzi, II. **176**; Large Indian, **296**; — of Zanghibar, **355**, 357; Singular at Shehr, II. **378**, 379.
Sheep's head given to Horses, II. 288.
Shehr or Shihr (**Esher**), II. **377**, 378, **379**, 380.
Shenrabs, 289.
Shensi, II. 14, 18, 128.
Shentseu Tribe, II. 83.
Sheuping, II. 83, 84.
Shewa Plateau, 154.
Shibrgan (**Sapurgán**), 141, 143.
Shien-sien, Shin-sien, 286, 287.
Shieng, *Sheng*, or **Sing**, The Supreme Board of Administration, **386**, 387; II. **116.**
Shighnan, 151, 152, 164.
Shijarat Malayu or Malay Chronicle, II. 230, 231, 237, 243, 245.
Shikárgáh, appl. to Animal Pattern Textures, 63.
Shinking or Mukden, 308.
Ships; Chinese, **32**, number of sails, 35; — of Hormuz, **102**, 109; of the Great Kaan, II. **104**; of Manzi or S. China, described, **195**; their size, 198; accounts of them by other Medieval Authors, 198–199; construction, 198.
Shiraz (**Cerazi**), 81; Wine of, 83.
Shireghi, II. 392, 393.
Shirha, II. 371.
Shirwan, II. 424, 425.
Shi-tsung, Emperor, 273.
Shoa, II. 369, 371, 372.
Shor-Ab (Salt River), 146.
—— Rúd (Do.), 116.
Shot of Military Engines, II. 124; 125–126.
Shulistán (**Suolstan**), 81.
Shúls or Shauls, a People of Persia, 81, 96.
Shut-up Nations, Legend of the, cxxxviii, **50**, 52, 54.
Shweli, R., II. 72.
Siam, II. 220; King of, 221; 222.
Siangyang-fu (**Saianfu**) II. **128**; Alleged aid of the Polos in capturing, lii; the Siege of, by Kublai's Forces, II. 110, 112, 129; difficulties in Polo's account; **not removed by Pauthier; notice by Wassáf; the Chinese account**; Rashid's account, 130. Treasure buried during siege, 132; 134.
Siberia, see II. **410**, 412 *seqq.*
Siclatoun, a kind of Texture, 249, II. 5.
Sick Men put to death by their Friends and eaten, II. **236**, 240.
Siddharta, II. 262.
Sidi 'Ali, II. 2, 379, 384.
Sien, Sien-Lo, Sien-Lo-Kok (Siam, **Locac**), II. 220, 221.
Sifan, II. 38.
Sigatay, 170, see *Chagatai.*
Sighelm, Envoy from K. Alfred to India, II. 293.

Si-hu, The Lake of Kinsay or Hangchau; Bright Descriptions of, II. **146**, 154, 156, **158**, **162**, 165, 167, 169.
Sijistan, 96.
Siju (Suthsian), II. **103**.
Sikintinju, **307**, 308.
Silk; called Ghellé (of Gilan), **51**; grown, II. **7**, **12**, **13**, **14**, **17**, **98**, 99, 101, **102**, **115**, **118**, **139**, **140**, **143**, **172**, **175**, **180**.
—— Stuffs and Goods; **43**; **50**; **60**; of Yezd, **84**, 85; **86**; 175; **250**; **368**; II. **4**, **24**, **43**, **50**, **60**, 62, **79**; **97**, **119**; of Hangchau, **147**, 155; **180**; in Animal Patterns, I. **60**, **86**, with *Cheetas*, 354, with Giraffes, II. 357.
—— and Gold Stuffs; **41**; **50**; **57**; **60**; **70**; **101**; **184**; **224**; **250**; **340**; **343**; **368**; II. **4**, 5, **13**, **14**; **95**, **115**, **118**, **139**, **143**, **163**; **325**, **346**.
—— Tent Ropes, **360**;—Bed-furniture, **388**.
—— in Kweichau, II. **89**, 90; in Shantung, **98**, 99, 101.
—— Trade at Cambaluc, **368**; at Kinsay, II. **147**.
——, Duty on, II. **172**, and see I. **398**.
——, Cotton Tree, II. 329.
Siloduri or Trusty Lieges of Celtic Kings, II. 284.
Silver; Mines at Baiburt, **49**; at Gumish Khana, 49; in Badakhshan, **150**; in N. Shansi, **251**, 260; in Yunnan, II. 59; Russian, **418**, 419.
—— imported into Malabar, II. **325**, and Cambay, **333**.
—— Chair, **313**, 317.
—— Island, II. 136.
Simon, Metropolitan of Fars, II. 313.
—— **Magus**, 278.
Simúm, Effects of, **102–103**, 112.
Simurgh, II. 349, 352.
Sind, xlvi; **Cotton bushes in**, II. **329**.
Sindabur (Goa), II. 326, 376.
Sindachu (Siwanhwa-fu), **251**, 260, 261.
Sindae, II. 251.
Sindafu (Chingtu-fu), II. **22**, **89**, 90.
Sindbad; his Story of the Diamonds, II. 298; of the Rukh, 351.
Sindhu-Sauvira, Sindh-Ságor, 98.
Sing, Shieng, The Board of Administration of a Great Province (in China), **386**, 387; II. **16**, 156, 188; The Twelve, **116**, 117.
Singan-fu (Kenjanfu), II. **13**, **14**, 16, 17, 18; Christian Inscription at, 16; 20.
Singapore, Singhapura, 35; II. 222, 224, 225.
Singkel, II. 243.
Singphos, II. 56.
Singtur, Mongol Prince, II. 74.
Singuyli (Cranganore), II. 360.
Sinhopala (**Accambale**), K. of Chamba, II. **212**, 214.
Sinju (Siningfu), **241**, 243.
Sinju (Ichin-hien), II. **132**.
Sinjumatu, II. 99, **100**, **102**.
Sínkalán, Sín-ul-Sín, Maháchín, or Canton, I. 257; II. 137, 190, 198.
Siráf, 61.
Sirján, 87, 91, 114.
Sitting in Air, 279.
Siuchau, II. 38, 92.
Siva, II. 260.
Siwanhwa-fu, see **Sindachu**.
Siwas (**Savast**), 45, 48.
Siwastán, II. 360.
Siwi, Cotton in, II. 329.
'Six Towns' (*Alti Shahr*), 176.
Siya-gosh or Lynx, 354.
Sladen, Major, II. 49, 71, 72, 155.
Slaves and Slave Trade at Venice, lv, c.
Sledges, Dog-, II. **411**.
Sling or *Ziling*, a woollen stuff, 243, 248.
Sluices of Grand Canal, II. 137.
Smith, Major, R.E., 106.
Sneezing, Omen from, II. **300**.
Soap, use of in Naval fights, lxvi.
Socotra (**Scotra**), Island of, 338; 339; described, II. **340**; account of, from ancient times, 342 *seqq.*
Soer (Suhar), II. **276**, 284.
Sofala to China, Trade from, II. 334.
Sogomon Borcan, 310, see **Sagamoni**.
Sol, Arbre, see **Arbre**.
Soldaia, Soldachia, Sudák, lv; **2**, 3, **4**.
Soldan, a Melic, II. **404**.
Soli, Solli, Km. of (*Chola* or Tanjore), II. 272; **299**, 303.
Solomon, House of, in Abyssinia, II. 369.
Somnath (Semenat), II. 329, **334**, 336, 337, 359.
Sonagar-pattanam, II. 307.
Soncara (*Shawankára*), a Km. of Persia, **79**, 81.
Sonder Bandi Davar, see *Sundara Pandi*.
Sondur and Condur (Pulo Condore Group), II. **219**, 222.
Sopracomito of a Galley, lxviii, lxxv.
Sorcerers, Sorceries; of Pashai, **155**, *i.e.* of Udyana, 156; of Kashmir, **158**, 159, 161, **265**; of Lamas and Tibetans, **265**, 278, II. **32**; of Dagroian, **236**; of Socotra, **341**, 345.
Sornau (*i.e.* Shahr-i-nau, Siam), II. 222.
Soucat, II. 220.
Spaan, or Ispahan, 81.

Spelling Names in present Translation, Principles of, clxi.
Spermaceti **Whales**, II. **341**, 542, **346**, 348.
'**Spezerie**,' Sense of, 43.
Spices in China, Duty on, II. **172**, **186**.
Spice Wood, **360**, 362.
Spikenard, II. **217**, **226**, 229; **325**.
Spinello Aretini, Fresco by, lxv, 110.
Spirits haunting Deserts, **181**–183, **241**.
Spiritualism in China, 290.
Spittoons, **405**.
Spodium, **117**, 118.
Sport and Game, Notices of, in the Book, **41**; **84**; **86**; **141**; **145**; **150**; **163**; **251**; **260**; **356**; **359**; II. **6**; **12**; **13**; **18**; **20**; **35**; **74**; **102**; **115**; **118**; **119**; **139**; **140**; **143**; **159**; **175**; **180**; **185**; **228**; **242**; **318**; **321**.
Springolds, II. 122.
Sprinkling of Drink, a Tartar rite, **265**, 272.
Sri-vai Kuntham, II. 310.
Ssechuen, II. 24, 30, 41, 42.
Star of Bethlehem, Traditions about, 77.
Steamers on Yangtse-Kiang, II. 136.
Steel; Mines of, **86**, 87; Indian, 88; Asiatic view of, 89.
Stefani, Signor, xxxix, II. 437.
Stiens of Kamboja, II. 50, 61.
Stirrups, Short and Long, II. **47**, 49.
Stitched Vessels, **102**, 109.
Stockade erected by Polo's Party in Sumatra, II. **235**.
Stone, Miracle of the, at **Samarkand**, **170** *seqq.*, 172; the Green— there, 172.
—— **Towers** in Chinese Cities, II. **147**.
Stones giving **Invulnerability**, II. **205**, 207, 208.
Suakin, II. 374.
Submersion of part of **Ceylon**, II. **253**, 254.
Subterraneous Irrigation, 85, **115**, 116.
Suburbs of **Cambaluc**, **367**, 370.
Subutai, Mongol General, II. 130.
Suchau (**Suju**), II. **142**, 144, 145.
Sudarium, The Holy, **192**, 195.
Suddodhana, II. 262.
Sugar; grown, II. **79**; Manufacture, II. **171**, **180**; revenue from, **172**; art of Refining, *ib.*, **183**; of Egypt and China, 183; **183**, 184. See also **Wine**.
Suhchau (**Sukchu**), **196**, 247, 248.
Suichang-hien, II. 178.
Suicides before an Idol, II. **277**, 285, 286.
Sukchu, see *Suhchau*.
Sukchur, Province of, **195**.
Sukkothai, II. 221.
Suklát, a stuff, 249.
Suleiman, Sultan of Yunnan, II. 44, 48.
Sulphur and **Quicksilver**, Potion of Longevity, II. **300**, 304.
Sultan Shah of Badakhshan, 154.
Sumatra, Island of (**Java the Less**), cxliii; II. **226**; circuit, 228; application of the name Java, *ib.*; its gold, 229; its Kingdoms, *ib.*; 230, 245, 248.
——, Samudra, City and Kingdom of (**Samara**), II. 237; Legend of Origin; Ibn Batuta there, and others, 238; Position; latest mention, 237–238; 245.
Sumbawa, II. 229.
Summers, Professor, II. 221.
Sumutala, *Sumuntala* (Sumatra), II. 239, 243.
Sun and Moon, Trees of the, 121 *seqq.*
Sundar Fulát (Pulo Condore Group), II. 219.
Sundara Pandi Devar (**Sondar Bandi Davar**), a King in Ma'bar, II. **267**, 268; death of, 269; Dr. Caldwell's views about, 270, 271.
—— Another, II. 270.
Sung, a Native Dynasty reigning in Southern China till conquered by Kublai, xliii; their Paper-Money; effeminacy of, II. 10; Kublai's War against, 107 *seqq.*; 113; end of them, *ib.*; 153, 160, see **Manzi, King of**.
Sunnis and Shías, 151.
Suolstan (Shulistan), a Km. in Persia, **79**, 80.
Superstitions; in Tangut, the devoted Sheep, **184**, 187; the Dead Man's Door, **185**, 188; as to chance-shots, **393**; Remarkable, in Carajan, **47**, 50; of Sumatran People, **236**, 240; of Malabar, **276** *seqq.*; as to omens, **280**, **300**.
Sur-Raja, II. 310.
Sushun, Regent of China, Execution of (1861), 383.
Suttees in India, II. **277**, 286.
Swans, Wild, **260**, 261.
Swat, 152, 168.
—— River, 156.
Syghinan (Shighnán, q. v.), **149**.
Sylen (Ceylon), II. 360.
Symbolical Messages, Scythian and Tartar, II. 428, 429.
Syrian Christians, II. 367.
Syrrhaptes Pallasii (**Barguerlac**), 239; immigration of this bird into England, 240.

T.

Tabashír, II. 208, 331.
Table of the **Great Kaan, 338.**
Tables, how disposed at Mongol Feasts, 340.
Tablet, the Emperor's, adored with Incense, **347**, 348.
Tablets worshipped by the Cathayans, **404**, 406.
Tablets of Authority, Golden (or *Páizah*); presented by the Kaan to the Brothers Polo, **14**; their powers and privileges, **15**; again presented, **32**; bestowed on distinguished Captains, **312**; their nature and inscriptions, **313**; Lion's-Head Tablets and Gerfalcon Tablets, **33 and 313.** Note on the subject, 314; — granted to Governors of different rank, **385.**
Tabellionato of Notaries, ci.
Tabriz (**Tauris**), liv, **70**–72; II. 404, 425.
Tachindo, see *Tathsianlu.*
Tactics, Tartar, **229–230**, 232, 233; II. **390–391.**
'**Tacuin**,' **400**, 401.
Tadinfu, II. **97**, **100.**
Taeping (or Taiping) Sovereigns' Effeminate Customs, II. 11.
Taeping Insurrection and Devastations, 276; II. 117, 119, 134, 138, 140, 144, 154.
Tafurs, 277.
Tagachar, II. **402**, 405, 406.
Tagaung, II. 71, 76.
Taiani, II. 365.
Taianfu (Thaiyuan-fu), II. **5**; described, **6**, 8.
Taican (Thaikan, Tálikán), see *Talikan.*
Taichau (**Tiju**), II. 117.
Taidu or Daitu, Kublai's New City of Cambaluc, 268; **331**, 333.
Taikhing, II. 15, **16.**
Taikung, II. 74, 76.
Tailed Men; in Sumatra, II. **242**, 243; elsewhere, 244; Englishmen, *ib.*
Tailors, **none** in **Maabar**, II. **274.**
Taish-khan, 147.
Taiting-fu (**Tadinfu**) or Yenchau, II. 99.
Taitong-fu, see *Tathung.*
Tájiks, 146, 151.
Takfúr, II. 110.
Táki-uddin-al-Thaibi, II. 269.
Talains, II. 43.
Talas R., II. 389.
Tali-fu (City of **Carajan**), II. 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, 69, 74.
Talikan, Thaikan (**Taican**), 143, **144**, 146, 154.
Tallies, Record by, II. **53**, 60.
Tamarind, how used by Pirates, II. **328.**
Tana (Azov), xli, lxxi, c.
—— (near Bombay), Km. of, II. 302; **329**; **330**; 331; 336, 337; 359; 376.
—— -Maiambu, II. 331.
Tanasi cloth, *ib.*
Tangnu-oolla, a branch of Altai, 194.
Tangut, Prov. of, **184**, 185; applications of the name, *ib.*; 192, **195**, **196**; 216; **241**, 243.
Tanjore, II. 276, 272; Suttees at, 286; 289; Fertility of, 303.
Tánkíz Khán (applied to Chinghiz), 218.
Tanpiju, II. **175**, 176, 177.
Tantras, The, 279, 287, 290.
Taossé Sect, 285 *seqq.*; persecuted under Kublai, *ib.*; names applied to, 286; Practices and Rites, 287; application of the name to Foreign Heretics, 289.
Taprobana, Mistakes about, II. 238.
Tarakai, II. 407.
Tarantula, II. **282**, **300.**
'**Tarcasci**,' the word, 327.
Tarem or Tarum, 81, 114.
Tarmabala, grandson of Kublai, 522.
Tarok, Burmese name for Chinese, II. 76.
—— Mau, and — Myo, *ib.*
Tartar Language, **12.**
Tartars, **1**; **5**; **10**; **12**; **50**; different characters used by, **27**; identified with Gog and Magog, 52; **73**; **86**; **91**; **92**; **93**; **142**; their first city, **203**; their original country, **204**; tributary to Prester John, *ib.*; their Revolt and Migration; make Chinghiz their King, **209**; his Successors, **216**; their Customs, **219**; Houses, &c., **220**, 221; Waggons, **220**, 221; Chastity of Women, **220**, 222; Polygamy, *ib.*; their Gods, **224**; and Domestic Idols; their Drink, **Kemiz** (Kumíz); Clothing; Note on Tartar Religion, 225; on Kumiz, 226; their Arms and Horses, **228**; their Military Organization; their Sustenance on rapid marches, **229**; their Portable Curd; Mode of Engaging, **230**; present degeneracy, *ib.* Note on their Arms, 230; Decimal Organization, 231; Blood-sucking; Portable Curd, 232; Tactics and Cruelties; Administration of Justice, **234**; Marriage of deceased young couples, *ib.* and 235; the Cudgel among them, 235; Punishment of Theft; Rubruquis's account of, 207; Joinville's, 209; their Custom to play and sing in concert before a Fight, **301**; their want of Charity to the Poor, **398**; their objec-

tion to meddle with things pertaining to the Dead, II. **74**; their employment of Military Engines, II. 130 *seqq.*; 142; their Cruelties, 142; their excellence in Archery, II. **67**; their equipment with Arrows of two sorts, **390–391**; their Marriage Customs, I. 32, **220**; II. 399.
Tartars in the Far North, II. **410**.
—— of the **Levant**, see **Levant**.
—— of the **Ponent**, see **Ponent**.
Tartary Cloths, 259.
Tathsianlu or Tachindo, II. **29**, 30, 33, 41, 42.
Tathsing R., II. 99, 106.
Tathung or Taitongfu, 216, 251, 252, 253.
Tattooing, II. 43; **52**, 56; **80**, 82; 181; 238; Artists in, **186**, 190.
Tauriz, see *Tabriz*.
Taurizi, **Torisi**, **70**, 72.
Tawalisi, II. 396.
Tawankolo, II. 90, 92.
Taxes. See **Customs**, **Duties**, **Tithe**.
Tchakiri Mondou, 363.
Tea-Trees in Eastern Tibet, II. 37.
Tebet, see Tibet.
Teeth; custom of casing, in Gold, II. **52**, 55, 56, 57; — of Adam, or of Buddha, **259**, 264, 265, 266; Conservation of — by the Brahmans, **300**.
Tegana, II. **402**, 405.
Teimur (**Temur**), Grandson and successor of Kublai, **321**, 322, 323; II. 111, 389. See *Timur*.
Tekhwa Porcelain, II. 190.
Tekla Hamainot, II. 293.
Telo Samawe, II. 238.
Tembul (Betel), chewing, II. **306**, 311.
Temkan, son of Kublai, 323.
Temple, Connexion of the Order of the, with Cilician Armenia, 24.
——, **Master** of the, **23**, 24.
Temple's account of the Condor, II. 351.
Temujin, see *Chinghiz*.
Tenduc, **Plain of**, **212**, 213; Province of, **249**, 251.
Tengri, the Supreme Deity of the Tartars, 225, 226.
Tennasserim, II. 221, 229.
Tents, The **Kaan's**, **360**, 364.
Terlán, a kind of Falcon, 91.
Teroa Mns., II. 353.
Terra Australis, II. 218.
Terzaruoli, lxi.
Thai, Great and Little, II. 229.
Thaigin, II. 15, 16.
Thaiyuanfu (**Taianfu**), II. 8.
Thang Dynasty, II. 17, 154.
Thard-wahsh, see *Beast and Bird Patterns*.
Theatre, Malibran, lviii.
Theft, **Tartar Punishment of**; **234**, 235.
Theistic Worship, **404**, 406.
Thelasar, II. 365.
Theobald or **Tedaldo** of **Piacenza**, **16**; chosen Pope, as Gregory X., **19**; Notes on election and character, 20, 21; sends two friars with the Polos, and presents for the Kaan, **21**.
Theodorus, K. of Abyssinia, II. 370.
Theophilus, a Missionary, II. 343.
Thian-Shan, 166, 167, 176; II. 389.
Thiante-Kiun, 251, 252.
Thin l'Evêque, Siege of, II. 124, 127.
Thinae of Plotemy, II. 16.
Tholoman, see **Coloman**.
Thomas, see **St. Thomas**.
—— of Mancasola, Bishop of Samarkand, 172.
——, Mr. Edward, II. 79.
Thread, Brahmanical, II. **299**.
'Three Kingdoms' (*San-Kué*), II. 25.
Threshold, To step on the, a **great offence**, **339**, 341, 342.
Thsang-chau, II. 96, 99.
Thsinan-fu (**Chinangli**), II. 99, 100.
Thsing-chau, II. 100.
Thsining-chau, II. 101, 102.
Thsing-ling, II. 20.
Thsiuan-chau, see **Zayton**.
Thuran Shah's Hist. of Hormuz, 113.
Tibet (**Tebet**), Province of, II. **26**, **29**, **31**, **32**; Boundary of, 29; its acquisition by the Mongols obscure, *ib.*; organization under Kublai, *ib.*; 33.
Tibetans, 72; Superstitions of, 187, 188; and Kashmiris (**Tebet and Kesimur**), sorceries of, **265**, **266**; accused of cannibalism, 275.
Tides in Hangchau Estuary, II. 165.
Tierce, **Half-Tierce**, &c., Hours of, II. **300**, 303–304.
Tigado, Castle of, 140.
Tigers; trained to the chase, 354, 355; in Kweichau, II. 90, but see *Lions*.
Tigris, **R.**, The Wolga so called, **5**, 9.
Tigudar (**Acomat Soldan**), II. 399.
Tiju, II. **116**, 117.
Tiles, Enamelled, **325**, 328.
Tilinga, Telingana, Tilink, Telenc, II. **297**, 360.
Timur (the Great), 173, II. 128.
Ting, 10 Taels of Silver (or a tael of Gold), 382; II. 173.
Tinnevelly, II. 307, 310.
Tintoretto, Domenico, Picture by, lxvi.

Tithe on clothing material, **398**.
Tithing Men, Chinese, II. 157.
Tjäjya, see **Choiach**.
Toddy, see **Wine of Palm**.
Togan, II. **402**, 405.
Toghon-Temur, last Mongol Emperor, his Wail, 268.
Togrul Wang Khan, 204, see **Prester John**.
Toktai Khan (**Toctai, Lord of the Ponent**), c; II. **418**, **421**, **426** *seqq.*; Wars of, with Noghai, 428 *seqq.*
Tolobuga, see **Tulabugha**.
Tolon-nur, 269.
Toman (Tuman), Mongol word for 10,000, or a Corps of that number, 94, 95; **229**, 231; II. **152**, 157, 169; **171**; **172**, 173, 174; 393.
Tomb of **Adam**, see **Adam**.
Tongking, Tungking, II. 82, 83, 213, 214.
Tonocain (Tún-o-Ḳáin), a Km. of Persia, **79**, 82; **119**, 120, 138.
Tooth-Relique of Buddha, II. **259**; its history, 264-265.
Torchi, Dorjé, First-born of Kublai, 322, 323.
Tornesel, **378**, 381, II. 472.
Toro R., 308.
Torshok, II. 420.
Torture by constriction in raw Hide, II. 207.
'**Toscaol**' or Watchman, **358**; the word, 362.
Totamangu, Totamangul, see *Tudai-Mangku*.
Tozan ('I. **Sao**'), 253.
Tower, Alarm, at Peking, **332**, 335; at Kinsay, II. **148**.
Trade, Dumb, II. 416–417.
—— of India with Hormuz, **101**; with Egypt, II. **373**, 374, 375; with Esher, **377**; with Dofar, **380**; with Calate, **382**; — at Cambaluc, I. **368**; on the Caramoran, II. **12**; on the Great Kiang, **23**, **133**; at Chinangli, **97**; at Sinju Matu, **101**; at Kinsay, **146**, **172**; at Fuchau, **183**; at Zayton, **185**; at Malaiur, **223**; at Cail, **306**; at Coilum, **312**; in Melibar, **325**; at Tana, **330**; at Cambaet, **333**; at Socotra, **341**.
Trades in China not hereditary, II. 154.
'**Tramontaine**,' II. 239.
Transmigration, **404**; II, **258**.
Traps for **Fur Animals**, II. **412**, 414.
Travancore Raja, II. 315.
Treasure of **Kings** of **Maabar**, II. **276**, 284.
Trebizond, lxxi; **34**; Emperors of, and their Tails, II. 244.
Trebuchets, II. **120**, 121, 122, see *Military Engines*.
Trees; of the Sun and Moon, &c., 121 *seqq.*, see *Arbre Sol* and *Arbre Sec*; superstitions about, 124, 129; by the Highways, **394**; producing Wine, II. **235–236**, 240, **242**, **254**; producing Flour, **242**.
'**Tregetour**,' the word, 342.
Trevisan, Jordan, xlix, liv, xciii.
——, Fiordelisa? *ib.*
——, Maroca and Pietro, xciii.
——, Azzo, cv.
——, Marc' Antonio, Doge, xxxix, cv.
Trincomalee, II. 274.
Tringano, II. 222.
Trinkat, II. 250.
'**Trusty Lieges**,' Devoted Comrades of K. of Maabar, II. **276**, 283.
Tseuthung, II. 188.
Tsiamdo, II. 42.
Tsiang-Kiun ('General'), II. 207.
Tsien-Tang R.. II. 156, 165, 170, 176, 177, 191; Bore in the, 113.
Tsing-chau or Kuku Khotan, 252.
Tsintsun, II. 182.
Tsushima Island, II. 205.
Tsongkhapa, Tibetan Reformer, 278.
Tsukuzi in Japan, II. 205, 206.
Tsung-ngan-hien, II. 178, 182.
Tuc, *Tuk*, or *Tugh*, the Horse-tail or Yak-tail Standard, **229**, 231.
Tudai, II. 402.
Tudai-Mangku (**Totamangu** or **Totamangul**), II. **421**, 423, **426**, 427, **429**, **430**.
Tughan, Tukan, Son of Kublai, 323, II. 214.
Tughlak Shah, a Karaunah, 95.
Tulabugha (**Tolobuga**), II. **426**, 427, 428.
Tuli, or Tului, Fourth Son of Chinghiz, xli, II. 18.
Tuman, see **Toman**.
Tumba, Angelo di, lv.
Tún, a City of E. Persia, 82.
Tún-o-Kain, see **Tonocain**.
Tungani, or 'Converts,' a class of Mahomedans in Northern China and Chinese Turkestan, 255, 256.
Tungchau (Tinju), II. 117.
Tungkwan, Fortress of, II. 16.
Tunguses, 238.
Tunny-fish, **102**, 109, II. **378**.
Turbit, II. **325**, 326.
Turcomania (Turkey), **43**, 44.
Turkey, **Great**, *i.e.* Turkestan, **176**; II. 229; **384**, **387**, **392**, **408**.
Turkman, 44, 96; Turkmans and Turks, distinction between, 44; — Horses, **43**, 44.

Turks; Ancient Mention of, 52; — and Mongols, 259.
Turquans, or Turkish Horses, **43**.
Turmeric, II. 180.
Turquoises; in Kerman, **86**, 87; in Caindu, II. **34**.
Turtle-doves, **91**.
Tutia; Preparation of, **117**, 118; II. **333**.
Tuticorin, II. 308, 309.
Tutsong, Sung Emperor of China, II. 113, 167.
Tver, II. 420.
Twelve; a favourite round number, II. 360.
—— **Barons** over the Kaan's Administration, **385**; II. **116**.
Twigs or Arrows, Divination by, 214.
Tyuman, II. 412.
Tyunju Porcelain manufacture, II. **186**.
Tzarev, 6.

U.

Ucaca (Ukak, Ukek), a City on the Wolga, **5**; account of, 8; II. 419.
Uchh, II. 360; —— -Multan, I. 82.
Udyána, 156, 157.
Ughuz, Legend of, II. 416.
Uigur Character, 13; 27, 28; 315.
Uigurs, 72; 193; 204; 206; II. 141; 389; 392.
Uiraca, 247, 248.
Uirad, see *Oirad*.
Ujjain; Legend of, 286; 360.
Ukiang, II. 92.
Ulahai, 247, 248.
Ulatai, II. **402**, 406.
Ulugh Bagh in Badakhshan, 146.
Uman and Peman ('Black and White Barbarians'), II. 43.
Umbrellas, **313**; 316.
Unc Can (Aung Khan), see **Prester John**.
Ung (Ungkút), a Tartar Tribe, **250**, 259.
Ungrat (Kungurat), a Tartar Tribe, **318**, 320.
Unicorn, *i.e.* Rhinoceros, II. **71**; in Sumatra, II. **227**; Legend of Virgin and —, 233; Horns of, 234; 242; **328**.
Unken, II. **180**, 182.
Unlucky Hours, II. **300**.
Urduja, Princess, II. 396.
Uriangkadai, II. 29.
Urumtsi, 193.
Uttungadeva, K. of Java, II. 218.
Uwek, see **Ucaca**.
Uzbegs of Kunduz, 149.

V.

Vair (The Fur and Animal), **224**; II. **411**, **412**, 414, **415**, 416, **418**.
—— as an epithet of Eyes, cxlvii; 319.
Vámbéry, Professor Hermann, 176, 193, 337, 357; II. 396.
Van, Lake, 55.
Vanchu (Wangchu) conspires with Chenchu against Ahmad, **372**; is slain, **373**; cxxiv.
Varaegian, Varangian, II. 420.
Váraha Mihira, 98.
Varini, II. 420.
Vasmulo, 256.
Vateria Indica, II. 332.
Vedala, II. 274.
Vellalars, II. 308.
Venadan, Title of K. of Kaulam, II. 315.
Venetian pronunciation, cxxiv, clx.
Venice and Genoa, Rivalry and Wars of, lxx *seqq.*; Peace of 1299, lxxx.
—— Return of the Polos to, xxxvi, liv, 34; **Mansion of the Polo Family at**, lv. *seqq.*; **Marco's return to, from captivity at Genoa**, lxxxi, xcii.
Ventilators at Hormuz, II. **383**, 384.
'**Verniques**,' the word, **339**, 340.
Verzino Colombino, and other kinds of *Verzino* or Brazil, II. 315.
Vessels on the Kiang; Vast numbers of II. **132**, 133; their size, **133**.
Vijayanagar, II. 298.
Vikramajit, Legend of, II. 286.
Vikrampúr, II. 64.
Villard de Honcourt, Album of, II. 126.
Vineyards, **174**; II. **4**, **5**, **6**, 8, **34**.
Virgin and Unicorn, II. **227**, 233–234.
Visconti, Maffeo, of Milan, lxxx.
——, Tedaldo or **Tebaldo** (Pope Gregory X.), xlix, **16**, 18, 20. See **Theobald**.
Vochan (or **Unchan**, Yungchang), II. **52**, **53**, 59; Battle there, **62**, **63**, **66**, 67, 69.
Vokhan, see *Wakhan*.
Vughin, II. **143**.
Vuju (in Kiangnan), *ib.*
—— (in Chekiang), II. **173**, 177.

W.

Wakhan (**Vokhan**); Dialect of, 151; 152; **162**, 164.
Walashjird, 100.
Wall; of Alexander (or Caucasian), 51; an-

other, 52, 54; of China, 257; of Peking, **331**, 333.
Walnut-oil, 150, 153.
Wang, Chin. Title, 'King,' 208.
Wangchu (**Vanchu**), 376–377.
Wareg, Warang, II. 420.
Wassáf, The Historian 'Abdullah son of Fazlullah of Shiraz surnamed; perhaps drew information from Polo, cxliv, his eulogy of Kublai, 295; his account of the taking of Siangyang, II. 112; of Kinsay, 169; of Ma'bar, 269; of the Horse Trade to India, 285; of the treatment of Horses there, 288; sample of his extravagant style, 425.
Water; Bitter, see that; Custom of lying in, **102**, 112; consecration by Lamas, 272.
—— Clock, 335.
Wathek, the Khalif, 54.
Weather-Conjuring, 92; **158**, 159; **265**, 272 *seqq.*; II. **341**, and see *Conjuring*.
Wei R. (in Shensi), II. 12.
—— (in Shantung), II. 102.
Wen R. (Do.), II. 101.
Weining, II. 92, 93.
Whale-oil, **102**, 109.
Whales, II. **195**; how taken in Socotra, **341**; of the Indian Ocean, 342; 348; **356**.
Wheaten Bread, not eaten, II. **39**, 44.
White; — 'City,' 261, meaning of the term among Tartars, II. 7; — **'City of the Manzi Frontier,'** II. **19**, 21; — **Camels**, I. **247**; — **Devils, 291**, 294; — **Feast**, at Kaan's Court, **347**, 348; — Horde, II. 412; — **Horses**, and **Mares**, I. **265**, offered to the Kaan, 271, **346**.
Whittington and his Cat in Persia, 61.
Wild Asses, see **Asses**.
—— **Oxen**, see **Oxen**.
William, Friar, of **Tripoli, 21**; his writings, 22, 23.
Williamson, Rev. A., II. 17.
Wind, Poison-, 102–103, 112.
Wine (of the Vine), in Persia, **79**; Boiled, **80**, 83, **145**, 147; laxity of Persians about, 83, 91; of Khotan, **174**, and *note*; in Shansi, II. **6**, 7; imported at Kinsay, **159**.
—— **Rice-, 394**; II. **35**, **39**, **52**, **85**, **159**, **160**, **172**, **356**, **378**.
—— of the **Palm**, II. **235–236**, 240; **242**; **254**.
——, from **Sugar**, II. **313**, **378**.
——, from **Dates, 101**, 108; II. **356**, **378**.
——, not used in Ma'bar, II. **279**.
'Winter,' used for 'Rainy Season,' II. 327.
Wisu, a People of Russia, II. 417.
Women, Respectful Treatment of, II. **161**.
Women, Island of, II. 339, 340.
Wonders performed by the **Bacsi, 266**, 279 *seqq.*; 308, 309.
Wood, Captain John, Indian Navy, l; his excellent illustrations of Polo in the Oxus Countries, 164 *seqq.*
Wood-oil, II. **195**, 197.
Wool, Salamander's, 194.
Worship, supposed, of **Mahomed**, 174; **Tartar**, **224**, 225; by the **Bacsis, 227**; of fire, **268**; Chinese, **404**.
—— of the first object seen in the Day, II. **227**, 231.
Wolga R. (**Tigeri**), **5**, 6, 8, 9; II. 415, 420, 424.
Wuchau, II. 178.
Wukiang-hien (**Vughin**?), II. 145.
Wylie, Mr. A. S., 286; II. 10, 20 *seqq.*; 24, 132, 264.

X.

Xavier at Socotra, II. 343.
Xanadu, 269.

Y.

Yachi City (Yunnan-fu), II. **39**, 40, 41, 42, 43, **45**, **53**.
Yadah, *Yadah-Tásh* (alias *Jadah*), the Science and Stone for Weather-Conjuring, 273.
Yájúj and Májúj, see **Gog and Magog**.
Yak, described, **241**, 243; its size and horns, 244; cross-breeds, **241**, 244.
Yak-tail standard, 231; decorations, II. 294.
Ya'kúb Beg of Kashghar, 174.
Yakuts, II. 414.
Yalung R., II. 38, 42.
'**Yam**' or '**Yamb**' (a post or post-house), **388**, 390; II. 169.
Yamgan, 153.
Yamori, II. 243.
Yangchau (**Yanju**), City, 387; II. **116**, 119; Marco's government there, li; II. **116**, 117; **132**; Province of, **187**.
Yarbeg of Badakhshan, 148.
Yarkand (**Yarcan**), **173**.
Yarligh and *Paizah*, 288, 314.
Yasdi (Yezd), **84**.
——, a stuff so called, *ib.*
Yashm (i.e. Jade), 177.
Yasodhara, II. 262.
Yavanas, II. 307.
Ydifu, **251**.
Year, Chinese, 344; Mongol and Chinese — Cycle, **400**, 403.

Yellow or Orthodox Lamas, 279, 288.
Yelimala (Mt. d'Ely), II. 321.
Yemen, II. 367, 380, and see **Aden.**
Yenchau (in Shantung), II. 99, 101.
—— (in Chekiang), II. 178.
Yenching, II. 114.
Yenking (Old Peking), xliii, 333, 334.
Yenshan, II. 178.
Yesubuka II. 405.
Yesudar, II. **389**, 393.
Yesugai, Father of Chinghiz, 209.
Yesun-Temur, Mongol Emperor, 271.
Yetsina (**Etzina**), 202.
Yezd (**Yasdi**), 84; — silks, *ib.* and II. 5.
Youth, Island of, II. 316.
Yprès, John of, his notice of Polo, cxliv.
Yrac, 70.
Ysemain of *Hiolic*, II. 130.
Yu, see *Jade.*
Yuen, Mongol Imp. Dynasty so styled, 333; II. 77.
—— -min-Yuen Palace, 269.
Yuechi, 165.
Yugria, Yughra, II. 414, 416, 423.
Yukshan Portage, II. 177–178.
Yungchang-fu (in Shensi), 243.
—— (in Yunnan, **Vochan**), **52**, 53, 55, 56, 59, **62**, **63**, **66**, 71, 72.
Yungchun, II. 190.
Yungning-fu, II. 42.
Yunnan (**Carajan**, q. v.); Marco's Mission to, li, 27, II. 1 *seqq.*; I. 298; II. 29; 36, 37; 39, 40 *seqq.*; 49; 56; 57; 59; 60; 63; 69; 71; 72; 79; 83; 90; 91; 92.
Yunnan-fu (**Yachi**), II. 40, 74, 93.
Yuthia, Ayudhya (med. Capital of Siam), xliii; II. 221, 222.

Z.

Zaila', II. 347, 369, 371.
Zaitúniah, a silk stuff, II. 189.
Zampa (**Chamba**), II. 215.
Zanghibar (Zangibar, Zanjibar, Zanzibar), II. 339; **345**, **346**, 348; Ivory Trade, 350; 354; the name, *ib.*; described, **355**; its Blacks, *ib.*; Women of, *ib.*; application of name, 357; 365.
Zanton (Shantung?), xxxv.
Zardandan or 'Gold-Teeth,' a People of Western Yunnan, II. **52**, 55, 56, 59; **62**.
Zayton, Zaitún, Zeiton (Thsiuanchau or Chinchau), the great Medieval Port of China, II. 137; **183**, 184; described, **185** *seqq.*; Kaan's Revenue from, **186**; identity of, 188; alleged origin of name, *ib.*; name not extinct in 16th cent.; medieval notices, 189; origin of the word *Satin*, *ib.*; ships of, **209**; **210**, 211; **217**; 314.
Zedoary, II. 323.
Zenier, Abate, lix.
Zerms (*Jerms*), II. 374.
Zerumbet, II. 323.
Zettani, II. 189.
Zhafar (Dhafar, **Dofar**), II. 380.
Zic (Circassia), II. **421**, 422.
Zimmé, see *Kiang-mai.*
Zinc, 118.
Zinj, Zingis, II. 342, 354, 357, 358, 359.
Zorza, II. 207, see **Chorcha.**
Zu'lkarnain (**Zulcarniain**, *i.e.* Alexander). **149**, 152.
Zurpicar (Zu'lfikár), **192**.

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