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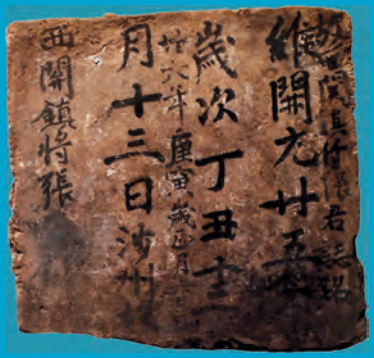

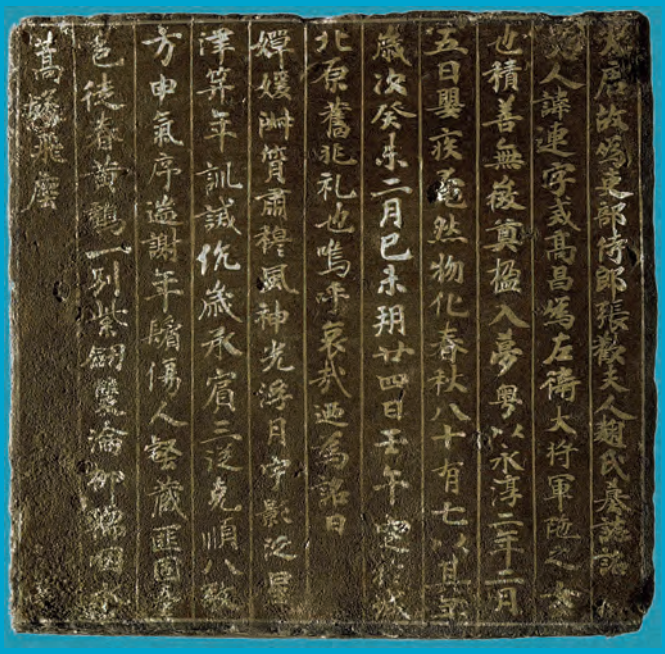

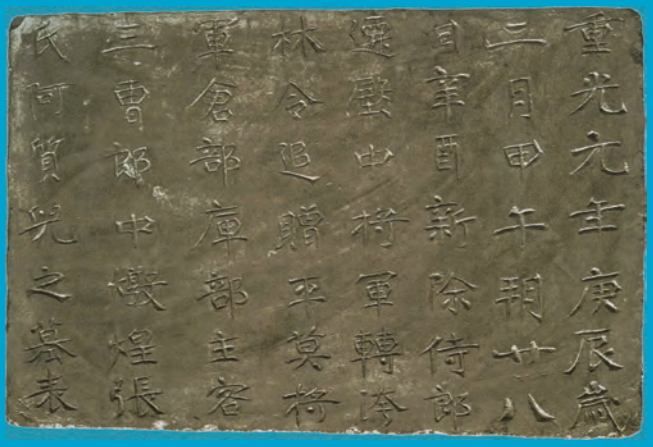

Crossroads

Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World

OSTASIEN Verlag

Vol. 17/18 (2018)

Crossroads

Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World

縦横

東亜世界交流史研究

クロスロード

東アジア世界の交流史研究

크로스로드

東아시아世界의交流史研究

Vol. 17/18 (2018)

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All inscriptions from the Turfan region shown on the cover page can be found on the website "Xibu bianchui de qipa: Tulufan (Gaochang) muzhuan shufa" 西部边陲的奇葩—吐鲁番(高昌)墓砖书法 [www.sohu.com/a/237616750_100140832]. Black-and-White photos of these inscriptions are published in the monograph *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu* 吐魯番出土磚誌集註, ed. by Hou Can 侯燦 and Wu Meilin 吳美琳. Chengdu: Bashu, 2004. [Top left:] Tang Kaiyuan 26 nian (738) Zhang Yungan ji qi mubiao 唐開元廿六年張運感及妻墓表 (p. 640, fig. 315); [left centre:] Gaochang Yanhe 11 nian (612) Zhang Zhongqing qi Jiaoshi mubiao 高昌延和十一年張仲慶妻焦氏墓表 (p. 284, fig. 138); [bottom left:] Gaochang Yanchang 26 nian (586) zhongbing canjun Xinshi mubiao 高昌延昌廿六年中兵參軍辛氏墓表 (p. 176, fig. 81); [Top right:] Tang Yongchun 2 nian (683) Zhang Huan furen Qu Lian muzhiming 唐永淳二年張歡夫人麴連墓志銘 (p. 575, fig. 292); [bottom right:] Gaochang Chongguang 1 nian (620) Zhang Azhi zi mubiao 高昌重光元年張阿質兒墓表 (p. 323, fig. 157).

This issue of Crossroads, dedicated to Chen Zhenxiu 陈朕秀 (1991–2019), has been edited with special assistance of Alexander Jost and Li Man.

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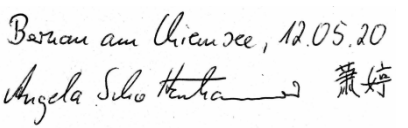
I would like to dedicate this special issue of Crossroads to Chen Zhenxiu 陳朕秀 (1991–2019), who has been my PhD student at the History Department of the University of Salzburg between March 2018 and January 2019. She has been an excellent student. We mourn for her and will always keep her in our minds!



The publication of this issue has kindly been supported by the Salzburger Universitätsstiftung, by the Chinese Studies Centre and the History Department of the University of Salzburg (PLUS), and by the Gerda Henkel Foundation. Research contributes to the project "Seafaring, Trade, and Knowledge Transfer: Maritime Politics and Commerce in Early Middle Period to Early Modern China", sponsored by the Gerda Henkel Foundation, to the partnership grant "Appraising Risk, Past and Present: Interrogating Historical Data to Enhance Understanding of Environmental Crises in the Indian Ocean World", sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), and to the ERC AdG project TRANSPACIFIC which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (Grant agreement No. 833143).

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In my role as Head of the History Department at the University of Salzburg, I participated in Chen Zhenxiu's interview for a job as doctoral student with Prof. Angela Schottenhammer in December 2017. We were all very convinced by her presentation. Seeing as the interview took place online, I was curious to meet our new colleague in real life, because she came across as highly motivated, competent, creative, open to new research methods and very likeable. At the time, everyone at the interview agreed that Chen Zhenxiu would add a great deal to our Department.

It was wonderful to see that our expectations were met, for we had gained a very motivated, conscientious colleague, with a ready smile and happy laugh. Indeed, she more than fulfilled our expectations and I was curious to learn more about her research, especially with a view to her expertise on the topic of applying digital sources, literature and audio-visual sources to historical understanding.

Our colleague Chen Zhenxiu's sudden, unexpected death left us all bewildered and lost for words. Yet, despite this loss, we found thankfulness in the fact that we had got to know this impressive young researcher and we took inspiration from what she achieved while she was here. Naturally, these feelings are nevertheless outweighed by sadness about her passing away and by our enormous sympathy with her family. I will remember Chen Zhenxiu with the greatest respect.

Albert Lichtblau

As current Head of the History Department at the University of Salzburg, I join Albert Lichtblau and other colleagues in expressing my appreciation for Chen Zhenxiu, who passed away so unexpectedly last year. It was with great shock and tremendous sorrow that we learnt about this tragic occurrence.

Everyone who came into contact with Zhenxiu immediately recognized her friendliness and great enthusiasm for the subject of history. Our Dept. was honoured and grateful to get to know her during her time in Salzburg, for she was a talented scholar who showed admirable initiative and great intellectual ambition. Zhenxiu had previously studied in Great Britain and she brought many skills with her, as well as a positive, outgoing nature and real generosity of spirit.

On behalf of the entire Dept., I would like to express my sincere thanks to Angela Schottenhammer and her colleagues, Li Man, Elke Papelitzky and Alexander Jost, for putting together this special issue of the journal and dedicating it to Zhenxiu's memory. While her loss is irreplaceable, we hope that it provides a fitting tribute to a young colleague who enriched our institute with her presence. Particularly at this challenging juncture in global affairs, we will remember Zhenxiu as someone who embodied all that is best in international cooperation and who served as a shining example of what can be achieved through exchange and dialogue across countries and cultures. Above all, our thoughts and feelings of deepest sympathy go out to her family.

Laurence Cole

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Eulogy for Our Dear Friend and (Fellow) Student, Chen Zhenxiu 陳朕秀!

First of all, we would all like to express our sincere condolences, in the name of our History Department – where Chen Zhenxiu (1991–2019) was my student beginning in March, 2018 – as well as on behalf of the entire University of Salzburg. Her death has been truly sad for us, and a tragedy hard to endure. That Chen Zhenxiu so suddenly left us has been enormously grievous news that has left us all shocked. When I first heard of her having passed away, I, at first, thought the report wrong, a mistake. I could not believe it was true. That she has so suddenly left us is a huge loss for us all. In our minds we will stay with her forever!

Chen Zhenxiu came to our department less than a year ago. She became my PhD student, investigating the relationship between maritime trade and local development in the Lingnan region (present-day Guangdong and parts of Guangxi) during the Tang period (618–906). The working title of her PhD thesis was "Local Development and Foreign/Maritime Trade in Tang Period Lingnan (ca. 600–900) in the Context of Human-Environment Interaction". This topic also formed part of a larger research project that I am carrying out in cooperation with my partners in the Indian Ocean World Centre at McGill University, one entitled "Appraising Risk, Past and Present: Interrogating Historical Data to Enhance Understanding of Environmental Crises in the Indian Ocean World".

Chen Zhenxiu was always very hard working, and an industrious and ambitious student. During the short period she spent in our department, she read extensively in the historical sources related to her research. Although the topic was completely new to her, she quickly presented her first research results. She had begun to trace the genealogies and activities of non-Han officials with a migratory background working in the Lingnan Region. Every time she discovered some new, interesting historical record, she immediately reported to me, very happy with her progress! Our "Crossroads research group" – founded during summer 2015 (see also https://crossroads-research.net and https://www.facebook.com/crossroads.research.centre/) – greatly profited from her critical questions, and from many discussions with her.

June of last year we went to Napoli in Italy together, to attend a workshop and Summer School organized by my colleague Patrizia Carioti ("Frontiers in Asia"). At the end of 2018, in November, we all went on an excursion to Uzbekistan, with students of Salzburg University, exploring traces and relics of the former Silk Road through Central Asia, and visiting various cities, including

Tashkent, Bukhara, and Samarkand. Various students made good friends with Chen Zhenxiu during this trip.

Chen Zhenxiu was a very good, diligent, and open-minded student with a very promising future in the academic world. She showed herself to be one of my best and most compassionate students!

We will forever remember Chen Zhenxiu. She was a good friend, and a competent colleague and student! She will forever remain in our hearts, and in our memories!

We wish to dedicate this special issue of *Crossroads* to our friend Chen Zhenxiu. In the introduction Li Man and myself will introduce the research she had been carrying out so far, and discuss local migratory patterns, and the relationships between local developments, central Tang politics, and maritime trade.

To conclude, to commemorate her, I would like to cite a poem, a death elegy by the famous Chinese poet, Tao Yuanming (365?–427):

> "*Wange shi*" 輓歌詩 Elegy[1]
>
> Overgrown plants, how boundless,
> Poplar limbs rustle.
> Severe frost 9th month,
> Sending me beyond habitation.
> All directions no people,
> Tall graves rise up.
> Horse calls Heaven for me,
> Wind moans for me.
> Dark chamber once closed,
> No dawn a thousand years!
> No dawn a thousand years!
> Does not matter who, can do nothing!
> Those just my entourage,
> Now gone back home.
> Kin maybe still with grief,
> Others done with burial song.
> Where do the dead go?
> Bodies entrusted to the mountains.[2]

1 Literally this means "Coffin puller's song".

2 *Wange shi* (3). 輓歌詩 (三). Poem in the Form of a Coffin-Puller's Song, No. 3. Poem by Tao Yuanming 陶淵明. Translation by Paul D. Buell.

首先，我想代表陈朕秀曾在这里工作和生活过的历史系和整个大学，再次表达我最深切的哀悼。她如此突然离世，让我们非常悲伤。这是难以承受的悲剧，是一个巨大的噩耗，令人震惊。当我第一次听到她去世的消息时，我以为自己听错了，或者消息就是错误的。我简直不敢相信。

她的离世对我们所有人来说都是一种很大的损失，我们都很想念她！

陈朕秀到我们系还不到一年。她去年刚刚成为我的博士生，开始读博士，研究唐代岭南海外贸易与当地发展之间的关系。她正式的研究课题是在人与环境的互动中唐代岭南海外贸易与当地发展之间的关系。这个课题也是我们更大的研究项目的一部分。

她一直都很努力做研究，读了很多古代历史资料。虽然这对她来说是一个新课题，她很快就给我发了她初次的阶段研究成果。每次发现新的有关历史资料，她都很高兴，立刻都向我报告！我们的研究小组(成立于2015夏(参见(https://crossroads-research.net和 https://www.facebook.com/crossroads.research.centre/)都从她的问题和对话中获益良多。

我们去年还一起去了意大利的纳波利，参加一个我的同事 Patrizia Carioti 组织的工作坊及暑期学习班（亚洲的边疆）。年底，11 月，跟学生们一起参观乌兹别克斯坦沿着古代丝绸之路的一些城市和遗址，比如撒马尔罕。几个学生们与她成为了好朋友。

陈朕秀是一位非常严谨、心胸开阔、善良、有前途的年轻学者，她的表现证明了她是我最优秀，最有同情心的博士学生之一！

我们想念朕秀，她是一位好朋友，也是能力突出的同事和学者！她会永远留在我们心中，留在我们的记忆中！

我们希望在《纵横》学术杂志为她筹划一期特刊。在引言中，李漫和我自己会介绍她已经完成的部分研究成果，并将讨论地方发展，唐中央政治以及海上贸易与地方移民模式之间的关系，

我最后想诵一首诗纪念她：

《挽歌》陶渊明

荒草何茫茫，白杨亦萧萧。
严霜九月中，送我出远郊。
四面无人居，高坟正嶕峣。
马为仰天鸣，风为自萧条。
幽室一已闭，千年不复朝。
千年不复朝，贤达无奈何！
向来相送人，各自还其家。
亲戚或余悲，他人亦已歌。
死去何所道，托体同山阿。

Angela Schottenhammer 蕭婷
Salzburg 奥地利萨尔茨堡 2019 年 1 月

Tang Local Migratory Patterns, and Relationships between Local Developments, Central Politics, and Maritime Trade*

CHEN Zhenxiu 陳朕秀, Angela SCHOTTENHAMMER 蕭婷, and LI Man 李漫

Introduction

Relations between central and local levels of government, between China proper and its frontier regions, and between indigenous residents and immigrants, are key questions for Tang Studies. Addressing this concern, we possess various general publications introducing China's connections to her neighbouring countries and peoples,[1] but many more detailed case studies and examinations of sources are required.

In terms of political relations between the central government and local authorities during the Tang period, the so-called "loose-rein area commands and prefectures" (*jimi fu zhou* 羈縻府州), also called "bridle and halter commands and prefectures", played a significant role in administration and governance.[2]

* This research was supported by, and contributes to the partnership grant "Appraising Risk, Past and Present: Interrogating Historical Data to Enhance Understanding of Environmental Crises in the Indian Ocean World", sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), and to the project "Seafaring, Trade, and Knowledge Transfer. Maritime Politics and Commerce in Early Middle Period to Early Modern China", sponsored by the Gerda Henkel Foundation (GHF).

1 For instance, Hino Kaisaburō 1980; Zhang Guogang 2010; Wang Gungwu 1983.

2 Literally, *ji* 羈 means "coercing and controlling through military and political power", while *mi* 縻 means "soothing and comforting through economic and material benefits". Generally, the principle of "*jimi*-policy" is that: "[If they submit themselves to us], we would accept and will not refuse, [but if they betray us], we will give them up and not pursue [them]" (附則受而不逆，叛則棄而不追). *Hou Hanshu* 86.2833. In Tang China, there were 856 "*jimi*-prefects", roughly 2.4 times the number of the regular domestic prefects under direct governance. "When the Tang dynasty was founded, initially, [their rulers] did not pay attention to the four barbarians. Since Taizong's conquest of the Turks, barbarian *fan* and *yi* people in the north and west started to be subjected to the central [government]. Prefects and counties were set up according to the order of their locations [...]. Now the number of surrendered states is listed here in order to see the prosperity [of the Tang dynasty]. [These include] subordinate peoples who are now [settling] in the circuits inside the borders (關內道), such as the Tujue 突厥 (Gök Turks), Huihe 回紇 (Uighurs), Dangxiang 黨項 (Tanguts) and Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 (a Särbi-Xianbei nomadic tribe), in total amounting to 29 *fu* 府 and 90 *zhou* 州; subordinates [residing in] Hebei 河北, including special tribes of the Tujue, Xi 奚 (Qay or Tatabi), Khitan 契丹, "surrendered Hu" (*jianghu* 降胡), Gaoli 高麗 (Korean) amounting to 14 *fu*, 46 *zhou*; subordinates such as special tribes of the

The system was introduced to bring submitted non-Han peoples under Tang administration, but its origins can be traced back to Han times (206 BCE–220 CE), back to the "Protectorate of the Western Regions" (*Xiyu duhu fu* 西域都護府; see below) and the "Han Dependent States" (*shuguo* 屬國). Compared to Han times, the Tang model, by contrast, covered more areas, involved more ethnic groups, served more functions, and permitted more interaction. Although implementation of this "*jimi*-policy" oscillated politically from period to period, and from region to region, we can still say that it is this special system in Tang China, of course inherited from former dynasties, that gave rise to bidirectional migration in frontier regions already inhabited by non-Chinese populations.

Bidirectional migration means that migration flows came from both Tang China itself as well as from other adjacent states to a given frontier region. This situation produced a particular kind of acculturation,[3] one that can justifiably be called an "ethnic-inclusive system".[4] The government's intention lay, of course, not just in culturally assimilating non-Han peoples, but in subordinating foreigners to Tang administration, in order to keep the frontiers and border zones of the Tang empire secure.

After the Han dynasty, the central government of each Chinese dynasty subjected the frontier regions to a subtly different political rhetoric, which shows that the seemingly uniform term "*jimi*-policy" was in fact flexible and encompassed a variety of distinct measures. According to *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通

Tujue, Huihe, Dangxiang, Tuyuhun, and Qiuci 龜茲, Yutian 于闐, Yanqi 焉耆, Shule 疏勒, subordinate Hu people [residing in] Hexi 河西, and the 16 Western Region (Xiyu) states subordinate to Longyou 隴右, in total amounting to 52 *fu*, 198 *zhou*; subordinate Man people [residing in] Jiannan 劍南, amount to 261 *zhou*; subordinate Man people [residing in] Jiangnan 江南, amounting to 51 *zhou*; subordinate Man people to Lingnan 嶺南, amounting to 92 *zhou*; in addition, there are 24 Dangxiang (Tangut) *zhou*, but which region they are subordinated to is not clear. In total there are 856 *fu* and *zhou*, and they are called "*jimi*" *fu* and *zhou*. "Surrendered Hu" (*jianghu*) denotes Central Asian foreigners, most probably Sogdians, who had turned to Tang patronage after the fall of the Turkic empire. Taizong led various military campaigns against the Western Turks and their allies in Central Asia. Between 648 and 658, four military garrisons were established by the Tang in Anxi 安西, the Protectorate General to Pacify the West = Anxi (安西都護府). The garrisons were stationed at the city-states of Qiuci (Kucha), Yutian (Hotan), Yanqi (Karashahr) and Shule (Kashgar). See *Xin Tangshu* 43.1119-1120: 唐興,初未暇于四夷,自太宗平突厥,西北諸蕃及蠻夷稍稍內屬,即其部落列置州縣 [... ...] 今錄招降開置之數,以見其盛 [... ...] 突厥、回紇、黨項、吐谷渾隸關內道者,為府二十九,州九十;突厥之別部及奚、契丹、降胡、高麗隸河北者,為府十四,州四十六;突厥、回紇、黨項、吐谷渾之別部及龜茲、于闐、焉耆、疏勒、河西內屬諸胡、西域十六國隸隴右者,為府五十二, 州百九十八;蠻隸劍南者,為州二百六十一;蠻隸江南者,為州五十一,隸嶺南者,為州九十二;又有黨項州二十四,不知其隸屬。大凡府州八百五十六,號為羈縻云」

3 For the concept of "acculturation" in this context, cf. Wittfogel and Feng 1949.

4 Pan 2012, 21-22.

鑑 ("Comprehensive mirror to aid in government"), strategies and wordings chosen for the treatment of different frontier peoples were different, although all of them were regarded as part of a "*jimi*-policy"; for example, for people living gernerally in the northern and north-western regions, vigilance was advised: against the Tujue 突厥, one had to "withstand and defend" (*hanyu* 捍禦), the Turgis 突騎施, Tukhs or Turgix (Turkified tribes who spoke Indo-European languages but were originally not ethnically Turks) and Qïrqïz 堅昆 or 黠戛斯 (Kirghiz) had to be "contained and controlled" (*fangzhi* 防製), the Xi 奚 (also known as Qay or Tatabi) and Khitan 契丹 had to be "supervised and regulated" (*linzhi* 臨制), and in terms of the Tibetans 吐蕃, one had to "guard and defend" (*beiyu* 備禦) and "resist" (*kang* 抗) them. With people in the northeastern and southern regions, by contrast, the Chinese had to adopt a more friendly and genial attitude, for example, with the Shiwei 室韋 (also written 失韋 or Shiwei 失圍; a people living in the northeastern parts of modern Manchuria) and Mohe 靺鞨[5] (also known as Maka) who only had to be "calmed and consoled" (*zhenfu* 鎮撫), or towards the Yi 夷, Man 蠻 and Liao 獠[6] "barbarians" in Lingnan 嶺南 (*i.e.* the areas to the south of the Wuling 五岭 or Nanling 南嶺 Mountain Range in South China) one had to "act strategicly" (*jinglue* 經略), "appease" (*suijing* 綏靖) and "pacify" (*fu* 撫) them.[7] From these sets of political rhetoric, one can gain an idea of the distinctive attitudes the central government adopted towards the different peoples in its frontier regions.

Under the name of a "*jimi*-policy", different strategies for different regions were set up, and thus different ways and modes of migration into different regions took shape. These migration patterns, in turn, influenced foreign trade and economic development in the corresponding region, and were again influenced by these phenomena. Frontier and border regions constituted a vivid zone of all types of interactions, "a social space in which core ethnic identities had to bend to fit rigorous geographical conditions" as well as a "liminal space where cultural identities merged and shifted, as people of different ethnic roots interacted for common economic purposes".[8] These interactions were certainly more obvious along continental than maritime frontiers. But we can observe the merging and interaction of different cultures and peoples across both con-

5 Both Shiwei and Mohe are Tungusic-Mongol people living in North and Northeast of China; cf. Janhunen 1996; Xu 2005.

6 Both are southern ethnic groups generally subsumed under the term *baiyue* 百越 (the hundred [groups of] Yue). For more information, cf. Rui Yifu 1957; Wang Wenguang 1999; Meacham 1996, 93.

7 *Zizhi tongjian* 215.6848-6850.

8 Perdue 2005, 41.

tinental and maritime border regions. And we have migrations both into and from China; not only foreigners, but also Chinese migrated beyond their original homelands and explored new regions. Most well-known is the gradual southwards migration of Chinese. Chaos and devastation in the north relating to the collapse of the Jin 晉 dynasty (265–420) in the fourth and fifth century initiated a mass migration southward of Han Chinese, including the Jin aristocracy (*yiguan nandu* 衣冠南渡, lit. "garments and headdresses moving south"). However, not only political turmoil, but also economic reasons prompted Han Chinese to move to other places.

In this article, we introduce a case study from Lingnan 嶺南, the region studied by our tragically deceased colleague Chen Zhenxiu,[9] and one from Xiyu 西域 (*i.e.* the areas west of the Hexi 河西 Corridor,[10] mainly coinciding with present-day Xinjiang and adjacent Central Asian territorries) as examples for two different migration scenarios. Towards both regions a "*jimi*-policy" was applied. Comparing these two case studies helps to clarify the dynamics of local migratory patterns, and the relationships between local developments, central Tang politics, and trade – overland and north in the case of Xiyu, and maritime and south in the case of Lingnan.

Lingnan 嶺南[11]

Although Chen Zhenxiu passed away after just beginning her research on the involvement of non-official actors in maritime trade in Tang-period Lingnan, her notes can provide us with preliminary insights. She examined, for example, how a local migrant family, the Feng 馮 family, whose ancestors had migrated to Lingnan from central China, came to play an important role in local politics and in the maritime trade.

From the following observations, one may see that the relationship between the development of the Feng family and the changes of the cultural and political environment in Lingnan show interesting and close correlations with one an-

9 Chen Zhenxiu (26.02.1991–11.01.2019).

10 The Hexi Corridor constituted an important route in Gansu. As a part of the northern Silk Road running northwest from the bank of the Yellow River, it was the major route for traders and the military going from North China to the Tarim Basin and Central Asia. The corridor actually is a string of oases located along the northern edge of the Tibetan Plateau.

11 Before 622, actual control of the region called Lingnan in Chinese sources – that is the region of what is today Guangdong (with its main port Guangzhou), part of Guangxi, and northern Vietnam – lay in the hands of influential local families. It was not until 622 that the Lingnan area was officially incorporated into the Tang Empire.

other. Lingnan, from the perspective of Tang Chinese culture, was a land of "barbarians", the abode of uncivilized ethnic groups, most notably, the Li 俚 and the Liao 獠.

The Feng family had originally been a clan of Hu 胡 ethnicity (a general term for non-Chinese peoples living north and northwest of China), and were thus regarded as barbarians from the perspective of Chinese culture; but they had become "Sinicized", and thus civilized, for a long time. The fact that they became an influential family in Lingnan is not accidental. The central government had chosen to rely on their existing privileges in governing the Lingnan regions. The Feng family embraced this opportunity, and was able to strengthen its position additionally through efficiently supporting central government policies in Lingnan.

These two aspects of the family's activities complemented one another. The central government needed an agent in Lingnan that had already become "civilized", meaning that they understood Chinese political culture sufficiently well to be helpful in successfully implementing a "*jimi*-policy". In turn, the Feng family was also eager to gain the central government's political favour, and to increase its own political and economic influence in Lingnan by holding control over "uncivilized" groups of people in the region in order to maintain its privileges. Through marriage – for example that between Feng Bao 馮寶 (507–557) and a daughter of the Xian 冼 family,[12] an influential Li 俚 clan – the Feng family quickly secured privileges for its members in Lingnan, and became acknowledged by both the local "barbarians" and by the central government. This family relationship seems to have created a constellation of mutual benefit.

In 631, the prefect of Gaozhou 高州, a certain Feng Ang 馮盎 (?–646), paid a visit to Chang'an, then capital of the Tang dynasty, partly due to rumors about a rebellion that had spread at the court four years previously. According to *Zizhi tongjian*, not long after his departure from Gaozhou, local residents, Liao 獠 people from Luozhou and Douzhou, initiated a rebellion (羅竇諸洞獠反), and tens of thousands of people were involved (獠數萬人).[13] Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) mentions this rebellion to praise the loyalty and military ability of Feng Ang, without any intention of offering a more detailed description of the rebellion itself.

Nevertheless, we may single out two possibilities when interpreting this rebellion. One is that, to a large extent, the Tang court, at least in its earlier period, relied on local militarily-powerful families, such as the Feng family, to stabilise

12 For more information about this Madame Xian (522–602), cf. Li Juexun 2009.
13 *Zizhi tongjian* 193.6092.

the social order of Lingnan, and not rebel, as in this case. This policy seemed to have worked very well and can perhaps be considered a variation to the principle of "using the 'barbarians' to rule the 'barbarians'" (*yi man zhi man* 以蠻治蠻).[14] Another possibility is that within Lingnan society, not all parties welcomed the rule of the Tang court. The Liao of Luozhou and Douzhou should then be regarded as particular examples of people who did not welcome the Tang court's domination of local territory. The above record shows that the rebellion in question occurred on a large scale, if Sima Guang did not exaggerate.

Nine years later, in 640, Liao from the same two regions started another rebellion. This time seemingly less people were involved, the military prefect of Douzhou, Dang Renhong 黨仁弘 (?), captured around 7,000 (竇州道行軍總管黨仁弘擊羅竇反獠，破之，俘七千餘口).[15] Afterwards, rebellions occurring in these two regions suddenly disappear from the historical record. This may indicate that after 640, the Tang court had secured its rule in Luozhou and Douzhou.

The Feng family was originally from northern China:

> 融本北燕苗裔，初，馮弘之投高麗也，遣融大父業以三百人浮海歸宋，因留於新會。自業及融，三世為守牧，他鄉羈旅，號令不行。[16]
> Feng Rong was originally an offspring of Northern Yan (407–436). At the beginning, when Feng Hong 馮弘 (?–438) sought asylum in Gaoli 高麗, [he] sent Feng Ye 馮業, grandfather of Feng Rong, leading 300 people to go to Song (420–479) for shelter, and they stayed in Xinhui 新會. From Feng Ye to Feng Rong, three generations have been local prefects. They stayed in strange lands, and [their] orders were not followed

The Feng were consequently descendants of the Feng royal family of the Northern Yan 北燕 state (407–436), a dynasty of "Sinicized" Hu 胡 people, originally from Xindu 信都 in Changle 長樂 (present-day Jizhou 冀州, Hebei province). One branch of them had immigrated to Lingnan long before the Tang Empire was founded, and had remained there for four generations during the lifetime of Feng Bao, as can be seen from the genealogical tree below.

The Feng family became politically integrated into local society thanks to the above-mentioned marriage between Feng Bao and Madame Xian, daughter of a local tribal leader. Their decedents, especially Feng Ang, appear many times in official historical records, which means they gained apparently significant political

14 Also *yi yi zhi yi* 以夷治夷, "to control the barbarians with the help of barbarians", in other words, a strategy of the central government to deal with frontier regions and people, based on the idea that the foreigners would ideally adopt Chinese rules and civilization and then rule themselves without intervention of Chinese troops.

15 *Zizhi tongjian* 195.6153.

16 *Suishu* 80.1801.

influence. Below, part of the Feng family's genealogy, namely of those members who lived in Lingnan is introduced, with detailed information on Feng Ang.

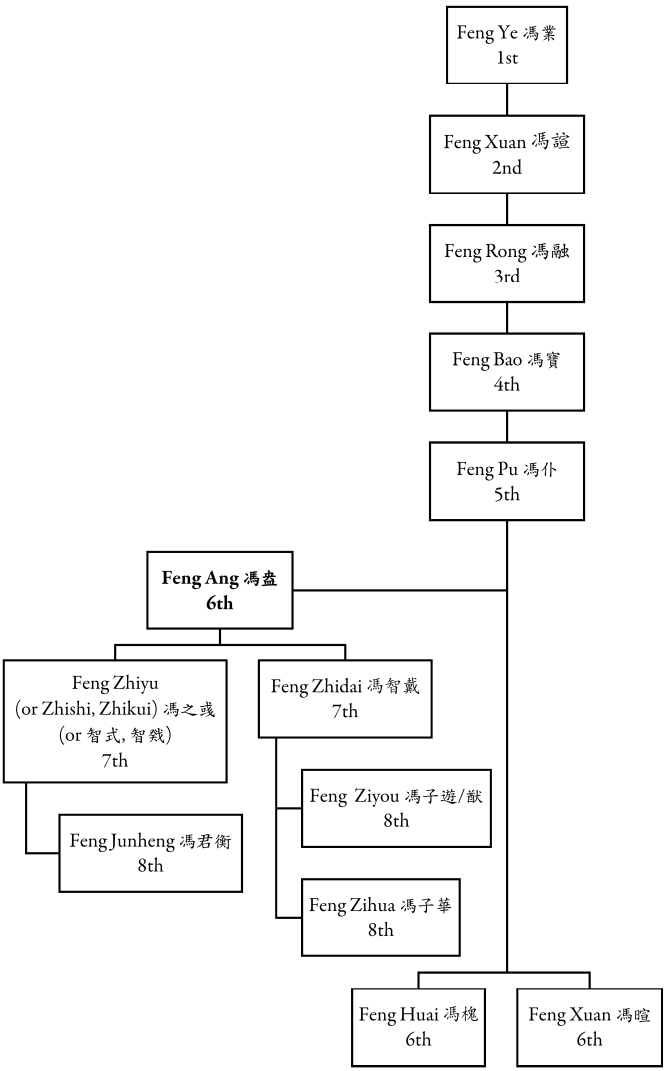

Fig.1 Family tree of Feng beginning from Feng Ye[17]

17 Huang Huixian 1996. Concerning the names of Feng Ang's decedents, Chinese historians have different opinions mainly owing to the different names appearing in several tomb inscriptions (*muzhi ming*).

As we can see from Figure 1, it took until the sixth generation before members of Feng Ang's descendants were able to earn a name as representatives of the Feng family in Lingnan. Both Feng Zhidai 馮智戴 and Feng Ziyou 馮子遊 became known to Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (598–649) and Gaozong 高宗 (649–683) respectively. One of Feng Junheng's 馮君衡 (fl. 7th cent.) sons was the famous eunuch Gao Lishi 高力士 (684–762). This branch of the Feng family was known as the Feng family of Gaozhou 高州馮氏.[18] After the death of Feng Ang, his three sons were appointed as prefects of Gaozhou, Enzhou 恩州 and Panzhou 潘州.[19] These three regions were rich in gold and silver. In Gaozhou, silver was used as tribute paid to the Tang court (貢銀二十兩, 土貢: 銀).[20] In Enzhou, both gold and silver were paid as tribute (貢銀二十兩, 土貢: 金、銀, 土產: 金、銀).[21] Panzhou also "paid tribute" (*shanggong* 上貢) of silver (貢銀二十兩, 土貢: 銀).[22] This information efficiently indicates that the wealth of the Gaozhou Feng family came from the regions that they controlled. According to Katō Shigeshi 加藤繁 (1880–1946), during the Tang period, apart from cash coins (*qian* 錢) and simple silk (*juan* 絹), silver and gold were also used as currency not only in Lingnan, but also within the upper class in Chang'an.[23]

This branch of the Feng family was, thus, obviously very rich and active in politics. Feng Zhidai went to Chang'an as a "hostage" (*zhizi* 質子)[24] and spent much time in the capital. It seems as if he had successfully built up political connections with officials in Chang'an. One of Xu Jingzong's 許敬宗 (592–672) daughters was married to Feng Ang's son around the year 650.[25]

Feng Ziyou also attracted much attention while he lived in Chang'an. He must have visited Chang'an around the middle of the Zhenguan era (627–649),

18 This term does not mean that Gaozhou was the only prefecture controlled by this group.

19 "Zeng Guangzhou da dudu feng fujun shenbei ming" 贈廣州大都督馮府君神碑銘, "Gao Lishi muzhi" 高力士墓誌, "Feng Panzhou muzhi" 馮潘州墓誌, "Tang gu kaifu yitong sansi zeng yangzhou da dudu Gaogong shendao bei" 唐故開府儀同三司贈揚州大都督高公神道碑, "Gao Lishi canbei" 高力士殘碑, these *beiming* 碑銘 and *muzhi ming* 墓志銘 offer detailed information on the regions occupied by Feng Ang and his sons, although they differ on the exact names of his sons. So far Chinese historians have not arrived at a final determination concerning their names.

20 *Tongdian* 6.129, *Xin Tangshu* 43.1100.

21 *Tongdian* 6.131, *Xin Tangshu* 43.1100.

22 *Tongdian* 6.129, *Xin Tangshu* 43.1098.

23 Katō Shigeshi 2018, 93, 97, 119.

24 In order to control military governors (*fanzhen* 藩鎮), the central government of the Tang dynasty requested vassals and subdued peoples to send their direct relatives, normally their sons, sometimes also their parents and brothers, to the court as hostages.

25 *Zizhi tongjian* 202.6369, Guangdongsheng bowuguan u. a. 1990.

and remained there until the beginning of Gaozong's reign. Records claim that he took a boat of gold with him when he came to the court (入朝, 載金一舸自隨) and because of this, Gaozong sent two emissaries, Xu Guan 許瓘 (?) and Yang Jing 楊璟 (?), successively, to investigate his wealth.[26] In Lingnan, the Feng family used to bribe the prefect of Guangzhou. For example, when Xiao Lingzhi 蕭齡之(?) took the office of Area Commander-in-chief (*dudu* 都督) in Guangzhou in the year 644, he received gold, silver, and slaves from the Feng family (受左智遠及馮盎妻等金銀奴婢等).[27]

The Feng family of Gangzhou (岡州馮氏), another branch of the Feng family, were also decedents of Feng Ye, the first generation who immigrated and settled in Lingnan, specifically in Xinhui 新會 (in today's Guangdong province). It seems that, unlike Feng Ang's branch, this branch remained in Xinhui for several generations, and that they were reluctant to cooperate with the central government. In 591, the same year in which it is recorded that Feng Xuan disobeyed his grandmother's order,[28] another name appears, Feng Cenweng 馮岑翁 (?). He may have been a member of the fourth or fifth generation of the Feng family in Lingnan. The Gangzhou Feng family seems to have been more "disobedient", as far as their loyalty to the Tang court was concerned. Feng Cenweng himself was involved in a rebellion initiated by Wang Zhongxuan 王仲宣 (?) in 591.[29] His son, Feng Shihui 馮士翬 (?–?), inherited the official title of prefect in Gangzhou. He started a rebellion in 623 but it failed. Interestingly, it appears that he did not receive severe punishment for the rebellion, but remained in the same position.[30] Gangzhou had two counties, Xinhui and Yining 義寧, of which Xinhui produced salt.[31] The family may have been involved in the salt trade illegally. The salt trade was then exclusively a state business and very lucrative.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that up until 670, this branch of the Feng family was still wealthy and very active in politics. The famous monk Yijing 義淨 (635–713) met Feng Xiaoquan 馮孝詮 (?) in Yangzhou and followed him to Guangzhou in 670. With the help of Feng Xiaoquan, Yijing travelled with a Persian ship-owner towards Southeast Asia (與波斯舶主期會南行). Before leaving, Yijing went to Gangzhou to teach Buddhism, where he was hospitably entertained and received financial support from Feng Xiaoquan's brothers and

26 *Xin Tangshu* 110.4114.
27 *Tang huiyao* 39.709.
28 *Zizhi tongjian* 177.5533.
29 *Beishi* 91.3006.
30 *Zizhi tongjian* 190.5969.
31 *Xin Tangshu* 43.1096.

their wives (復蒙使君命往崗州，重為檀主。及弟孝誕使君、孝軫使君、郡君寧氏、郡君彭氏等合門眷屬，咸見資贈，爭抽上賄，各捨奇飡).[32] Feng Xiaoquan held appointment as "Gongzhou shijun" 龔州使君, a civil governor of Gongzhou, at the time that he met Yijing. The term "*shijun*" 使君 means that an individual had received a specific official position. His two brothers were also called *shijun*, indicating that they, too, occupied political positions at that time. In other words, at least until 670, this branch of the Feng family was strongly involved in Lingnan's politics. More importantly, Feng Xiaoquan helped Yijing to make arrangements to board the "Persian ship" (*Bosi bozhou* 波斯舶舟) while, at the same time, other members of his family offered financial aid to the pilgrim. This evidence clearly demonstrates that the Gangzhou Feng family branch actively participated in maritime activities, at least to the extent that they were able to provide organisational and financial support.

The Hainan Feng family branch (海南馮氏) appears in the records relatively late. According to Mabito Genkai 真人元開 (722–785, *i.e.* Ōmi no Mabito Mifune 淡海真人三船 (722–785), with the Dharma name Genkai 元開), Jianzhen 鑒真 (688–763), a Chinese monk from Yangzhou who helped to propagate Buddhism in Japan, arrived at Hainan 海南 during his fifth eastward journey. He encountered two members of the Hainan Feng family and received help and protection from them.

In 749, when Jianzhen arrived at the port of Zhenzhou 振州 (present-day Sanya 三亞), he was impressively welcomed by the Administrative Aide (*biejia* 別駕) Feng Chongzhai 馮崇債. It is said that he sent 400 soldiers to greet Jianzhen. In the following year, Jianzhen lived in Zhenzhou, and supported the construction of a new temple there. He continued travelling to Wan'an 萬安 Prefecture, accompanied by Feng Chongzhai, and 800 of his soldiers. They spent some time in Wan'an and received warm greetings from the "great leader" (*da shouling* 大首領), Feng Ruofang 馮若芳.[33] The biographical account of his expedition also records that the port of Guangzhou was full of ships with traders of Indian, Malay, Sri Lankan, Iranian, and Arab origins, and that their goods, spices, medicines, and other treasures were piled like mountains. Likewise, they also encountered numerous monasteries with foreign monks.[34]

It is unclear if Feng Chongzhai and Feng Ruofang were immediate relatives of Feng Ang and Feng Shihui; but it is undoubtable that the Hainan Feng family

32 *DaTang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳, 152.
33 *Tang daheshang dongzheng zhuan* 唐大和上東征傳 (779), 67-68.
34 Wong 2014, 70, with reference to *Tang daheshang dongzheng zhuan* [*Tō Daiwajō tōseiden*].

branch was yet another branch of the same Feng family, and may have been closer to the Feng Ang side. Around 590, when the Li and Liao ethnic groups started rebellions in Lingnan (諸俚獠多亡叛), Madame Xian was appointed to calm the rebels and to restore order. She succeeded. As a reward, her power was extended to Linzhen 臨振 and Yazhou 崖州.[35] Since then, we can trace the activities of the Gaozhou Feng family branch in Hainan.

In 622, the year that Feng Ang surrendered to the Tang court, he is said to have controlled eight prefectures in Lingnan: Gao 高, Luo 羅, Chun 春, Bai 白, Ya 崖, Dan 儋, Lin 林, and Zhen 振.[36] This should be true, because, as mentioned above, until 749, Zhenzhou was controlled by Feng Chongzhai. In addition, between 1426 and 1435, the inhabitants of Qiongshan county 瓊山縣 discovered a tomb belonging to the Feng family with recognizable text: "Tomb of Mr Feng of the Great Tang Dynasty, bestowed with the Purple-golden Fish Bag; composed by the Hanlin scholar Li Jifu" (大唐賜紫金魚袋馮公之墓，翰林學士李吉甫撰文).[37] Li Jifu (758–814), Duke Zhongyi of Zhao 趙忠懿公, was a famous Tang official, serving as chancellor during the reign of Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820). This also attests to the deceased's important position and influence enjoyed during his life time, and to his relationship to influential political and social circles. Huang Zuo's 黃佐 (1490–1566) conclusion that this tomb should belong to one of the decedents of Feng Bao and Xian Furen is therefore in agreement with our findings.

The account of Jianzhen's meetings with Feng Chongzhai and Feng Ruofang reveals valuable information on their involvement in maritime trade. Feng Chongzhai asked Jianzhen and his retinue if there was any monks' family name that was Fengtian 豐田, as he had had a dream the night before implying that this monk should be his uncle.[38] As Wang Xiangrong 汪向榮 suggested, Fengtian 豐田, *i.e.* Toyota in Japanese, was a family name in Japan. China had no similar family name. Feng Chongzhai knew this family name and asked about it with no doubt or hesitation. This at least demonstrates that around that time, in Zhenzhou, Feng Chongzhou had created some contacts with, or at least gained a certain understanding about Japan, otherwise he would not have known this Japanese family name.

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35 *Zizhi tongjian* 177.5534. This demonstrates that also women were actively involved in local politics.

36 *Jiu Tangshu* 109.3288. *Xin Tangshu* 110. 4113.

37 Huang Zuo 2006, 306.

38 *Tang daheshang dongzheng zhuan*, 67.

With respect to Feng Ruofang, it is said: "Ruofang every year robs two to three Persian ships, takes the goods for himself, and takes the robbed ones as slaves" (若芳每年常劫取波斯舶二三艘，取物為己貨，掠人為奴婢).[39] Obviously, Feng Ruofang's involvement in maritime trade was not just as a regular trader. He engaged in piracy, too, and by this means, successfully accumulated great wealth. Jianzhen, too, describes in his travel diary that when he was shipwrecked in southern Hainan in 748, he encountered a local warlord who reportedly captured "two or three Persian ships" each year and enslaved their crews.[40]

From the initial research of our colleague Chen Zhenxiu, we can clearly see the important role members of the Feng family played in local politics and economy in Tang period Lingnan. Their sponsorship of pilgrims and overseas trade, but also the kidnapping of Persian ships by Feng Ruofang, attest to their active involvement and influence in maritime activities.

Xiyu 西域

By way of contrast to the case of the Feng family in Lingnan discussed above, we will now introduce the example of a Han Chinese family that migrated to the so-called "Western Regions" (Xiyu 西域), that is today's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region with adjacent territories, and thus, to a continental frontier area.[41] It is true that probably most Han Chinese considered the steppe environment hostile in particular, but, as not only this example might show, many Han Chinese migrated into communities and polities in Inner Asia, probably much more frequently than we might assume from Chinese sources.[42]

Other than the Feng family, a family of "Sinicized" Hu 胡 people who settled in Lingnan, the Zhang 張 family was large and perhaps a very typical Han

39 *Tang daheshang dongzheng zhuan*, 68.

40 Cf. Chen 1991 (according to Takakusu 1928, 461-462): "Feng Ruofang 馮若芳, the chief of Wan'anzhou 萬安州 [modern district of Lingshui], seized two or three Bosi merchant ships every year, taking the cargo for himself and making the crew his slaves. … When Ruofang entertained guests he often used frankincense as candles. …"

41 For migration patterns in that region, see, for example, Rong Xinjiang 1999.

42 Xie Zhaozhi 謝肇淛 (1567–1642), for example, explains that people living close to the borders (*linbian* 鄰邊) frequently escape to the northern foreign territories (*lu* 虜), because food and alimentation, as well as language are quite similar beyond the borders, while at the same time life is easier, and more relaxed there in comparison to China, with its many taxes and the complex civil administration and bureaucracy there with all its rules and regulations, factors that make life more restricted and difficult for the people in China. See *Wu zazu* 五雜俎 4.80 and 86.

family in the Western Regions, a place mostly inhabited by foreign people. This analysis is based on tomb inscriptions of the Zhang family that have been discovered and published in *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu* 吐魯番出土磚志集注 (Annotated Collection of Turpan Unearthed Brick Inscriptions) and attempts to find out, which role the Zhang family played in the Western Regions during the Tang period. As Valerie Hansen has argued, for "understanding the Silk Road trade of the Tang dynasty, the Turfan oasis offers the best case study".[43]

Ever since the rulers of the Han Dynasty defeated the Xiongnu 匈奴 and established the "Protectorate of the Western Regions" (*Xiyu duhu fu* 西域都护府), this region had, with the rise and fall of central power, a tighter or looser relation with the respective central governments of China.[44]

During the Eastern Han period (25–220), these "Western Regions" witnessed continuing wars, as well as climate change, and their population gradually moved further westward into the Turpan region. During the Wei 魏 (220–265) and Jin 晉 (265–420) periods, the Liangzhou 涼州 regime (Northern Liang 北涼, 397–460) occupied the region around Gaochang 高昌, that is Turfan (Turkic name Kočo, also Qocho or Karakhoja; later Chin. Gaochang). Because of continuous wars in the central regions, great numbers of people from the central parts of China and the Hexi Corridor continued to migrate into the Western Regions. Until the 14th year of the Zhenguan reign (*i.e.* 640), when the Tang government regained the Western Regions and renamed Gaochang as Xizhou 西州, this area became gradually stabilized.

The commercial routes of the so called "Silk Road", passing through this entire area, had long been established, and Xiyu functioned as an important thoroughfare of trade between China and and Western Asia. Therefore, we observe a sharp increase of population in the region. During the period from Han to Tang, immigration into these regions increased for different reasons, for example, due to escaping from wars and disasters, because of exile for crimes, *etc.* Therefore, not only individuals, but entire families migrated. After a long period of settlement, some Han families gained great influence in Xiyu, for example families, such as the Zhang 張, the Qu 麴, the Suo 索, the Li 李, the Wang 王, the Linghu 令狐, *etc.*

The Zhang family is of particular interest, especially in the Gaochang region. There are a total of 86 names of Zhang family members in collected tomb inscriptions discovered locally. The branch of the Zhang Family in Gaochang

43 Hansen 2005, 283.

44 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1998; Wang Su 1998.

originally immigrated from Dunhuang 敦煌, and the Dunhuang branch, in turn, had come from inland China, normally either from Baishui 白水, which belongs to Nanyang 南陽 in Henan province, or from Yimu 繹幕 in Qinghe 清河, Shandong province.

In Figure 2, a part of the genealogy of the Zhang family is displayed, namely of those members who lived in Gaochang. Their names are mostly based on the brick tomb inscriptions discovered.

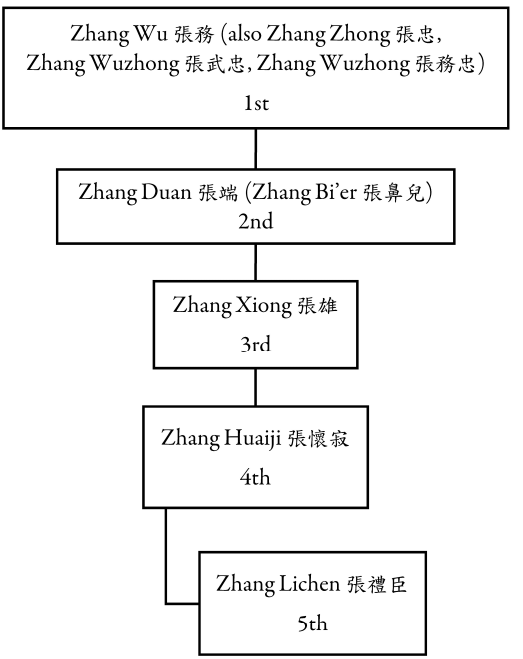

Fig. 2 Family tree of Zhang, beginning from Zhang Wu[45]

The tomb inscription of Zhang Xiong 張雄, states that his family came from Dunhuang, but was originally from Henan. They had been in Gaochang for a long time, and had decided to make Gaochang their hometown. [46] It is certainly not a coincidence that Zhang Xiong's wife was a member of the Qu 麴 family

45 Self-drawn diagram on basis of the information provided in *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu*.

46 *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu*, 586: 君諱雄字太歡，本南陽白本(should be 水)人也。天分翼軫之星，地裂敦煌之郡 [...] 因家遂久，避代不歸，故為高昌人也。"His name is Xiong and his style name Taihuan, originally from Baishui of Nanyang. His zodiac belongings are star Yi and Zhen, his earthly locality lies at Dunhuang prefecture... Because they settle here for long, not going back for generations, they became Gaochang locals."

(夫人隴西金城麴氏).[47] Qu was the name of the royal family of the last Gaochang kingdom, before the Tang Empire eventually annexed it in 640 CE. During the Qu family reign in the Gaochang region, it relied heavily on the political services of the Zhang family, and members received high posts. This reached so far that Zhang was also considered a "royal" family name in the Gaochang Kingdom, though only one king with this name ever reigned Gaochang, namely between 488 and 496, a certain Zhang Mengming 張孟明 (r. 488–496). His rise as king of Gaochang reflects the complicated networks of power in the larger region: In 487, the Fufuluo tribe of Gaoju 高居 rebelled against a formerly powerful ally, the Rouran 柔然,[48] nomadic people living in their region during the fifth and sixth centuries, and migrated from the northern Taklamakan desert westwards to the north of Gaochang. In the next year, or soon after, it replaced the Rouran as the controlling power of the Gaochang kingdom, and Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅, the king of Gaoju, killed Kan Shougui 闞首歸 (r. 478–491), the king of Gaochang and his brother. Then, they chose Zhang Mengming from Dunhuang as the new king of Gaochang.[49] Connections through marriage secured the political power of both the Qu and the Zhang families for generations.

The tomb inscription of Zhang Xiong's son, Zhang Huaiji 張懷寂, shows clearly the power and status of the Zhang family. His great grandfather, Zhang Wu 張務 (also called Zhang Zhong 張忠, Zhang Wuzhong 張武忠 or Zhang Wuzhong 張務忠[50]), grandfather Zhang Duan 張端 (also called Zhang Bi'er 張鼻兒) and father Zhang Xiong 張雄, held the position of a Left Guard General (*zuowei jiangjun* 左衛將軍), a Justice Establishment General (*jianyi jiangjun* 建義將軍) and a Left Guard Senior General (*zuowei dajiangjun* 左衛大將軍). Noticeably, Zhang Huaiji's three patriarchal elders, namely his great grandfather, grandfather, and father were all in office as Chief Administrative Directors (*du wancao langzhong* 都綰曹郎中).[51]

In the Gaochang Kingdom, administrative structures were much less complex than in China proper and the position of Chief Administrative Director was a very high office, just second in rank to the so-called Magistrate Director of

47 *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu*, 586.

48 For more detailed information about Rouran, cf. Barenghi 2020.

49 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1998, 16-17.

50 *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu*, 262, note 5.

51 *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu*, 596: 曾祖務，偽左衛將軍，都綰曹郎中 [...] 祖端，偽建義將軍,都綰曹郎中 [... ...] 父雄，偽左衛大將軍，都綰曹郎中。"Great grandfather Zhang Wu, *zuowei jiangjun* 左衛將軍, *du wancao langzhong* 都綰曹郎中 [...] Father Zhang Xiong,*zuowei dajiangjun* 左衛大將軍, *du wancao langzhong* 都綰曹郎中."

Gaochang (*Gaochang lingyin* 高昌令尹).[52] This position was the highest administrative one in the government, equal to a Prime Minister today. Therefore, as a Chief Administrative Director, Zhang was approximately at the same level as a Vice Prime Minister of Gaochang. In Gaochang, except for the Qu family, *i.e.* the king's family, only the Zhang family enjoyed the honour of holding this office. From the tomb inscriptions and the textual material discovered, we know that the title of Chief Administrative Director or *du wancao langzhong* 都綰曹郎中 was usually treated as an honorary title that was posthumously bestowed upon officials, and only as members of the "royal" family Qu were able to receive this title during their lifetime. It is peculiar that this important official title was not recorded in any official historiography, and is invisible in official records; if it were not preserved in tomb inscriptions, it might be entirely unknown.

That this title is not recorded in Chinese historiography is most probably not simply a matter of neglect. We know that the Gaochang kingdom of the Qu family was at least nominally a so-called "vassal state" (*fanshuguo* 藩屬國) of China. Accordingly, the rules for bestowing and granting official titles in a vassal state should follow the principle of respecting the rank order, meaning they would have to be lower in rank than those holding the Chinese titles of "councillor" (*cheng* 丞), or "court gentleman" (*lang* 郎). Because the rank of a *cheng* was equivalent to a position of prime minister, and that of a *lang* only second to that of a prime minister, only the Chinese emperor possessed the exclusive authority to award these high-level official titles. Therefore, that such a high title was used in Gaochang was apparently considered overstepping authority. From this perspective, the fact that such a title in a vassal kingdom was not reported was probably not negligence but intentional misinformation. Zhang Wu 張務 was the first Zhang who received this honorary title posthumously, in the sixth year of the Yanhe 延和 reign period, *i.e.* 607 CE.[53] This shows that the Zhang family, at least until 607, enjoyed an elevated political status, only next to that of the royal Qu family.

Although the Zhang and Qu families generally and principally were political partners, they still possessed different political strategies. The key difference between the Qu and the Zhang families lay in their attitudes and tendencies regarding how to deal with the courts of the ethnic Chinese (Han) dynasties in the south, and the non-Chinese (Hu 胡) peoples in the north. Both Qu and Zhang were Han Chinese families, but members of the Qu family, as the last royal fami-

52 Meng Xianshi 2004, 99.
53 *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu*, 262.

ly of Gaochang, were inclined to resist the Han regime while they tried to maintain good relations with the Hu; whereas the Zhang family was more inclined to respect the Han regime while keeping vigilance against northern nomadic powers. Of course, this difference in political strategy and calculation of dealing with stronger powers in the north and south was not always obvious. It used to remain invisible and largely balanced during periods when relations between the Han Chinese and nomadic polities in the north remained stable.

For example, during the reign of the Yangdi 煬帝 (r. 605–617) Emperor of the Sui Dynasty (589–617), the Sui government maintained relatively good relations with the Tujue 突厥 (Göktürks), what offered a good political backdrop for the Gaochang kingdom to stay in a peaceful domestic equilibrium between the Qu and Zhang families. But when the Han Chinese Empire was in a situation of conflict with northern powers, this would reflect back upon Gaochang politics, as the Qu family would have been inclined to cooperate with the northern powers and the Zhang family, in contrast, rather than with the Chinese. In the late period of the Gaochang kingdom, during the reign of Qu Wentai 麴文泰 (?–640), the famous and generous sponsor of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) during his pilgrimage to India, the Western Turks tried to challenge the Tang empire, and Qu Wentai chose a one-sided strategy to rely on the Western Turks, challenging the Tang.

This eventually caused the collapse of the Gaochang Kingdom, when Tang Taizong sent troops led by Hou Junji 侯君集 (?–643) to Gaochang. Yugushe 欲谷設 (?–653, Yukuk Şad), then the Khan of the Western Turks (?–653, namely 汗 Illig Beg Tughluq 乙毗咄陆可 Qaghan, Illig Beg, meaning "crown prince"), fled without fulfilling his promise to support Gaochang militarily.[54] During this critical time for Gaochang, the above mentioned Zhang Xiong 張雄 tried to persuade the king to act with caution towards the Tang empire, not to solely have confidence in the natural barrier of the vast desert in between to deter its troops, and thus not to let down his guard when facing the threat. Eventually he failed, and Zhang Xiong even ultimately died, because the advice he suggested to the ruler was not officially accepted. He became so worried about the wrong strategy adopted by King Qu Wentai that he finally passed away from sorrow.[55]

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54 *Jiu Tangshu* 198.5293-5297.

55 *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu*, 586: 占雲就景，公懷事大之謀。阻漠憑沙，國有偷安之望。規諫莫用，殷憂起疾。"Prophesying the changes of clouds according to winds, He embraces great ability and strategy. Relying on distance and desert, the kingdom takes chances for safety. His advices are not accepted, and his worries finally took him down to sickness."

Conclusion

China was definitely the political, economic, and cultural centre of the macro-region during much of the Tang period. Although it was undoubtedly primarily a continental power, starting in the Tang dynasty at the latest, China also became increasingly interested in maritime space. In political terms, "marching west", Tang China definitely sought to gain control over trade routes, and access to peoples and countries from where foreign goods originated. At the same time, it wanted to secure its borders, and prevent foreign countries and people harming Chinese territoriality. China shifted between a militarily forward position, on the one side, as demonstrated for example by the Battle of Talas in 751,[56] and defence and cultural persuasiveness or "soft power", as Wang Zhenping has termed it in his investigation on *Tang China in Multi-Polar Asia*,[57] on the other, trying to appease her neighbours by offering material, cultural, or ideological (such as Tang titles, *etc.*) advantages, and expecting peace and respect for Tang interests, and especially its territorial integrity in response. As Maddalena Barenghi shows, the Tang also accepted certain patron-client relationships. Against this background it should not surprise that we find much migration in Tang China, both before and after the An Lushan Rebellion.

Descendants of a "Sinicized" foreign (Hu) ruling family, the Feng family of the Northern Yan, migrated to Lingnan during the Nanbeichao period and, by Tang times, their members became important players in local politics and economy, including involvement in maritime activities. On the other hand, we have seen how the Han Chinese Zhang family, originally from Henan in central China, settled in Gaochang in Central Asia where its members obtained great political influence, enjoyed a high social status, and also established marriage relations with another migrant family, the Qu. Where the Feng family evidently engaged in commerce in Lingnan, in case of the Zhang family in Gaochang, politics and diplomacy seem to have been the dominant factors. We can only guess that having settled in one of the major crossroads of the overland Silk Road, the Zhang family, too, engaged in trading activities in one or the other way.

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56 Chinese troops under the military command of the Korean general Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 (Korean: Go Seonji, d. 755) clashed with advancing Muslim Arab forces. The Chinese troops were defeated and China's westward expansion came to an end. Diplomatic relations between the Tang Empire and the 'Abbāsid Empire, however, seem to have remained intact. Only one year after the Battle (752), the Caliph sent a diplomatic delegation to China, and several delegations followed in subsequent years.

57 Wang Zhenping 2013, 310. For the term "soft power" and its application to modern China, see Nye 2012.

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Some Aspects of the Relations between the Chile 敕勒 and the Northern Dynasties (Fifth to Seventh Century)

Maddalena BARENGHI

Several nomadic and seminomadic groups dwelled in the Mongolian steppe during the early medieval period. The Chinese traditional sources differentiate these groups in terms that define them as biologically related and sharing a common ancestry with the various "barbarian" nomadic confederacies that lived in the steppe in earlier times. Indeed, the use of the designations "Gaoju" 高車 and "Chile" 敕勒/勅勒/"Tiele" 鐵勒 in the Chinese medieval sources exemplifies the blurred boundaries between political and biological/cultural bonds.[1] The variants arguably all relate to the original Turkic term, either semantically or phonetically. Chile/Tiele may be a phonetic rendering of the term for "cart" (**tegreg*), and the form Gaoju (High Carts) may also be related to the meaning of the original Turkic term.[2] The designations coexist in the sources and, according to scholars, loosely define the same confederation of tribes that dwelled in the Mongolian steppe from the late fourth century onwards. Indeed, the composition of the confederation and its allegiances changed

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1 Though the traditional sources do not clearly distinguish political entities from biological/cultural affiliations, tribal allegiances in Inner Asia were in fact a matter of political allegiances. By comparing Inner Asia to the Germanic tribal world, Peter Golden (2008/2009, 74-75) states that "belonging to a 'people' could be more political than biological – although political loyalty in 'imagined communities' of tribal society was invariably expressed as bonds of kinship, i.e. in biological terms. Genealogies could, when necessity demanded, be created or manipulated. There was much fluidity in tribal loyalties and hence in ethnic and political designations."

2 Other earlier forms used to identify the nomadic confederacy are Dili 狄歷, Dingling 丁零, and Tele 特勒. An anonymous reader has brought to my attention a study by Kljaštornyj and Savinov (2005, 59) in which the authors argue that **tegreg* might be an Old Mongolic (Xianbei or Rouran) term which entered Turkic initially in the meaning of "rim, wheel" and also "cart, carter". For a reconstruction of the early medieval Chinese pronunciation and meaning of the term see also Pulleyblank 1990, 22. On the Tiele see also: Hamilton 1962, 25-26. Scholars have identified the Tiele with the Toquz-Oghuz of the Orkhon inscriptions. See Pulleyblank 1956, 35-39; Golden 1972. For a general study on the Tiele see also Golden 1992, 132ff.

consistently over the centuries. The names of the clans and ruling elites associated with the confederacy also changed significantly over time.

This paper presents a preliminary survey of the early relations between this nomadic confederacy and the empire of the Central Plains from the late fourth to the early seventh century as narrated in the early medieval sources, with a focus on the accounts in the *Weishu* 魏書 (Book of Wei) and *Beishi* 北史 (History of the North).

The earliest accounts on the Chile/Gaoju confederacy can be found in Wei Shou's 魏收 (506–572) *Weishu* 魏書 and in Li Yanshou's 李延壽 (*fl.* 650) *Beishi*. The *Weishu*'s chapter on the Ruru 蠕蠕 (Rouran 柔然) and the Gaoju, chapter 103, was lost before the Song era and may have been substituted by the homonymous chapter of the *Beishi*, chapter 98: the two chapters are practically identical.[3] However, scattered references in the *Weishu* offer information concerning the relations between the tribal confederacy and the Northern Wei that we do not find in the *Beishi*.

The chapter on the Gaoju begins by tracing their cultural and biological origins back to the northern "barbarians":

> 高車，蓋古赤狄之餘種也，初號為狄歷，北方以為勅勒，諸夏以為高車、丁零. 其語略與匈奴同而時有小異。或云：其先匈奴甥也。[4]
>
> As for the Gaoju, they are descendant tribes of the ancient Red Di,[5] and initially were called Dili. In the north they are called Chile; within China they were called Gaoju, Dingling. Their language is roughly similar to the Xiongnu's and at times has small differences. Some say: "Their ancestors were descendants of the Xiongnu's marital clans."[6]

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3 *Weishu* 103.2289. The surviving text of the *Weishu* is attributed to Wei Shou, yet during the Tang period different versions of the Wei dynastic history were produced. See Yu Jiaxi 1980, 157-177. Chapter 101 of the *Weishu* (which included accounts on Gaochang 高昌 and the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾) was substituted with chapter 96 of the *Beishi*; chapter 102 of the *Weishu* ("Xiyu liezhuan" 西域列傳 [Memoir on the Western Regions]) was substituted with chapter 97 of the *Beishi*.

4 *Weishu* 103.2307; *Beishi* 98.3270. "In the north" may mean that in the Mongolian steppe they called themselves Chile (*tegrek)*, and within the Chinese Empire they were called Gaoju. It is plausible that the officials of the Northern Wei Empire used both terms in their official documents, as these two designations coexist in the early medieval Chinese sources.

5 The Red Di appear in several pre-imperial and Han texts; Sima Qian 司馬遷 uses the term Chi Di 赤翟 and identifies them with the Rong Di 戎翟 that were pushed to an area within the Ordos region by King Wen of Jin 晉文公. See Giele 2011, 249-250.

6 Pulleyblank (1990, 21) notes that the genealogical and linguistic connection with the Red Di and the Xiongnu "is probably based on nothing more than the fact that they played the same kind of role on the Chinese frontier during the Sui and Tang dynasties that the Xiongnu had

The terms Gaoju and Chile are used to refer to a confederacy of tribes from the early period until the Sui 隋 dynasty (581–618) period. The term Tiele is later used to refer to the tribal confederacy from the early seventh century onwards. Indeed, *Beishi* has both an account of the Gaoju/Chile (chapter 98)[7] and one on the Tiele (chapter 99), the latter of which also includes an account of the Tujue 突厥 (Türks) and the First Türk Empire.[8] The two chapters do not overlap in content: chapter 98 covers the events from the fifth century to the end of the first half of the sixth century, while chapter 99 covers the events of the early seventh century, i.e., the relations with the Türks and the early Tang dynasty.[9]

In later scholarship, the tribal confederacy is generally lumped together with the Türks or the Uighurs. The tenth-century official history of the Tang, known as *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang), has an account of the Tiele in the "Beidi liezhuan" 北狄列傳 (Memoir on the Northern Barbarians), chapter 199. By contrast, the eleventh-century recompilation of the Tang history known as the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) has no separate section for the Tiele. Instead, the beginning and most of the second part of chapter 217, "Huihu liezhuan" 回鶻列傳 (that is, the account preceding the Uighur Empire and following its collapse, from 840 to the end of the dynasty), contain accounts of different Tiele groupings.[10] The eleventh-century compilers begin the chapter on the Uighurs by saying:

> 回紇，其先匈奴也，俗多乘高輪車，元魏時亦號高車部，或曰敕勒，訛為鐵勒。[11]
>
> As for the Huihe, their ancestors were the Xiongnu; because it was their custom to ride carts with high wheels, in the Yuan Wei period they were called the 'tribe of the high carts', and some called them Chile, which was wrongly rendered with Tiele.

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played in Han." However, if we consider the *Weishu* statement in the quote above to be true, it is plausible to think that there were indeed linguistic similarities.

7 *Beishi* 98.3270-3277. Pulleyblank (1990, 24-25) has translated an excerpt of the beginning of chapter 98.

8 *Beishi* 99.3303-3305.

9 The content of chapter 99 also appears in almost identical form in chapter 84 of the *Suishu* 隋書, the "Beidi liezhuan" 北狄列傳 (Memoir on the Northern Barbarians). *Suishu* 84.1863-1882 also has an account of the Tujue, Qidan 契丹, Xi 奚 (Qay) and Shiwei 室韋.

10 For the variants of Huihu (Huihe, etc.) see below in the footnotes. See also Nishida Yuko 2011.

11 *Xin Tangshu* 217A.6111.

During the fifth and sixth centuries, units of this nomadic confederacy established patron-client relations with the Rouran 柔然 khanate (402–552)[12] and the Tuoba 拓跋 northern dynasties: the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–535), Eastern Wei 東魏 (534–550), Northern Qi 北齊 (550–77), and Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581). By the late sixth century, Tiele groupings had fallen under the dominion of the First Türk Empire (552–630). Tiele units revolted against the Türks in the second decade of the seventh century and established an independent regime under the leadership of the Sir-Yantuo (Xue Yantuo 薛延陀) Zhenzhu Bilgä Qaghan 真珠苾伽 (r. 628–645).[13] They subsequently established patron-client relations with Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626–649). In later periods, the Tiele were at times under the patronage of the Tibetans and then of the Uighurs (Huihe 回紇) of the First Uighur Empire (646–48), the latter group being the strongest among the Tiele.

The late medieval sources also introduce the term "Jiu xing" 九姓 (Nine surnames) or "Jiu xing buluo" 九姓部落.[14] Similarly, the term "Jiuxing Huihe" 九姓回紇, used to refer to the Uighurs, also indicates the Tiele, the confederacy ruled by the Uighurs.[15]

Relations with the Early Medieval Courts

Sometime in the late fourth century, the Chile/Gaoju tribal confederacy moved to the northwestern territory of Luhun Lake 鹿渾海, in the eastern area of the Orkhon Valley, where its members became stronger and grew in number.[16] The early Northern Wei had frequent contact with the tribes. In particular, Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪 (Daowu 道武, r. 386–409, temple title Taizu 太祖) launched several military campaigns against them and relocated entire units to the military garrisons for defensive purposes. The six northern garrisons (*bei zhen* 北鎮) had been built to reinforce the Wei defensive line when the capital was moved from Shengle 盛樂 to Pingcheng 平城 in 398.[17] The practice of

12 The sources also refer to the Rouran as Ruanruan 蠕蠕, Ruirui 芮芮, or Ruru 茹茹. On the variants see Xue Zongzheng 1995. The Rouran khanate is a confederacy of tribes present in the Mongolian steppe from the fifth to the first half of the sixth century.

13 *Suishu* 84.1880; Chavannes 1900, 94 ff. See also Golden 2018, 330.

14 Skaff 2012, 40 n.12, 343 n.

15 Pulleyblank 1956, 38-39.

16 *Beishi* 98.3270; *Weishu* 103.2308.

17 The six garrisons are Woye 沃野, Huaishuo 懷朔, Wuchuan 武川, Wumin 撫冥, Rouxuan 柔玄, and Huaihuang 懷荒. The garrisons were located just north of the Great Wall. The gar-

forced relocation was carried on by subsequent rulers until the Wei capital was moved further south to Luoyang 洛陽, in 493.[18] Daowu's unorthodox methods of relocating large segments of the population to the new capital included plans for a large hunt in the territory where a Gaoju tribe had settled:

> 道武自牛川南引，大校獵，以高車為圍，騎徒遮列，周七百餘里，聚雜獸於其中，因驅至平城，即以高車眾起鹿苑，南因臺陰，北距長城，東包白登，屬之西山。[19]
>
> Daowu from Ox River[20] led [the people] south; he organized a large hunt and used the Gaoju [territory] as hunting grounds: on horseback he moved them in ordered ranks, surrounded a territory of more than seven hundred *li*, gathered various types of animals at its center, and in this manner forced them forward and reached Pingcheng. Then by means of the Gaoju troops [the emperor] created a deer park [that extended] south to Taiyin, north to the Great Wall, and embraced Baideng[21] to the east, and connected it to the western mountains.

Several Gaoju chieftains subsequently established patron-client relations with the Wei court and were endowed with official titles and gifts.[22] Under the reign of Tuoba Tao 拓拔燾 (Taiwu 太武帝, r. 424–52, temple title Shizu 世祖), several other units were again relocated "south of the Gobi desert", and pre-

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risons extended roughly from present day Bayannur city in Inner Mongolia to present day Zhangbei prefecture in Hebei; see Wei Jian 2019, 151. For a study of the archaeological evidence of the six towns see Zhou Yang 2017. See also Sagawa Eiji 2016. The practice of building towns in order to settle nomadic tribes would also be adhered to by the Sui dynasty, which built walled towns in the northeastern region of the Ordos for the Eastern Türks. See Pan 1997, 105; *Suishu* 84.1873.

18 The early Tuoba emperors relocated portions of their population to the capital in Pingcheng. For instance, in 440 Daowu relocated thirty thousand commoners from Liang Prefecture to Pingcheng. See *Weishu* 4.90: 冬十月辛酉，車駕東還，徙涼州民三萬餘家于京師。Migration and forced relocation are major features of the Tuoba dynasties, and in particular of the Northern Wei. See the recent doctoral thesis by Wen-yi Huang (2017). See also Kang Le 1990, 896.

19 *Beishi* 98.3271. See also *Beishi* 1.19.

20 "Ox River" was located north of the Great Wall, in present-day Inner Mongolia. It is in this location that in 386 Tuoba Gui organized a big summit and established himself as King of Dai. See *Weishu* 2.20: 登國元年春正月戊申，帝即代王位，郊天，建元，大會於牛川。The place continued to be an important defensive post in later times, and the early Northern Wei rulers paid regular visits to it. See Wei Jian 2019.

21 According to *Zizhi tongjian* 11.3768, Baideng was located at roughly ten *li* southeast of Pingcheng.

22 *Beishi* 98.3271; *Weishu* 103.2308: 高車姪利曷莫弗敕力犍率其九百餘落內附，拜敕力犍為揚威將軍置司馬、參軍，賜穀二萬斛。後高車解批莫弗幡豆建復率其部三十餘落內附，亦拜為威遠將軍，置司馬、參軍，賜衣服，歲給廩食。

sumably in the borderland.[23] The Tuoba court divided the newly relocated population into units according to their geographical location: "Western tribes" (*xibu* 西部), "Eastern tribes" (*dongbu* 東部), and "Northern tribes" (*beibu* 北部).[24] They occupied a territory that from east to west extended north of the six northern garrisons. The Chile people in this area are referred to as "new citizens" (*xinmin* 新民) in the *Weishu*.[25] Moreover, the *Weishu* recounts that at the beginning of Xiaowen's 孝文 (r. 471–499, temple title Gaozu 高祖) reign, the "rich and powerful of the Western tribal divisions of the Chile were employed as military guards in the [imperial] palace."[26] The dynastic history affirms that the selection of the imperial guards among the Chile was not a peaceful process because the official in charge of the selection received generous bribes from the wealthiest among the Chile. The enraged soldiers mutinied and murdered the official, and the Chile tribal units rebelled.[27]

The "new citizens" established at the northern frontier would migrate north of the desert in the spring, returning south for the winter in search of pastureland for their herds. This was problematic for the local officials tasked with keeping them in the territory where they had been resettled. The sources say that on one occasion in 430, during the reign of Taiwu, the local officials issued a request to relocate Chile units from Yunzhong 雲中 (modern-day Datong 大同) to the White Salt Lake 白鹽池 in Hexi 河西,[28] in order to prevent the migrants from moving back northward again in the spring season. The *Weishu* reports:

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23 *Beishi* 98.3273.

24 *Zizhi tongjian* 133.4158:自魏世祖破柔然，高車敕勒皆來降，其部落附塞下而居，自武周塞外以西謂之西部，以東謂之東部，依漠南而居者謂之北部。"When Wei Shizu defeated the Rouran, the Gaoju Chile all came to surrender, so their tribes were settled within the borders. From the area beyond the Great Wall in Wuzhou to the west they were called Western Tribes, to the east they were called Eastern Tribes, [and] those that were settled toward the south of the desert were called the Northern Tribes."

25 *Weishu* 4A.75: 列置新民於漠南，東至濡源，西暨五原、陰山，竟三千里。"[The court] divided [the tribes] and established the new citizens south of the desert, extending east to Ruyuan, and west to Yuyuan and Yishan, in all [in a territory of] three thousand *li*". On the use of the term *xinmin* in the early Northern Wei period see Zhang Weixun 1993.

26 *Weishu* 19.450: 西部敕勒豪富兼丁者為殿中武士。

27 *Ibid*.

28 There were four salt lakes located in an area just south of the Ordos region, in Wuyuan Garrison 五原郡 (in Tang times called Wuyuan Prefecture 五原縣) in present-day Shaanxi (*Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 4.6). Hence Hexi in this case is not used for the area west of the Ordos, but it refers to an area west of the eastern arm of the Yellow River within Guannei.

敕勒新民以將吏侵奪，咸出怨言，期牛馬飽草，當赴漠北。潔與左僕射安原奏，欲及河冰未解，徙之河西，冰解之後，不得北遁。世祖曰：「不然。此等習俗，放散日久，有似園中之鹿，急則衝突，緩之則定。吾自處之有道，不煩徙也。」潔等固執，乃聽分徙三萬餘落於河西，西至白鹽池。新民驚駭，皆曰：「圍我於河西之中，是將殺我也」，欲西走涼州。潔與侍中古弼屯五原河北，左僕射安原屯悅拔城北，備之。既而新民數千騎北走，潔追討之。走者糧絕，相枕而死。[29]

As for the new Chile commoners, they all expressed enragement because of the encroachments of the officers, and said that it would be appropriate to hurry [back] to the north of the [Gobi] desert once cattle and horses were well fed with grass. [Liu] Ji and the chief administrator An Yuan memorialized to the court that they wished to move [the new Chile commoners] to Hexi before the ice of the [Yellow] River had melted, [so that] they could not go back to the north after the ice had melted. Shizu said: "This is not right. This is [their] custom; [if you] banish and scatter them for a long time, they will be like deer kept in captivity: if they are hard-pressed, then they will rush forth, but if you leave them at their ease they will settle. I think that to let them find their own location is the right way so we do not need to take trouble to relocate them." As [Liu] Ji and his colleague were determined, [the emperor] listened to them and moved more than thirty thousand separate tribes to Hexi, westward to the White Salt Lake. The new citizens were frightened, and all said: "You are confining us in the center of Hexi, this will kill us!" And so they wished to flee to Liang Prefecture. [Liu] Ji and the assistant Gu Bi stationed themselves north of the river in Wuyuan, the attendant archer An Yuan stationed himself north of the fortified city, in order to take precaution against this. After some time, several thousand horsemen of the new citizens fled north. [Liu] Ji pursued and punished them. The provisions of those who were able to get away were cut off, and so they died one taking the other as a cushion.

The early Northern Wei rulers, and Taiwu in particular, would regularly inspect the borderland south of the desert (*xing mo nan* 幸漠南) during the winter in order to control the Chile confederation and maintain peaceful relations with them.[30] In occasion of one of these official inspection tours, in winter 431,

29 *Weishu* 28.687; *Zizhi tongjian* 121.3815.

30 The *Weishu* records two instances of rebellions by the Chile "new commoners" in the six northern garrisons, in 471 and 472. *Weishu* 7A.135: 冬十月丁亥，沃野、統萬二鎮敕勒叛。詔太尉、隴西王源賀追擊，至枹罕，滅之，斬首三萬餘級；徙其遺迸於冀、定、相三州為營戶。"[During the reign of emperor Xiaowen in 471] the Chile of the two garrisons of Woye and Tongwan rebelled in the tenth month on the *dinggai* day. An imperial edict was issued ordering the king of Taiwei and Longxi Wang Yuanhe to follow them and launch an attack against them. They [the attackers] reached Baohan and destroyed them. They cut off more than thirty thousand heads. They moved their remaining troops to the three prefectures of Ji, Ding, and Xiang as guarding households." *Weishu* 7a.136-137: 連川敕勒謀叛，徙配青、徐、齊、兗四州為營戶。"The Chile from Lianchuan plotted a rebel-

Taiwu organized a great hunt and celebrated the event by having a stone stele engraved.[31]

The Yuanhe 袁紇[32] and the Hulü 斛律[33] are identified as two of the leading clans of the Chile.[34] The Yuanhe clan would go on to resurface in Chinese medieval texts as the Huihe 回紇 at the beginning of the seventh century. The Hulü became a very powerful military clan at the Tuoba court. When the Rouran khan Shelun 社崙 (r. 402–410) was defeated by the Northern Wei and invaded Chile's territory, the chieftain of the Hulü clan, Beihouli 倍侯利, decided to take advantage of his weakness and launch a military attack against him. The Rouran defended themselves, driving Hulü Beihouli to seek refuge in the Northern Wei court, where he was granted honorific titles.[35] The Hulü family clan became a

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lion, [so] they were relocated to the four prefectures of Peiqing, Xu, Qi, and Yan as guarding households." *Weishu* 4b.97: 六月，北部民殺立義將軍、衡陽公莫孤，率五千餘落北走。追擊于漠南，殺其渠帥，餘徙居冀、相、定三州為營戶。"In the sixth month [445 AD], the people of the Northern tribes killed the General Who Establishes Righteousness, Sir Hengyang Mo Gu, and they escaped north, leading more than five thousand tribes. [The court's army] followed them and attacked them south of the desert, killing their chiefs. The rest were relocated to the three prefectures of Yi, Xiang, and Ding as guarding households." – The most famous among the rebellions in which Chile units were involved is the one of 523, occurring after the Wei capital was relocated to Luoyang 洛陽. For a general overview of the causes of the rebellion see Wang Xiaofu 2018.

31 *Weishu* 4.79: 行幸漠南。十一月丙辰，北部敕勒莫弗庫若于，率其部數萬騎，驅鹿數百萬，詣行在所，帝因而大狩以賜從者，勒石漠南，以記功德。"[In winter, during the tenth month of 431] The emperor paid a visit south of the desert. In the eleventh month, the northern Chile chieftain Kuruoyu led his unit of several hundred thousand horsemen and several hundred thousand galloping deer, moving to the place [where the emperor was]. The emperor took the opportunity to organize a great hunt in order to repay those who had followed him; he engraved a [text on a] stone to the south of the desert, and by means of it he recorded merits and virtues." On this event see also *Weishu* 24.635; *Beishi* 2.47; *Zizhi tongjian* 122.3835. According to *Weishu* 4b.103, during another imperial visit in 450, the emperor organized a similar banquet for his hosts: 十年春正月戊辰朔，帝在漠南，大饗百僚，班賜有差。"In the tenth year, in spring in the first month, in *wuzhen,* the first day of the lunar month, the emperor was south of the desert, and greatly banqueted with the hundred officials, dividing the gifts according to rank."

32 Later known as Huihe 回紇, with its variants 韋紇, 迴紇, 回鶻, etc. See Kasai Yukiyo 2014, 132.

33 According to Xue Zongzheng 1995, 37, Hulü is the Chinese phonetic transcription of the term *uluk*, and in the early Tang period they would be called Huluwu 胡祿屋, a tribal unit located in the area of Beiting Prefecture 北庭州, in Yanbo Commandery 鹽泊州都督府, in present-day eastern Xinjiang. See also *Xin Tangshu* 43B.1130.

34 Other names of clans are Di 狄, Jiepi 解批, Huogu 護骨, and Yiqijin 異奇斤 (*Beishi* 98.3270). According to Ma Chi 1999, 94, Jiepi 解批 is an early variant of Qibi 契苾.

35 *Beishi* 98.3272; *Bei Qi shu* 17.219-222; *Beishi* 17.219.

very influential clan at court, to the point that when Beihouli died, the emperor awarded him a posthumous title.[36] Hulü Beihouli's grandson, Hulü Jin 斛律金 (488–567),[37] became a dignitary and an important military general at the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi courts. Hulü Jin's renown stems mostly from the "Chile ge" 敕勒歌 (Chile Song),[38] a folk song that the general was allegedly ordered to sing in front of general Gao Huan and his troops after their defeat by the Eastern Wei army at Yubi 玉壁 (modern Shanxi).[39]

The Hulü clan's power and influence at the court lasted until the last Northern Qi ruler, Gao Wei 高緯 (r. 565–577), also known as the Late Ruler of Northern Qi 北齊後主; Hulü Jin's granddaughter was a consort of Gao Wei.[40] Empress Hulü 斛律皇后 was deposed after the invasion by the Northern Zhou in 557, when almost all members of the Hulü clan were killed. By the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, the family had all but disappeared from history.[41] The Hülu shrine 斛律寺 seems to have survived to at least the early tenth century and to have become the object of a popular cult.[42]

Relations with the Early Tang Court

In the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, a number of the Tiele tribal units in the Mongolian steppe[43] were led by the Ashina

36 *Beishi* 98.3271: 及倍侯利卒，道武悼惜，葬以魏禮，謚曰忠壯王。"When Beihouli died, Daowu mourned, buried him with Wei rituals, and bestowed upon him the posthumous title of Loyal and Strong King."

37 On Hulü Jin see also Pulleyblank 1990, 26.

38 In *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆 1.5-6 Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202) reports that the song was sung in the Tuoba language. Wu Jie believes that the "Chile ge" is in all likelihood a Tuoba folksong. Hulü Jin was credited with disseminating it, however. See Wu 2010.

39 *Beishi* 6.230; *Zizhi tongjian* 159.4944; the song reminded Gao Huan that he was about to die. See Wu 2010.

40 *Bei Qi shu* 7.94.

41 At least one member of the clan survived. According to the excavated funerary epitaph of Hulü Che 斛律徹, a grandson of Hulü Guang 光, Hulü Che survived the killing and died in 595, under the Sui dynasty. See Luo Xin and Ye Wei 2010, 434-436.

42 According to *Zizhi tongjian* 266.8675, a Hulü temple 斛律寺 still existed in the tenth century in Jinyang. Hulü Jin and the Western Wei general Gao Huan 高歡 (496–547) were both from Huaishuo garrison 懷朔鎮 (see Kang Le 1990). *Tang wen shiyi* 唐文拾遺 47.1093-1104 (edn. attached to *Quan Tang wen*) has a "Jian Hulü wang miao ji" 建斛律王廟記 (Memoir of the Building of the Temple of Hulü Prince).

43 *Suishu* 84.1879: 鐵勒之先，匈奴之苗裔也，種類最多。自西海之東，依據山谷，往往不絕。獨洛河北有僕骨、同羅、韋紇、拔也古、覆羅並號俟斤，蒙陳、吐如紇、

阿史那 clan, the family to which the qaghans of the First Türk Empire (552–630) belonged. In the second decade of the seventh century, some of the Tiele units struck an alliance with Yinan 夷男, the chief of one of the dominant Tiele tribes, the Xue Yantuo, and revolted against Illig Qaghan (r. 621–630). Taking advantage of the situation, Taizong secretly invested Yinan with the title of Zhenzhu Bilgä Qaghan.[44] Relying on the support of Taizong, Yinan moved his troops south and established a southern court in the strategic area north of the Ötükän Mountains,[45] in the "old Xiongnu territory" 古匈奴之故地.[46] Taizong then requested that Ashina Simo 阿史那思摩 (Li Simo 李思摩) move his own militia units south of the desert in order to control Yinan, as Taizong was concerned about Yinan's movement toward the Tang's northern frontier. As a reward, Taizong bestowed upon Li Simo the title of qaghan.[47] After the death of Yinan, the Xue Yantuo who had escaped to the west bestowed the qaghan title on Duomozhi 咄摩支, a son of Yinan's older brother. The Xue Yantuo subsequently moved back to their old territories to the west, but Duomozhi renounced the title and asked the Tang court for permission to settle north of the Ötükän Mountains. Instead, the court sent the general Li Ji 李勣 (594–669) to attack the Xue Yantuo. Duomozhi surrendered to the Tang troops and was

斯結、渾、斛薛等諸姓，勝兵可二萬。伊吾以西，焉耆之北，傍白山，則有契弊、薄落職、乙咥、蘇婆、那曷、烏謹、紇骨、也咥、於尼謹等，勝兵可二萬。"As for the Tiele's ancestors, they were descendants of the Xiongnu, [but] their different units were extremely numerous, from the eastern part of the Western Lake, following mountains and gorges across the territory without interruption. North of the Duluo [Tuul] River are the Pugu [Puqut], the Tongluo [Tongra], the Weihe, the Bayegu [Bayarqu], [and] the Fuluo. Altogether they have the appellation *tejin*; their surnames are Mengchen, Turuchi, Sijie, Hun, [and] Douxie, and their highest number of soldiers can reach twenty thousand men. West of Yiwu, and north of Yanqi, on the side of Mont Bai, there are instead the Qibi, the Puluochi, the Yidie, the Supo, the Nahe, the Wuhuan, the Chigu, the Yedie, [and] the Yuni; their highest number of soldiers can reach twenty thousand men."

44 *Suishu* 84.1880; *Jiu Tangshu* 199.5344; Chavannes 1900, 94ff; Skaff 2012, 121.

45 都尉捷山 is identified with the Ötükän Mountains (*Jiu Tangshu* 199.5344), the sacred mountain of the Türks located in the Khangai Mountains on the steppe. The official Chinese histories have different transliterations of the Turkic term: 都斤山, 烏德鞬山, 都尉捷山 (*Jiu Tangshu*), 都斤山 (*Suishu, Xin Tangshu*), 大斤山 (*Suishu*), 鬱督軍山 (*Jiu Tangshu*, *Xin Tangshu*), 郁督軍山 (*Xin Tangshu*). On the Ötükän Mountains see: Drompp 1999, 391; Golden 2013, 42; Barenghi 2019, 80.

46 *Jiu Tangshu* 199.5344.

47 At about the same time, Taizong cancelled a gathering that had been set up for Yinan and other Xue Yantuo dignitaries in Ling Prefecture 靈州, at the western border of Guannei 關內. The gathering would have sealed Yinan's patron-client relationship with Taizong through a marriage with a Chinese princess. On this event see Skaff 2012, 200.

brought to the capital in Chang'an, where he was given an allotment of land and a residence. Duomozhi's followers were either killed or captured by the Tang troops.[48]

Tang Taizong was able to defeat the Xue Yantuo thanks to the military support of Huihe troops. As a result, the chief of the Huihe, Tumidu 吐迷度, moved his troops south, past the Helan Mountains 賀蘭山, to the western border of the Tang empire. Taizong then summoned several thousand Tiele dignitaries to Ling Prefecture 靈州, a strategic location and point of transit that connected the Ordos region to the central region of the capital,[49] and organized a large gathering for them.[50] The summit lasted a full month. According to the eleventh-century New History of the Tang, the Huihe dignitaries expressed a wish to become part of the Tang administrative system:

> 「延陀不事大國，以自取亡，其下麕駭鳥散，不知所之。今各有分地，願歸命天子，請置唐官。」有詔張飲高會，引見渠長等，以唐官官之，凡數千人。[51]
> "The [Xue] Yantuo did not serve the Great Kingdom. By this means they brought their own destruction. Their subordinates are as frightened as hornless deer and scatter as birds; they don't know where to go. Now each [tribal head] is assigned a piece of territory, so they are willing to turn [to the Tang court] and submit to the [emperor's] mandate, and request to be established as Tang officials." An imperial decree ordered that a drinking banquet be set up for a great gathering in order to introduce the chieftains, several thousands in all and invest them with official Tang titles.

During the summit Taizong was proclaimed Heavenly Qaghan by the dignitaries.[52] One month later, the gathering was repeated at the capital in Chang'an 長安,[53] where the Huihe dignitaries were again entertained with banquets and music. The sovereign bestowed official titles upon them, and their tribal units

48 *Jiu Tangshu* 199.5348 speaks of thirty thousand slaves and more than five thousand people beheaded.

49 Ling Prefecture was located in present-day Guyuan 固原, Ningxia.

50 *Xin Tangshu* 217A.6112. On this event see also Skaff 2012, 121-122. Skaff (*ibid*. n.17) notes that "Tang sources describing gatherings of the tribal leadership of the Mongolian Plateau usually mention a total of several thousand chiefs. The number seems to be a convention but may approximately represent the total leadership of the khanate down to the level of camp headmen."

51 *Xin Tangshu* 217A.6112.

52 *Zizhi tongjian* 198.6240.

53 *Jiu Tangshu* 195.5196; *Xin Tangshu* 217A:6111; *Zizhi tongjian* 198.6240, 6242-6243; *Cefu yuangui* 970.12b. On the two edicts that announced the gatherings in Ling Prefecture and Chang'an, as well as on Taizong political strategy in dealing with the surrendered Turkic tribes, see Eisenberg 2002–2003.

were settled into the "loose rein" (*jimi* 羈縻) system of protected prefectures and area commands.[54] The account of the gathering in *Xin Tangshu* goes as follows:

> 其都督、刺史給玄金魚符，黃金為文，天子方招寵遠夷，作絳黃瑞錦文袍、寶刀、珍器賜之。帝坐祕殿，陳十部樂，殿前設高坫，置朱提瓶其上，潛泉浮酒，自左閤通坫趾注之瓶，轉受百斛鐃盎，回紇數千人飲畢，尚不能半。又詔文武五品官以上祖飲尚書省中。渠領共言：「生荒陋地，歸身聖化，天至尊賜官爵，與為百姓，依唐若父母然。請於回紇、突厥部治大涂，號『參天至尊道』，世為唐臣。」[55]
>
> Their commanders and inspectors were supplied with silver fish-shaped tallies with patterns of gold. The Son of Heaven invited and honored the distant barbarians from all over, made red and yellow jade, embroidered robes, precious knives, and jade vessels and offered them [as gifts]. The emperor sat in the secret palace and let the music of the ten tribes be performed. In the rear of the palace, a high platform was set up. A vessel for pouring wine was placed upon it that poured a fountain of floating wine, [and] from the side door on the left a stand was passed through on which drinking reversed cups were placed [by the guests]. Jars with hundreds of *hu* were circulated and offered; several thousand Huihe dignitaries drank [them] to the dregs, but had not even been able to drink half of it. In addition, [the emperor] ordered the military and civil officials from the fifth rank and above to give a farewell dinner in the Department of State Affairs. The great chieftains said as one: "We were born in the wild and uncultured land. We turned to sage reformation, Heaven Most Honorable granted us offices and ranks, we were given to become common people, and we rely on the Tang as father and mother. We request that in the [territory of] the Huihe and the Tujue tribes a great road may be built and called 'The way to pay respect to Heaven Most Honorable',[56] and for generations we will be subjects of the Tang."[57]

With the summits in Ling Prefecture and Chang'an, the Tiele tribal units became clients of the Tang court and established a relationship that would last

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54 Skaff 2012, 121, 163; *Jiu Tangshu* 195.5196, 199.5348; *Xin Tangshu* 217A.6112-6113; *Zizhi tongjian* 198.6144-6145; Eisenberg 2002–2003.

55 *Xin Tangshu* 217A.6113.

56 *Tang huiyao* 73.1314 and *Zizhi tongjian* 198.6245 have: 參天可汗道, "the way pay respect to the Heavenly Qaghan."

57 *Jiu Tangshu* 195.5196 reports that the Huihe dignitaries "took the chance to request that at south of the Huihu [reign] post-stations are established, in order to connect and control the northern territories" (因請迴鶻已南置郵遞，通管北方). In 647 Taizong issued an edict to establish sixty-eight posts south of the desert, where envoys and guests coming in visit could be supplied with horses, milk and meat (*Xin Tangshu* 217A.6113; *Zizhi tongjian* 198.6245; Chavannes 1900, 90-91. According to Bao Hongbiao (2015, 90), the road followed the ancient Qin Direct Road (*zhidao* 直道) to Fengzhou 豐州, passing by the "Western Fortress to Receive the Surrendered" 西受降城, and it extended to Yizhou 伊州 and Gaochang 高昌.

until the units eventually fell under the dominion of the first and second Uighur empires (646–90 and 744–840).[58]

Prior to the gathering in Ling Prefecture, Taizong had already established patron-client relations with another of the Tiele clans, the Qibi 契苾. The Qibi, also called Qibiyu 契苾羽, were one of the Tiele tribes in the western territories, settled on the Yingsuo Plain 鷹娑川 northwest of Yanqi 焉耆 and south of the Duolage 多覽葛.[59] According to the *Xin Tangshu*, in 633 Qibi Heli 契苾何力 (d. 677) and his mother led more than one thousand horsemen to Sha Prefecture 沙州 in search of Tang patronage. Instead of establishing him as a military commandant in the Mongolian steppe, Taizong moved Qibi Heli's units between Gan 甘 and Liang 涼 Prefectures, in the Gansu corridor, and made him the military commander of Yuxi Prefecture 榆溪州, renamed Helan Area Command 賀蘭都督 in 653.[60] By the time of Empress Wu's 武 reign (690–705), other groups of Tiele had moved to Hexi and settled in the bridle districts between Gan and Liang prefectures:

> 武后時，突厥默啜方彊，取鐵勒故地，故回紇與契苾、思結、渾三部度磧，徙甘、涼間，然唐常取其壯騎佐赤水軍云。[61]
> At the time of Wu Zetian, the Tujue [Ashina] Mochuo had become stronger, and he had taken the old territories of the Tiele. The Huihe then relocated to the territories between Gan and Liang, together with the three tribes of Qibi, Sijie, and Hun. Consequently, the Tang often used their stronger soldiers to assist the Army of the Red River.

The family clans Huihe, Qibi, and Hun 渾, cemented relations by marriage, in this way establishing strong family networks. These networks became particularly powerful at a local level. Relations between the Tiele clans and the local officials could be difficult at times.[62] In the aftermath of the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755–763) and the conquest of Hexi by the Tibetans, members of

58 Mackerras 1972; Kamalov 2003.

59 Yanqi was located in the modern region of Yanqi, in Xinjiang.

60 *Jiu Tangshu* 109.3291: 十一月，辛巳，契苾酋長何力帥部落六千餘家詣沙州降，詔處之於甘、涼之間以何力為左領軍將軍。See also *Xin Tangshu* 110.4117.

61 *Xin Tangshu* 217A.6114. Skaff 2012, 190-191. See also *Jiu Tangshu* 199.5348. On the reliability of the *Xin Tangshu*'s account see Nishida Yuko 2014.

62 The relation between the court and the bridle districts of Gan and Liang is well described in the accounts of Wang Junchuo's 王君㚟 (d. 727) incident (*Jiu Tangshu* 8.191; 103.3191-3193; 195.5198; *Xin Tangshu* 5.133, 133.4547-4548, 216.60873-60884, 217A.6114). See the English translation of the "Zhenzhong ji 枕中記 (Record Within a Pillow) by Shen Jiji 沈既濟, in which the story of Wang Junchuo is narrated, in Nienhauser 2010, 83-93.

these clans would eventually migrate east and relocate to the regions of Guannei 關内 and northern Hedong 河東, where they would go on to become part of the Tang provincial armies.[63]

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63 On the migration to Hedong see Nishimura Yōko 2016.

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Some Thoughts on Zhao Rugua's Biography and *Zhufan zhi*: Translation and Comparison of Relevant Fragments from Various Sources

Ilya S. KOLNIN*

Introduction

Zhao Rugua 趙汝适 (1170–1231) was a Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) official famous for writing one of the earliest and most important Chinese historical geographical accounts, *Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志 (variously translated as "Records of Foreign Peoples", "Records of Foreign Nations", "Treatise on Foreign Countries" etc.), which was completed in 1225. Since the nineteenth century this source has drawn attention of many famous sinologists and orientalists including W. P. Groeneveldt, G. Schlegel and others.[1] In 1911, a full English translation was prepared and published by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill.[2] This book has since become a classical work on maritime Asia, quoted by various scholars. Chinese scholars also made an extensive use of *Zhufan zhi*, but mainly in context of the history of trading activities with Southeast Asia. Several articles dealing with special linguistic terms of the text were published as well.[3]

More than a century has passed since the first English-language translation. Despite the fact that three Chinese commented and annotated editions of the source have been published to this day,[4] there are still but a few studies dealing exclusively with *Zhufan zhi* which are available for the international community.[5] Most of them focused on one particular toponym in *Zhufan zhi* or examined trade during the Song dynasty through analyzing it. As has already been noted by

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1 Groeneveldt's "Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya", Schlegel's series of papers entitled "Geographical Notes".

2 Hirth and Rockhill 1911.

3 For example, Nie Dening 1987, Chen Shaofeng 2011.

4 Feng Chengjun 1940, reprint 1956, Yang Bowen 1996, reprint 2000, Han Zhenhua 2000. The Siku quanshu comment and preface were translated using Yang Bowen's edition.

5 See, for example Wang 1971, Fracasso 1982, Liu Yingsheng and Lapian 1991, Liu Yingsheng 1994, Church 2011, Ghosh 2014, Huei-Ying Kuo 2018.

Sally Church, a new translation is badly needed at the moment.[6] Furthermore, Hirth and Rockhill never translated Zhao Rugua's own preface in their monograph. Most probably the edition of *Zhufan zhi* at their disposal did not include it.

Recently, M. Yu. Ulyanov, together with the author of this article, published a fully revised Russian translation and research of *Zhufan zhi*.[7] This book's main focus apart from the translation is on the structural analysis of the entries on maritime Southeast Asian states.

However, there are still no studies particularly dealing with Zhao Rugua's biography and him as a personality. The main aim of this work is to summarize all information on Zhao Rugua from a number of sources and to provide relevant translations of those extracts. These sources include Siku quanshu's commentary to *Zhufan zhi*, Zhao Rugua's own preface to *Zhufan zhi*, Zhao Rugua's tomb inscription and some fragmental data about him from his father's and grandfather's biographies. By doing so, many fascinating details about the author of *Zhufan zhi* will be revealed. A comparison between the biographies of several authors of medieval Chinese historical geographical treatises has been carried out as well in order to understand the reflection of Zhao Rugua's life on the way *Zhufan zhi* is written and arranged.

Information about Zhao Rugua's Life in Various Sources

First of all, it has to be said that there is no special chapter on Zhao Rugua in *Songshi* 宋史 (Official History of the Song Dynasty), nor in any other sources. However, there is occasional information available which, when properly summarized, can give us a general picture of the author's ancestry as well as some positions held throughout his life. I shall briefly list those fragments and provide translations for them in the current passage.

Even though *Songshi* lacks an individual entry on Zhao Rugua in the biographical *liezhuan* 列傳 section, it does contain some materials connected with him. A commentary on *Zhufan zhi* from Siku quanshu 四庫全書 (Complete Library in Four Sections) which was compiled between 1773 and 1782 notes that as it can be seen from "Zongshi shixi biao" 宗室世系表 (Genealogical Table of the Ruling House) placed in *juan* 231 of the *Songshi*, Zhao Rugua was from the ruling clan's family. That will be investigated in the following chapter.

Luckily, there are extant biographical records of Zhao Rugua's two close relatives. The first one is "Zhao Burou zhuan" 趙不柔傳 (Biography of Zhao Burou)

6 Church 2011, 357.
7 See Ulyanov 2019.

preserved in *juan* 99 of *Taizhou fuzhi* 台州府志 (Gazetteer of Taizhou prefecture). Apart from stating information concerning the grandfather of Zhao Rugua, it also has some data on the author of *Zhufan zhi*:

> 汝适，字伯可，慶元二年中第，提舉福建市舶。嘉定中，遷臨海。[8]
> Rugua, courtesy name Boke, in the second year of the Qingyuan reign (1196) passed civil examinations, [subsequently held the post] of Supervisor of Maritime Trade in Fujian. During the Jiading reign (1208–1224) [he] moved to Linhai.

This text just gives us some basic information about Zhao Rugua, not so many details as one could hope for.

The next source is the text of the epitaph of Zhao Shandai 趙善待 (1128–1188), Zhao Rugua's father, present in *juan* 17 of *Jiezhai ji* 絜齋集 (Collection of Yuan Xie's Works), written by Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144–1224). There is some data on Zhao Shandai, which is worth mentioning and including in this article:

> 善待，字時舉 [...] 當紹興甲戌之歲，監四明作院，秩滿。因寓居焉。擢隆興元年進士第，換左宣教郎，知崑山縣丞，歷江陰縣，通判吉州，遂知岳州 [...] 軍有市舶務，公兼之。未嘗私買一物，人亦不敢干以私。高麗之至者，初止一艘。明年六七焉 [...] 實淳熙十五年十月丁卯也。享年六十有一 [...] 子五人 [...] 汝适，朝奉郎，通判臨安府。[9]
> Shandai, courtesy name Shiju [...]. In the *jiaxu* year of the Shaoxing reign (1154) he was in charge of the Armory in Siming, [at that time] he completed the tenure of this public post. That is why he resided there. In the first year of the Longxing reign (1163) he [obtained] the *jinshi* degree, became Left Court Gentleman for Instruction, held the position of Aide for the Country Magistrate in Kunshan county, was in charge of Jiangying county, [was] Controller-general of Jizhou, after that governed Yuezhou [...]. The Military prefecture had a Maritime Trade Bureau, he officially and concurrently [held the respective position]. He never tried to smuggle even one thing, and the people as well did not dare to turn to smuggling. [Once], when vessels from Gaoli (Korea) arrived, he at first stopped one vessel. The following year [he stopped] six-seven [of them ...]. In the 10th month of the 15th year of Chunxi reign (1188) he passed away. He was 61. [...]. He had five sons, [...]. Rugua, Gentleman for Court Service, Controller-general of superior prefecture Lin'an.

The selected extracts help to reconstruct several features applicable to Zhao Rugua's father which are simultaneously useful for understanding his son's life. Taking into consideration that Zhao Shandai resided in Siming (modern city of Ningbo) in 1154, there is a high probability that Zhao Rugua was born and spent

8 This quote has been listed in several Chinese articles, see, for example Jia Defang 2004, 42. Official and honorific titles here and elsewhere are translated according to: Hucker 1985.

9 *Jiezhai ji* 13a, b, 16a, b.

his childhood in Siming. Nevertheless, others believe that Shandai's son might have been born in Jiangyin or in Jizhou while he was fulfilling his duties there.[10]

The second and the most notable thing is that Zhao Shandai also served as a Supervisor of the Maritime Trade Bureau in Jiangyin military prefecture.[11] He must have inspired his son to take the same position at some point in the future. Moreover, Zhao Shandai's work in the role of a supervisor is clearly praised in this source, which signifies that he gained and possessed a lot of knowledge and experience in this field and could have easily passed it to his heir. The only difference is in the names of the institutions: in the first case it is *shibowu* 市舶務 (Maritime Trade Bureau), as for Zhao Rugua it is called *shibosi* 市舶司 (Maritime Trade Supervisorate). The term *shibosi* was used for institutions located in circuits (*lu* 路), whereas *shibowu* was used for smaller divisions such as prefectures and counties. As a matter of fact, there were 25 Zhao clan members who at some point in their lives were assigned to Maritime Trade offices: twenty of them were in charge of *shibosi* (including Zhao Rugua) and five took care of *shibowu* (including Zhao Shandai).[12]

What is more, if one takes a look at the date of Zhao Shandai's death, it will become evident that Zhao Rugua was around 18 years old by then. Thus, it can be presumed that young Zhao Rugua spent some part of his childhood with his father and could have witnessed the work of the Maritime Trade Bureau as well as seen foreigners. It might be so that some of the information for *Zhufan zhi* (especially about Korea and Japan) was gathered at that time. A parallel can be drawn between Zhao Rugua and the author of *Pingzhou ketan* 萍州可談 (Matters Worth Discussing from Pingzhou, 1117) by the name of Zhu Yu 朱彧 (1075?–after 1119). Zhu Yu's father Zhu Fu 朱服 (1048–after 1102) arrived to take an official position in Guangzhou in 1102 and was accompanied by his son. The description of Guangzhou together with its foreign communities in *Pingzhou ketan* is largely based on oral and written communication with his father.[13]

Another fascinating detail is the last sentence about Zhao Rugua himself. He is mentioned there as "Gentleman for Court Service" and "Controller-general of superior prefecture Lin'an". Though no information about this is present in the cited sources above, both this title and position appear in Zhao Rugua's funerary inscription (which will be discussed below) under the following date: 9th year of Kaixi reign (1216). The next title, according to the inscription, was granted to him in the 13th year (1220), hence, an assumption can be

10 These ideas are briefly noted in Su Tie 2016, 30.
11 A little further information is available in Yang Wenxin 2013, 260.
12 Yang Wenxin 2014, 51.
13 Wyatt 2010, 47-48.

made that the fragment on Zhao Shandai was written and incorporated into *Jiezhai ji* sometime between 1216 and 1220.

Last but not least is the fact that in the last chapter on Hainan, when writing about Qiongzhou 瓊州 (Hainan prefecture), Zhao Rugua mentions somebody by the name of Zhao Ruxia 趙汝厦 who, according to the author of *Zhufan zhi*, was a *hou* 侯 (earl), and renovated a local prefecture college in 1210. Hirth and Rockhill stated that Zhao Ruxia was an ancestor of Zhao Rugua and that he also wrote several works, one of which is entitled *Qiong guan tujing* 瓊管圖經 (Illustrated Account of Ruling over the Qiong [prefecture]).[14] Soviet researcher K.K. Flug disagrees with the term "ancestor" because of the fact that both of them lived nearly within the same time period and he believes that Zhao Ruxia might have been Zhao Rugua's uncle. However, it seems as if Flug did not have an original copy of *Zhufan zhi* or his copy had a character *bo* 伯 instead of *hou* 侯, because he disapproves of Hirth's and Rockhill's translation of the term "earl" and states that

> the character *bo* 伯, if it is that what is meant in Zhao Rugua's text, points out to his kinship with Zhao Ruxia, taking into consideration that it often serves to signify [the term] "uncle".[15]

No modern editions of *Zhufan zhi* have the character *bo* 伯 instead of *hou* 侯.[16] Nevertheless, it is indeed very likely that the two were relatives and that Zhao Rugua was younger than Zhao Ruxia. The title of the book by Zhao Ruxia as well as the extract from *Zhufan zhi* also leads to believe that at some point of his life he was in charge of Qiongzhou and wrote a description of this prefecture based on his personal knowledge and experience.

Interestingly, Zhao Ruxia is also mentioned in *Tingshi* 桯史 (Pillar Histories, 1214) by Yue Ke 岳珂 (1183–1234). An extract from there tells us the following:

> 廬陵宰趙汝厦即縣庠立三忠祠，歲時率諸生祀焉。[17]
> Steward of Lulin Zhao Ruxia has founded a Sanzhong temple in a county's [local] college, [now] all year round all students can offer sacrifices.

This piece of information gives some insight on Zhao Ruxia, for example, that he has restored temples before the one mentioned by Zhao Rugua, as well as the fact that he held an official post in Lulin (modern Jizhou). This event must have happened somewhere near the end of 1208 and the beginning of 1209,

14 Hirth and Rockhill 1911, 186.
15 Flug 1959, 135.
16 Feng Chenjun 1956, 144, Yang Bowen 1996, 217, Han Zhenhua 2000, 444.
17 Wu Minxia 2004, 288.

because the date "the 8th month of the 4th year of Jiatai reign" is mentioned, which is 1204. After that "the winter of the 10th month" of the same year is recorded and then the doings four years after this date are listed, among which is the one translated above. After holding this position Zhao Ruxia must have moved straightaway to Hainan to fulfill another duty.

It is also likely that Zhao Rugua acquired information about Zhao Ruxia's renovation of a local college in 1210 via personal communication, considering that this is the latest date mentioned in *Zhufan zhi*, hence, they knew each other personally. There is a high possibility that in his description of Qiongzhou Zhao Rugua relied and borrowed heavily from *Qiong guan tujing*, which is no longer extant, especially due to the fact that the description of Hainan in *Zhufan zhi* stands apart from all other descriptions of foreign countries in terms of both format and location in the text itself (*juan* 2 instead of *juan* 1, where all other foreign countries are described).

All in all, even though these sources only provide little information about Zhao Rugua, they do give an insight about his ancestors and can be used to confirm the information in the tomb inscription as we will see in the next section.

Analysis of the Major Sources

The Siku quanshu *Commentary*

Finally, we can move on to studying three main pieces regarding Zhao Rugua. First, we shall deal with the commentary to the *Zhufan zhi* from Siku quanshu. Below is its translation:

> 《諸蕃志》二卷，（永樂大典本）宋趙汝适撰。汝适始末無考，惟據《宋史·宗室世系表》，知其為岐王仲忽之玄孫，安康郡王士說之曾孫，銀青光祿大夫不柔之孫，善待之子，出於簡王元份房，上距太宗八世耳。此書乃其提舉福建路市舶時所作，於時宋已南渡，諸蕃惟市舶僅通，故所言皆海國之事。《宋史·外國列傳》實引用之。核其敘次事類，歲月皆合。但《宋史》詳事跡而略於風土、物產，此則詳風土、物產而略於事跡。蓋一則史傳，一則雜志，體各有宜，不以偏舉為病也。所列諸國，"賓瞳龍"史作"賓同隴"，"登流眉"史作"丹流眉"，"阿婆羅拔"史作"阿蒲羅拔"，"麻逸"史作"摩逸"。蓋譯語對音，本無定字。龍、隴，三聲之通。登、丹，蒲、婆，麻、摩，雙聲之轉。呼有輕重，故文有異同。無由核其是非，今亦各仍其舊。惟南宋僻處臨安，海道所通，東南為近。志中乃兼載大秦天竺諸國，似乎隔越西域，未必親睹其人。然考《冊府元龜》，載唐時祆教稱大秦寺，《桯史》所記廣州海獠，即其種類。又法顯《佛國記》載陸行至天竺，附商舶還晉。知二國皆轉海可通，故汝适得於福州見其市易。然則是書所記，皆得諸見聞，親為詢訪。宜其敘述詳核，為史家之所依據矣。

> *Zhufan zhi* in two *juan* (edition in *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 [Great Canon of Yongle], compiled between 1403 and 1408), compiled by Song dynasty's Zhao Rugua. Rugua's birth and death are not studied, only by relying on the "Genealogical Table of the Ruling House" from *Songshi* can we know that he was the great-great-

grandson of [Zhao] Zhonghu, Prince of Qi; the great-grandson of [Zhao] Shishuo, Commandery Prince of Ankang; the grandson of [Zhao] Burou, Grand Master of the Palace with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon; the son of [Zhao] Shandai; [Rugua] comes from the branch of Yuanfen, Prince of Jian (Zhao Yuanfen, the 4th son of the emperor Taizong); aside from Emperor Taizong (Zhao Guangyi, the second emperor of the Song dynasty) by eight generations. This book was written when he was Supervisor of Maritime Trade in Fujian circuit, at that time the Song dynasty has already moved its capital to the south,[18] all foreign people could only communicate [with China] through Maritime Trade [Supervisors or Supervisorates], that is why all that is said [in this book] concerns maritime countries' matters. The "Waiguo liezhuan" 外國列傳 section in *Songshi* relied heavily upon it (i.e. *Zhufan zhi*). Most of the descriptions and timings of events by months and years correspond [with each other in both sources]. But if *Songshi* explains in detail former events and pays little attention to natural conditions, social customs and local products, [*Zhufan zhi*] explains in detail natural conditions, social customs, and local products and pays little attention to former events. The first source is a historical biography whereas the second one is a treatise. Their content each contains exactly what is needed and lacks any defects of prejudice nature. Among all the countries listed, Bintonglong 賓瞳龍 is written as Bintonglong 賓同隴 (Panduranga) in [*Song*] *shi*, Dengliumei 登流眉 is written as Danliumei 丹流眉 (sometimes believed to be another variant of Danliumei 單流眉 – Tambralinga) in [*Song*] *shi*, Apoluoba 阿婆羅拔 is written as Apuluoba 阿蒲羅拔 (Abū al-ʿAbbās as-Saffāḥ) in [*Song*] *shi*, Mayi 麻逸 is written as Moyi 摩逸 (usually identified as Mindoro island) in [*Song*] *shi*. It seems likely that there were no determined characters when transcribing [those toponyms]. *Long* 龍, *long* 隴 [and *long* 朧] – those three [characters'] readings are the same;[19] *deng* 登 – *dan* 丹, *pu* 蒲 – *po* 婆, *ma* 麻 – *mo* 摩 – those pairs' readings are different. Pronunciations can be both soft and hard, that is why there are both similar and different characters [in the names of the countries]. There is no way to check which ones of those variants are right or wrong, to this day each of them was left as it was before. Only in the Southern Song, when [the capital was moved] to remote Lin'an, marine routes passed through [China], and east and south became close. In [*Zhufan*] *zhi* there are records of various countries such as Daqin 大秦 and Tianzhu 天竺, apparently, [those countries] are all far away from one another in the Western Regions, it is unlikely that these people [i.e. Zhao Rugua's informants] could have seen all of them with their own eyes. Indeed, when studying *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau, compiled between 1005 and 1013) one comes across the fact that during the Tang dynasty (618–907), Zoroastrianism (*yaojiao* 祆教) was called *daqinsi* 大秦寺 (literally "Temple of Daqin"). Those who are recorded among Guangzhou *hailiao* 海獠 (sea-barbarians) in *Tingshi* 桯史 (A History of Pillars,

18 The fall of Northern Song is meant which happened in 1127 AD.

19 Most probably the author here refers to three different versions of the *long* syllable which appears throughout Song dynasty sources. The third *long* 朧 variation added by us is from *Lingwai daida*. I would like to thank Professor Chen Jiarong 陳佳榮 for bringing my attention to this detail.

> 1214) are of this type [i.e. from Daqin]. Also Faxian's (337?–422?) *Foguo ji* 佛國記 (A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, around 400) records a land route to Tianzhu as well as a way back to the Jin kingdom on a trading ship. From this one can learn that both these countries could be reached by sea. That is why Rugua could see trade with them, while he was in Fuzhou. If that is so, then everything recorded in this book was obtained through eye-witnessing and hearsay, he personally questioned [the merchants]. This book, if read carefully and analyzed in great detail, will be a solid basis for [future] historians.

The passage leads to several conclusions. First and foremost, Qing dynasty (1644–1911) scholars also had to rely on the *Yongle dadian* edition of *Zhufan zhi*, which means that the original version had already been lost by that time.[20] Their comment that "Zhao Rugua's birth and death are not studied" signifies the fact that no separate record of his life was known in Qing dynasty, meaning it either never existed or did not survive to that day.

Strangely, even though the commentary makes an extensive use of different Tang and Song dynasty sources, there is no mention of *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 (Responses to [Questions about] the Land beyond the Passes),[21] the earliest geographical treatise describing vast lands to the south of China including Africa. It was written in 1178 by the state official Zhou Qufei 周去非 (1135–1189) who served in modern Guangxi province and his account also benefitted greatly from first-hand information. As Hirth and Rockhill have shown in their monograph, Zhao Rugua borrowed heavily from this source.[22] Probably, compilers of Siku quanshu were pursuing a different goal and tried to show the importance of *Zhufan zhi* by emphasizing how much the official history of the Song dynasty relied on it.

Another somewhat mysterious thing is the mention of Zhao Rugua being able to see the trade with the foreigners while being in Fuzhou. No other records contain any information about Zhao Rugua holding an official post or residing in Fuzhou. Most probably this is a simple misprint of Fuzhou 福州 instead of Fujian 福建, because it is very unlikely that the compilers of Siku

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20 The history of different *Zhufan zhi* editions as well as its preservation and transmission throughout history is thoroughly discussed in Ulyanov 2019, 35-38. According to him, most probably the original text of *Zhufan zhi* did not differ much from the one extracted from *Yongle dadian*. The first two editions of *Zhufan zhi* were the one from Siku quanshu (1782) and the other one from *Hanhai* 函海 (1783), a collection of works by Li Tiaoyuan 李調元 (1734–1803), a famous writer and theoretician of the Qing dynasty. The second edition was used by Hirth and Rockhill for their translation.

21 For German translation see Netolitzky 1977. There is also a Russian translation of *Lingwai daida*, which includes the translation of *Guihai yuheng zhi* 桂海虞衡志 (Well-Balanced Records of Guihai, 1175) as a supplement. See Ulyanov 2001.

22 See Hirth and Rockhill 1911, 36-38. There is an especially useful table comparing the level of correspondence between similar entries in *Lingwai daida* and *Zhufan zhi* in Almonte 2017, 27-28.

quanshu possessed some kind of information not recorded even in Zhao Rugua's tomb inscription. However, one may notice that the Western Office of Imperial Clan Affairs (*Xiwai zongzheng si* 西外宗正事司) was moved to Fuzhou in the 3rd year of Shaoxing reign (1133).[23] Could it be that Zhao Rugua was governing this office? This question has to remain unanswered due to the lack of evidence.

This commentary is particularly interesting because of its deep double-sided historical and philological analysis. Qing intellectuals came to the fascinating conclusion that Daqin (usually identified with the Byzantine Empire or Alexandria) and Tianzhu (associated with India) could already be reached by sea routes in the Tang dynasty, thus proving that even information about such remote countries as those could be gathered from first-hand eye-witness accounts.

The Preface

Since the foreword to *Zhufan zhi* was not studied neither by Hirth and Rockhill nor by other researchers, it seems reasonable to provide its translation and express a number of ideas connected with it in this article.

> 《禹貢》載："島夷卉服，厥篚織貝"。蠻夷通財於中國古矣，繇漢而後，貢珍不絕。至唐市舶有使招徠，懋遷之道自是益廣。國朝列聖相傳，以仁儉為寶，聲教所暨，累譯奉琛，於是置官於泉廣，以司互市，蓋欲寬民力而助國朝，其與貴異物窮侈心者烏可同日而語？汝适被命此來，暇日閱諸番圖，有所謂石牀長沙之險，交洋竺嶼之限，問其志則無有焉。迺詢諸賈胡，俾列其國名，道其風土，與夫道里之聯屬，山澤之畜產，譯以華言，刪其穢涘，存其事實，名曰《諸蕃志》。海外環水而國者以萬數，南金象犀珠香琲瑁珍異之產，市於中國者，大略見於此矣。噫！山海有經，博物有志，一物不知，君子所恥。是志之作，良有以夫。寶慶元年九月日，朝散大夫提舉市舶司趙汝适序。
>
> *Yu gong* 禹貢 (Tribute of [Great] Yu, a chapter of the *Shujing* 書經, the "Book of Documents") says: "The wild people of the islands brought dresses of skins, the baskets from them were filled with woven ornamental fabrics".[24] Already in ancient times, southern and eastern barbarians established trading relations with China. Starting from the Han dynasty onwards, tribute [from them] never stopped. Since the Tang dynasty, Maritime Trade [Supervisorates] have supervisors who attract [barbarians to trade with them], and the profits from trading routes increased enormously. A number of talented ministers of the reigning dynasty, believing that humaneness and frugality are treasures, prestige and cultural education [of the foreigners] are those things which should be sought for, tirelessly comment [ancient texts] which are greatly valued, that is why they established Supervisorates in Quan[zhou] and Guang[zhou] in order to control frontier trade. It is likely that they wanted to

23 Gong Yanming 1997, 294.

24 For the quoted fragment from *Shujing* Legge's translation was used Legge 1865, 98-99.

broaden peoples' strength and help the reigning dynasty; how can these clear intentions be equalled with those who are receptive to expensive rarities? Rugua, having received an order, came here. In his spare time he examined maps of all foreign lands (*zhufan tu* 諸蕃圖),[25] which said something about the dangers of [Wanli]shichuang 萬里石牀 and [Qianli]Changsha 千里長沙; the boundaries of Jiaoyang 交洋 and Zhuyu 竺嶼,[26] used them (maps) for that what was absent from his account. Therefore, he questioned all foreign merchants to arrange in order the names of their countries, describe their natural conditions and social customs, the connections with their [sea] routes, products of their mountains and forests; [he] translated all that into Chinese, omitted the inaccuracies and defects, left [only] the facts, and named [his work] *Zhufan zhi*. About the waters surrounding the foreign seas and about ten thousand countries, about products such as southern gold, elephant tusks, rhinoceros' horns, pearls, incenses, tortoise shells, and other rarities, which are sold in China, about all of that one can roughly learn from this book. After all, mountains and rivers have a Classic, diverse matters have a Record, and if even one matter is unknown, a nobleman should be ashamed![27] Indeed, the creation of this Record should be helpful for the noblemen. On the first day of the 9th month of the first year of Baoqing reign (4th October, 1225) Grand Master for Closing Court, Supervisor of Maritime Trade in Fujian circuit Zhao Rugua wrote this preface.

Some of the extraordinary issues of this foreword have already been addressed in the notes. Quotations from *Shujing* as well as references to *Shanhai jing* and *Bo-*

25 This could also be the name of a map no longer extant as some researchers have suggested, for example Park 2012, 50.

26 Wanli shichuang and Qianli changsha are both mentioned in the Hainan chapter as located to east of Hainan. According to Yang Bowen, Wanli shichuang refers to the Paracel (Xisha) islands and Qianli changsha to the Spratly (Nansha) islands (Yang Bowen 1996, 222). Jiaoyang is a shortened version of Jiaozhi yang 交趾洋 in most of the cases identified as Tongking Gulf, Zhuyu is usually associated with Pulau Aur island.
What is noteworthy is that *wanli* 萬里 and *qianli* 千里 separately mean "ten thousand *li*" and "one thousand *li*". This once again underlines their remoteness. Both the toponyms Jiaoyang and Zhuyu are present in *Lingwai daida*. It is said that in order to get from Sanfoqi 三佛齊 (Srivijaya) to the borders of China one would have to go straight north passing Shangxiazhu 上下竺 (another name for Zhuyu) and going through Jiaoyang. See Yang Wuquan 1999, 126. This evidence is sufficient to understand that Zhao Rugua used these names on purpose, they were an important part of perception of maritime space in the Song dynasty. The problem of Jiaoyang is discussed specifically by Li Tana. She comes to the conclusion that Jiaoyang's borders are hard to define and that the toponym could refer to several places (e.g. Central Vietnam marine zone, Gulf of Tongking). See Li Tana 2006. Hence, Zhao Rugua's mention of "Jiaoyang borders" is not a coincidence. For the Chinese perception of maritime space regarding the Paracel and Spratly islands, see Ptak 1997. This year, another Ptak's article came to light, dealing exclusively with those two toponyms as depicted in *Hai yu* 海語 (Words of the Sea), see Ptak 2019.

27 This sentence is of particular interest. Names of two Chinese classics are hidden within the first part: *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Classic of Mountains and Seas) and *Bowu zhi* 博物志 (Records of Diverse Matters). A four-character division into four segments resembles classic Chinese poetry, especially taking into consideration the rhyme between *zhi* 知 and *chi* 恥 characters. This is a clear evidence of that Zhao Rugua had literary talent.

wu zhi are quite traditional for forewords to similar sources, considering that all three works record early Chinese representation and perception of "the other". In general, it very much resembles other prefaces to historical geographical accounts of the same nature. Nonetheless, a comparison with Wang Dayuan's 汪大淵 (1311 or earlier – after 1349) postscript to *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (A Brief Account of the Island Barbarians) written in 1349/1350 during the Yuan dynasty (as well as comparison of the main bodies of the two treatises) clearly reveals that the former one is by far superior to the latter one in terms of language. This should not be unsurprising, keeping in mind that Zhao Rugua belonged to the imperial clan, whereas Wang Dayuan most probably was just an educated merchant.

Several fragments still provide some food for thought. The text states that Zhao Rugua "questioned foreign merchants (*guhu* 賈胡)" and that he "interpreted (*yi* 譯) all that into Chinese". It is unclear whether Zhao Rugua spoke with the foreigners himself or through a translator, but taking into consideration the second part of the extract (even though the character *yi* can also have the meaning "explain", in most of the cases it refers to translating from one language into another) it seems most likely that the author knew one or more foreign languages.

As in case with Zhao Shandai's biographical entry, the mention of Zhao Rugua's title in 1225 as being the Grand Master for Closing Court coincides with the information from his epitaph.

The Tomb Inscription

Finally, we can proceed to examining the main source on Zhao Rugua's life – his tomb inscription. It was excavated back in 1983 in Lingwai 嶺外 village, Lingwai township, Datian 大田 district, Linhai county, Zhejiang province. The stone tablet is 99 cm long, 67 cm wide and 5 cm thick. The text was composed by Zhao Rugua's eldest son, Zhao Chongzhen 趙崇縝. Since its discovery, the inscription is stored at the Linhai Museum. The first report on this tombstone was published by Xu Sanjian in 1987 together with the photocopy of the inscription (see Fig. 1). Since then a few other Chinese articles dealing with Zhao Rugua and *Zhufan zhi* appeared which cited and analyzed some fragments from the text of the inscription.[28] Angela Schottenhammer has translated the current inscription into German for her PhD thesis.[29] Apart from that, no special study specially devoted to this find is extant. Therefore, below is its translation into English.

28 See for example Zhu Fenao 1991, Wu Weitang 1995, Jia Defang 2004, Su Tie 2016.
29 Schottenhammer 1995, 172-174.

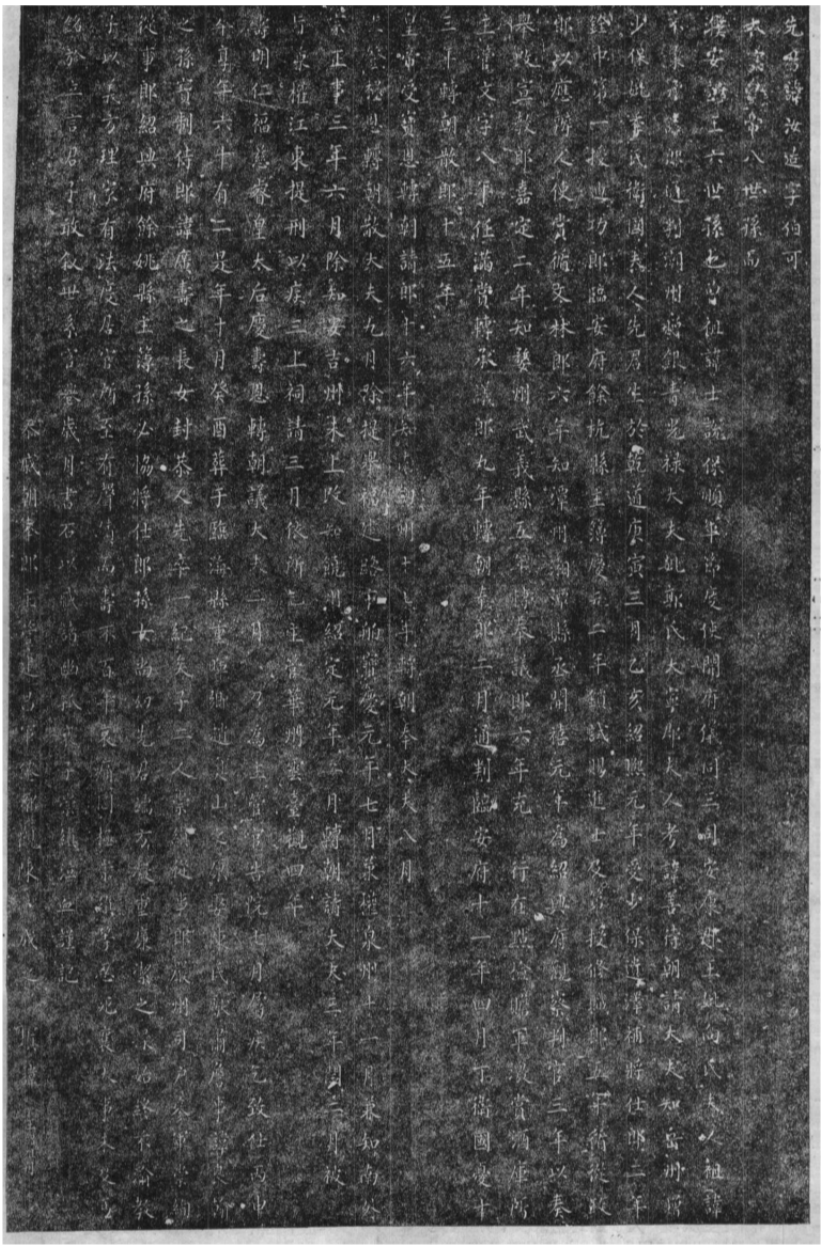

Fig. 1: The tombstone image taken from Xu Sanjian 1987, 957.

先君諱汝适，字伯可，太宗皇帝八世孫，而濮安懿王六世孫也。曾祖諱士說，保順軍節度使、開府儀同三司、安康郡王；妣向氏夫人。祖諱不柔，承議郎、通判潮州，贈銀青光祿大夫；妣郭氏，大寧郡夫人。考諱善待，朝請大夫、知岳州，贈少保，妣季氏，衛國夫人。 先君生於乾道庚寅三月乙亥。紹熙元年，受少保遺澤，補將仕郎。二年銓，中第一，授迪功郎、臨安府餘杭縣主薄。慶元二年，鎖試，賜進士及第，授修職郎。五年，循從政郎。以應辦人使賞，循文林郎。六年，知潭州湘潭縣丞。開禧元年，為紹興府觀察判官。三年，以奏舉，改宣教郎。嘉定二年，知婺州武義縣。五年，轉奉議郎。六年，充行在點檢贍軍激賞酒庫所主管文字。八年，任滿，賞轉承議郎。九年，轉朝奉郎。二月，通判臨安府。十一年四月，丁衛國憂。十三年，轉朝散郎。十五年，皇帝受寶恩，轉朝請郎。十六年，知南劍州。十七年，轉朝奉大夫。八月，上登極恩，轉朝散大夫。九月，除提舉福建路市舶。寶慶元年七月，兼權泉州。十一月，兼知南外宗正事。三年六月，除知安吉州，未上，改知饒州。紹定元年二月，轉朝請大夫。三年閏二月，被旨兼權江東提刑，以疾，三上祠請，三月，依所乞，主管華州雲臺觀。四年，壽明仁福慈睿皇太后慶壽恩，轉朝議大夫。三月，召為主管官告院。七月，屬疾，乞致仕。丙申卒，享年六十有二。是年十月癸酉，葬於臨海縣重暉鄉趙嶼山之原。 娶陳氏，獻肅詹事諱良翰之孫、寶制侍郎諱廣壽之長女，封恭人，先卒一紀矣。子二人：崇縝，從事郎、嚴州司戶參軍；崇絢，從事郎、紹興府餘姚縣主薄。孫必協，將仕郎。孫女尚幼。 先君端方凝重，廉潔之操，始終不渝。教子以義方，理學有法度，居官所至有聲績，而壽不百年，哀痛罔極！崇縝等忍死襄人事，未及丐銘於立言君子，敢敘世系、官遷歲月，書石以感諸。幽孤哀子崇縝泣升謹記。 忝戚朝奉郎主管建昌軍仙都觀陳成之填諱。 王紹祖刊。

My late father's name was Rugua, courtesy name Boke, descendant of the emperor Taizong in the 8th generation, descendant of Puan Yiwang (aka Zhao Yunrang) in the 6th generation. His great-grandfather's name was Shishuo, Military Commissioner of Baoshun military prefecture, Commander Unequalled in Honor, Commandery Prince of Ankang, great-grandfather's female patron's[30] surname was Xiang, Mistress. His grandfather's name was Burou, Gentleman for Discussion, Controller-General of Chaozhou, who was awarded the title of Grand Master of the Palace with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon, grandfather's female patron's surname was Guo, Mistress of Daning Commandery. His late father's name was Shandai, Grand Master for Court Audiences, who governed Yuezhou, and who was awarded the title of Junior Guardian, father's female patron's surname was Ji, Mistress of Weiguo.

My late father was born on the day *yihai* of the 3rd month of *gengyin* year during the Qiandao reign (12th April, 1170). In the 1st year of the Shaoxi reign (1190) due to benevolence left by the Junior Guardian (i.e. his father), he was selected as the

30 "Female patron" is *bi* 妣 in original. However, it is unclear whether it should be translated as "late mother" or "female patron" because later in the text Zhao Rugua's mourning of his mother is recorded as "mourning of Weiguo" which must refer to "Mistress of Weiguo" who is mentioned as Zhao Shandai's *bi*. It would be logical to assume that in this inscription *bi* might have meant "female patron" i.e. his wife.

Court Gentleman for Ceremonial Service. On the 2nd year (1191), being the first among those selected by qualification, he was conferred the title of Gentleman for Meritorious Achievement and the position of Assistant Magistrate in Yuhang county, Lin'an prefecture. In the 2nd year of Qingyuan reign (1196), he passed the examinations, was designated as Metropolitan Graduate with Honors, was conferred the title of Gentleman for Good Service. In the 5th year (1199), he was promoted to Gentleman for Governmental Participation. For his service as an Extraordinary Ambassador (*yingban renshi* 應辦人使), he was promoted Gentleman-litterateur. During the 6th year (1200), he served as Aide for the Country Magistrate in Xiangtan county, Tangzhou. In the 1st year of the Kaixi reign (1205), he became Observation Assistant in Shaoxing prefecture. In the 3rd year (1207), he was appointed to the position of Court Gentleman of Manifest Virtue. In the 2nd year of Jiading reign (1209), he governed Wuyi county in Wuzhou. In the 5th year (1212), his title was changed to Court Gentleman Consultant. In the 6th year (1213), he was put in charge of the Army Wine Storehouse. In the 8th year (1215), when his term of service expired, he was promoted to Gentleman for Discussion. In the 9th year (1216), his title was changed to Gentleman for Court Service. In the 2nd month, he was appointed to the position of Controller-general of Lin'an prefecture. In the 4th month of the 11th year (1218), he mourned [Mistress of] Weiguo. In the 13th year (1220), his title was changed to Gentleman for Closing Court. In the 15th year (1222), having received a precious favor from the Emperor, his title was changed to Gentleman for Court Audiences. In the 16th year (1223), he governed Nanjianzhou. In the 17th year (1224), his title changed to Grand Master for Court Service. In the 8th month, due to the upper classes' great favor, his title changed to Grand Master for Closing Court. In the 9th month, he was appointed for the vacant position of Supervisor of Maritime Trade in Fujian circuit. In the 7th month of the 1st year of Baoqing reign (1225), he simultaneously held several positions in Quanzhou.[31] In the 11th month, he simultaneously governed the Southern Office of Imperial Clan Affairs. In the 6th month of the 3rd year (1227), he was appointed to the vacant position of governor of Anjizhou. Having not even taken that position, his appointment was changed to governor of Raozhou. In the 2nd month of the 1st year of the Shaoding reign (1228), his title was changed to Grand Master for Court Audiences. In the 2nd surplus month of the 3rd year (1230), he was simultaneously appointed to the position of Judicial Commissioner of Jiangdong by imperial edict. Due to his illness, he asked for retirement at the monastery. According to his request, he was put in charge of Yuntaiguan temple in Huazhou. In the 4th year (1231), empress dowager Yang Guizhi congratulated him on his birthday, his title was changed to Grand Master for Court Discussion. In the 3rd month, he was summoned to take charge of the Bureau of Official Reports. In the 7th month, he fell ill and asked for retirement. On the day *bingshen* (11 August, 1231), he passed away at the age of 62. On the day *guiyou* of the 10th

31 It is unclear what those "several positions" imply. It could mean that he was governing Quanzhou together with being Maritime Superintendent. See Su Tie 2016, 30.

month of the same year (16th November, 1231), he was buried at Zhao'ao mountain, Zhonghui village, Linhai county.

He married a woman by the surname of Chen, granddaughter of the Supervisor of the Household of the Heir Apparent named Lianghan, elder daughter of Vice Director named Guangshou,[32] wife of a fourth-grade mandarin.[33] She passed away earlier than her husband by 12 years. Two sons: Chongzhen, Gentleman for Attendance, Administrator of Revenue in Yanzhou; Chongxuan, Gentleman for Attendance, Assistant Magistrate of Yuyao county, Shaoxing prefecture. Grandson Bixie, Court Gentleman for Ceremonial Service. Granddaughter Shangyou.

My late father was honest and dignified, of pure manners and persistent. He educated his children relying on the principles of justice and duty, there were norms and standards by which [the children] mastered sciences. Throughout his service, he achieved fame and glory, alas, his longevity did not reach a hundred years, our grief is infinite! We, Chongzhen and the others, got over this loss (Zhao Rugua's death) and mutually worked on funeral preparations, we did not have enough time to ask a glorious nobleman to [prepare the text] of the inscription, dared to list his genealogy, his official titles and ranks by months and years, wrote all that on a stone inscription in order to express our gratitude to him. Humble orphan Chongzhen, weeping, hoists [this inscription] not to forget [the deeds of his father]. Unworthy sorrowful Chen Chengzhi, Gentleman for Court Service, in charge of Xiangdouguan temple in Jianchang military prefecture, filled in the taboo characters [of the diseased father's name]. Engraved by Wang Shaozu.

As one can see, there is plenty of information in the text of the inscription. Exact dates of birth and death of Zhao Rugua are given, and various dates of promotion to different titles and positions held throughout his life. Some of those should be examined more closely.

The rank *yingban renshi* 應辦人使 (Extraordinary Ambassador), which Zhao Rugua must have held somewhere around the last decade of the twelfth century is of particular interest. It is briefly mentioned a couple of times in *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Collected Essentials of Song) in the "Shihuo" 食貨 (Food and Commodities) section, chapter 5.[34] Here are two small extracts from it concerning the Ambassadors:

應辦人使或遇運河淺澀，從前不曾措置輕快舟船，今打造騰淺鐵頭等船共一百艘。竊慮諸處官司或妄指占。乞不許諸處占差。庶幾不至乏事。[35]

When Extraordinary Ambassadors encountered shallow parts of the Great Canal, in the past they never had light and fast vessels, however now they have manufac-

32 It is unclear what prefixes *xiansu* 獻肅 and *baozhi* 寶制 refer to, most probably these are just parts of honorific titles.

33 This seems to signify that Zhao Rugua was a fourth-grade mandarin.

34 This fact was noted by Professor Chen Jiarong which I am very grateful for.

35 *Song huiyao jigao* 7267.

> tured a hundred galloping, iron-bowed and other ships. We humbly believe that government offices everywhere have [these vessels] and use them chaotically (i.e. not only for Ambassadors' purposes). Hence, we believe that there should not be Ambassadors everywhere (i.e. Ambassadors should be controlled). We hope that this request would not be neglected.
>
> 每應辦人使舟船，管船臣往往差於臨時，不能管轄。自今專委臨安府於緝捕弁所管使臣內選有心力才幹使臣，每船止許差一員管轄……作管船軍員名色，同使臣自盱眙軍至行在往回幹涖。如能伺察違犯及失察，重功賞罰。
>
> [With regard to] all Extraordinary Ambassadors and their vessels, vessels under the command of the Ambassadors often dispatch on their own will (at convenient time for them), hence, they cannot be properly controlled. From now on a Special Bureau of Lin'an prefecture is searching for diligent and talented Ambassadors among the Ambassadors under their jurisdiction. One vessel should strictly be under control of one Ambassador [...] each vessel [should have] various military personnel on board together with the Ambassadors, start from Xuyu military prefecture and reach the emperor's lodge. Depending on whether they notice or oversee any violations they should be rewarded or punished.

Both these extracts are attributed to the 6th year of Qiandao reign (1170). From them one can learn about the route taken by extraordinary ambassadors. It seems as if they used to sail on the Great Canal, in particular from Xuyu military prefecture (northern part of modern Jiangsu province) to the emperor's lodge (i.e. Hangzhou). Chen Jiarong proposed that one function of the extraordinary ambassadors' has been to maintain relations between the Southern Song and the Jurchen Jin dynasty. On the other hand, the text suggests that some of the ambassadors were not really trustworthy. Zhao Rugua does not seem to be that type by far. This experience working as a *yingban renshi* must have had a big impact on Rugua's future career as well as on his personality and it also indirectly proves that he knew foreign languages, had dealt with foreigners and possessed knowledge in seafaring before his assignment to Quanzhou. Another point to consider is the location of the Special Bureau – Lin'an prefecture. Zhao Rugua held several official posts there during his life and it is very likely that this very Bureau employed him.

Another important piece is the one that states that, in 1225, Zhao Rugua simultaneously held the post of the governor of Southern Office of Imperial Clan Affairs (*Nanwai zongzheng si* 南外宗正事司) while being a Superintendent of Maritime trade in Quanzhou and probably governing Quanzhou as well. It is recorded that in the beginning of Southern Song this institution was

based in Zhenjiang and on the 3rd year of Shaoxing reign (1133) it moved to Quanzhou.[36] Hence, all three positions were in the same city.

If one sums up the data about the locations of the different posts held by the author of *Zhufan zhi*, it becomes evident that most of them were in modern Zhejiang province (Yuhang county, Wuyi county, Lin'an prefecture) where he was born and eventually passed away. His career in modern Fujian province started in 1224 and ended in 1227, making it a little less than three years in total. The fact that Zhejiang province had many trading ports such as Linhai, Taizhou and others which were directly connected with Korea, Japan and to a lesser extent with Southeast Asia must have also had an impact on Zhao Rugua. Probably some of his knowledge of foreign lands came from the part of his life which he spent in Zhejiang.

The final remark should be made about the Chen clan, a member of which Zhao Rugua married at some point in his life. The Chen family seems to have originated from Linhai and had a big influence there (according to the data provided on his wife's father and grandfather). This must have been the reason why Zhao Rugua moved there sometime between 1208 and 1224 as recorded in "Biography of Zhao Burou". It is said that his wife deceased twelve years before him, i.e. in 1219, just one year after his mother. Most probably at that time (somewhere around 1218 or earlier), Zhao Rugua had already moved to Linhai.

A Brief Comparison of *Lingwai daida*, *Zhufan zhi* and *Daoyi zhilüe*: Structure and Authors' Biographies

Now that all available information on Zhao Rugua has been summarized, it is important to see how different he is from the other two writers of similar treatises of relatively close time periods. Zhou Qufei will be dealt with first.

It is known that Zhou Qufei passed examinations and became a Metropolitan Graduate in 1163. He was also a student of one of the famous Song dynasty philosophers Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133–1180). He served in Guangxi province from 1172 to 1178, making it six years in total. As noted by M. Yu. Ulyanov, his service in Guangxi can be divided into three stages:[37]

36 Gong Yanming 1997, 294.
37 Ulyanov 2001, 55-59.

1. 1172–1173 – was fulfilling his duties as an Instructor in Qinzhou 欽州, which bordered Daiviet (medieval Vietnamese state).
2. 1173–1175 – was in charge of Lingchuan 靈川 county. There he was mostly solving disputes and interrogating with Yao 搖 tribe, a minority living in the South of China.
3. 1175–1178 – served somewhere in Gu 古 county (not specified).

It is most likely that from the very beginning of his career in Guangxi he had close relationship with Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193), the author of another Song dynasty treatise *Guihai yuheng zhi* 桂海虞衡志 (Well-Balanced Records of Guihai, 1175).[38] They even wrote poems to one another. Fan Chengda was the governor of Guangxi from 1173 and 1175 and his book was of major influence for Zhou Qufei, as Zhou said in his own preface.

Apparently, the majority of information on the far-away lands was gathered by Zhou Qufei during his service in Qinzhou. Qinzhou used to be a big port and was connected both by an overland and a sea route with Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam. Its role in foreign trade was very important during the beginning of the Song dynasty, but it declined gradually since the Southern Song when Quanzhou and Guangzhou emerged as the two biggest trading hubs in the Southern Seas.[39] There is a direct quote from the Xiangbisha 象鼻砂 (Xiangbi Spit) section of *Lingwai daida*, which gives some insight on the maritime routes of that time:

> 不然，欽殆不得而水運矣。嘗聞之舶商曰：“自廣州而東，其海易行；自廣州而西，其海難行；自欽廉而西，則尤為難行。”[40]
>
> It is not true that it is likely impossible to go through Qin[zhou] by the sea. Those sea merchants, whom I tried to ask [about this] said: "From Guangzhou to the east it is easy to go by the sea; from Guangzhou to the west it is hard to go by the sea; from Qin[zhou] and Lin[zhou] to the west it is especially hard to go by the sea."

Hence, this abstract documents certain geographical difficulties in getting to Qinzhou harbor, which explain why Guangzhou and Quanzhou became two major ports by the end of the Song dynasty. As a matter of fact, Quanzhou is only mentioned a couple of times in Zhou Qufei's account which leads to the conclusion that few traders from there reached Qinzhou and also that Quanzhou's rise as the main maritime harbor in China most probably happened at

38 For the full English translation see Hargett 2010.

39 Sino-Vietnamese frontier trade during the Song dynasty and the significance of Qinzhou is discussed in Anderson 2014, 34-36.

40 Yang Wuquan 1999, 37.

the end of the twelfth (Zhou Qufei's account) and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries (Zhao Rugua's account), when it surpassed Guangzhou. This as well explains why Zhao Rugua made much more entries on various states outside China than Zhou Qufei did. Another point is that in the Song dynasty the coastal route via Hainan and Vietnam dominated in the trading network.[41] Once again, most probably the shift between the importance and use of the trading routes also took place somewhere in between the end of the Southern Song and the beginning of the Yuan dynasties.

The second point is that Zhao Rugua, as a representative of a royal clan and a high-state official, must have had more access to various written sources and maps than Zhou Qufei (for example his mention of *zhufan tu* in the preface). In addition, Zhao Rugua directly quotes twice from the Tang dynasty geographer and cartographer Jia Dan 賈耽 (729–805) and a travel writer, Du Huan 杜環 (eighth century), who was captured by the Abbasids in the Battle of Talas (751). Both their works are now lost, only several quotes are present from them.

On the other hand, there is a very high level of correspondence between Jiaozhi 交趾 (Northern Vietnam) descriptions in *Guihai yuheng zhi*, *Lingwai daida* and *Zhufan zhi*. Zhou Qufei must have relied on Fan Chengda's description (which was written from a personal perspective) and added something from his own experience, whereas Zhao Rugua, not having that many opportunities in dealing with Vietnam, heavily borrowed from these two sources (around one half of his description corresponds with the two former ones). This may serve as a proof that *Guihai yuheng zhi* and *Lingwai daida* were two most reliable works for Southern Song geographers in terms of Northern Vietnam.

The second point is the general composition of these sources. The extant version of *Guihai yuheng zhi* lacks any special entries on foreign countries, though it does include some scattered data on them.[42] *Lingwai daida* has two *juan* devoted to them (out of ten in total). *Zhufan zhi* consists of two *juan*, one being a description of various distant lands (this one *juan* is much bigger than the two in *Lingwai daida*) and the other of trading goods which are used there. Hence, an emergence and evolution of the genre of historical geographical descriptions of foreign lands can be traced, a transformation into fully concentrated on foreign lands description, not including Southern China. Those descrip-

41 See, for example Ptak 2001, 410.

42 Hargett states his opinion that the original text of *Guihai yuheng zhi* had separate entries on foreign lands, see Hargett 2010, 230. If this assumption is correct, Zhou Qufei could and most probably did actively use them.

tions also differ significantly from various Buddhist travelogues, they do not specifically describe the path the writer took (if he travelled at all) and usually lack or have minimal personalized entries. This tradition was further continued by *Daoyi zhilüe*.

Very little is known about Wang Dayuan, the author of the treatise. According to Su Jiqing, the editor of the modern annotated edition of *Daoyi zhilüe*, Wang Dayuan was born in 1311 and set sail from Quanzhou twice in 1330s.[43] In his postscript Wang claims that he personally observed all 99 countries described in his work. Roderich Ptak and some others have expressed doubts about that.[44] Nevertheless, *Daoyi zhilüe* provides a lot of new information, especially on Southeast Asia, compared to its predecessors.

Comparison of the structure of *Zhufan zhi* and *Daoyi zhilüe* can help in gaining additional insight on the biography of the authors. In case of *Zhufan zhi*, presence or absence of different structural groups in each entry (such as climate, customs, local products, trading goods) is much more variable than in *Daoyi zhilüe*. When reading *Daoyi zhilüe* it becomes clear that for Wang Dayuan the most important structural groups must have been "local products" and "trading goods". He has a list of those in nearly every chapter with just a few exceptions. What is more, some entries also have unique information about local currencies (which never before occurred in Song dynasty sources) and special features of trading activities in the places described. This leads to the conclusion that Wang Dayuan was an experienced merchant.

Although Wang Dayuan was likely less-educated than Zhao Rugua and did not have a myriad of materials at his disposal, his work is valuable for its eyewitness nature and plentiful of unique accounts. This is the earliest surviving source of such a background fully devoted to describing foreign lands.[45] His focus and broad descriptions of Southeast Asian (especially modern Indonesia and Malaysia) states must be due to the fact that the majority of trading routes during the Yuan dynasty passed through those countries and he could have been there multiple times on his way to the west and back.[46]

43 Su Jiqing 1981, 10.

44 Ptak 1996, 130.

45 "In terms of foreign relations and foreign space, major politico-economic changes occurred during the Song dynasty, which were of course also reflected in the élite's perception of 'the foreign' in general and maritime space in particular." We can, thus, observe an increasing interest in maritime space and foreign countries overseas. And "cartographers started to produce maps and accounts solely of foreign countries." Schottenhammer 2017, 154.

46 For example, see the map in Ptak 1998, 270.

Conclusion

Zhao Rugua was a prominent figure in the history of the Southern Song who made a big contribution to enlarging Chinese geographical knowledge and perception of foreign lands. *Zhufan zhi* served as basis and was numerously quoted and referred to by various Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasty geographical treatises. Even though Rugua did not set sail to the Southern Seas, he did travel along the Great Canal and did directly interact with foreigners. He lived a long life, one year longer than his father, had a 40-year career, was noticed for his service by the emperor and the empress, and had three children. It is likely that his ancestry, experience and superior education were the main reasons for *Zhufan zhi* being arranged and written in such a way as we know it today. It is a source which has its own significant place in the scale of evolution of Chinese historical geographical texts.

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The Knowledge of Late Ming Literati about Zheng He's Visits to Siam: A Comparison of the *Xiyang ji* and Historical Geographical Texts*

Elke PAPELITZKY 林珂

Introduction

A description of the history and the customs of Siam (Ayutthaya) found its way into many historical-geographical texts throughout the Ming dynasty, especially in the second half of the dynasty, at a time when private historiography flourished and many literati published their own books.[1] Examples include Huang Zhong's 黃衷 (1474–1553) *Haiyu* 海語 (1536), Zheng Xiao's 鄭曉 (1499–1566) 1564 *Huangming siyi kao* 皇明四夷考, Yan Congjian's 嚴從簡 (fl. 1559–1575) 1574/1583 *Shuyu zhouzi lu* 殊域周咨錄, Shen Maoshang's 慎懋賞 (fl. 1578–1607) *Siyi guangji* 四夷廣記 (c.1601–1603), Wang Zongzai's 王宗載 (fl. 1562–1582) 1580 *Siyiguan kao* 四夷館考, Luo Yuejiong's 羅曰褧 (fl. 1585–1597) 1591 *Xianbin lu* 咸賓錄, and Mao Ruizheng's 茅瑞徵 (fl. 1597–1636) 1629 *Huangming xiangxu lu* 皇明象胥錄.[2]

Writing about the Southeast Asian country was no invention of the Ming, already in Wang Dayuan's 汪大淵 (1311–?) 1349 *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 can we find references to Luohu 羅斛 (Lopburi) and Xian 暹 (Ayutthaya)[3] that

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1 On late Ming historiography, see for example Ng 1984; Ng and Wang 2005, 193-222; Ditmanson 2015.

2 For a collection of Chinese writings on Siam, see Huang Zhongyan and Yu Dingbang 2016.

3 *Daoyi zhilüe*, 114, 154-155. The identification of Xian is controversial. Pelliot supposed that Xian is Sukhothai, but newer research suggests it to be Ayutthaya (Pelliot 1904, 235f, 244;

unified during the Yuan period to become Xianluohu 暹羅斛, later changing its name to Xianluo 暹羅. Ma Huan 馬歡 (fl. 1413–1451) and Fei Xin 費信 (1388–1436?), also recorded Siamese customs in their *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 and *Xingcha shenglan* 星槎勝覽 based on their experience accompanying Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1433) on his visits to the country.[4]

Curiously, nearly none of the historical-geographical books written in the last 150 years of the Ming dynasty mention that Zheng He had visited Siam. This is rather surprising as many of the late Ming books cited the two travelogues *Yingya shenglan* and *Xingcha shenglan* that show without doubt that Zheng He's fleet had been to Siam.

To find late Ming references to Zheng He in Siam, we need to turn to fictional accounts. Luo Maodeng's 羅懋登 1597 novel on Zheng He's voyages *Sanbao taijian xiyang ji* 三寶太監西洋記 (hereafter *Xiyang ji*)[5] does include a short trip to Siam in chapters 33 and 34,[6] designated with the older term Luohu instead of Xianluo.

This article aims to discuss the reasons for the lack of mention of Zheng He's voyages to Siam in the late Ming and the perception of Zheng He's voyages in the late Ming. Scholars such as Roderich Ptak, Claudine Salmon, Fan Jinmin, and Norman Kutcher have briefly studied the perception of Zheng He in later times.[7] However, these studies often provide only a rough outline, describing the fact that Zheng He was a popular figure due to several literary adaptations of his voyages, or the impact on the friendship between China and Southeast Asia. In this article, I will therefore take a closer look at the primary sources of the late Ming, and will also examine the relationship of the chapter on Siam in the *Xiyang ji* with the descriptions of this country in historical-geographical texts.

Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit 2017, 45f; Yamamoto Tatsuro 1989, 51f; Wade 2000, 257 notes 13, 14).

4 Gong Zhen's 鞏珍 1434 *Xiyang fanguo zhi* 西洋番國志, the third of the accounts of Zheng He's voyages, on the other hand, is mostly a copy of the *Yingya shenglan*.

5 For scholarship on the novel, see for example Ptak 1986; Shi Ping and Ptak 2011; Shi Ping and Ptak 2013; Goode 1976. For a recent bibliography on the novel, see Witt 2015.

6 *Sanbao taijian xiyang ji tongsu yanyi*, 424-450.

7 Ptak 2007; Ptak and Salmon 2005; Fan Jinmin 1989; Kutcher 2014. See also Sun Yuanzhi and Yang Kangshan 2004. There is also a Thai article dealing with this topic: Kruarattikan Sitthiphon 2012.

Zheng He in Siam

Zheng He's fleet sailed to Siam several times, but scholars disagree on the number of times and the exact voyages Zheng He visited Siam. The editors of the *Xinbian Zheng He hanghai tu* 新編鄭和航海圖 believe he or at least part of his fleet arrived in the Southeast Asian country five times: on his first (1405–1407), second (1407–1409), third (1409–1411), sixth (1421–1422), and seventh voyage (1431–1433).[8] Other scholars are more careful with connecting Siam and the voyages that often. According to Yu Dingbang and Chen Shusen, the fleet visited Siam on the second, third, sixth, and seventh voyage.[9] Lin Song mentions the second, third, and fifth voyage (1416–1419) and even a mission in 1403 before his seven voyages[10] and Mills refers to the second, the sixth on the homeward journey, and a subsidiary fleet on the seventh voyage.[11]

Looking at the primary sources will clear up some of the confusion. The *Ming shilu* 明實錄 record orders of the emperor sending Zheng He to Siam in October 1408 and him recognizing that Zheng He returned from Siam in 1422.[12] The return in 1422 clearly refers to his sixth voyage, and the note in 1408 must refer to the emperor giving the order for the third voyage, while Zheng He was still on his second mission. A third order was given by the Xuande emperor in March 1431, when he instructed Zheng He to send a message to Siam ordering the country to stop harassing Malacca, which would refer to his seventh voyage.[13] However, according to the itinerary of this last voyage contained in Zhu Yunming's 祝允明 (1460–1526) *Qianwen ji* 前聞記, Zheng He did not arrive in Siam, suggesting that it was only part of the fleet that sailed to Ayutthaya.[14] That Zheng He had been in Siam on his second voyage is based on evidence

8 Haijun haiyang cehui yanjiusuo and Dalian haiyun xueyuan hanghaishi yanjiushi 1988, 2.

9 Yu Dingbang and Chen Shusen 2009, 47-50.

10 Lin Song 1993, 1; Lin Song 1995.

11 Mills 1970, 11, 14, 19.

12 Wade 2000, 287f; Wade 2005a, http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/yong-le/ year-6-month-9-day-28, http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/yong-le/year-20-month-8-day-18-0; *Taizong shilu* 83.3b; 250.8b.

13 Wade 2005a, http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/xuan-de/year-6-month-2-day-7; *Xuanzong shilu*, *j.* 76, 6b-7a.

14 *Qianwen ji*, 36b-38a. For translations, see Mills 1970, 15-18; Pelliot 1933, 307-311. This itinerary also led Tang Hua to argue that while Zheng He's ships were sailing in the Gulf of Thailand, they did not sail to Ayutthaya (Tang Hua 1974, 67-69).

from two steles dedicated to the Goddess Mazu 媽祖. They list Siam as one of the countries Zheng He visited in 1407, referring to his second voyage.[15]

Huangfu Lu's 皇甫錄 (1470–1540) *Huangming jilüe* 皇明紀略 (first printed during the Wanli period) records that in 1413 Zheng He was sent to 41 countries, including Siam and Mecca.[16] If this statement were to be believed, Zheng He would have visited Siam during his fourth mission (1413–1415). However, that Zheng He went to 41 countries on this mission is without doubt exaggerated and Zheng He's fleet did not sail to Mecca during the fourth voyage,[17] so the information given by Huangfu Lu is unreliable.

No evidence supports the claims of the editors of the *Xinbian Zheng He hanghai tu* and Lin Song that Zheng He arrived in Siam during the first and fifth voyage. The earlier mission to Siam in 1403 is not based on historical facts either. It is only referred to in the *Tianfei xiansheng lu* 天妃顯聖錄, a book about Mazu, and the story must be considered a legend.[18]

There is, thus, reasonable evidence that Zheng He's fleet had been in Siam during his second, third, sixth, and maybe the seventh voyage. As it was a detour, it is not surprising that they did not stop in Siam at every voyage.

Ma Huan and Fei Xin also visited Siam. The former accompanied Zheng He on the fourth, sixth, and seventh voyage; Fei Xin took part in the third, fourth, and seventh voyage.[19] It is, however, unclear, when they collected the data for their descriptions of Siam. Ma Huan must have done so during the sixth or seventh, Fei Xin during the third or seventh voyage.

Wang Gungwu argued that Zheng He's voyages were less impactful on Siamese–Chinese relations than on the relations between China and other countries. While Zheng He's missions sparked increasing tribute missions from the countries he visited, this is not true in the case of Siam, which had already been sending tribute regularly in the Hongwu period (1368–1398) and continued

15 Duyvendak 1938, 347, 353. The stele titled *Tianfei zhi shenling yingji* 天妃之神靈應記 is currently in Changle. The second stele is not extant, but the Ming author Qian Gu 錢穀 (1508–c.1578) included it in his *Wudu wensui xuji* 吳都文粹續集. Duyvendak translated the text of both steles and there is a German translation of the first stele (Wädow 1992, 262-265). For the Chinese text, see Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yidiao 2005, 17-19. On the steles, also see Wan Ming 2005b, 38-41.

16 *Huangming jilüe*, 19b. The other countries that are mentioned are: Calicut, Champa, Java, Alu, Samudera, Lambri, Bengal, Sri Lanka, Quilon, Hormuz, and Aden.

17 Jost 2018, 80.

18 Ptak and Cai 2017, 204; Xu Yuhu 1996; Wädow 1992, 220.

19 Mills 1970, 36; Mills 1996, 31f.

to do so after the Yongle period (1403–1424).[20] Especially Malacca profited from Zheng He's visits and China's protection from Siam. Wang Gungwu explains: "the 1407 expedition was a show of force to curb Siamese ambitions",[21] since Siam had been attacking its neighbouring countries, notably its previous vassal Malacca.

Zheng He's voyages might have influenced internal affairs in Siam, as the country experienced a power struggle between two ruling houses in the early fifteenth century. Suebsaeng Promboon and Charnvit Kasetsiri mention a change in rulership in 1409, a year after Zheng He's fleet visited Ayutthaya, which might have been sparked by Chinese influence, as Ming China had closer ties with the new king, Nakhon In,[22] who had been in contact with the Chinese before.[23]

Zheng He left a lasting impression on Siam, and even today several temples are dedicated to his memory.[24] A Sanbao temple 三宝廟 in honour of Zheng He was already mentioned by Zhang Xie 張燮 (1574–1640) in his *Dongxiyang kao* 東西洋考 (1617) in the section on famous places in the country (*xingsheng mingji* 形勝名跡). He also lists a Sanbao harbour 三宝港, which might be named after Zheng He.[25]

Nevertheless, not only did Zheng He's visits impact Chinese–Siamese relations less than the relations between China and other Southeast Asian countries during the fifteenth century, the Siamese reception of his voyage throughout the early modern and later periods seems to be less strong as well, especially when compared to Indonesia and Malaysia. No Thai adaptions of the Zheng He novel are known,[26] and the number of temples dedicated to his memory is smaller.[27]

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20 Wang Gungwu 1970, 385. On the impact of Zheng He's voyages, see also Sen 2016.

21 Wang Gungwu 1970, 390.

22 In Chinese sources, he appears as Zhao Luqun Ying 昭祿群膺. See Wade 2000, 262.

23 Suebsaeng Promboon 1971, 75f, 176f; Charnvit Kasetsiri 1976, 113; Charnvit Kasetsiri 2007, 76. See also Wyatt 1999; Wyatt 1982, 56f.

24 Widodo 2005, 105; Charnvit Kasetsiri 2007; Zheng Leqi, Zhang Lemin, and Qiu Qinghua 2005.

25 *Dongxiyang kao*, 35f. For more information on this temple see Li Daogang 2001.

26 On the Indonesian *Xiyang ji* adaptions, see Salmon 2005.

27 Sun Yuanzhi knows of 17 temples dedicated to Zheng He, of which seven are in Indonesia and five in Malaysia, and only three in Thailand (Sun Yuanzhi 2008, 53). Another topic that is often discussed is Zheng He's role in spreading Islam in Southeast Asia – again something that concerns Indonesia and Malaysia more than Thailand. See, for example Tan 2009.

Siam in Historical-Geographical Works

During the Ming dynasty, references to Siam along with those to other countries can be found in many books of the *lishi dili* 歷史地理 category. Some of them deal only with foreign countries (such as the *Shuyu zhouzi lu*), others describe the geography of China and of foreign countries (such as the 1461 *Daming yitong zhi* 大明一統志), and again others report about a wide range of topics, and include a section dedicated to foreign countries (for example the *Mingshan cang* 名山藏, the *Wubei zhi* 武備志, and the *Tushu bian* 圖書編). For a list of Ming texts with a separate chapter on Siam, see the appendix.

When discussing foreign countries, most texts follow a standardized pattern that emerged during the Han dynasty and that was prominently used by the authors of the standard histories.[28] Usually, the texts start with a short geographic description of the country, followed by a more or less detailed discussion of the history given in the annalistic pattern with events described for specific dates. The texts conclude with a section on the customs of the countries discussing a range of topics such as the weather, language, products, and the role of women in society.[29]

Exceptions from this pattern include the *Yingya shenglan* and *Xingcha shenglan*, the *Haiyu*, and the *Xiyang chaogong dianlu*, all texts written during the early or mid-Ming period. These four books describe in detail the customs but have only very few notes on the history of Siam.

Most Ming texts are very similar as they copy heavily from each other. When it comes to Siam, however, two texts stand out with their rich account of Siamese customs due to the authors interviewing Siamese men: Huang Zhong's *Haiyu* that is partly based on what a Siamese monk told Huang Zhong, and Wang Zongzai's *Siyiguan kao* that incorporates knowledge from a Siamese envoy.[30]

The late Ming authors of historical-geographical texts had mixed feelings about Siam. Some of them – such as Yang Yikui 楊一葵 (fl. 1592–1622) in his 1615 *Yisheng* 裔乘 and Shen Maoshang in the *Siyi guangji* stressed that Siam was a good tributary of China. They agree that Siam was a violent country with a strong military, but Siam used this force to offer to help China's ally – Korea – during the Imjin War (1592–1598). Mao Ruizheng in his *Huangming xiangxu*

28 Cartier 1981, 3f.

29 The *Mingshi* chapter on Siam follows this pattern and has been translated into English (Grimm 1961).

30 On Siam in the *Siyiguan kao* see Zhang Wende 2000. On the *Haiyu*, see Papelitzky 2019.

lu on the other hand focuses on Siam's military nature and holds a less favourable view. According to him, Siam was a cruel country that liked to launch unjustified attacks against its neighbours.[31]

References to Zheng He would mainly be expected to appear in the section on history, under the entry of any of the years Zheng He visited Siam. The only text to do so is the official history of the Ming, the *Mingshi* 明史 (1736), meaning that no text written during the Ming dynasty mentioned the arrival of Zheng He in Siam in the section on Siamese history. However, even the *Mingshi* only records one of Zheng He's voyages to Siam and gives the date Yongle 6, 9th month (September 1408).[32]

Since the *Yingya shenglan* and *Xingcha shenglan* present Ma Huan's and Fei Xin's observation when traveling together with Zheng He, the contents of the two texts imply that Zheng He arrived in Siam. While both texts mention concrete steps and dates of their voyages in some instances[33] this is not the case in the chapter on Siam in the *Xingcha shenglan*. Ma Huan writes: "when the treasure ships arrive in Siam [...]" 中國寶船到暹羅 [...][34] He is thus stating clearly that they did arrive there, but he does not provide a date. So any reader could gather from the chapter on Siam, that Zheng He and his treasure ships visited the country at least once.

By the late sixteenth, the *Ming shilu* had also become accessible to wealthy scholars and Mao Ruizheng claims to have used them.[35] However, due to the length of the *shilu*, it is not surprising that he did not find the references to Zheng He visiting Siam.

In the case of the *Siyi guangji*, the lack of any mention of Zheng He in Siam surprises even more compared to many of the other texts. Shen Maoshang's text represents by far the most comprehensive account on foreign countries of the late Ming dynasty. With roughly 350,000 characters it is nearly twice as long as the *Shuyu zhouzi lu* with around 190,000 characters, of which 9,400 and 4,100

31 For a discussion of late Ming images of Siam see Papelitzky 2017, 194-197.

32 *Mingshi* 324.8399.

33 In the chapter on Samudera 蘇門答臘, Ma Huan for examples writes (Wan Ming 2005a, 44): 永樂十三年，正使太監鄭和等船到彼。"In the thirteenth year of the Yung-lo (period) the principal envoy the grand eunuch Cheng Ho and others, commanding a large fleet of treasure-ships, arrived there." (Translation from Mills 1970, 117).

34 Wan Ming 2005a, 34.

35 Franke 1961, 75; Ditmanson 2015, 33; *Huangming xiangxu lu*, *fanli* 1b.

characters respectively are devoted to Siam.[36] Shen Maoshang obtained this large number of characters by copying from every source he had access to and producing a patchwork of earlier sources. Of course, this way of working is not unusual for Chinese historical writing, but Shen Maoshang's scope and number of sources make his text exceptional. Nearly the complete text of the *Yingya shenglan* is contained in the *Siyi guangji*. However, one of the very few sentences missing is the above mentioned reference that China's treasure ships had arrived in Siam. Was that a conscious omission? And if so, for what reason?

A few scattered notes in late Ming texts do acknowledge the presence of Zheng He in Siam. The only historical-geographical work to do so is Zhang Xie's *Dongxiyang kao* with its reference to the Zheng He temple and harbour in the section on famous places in the country. In addition, the *Dongxiyang kao* claims in the same section that Zheng He had ordered to destroy a stupa in Siam, although this account might be false.[37] For the purpose of this article it is not important if this story is actually true or not. The story about Zheng He destroying the stupa in Siam shows instead that Zhang Xie at least, believed Zheng He to have visited Siam.

If we consider not only historical-geographical texts that describe Siam in a separate chapter, then we can find some more examples that show knowledge of Zheng He having visited the country. Obviously, Qian Gu 錢穀 (1508–c.1578) who copied one of the steles in his *Wudu wensui xuji* 吳都文粹續集 provided evidence that Zheng He had been in Siam, so he and his readers could have been aware of the fact. Another source is the *Nanshu zhi* 南樞志 (c.1635–1638) by Fan Jingwen 范景文 (1587–1644) and Zhang Keshi 張可仕 (1591–1654). In their introduction to the so-called Zheng He map 鄭和航海圖, the two compilers listed all countries Zheng He visited – including Siam.[38] Of course the map itself could be taken as evidence of Zheng He having visited Siam and so Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 (1594–1640) might have had knowledge of

36 The original number of characters of the *Siyi guangji* must have been even higher. Today one volume of the book is missing. From the original nine only eight are still preserved in the National Central Library, Taibei. See Papelitzky 2015, 88; Papelitzky 2017, 32f.

37 *Dongxiyang kao*, 36. Geoff Wade lists the information of the *Dongxiyang kao* as one example of Zheng He being violent, but Li Daogang believes the story to not be based on historical facts (Wade 2005b, 50; Li Daogang 2006; Li Daogang 2007a).

38 *Nanshu zhi* 113.1b. For more information about the map in the *Nanshu zhi* and a comparison with the map in the *Wubei zhi*, see Zhou Yunzhong 2007. On the map in the *Wubei zhi*, also see Mills 1970, 236-302.

the visit as well.[39] In his discussion about Siamese history and customs, however, Mao Yuanyi does not mention Zheng He.[40] Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590) presents a similar case: He writes that from 1406 on, Zheng He commanded 17,000 people to more than 30 countries, including Suoli 瑣里 and Siam – a fairly curious choice of countries for an example.[41]

Some authors have notes about Zheng He's visits to Siam, that, while we know today that they contain mistakes and are not actual evidence of Zheng He having been to Siam, they do show that the authors believed Zheng He had been there. Lu Rong's 陸容 1494 *Shuyuan zaji* 菽園雜記 lists the countries Zheng He supposedly visited during his third mission, including Siam,[42] although he just copied the names of the countries from the *Xingcha shenglan* that includes several places Zheng He had not visited. Similarly, Huangfu Lu's mention of Siam in the *Huangming jilüe* shows that he thought Zheng He had been in Siam, even though the dates and exact circumstances are erroneous.

These scattered notes do not imply that the authors were actually aware of Zheng He's visits to Siam. They could very well have forgotten or not really payed attention to this piece of information, especially in the case of the authors who provided a long list of countries. Instead, these scattered notes show that a careful reader could have extracted the knowledge that Zheng He had been in Siam, but if any reader of these texts did that, they did not write it down. Zheng He's visits to Siam were far from general knowledge in the late Ming.

The Ming Perception of Zheng He

Yan Congjian tells us in his *Shuyu zhouzi lu* that during the Chenghua period (1465–1487) Liu Daxia 劉大夏 (1437–1516) had claimed that Zheng He's voyages had been a waste of money and destroyed all material related to the expeditions, so that no similar expedition would ever be started again.[43] Even

39 For a discussion of the Siamese sections of the map, see Li Daogang 2000, 258-282; Li Daogang 2007b, 241-260.

40 *Wubei zhi* 226.12b-13b. Mao Yuanyi copied this section from Zheng Xiao's *Huangming siyi kao*.

41 *Yanshantang bieji* 4.30b.

42 *Shuyuan zaji*, 26f.

43 *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, 307. For a discussion and translation of the section, see Duyvendak 1938, 395f.

though there are some doubts, if Liu Daxia had really destroyed the material,[44] his statement shows that around half a century after Zheng He's voyage, negative opinions on Zheng He's voyages were voiced.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to say to what degree Liu Daxia's sentiment was representational for the time, but again half a century later, in 1520, Huang Xingzeng 黃省曾 (1490–1540) praised Zheng He extensively in his *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* 西洋朝貢典錄.[45] He wrote: "Removing disaster in foreign regions, to add glory for the son of heaven, [Zheng] He was equally virtuous!"[46] "There had been righteous men and virtuous heroes in old times, but how could anyone have done more than [Zheng He]!...[Zheng] He was such a sagacious official!"[47] Huang Xingzeng is one of the few authors at that time praising Zheng He and his book is the last in the Ming period, which features Zheng He prominently. The *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* was not printed in the Ming and was mostly forgotten;[48] the first print dates to 1808 in Zhang Haipeng's 張海鵬 (1775–1816) *Jieyue shanfang huichao* 借月山房彙鈔, with several other editions following shortly thereafter.[49] Late Ming authors of historical geographical texts had most likely never read it.

Leaving out Zheng He in the chapter on Siam in late Ming historical geographical texts might suggest at first, that these authors did not hold a favourable opinion of Zheng He. However, the lack of Zheng He in this chapter seems to be more based on ignorance. Most authors mention that Zheng He visited other countries such as Śrīvijaya,[50] Calicut,[51] and Malacca.[52] In addition, Mao

44 See Church 2005, 5 note 11.

45 For a complete translation of that text into German, see Sonnendecker 2005.

46 *Xiyang chaogong dianlu*, 36.

47 Ibid., 70.

48 During the Ming-Qing transition, the manuscript was held by Zhao Qimei 趙琦美 (1563–1624), Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), and then Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629–1701), and the three scholars did comment briefly on it. But the manuscript did not seem to have circulated more widely and there is no evidence of further copies in the seventeenth century. Zhao Qimei and Shen Maoshang were acquainted, but there is no evidence that Zhao Qimei showed the *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* to Shen Maoshang. On Zhao Qimei and Shen Maoshang, see Papelitzky 2015, 85-86; Papelitzky 2017, 31-32.

49 Xie Fang 2000, 6.

50 Mentioned for example in *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, 299; *Siyi guangji*, *ce* 102; *Xianbin lu*, 147; *Fangyu shengliie*, *waiyi* 5.16a; *Yisheng* 2.38b; *Huangming xiangxu lu* 4.24a.

51 Mentioned for example in *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, 306f; *Siyi guangji*, *ce* 102; *Xianbin lu*, 100; *Yisheng* 7.35a; *Fangyu shengliie*, *waiyi* 3.23b.

52 Mentioned for example in *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, 287; *Siyi guangji*, *ce* 101; *Xianbin lu*, 157; *Yisheng* 2.41a; *Fangyu shengliie*, *waiyi* 5.22a; *Huangming xiangxu lu* 5.1a; *Siyiguan kao* 1.22a.

Yuanyi claims in his *Zhangji* 掌記 that he enjoyed reading the *Yingya shenglan* several times and also mentions that he had incorporated the map of Zheng He's voyage in his *Wubei zhi*.[53] His relative Mao Ruizheng brings up Zheng He in the preface of the *Huangming xiangxu lu*. He writes: "Emperor Wen [Yongle] sent an imperial emissary on three journeys down the Western ocean 文皇帝遣中使三下西洋."[54] If the late Ming authors had left out Zheng He deliberately, they would have done this for the other chapters as well, but even in those chapters, only a few of Zheng He's missions are referred to. Usually, only one mission per country found its way into the texts, despite his fleet reaching many countries several times, some even during all his seven voyages.[55] Mao Ruizheng's preface also shows that he was only aware of three of the voyages instead of all seven (or six sent by Yongle).

This leads to another hypothesis why they might have not written about Zheng He in Siam: Maybe they did not know of any of the voyages, in which Zheng He had stopped in Siam? This seems not to be the case, as 1409 is mentioned most frequently in Ming historical-geographical texts in regards to Zheng He. However, there was a lot of confusion over the dates in historical-geographical texts. Yan Congjian, for example, claims that Zheng He had been in Mecca in 1409,[56] even though the treasure ships reached the Arabian Peninsula first during the fifth voyage.[57] References to his other voyages are more rare. In fact, I am not aware of a single dated reference to his sixth voyage in late Ming historical-geographical texts, and only one reference to his fifth voyage.[58]

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53 *Zhangji* 3.9b.

54 *Huangming xiangxu lu*, *xu* 2a.

55 Shi Ping showed, for example, that Zheng He visited Malacca on each of his seven missions, even though the historical-geographical texts usually only mention the third mission in 1409 (Shi Ping 2015). Zheng He is mentioned twice (in 1409 and 1416) by Yan Congjian in the chapter on Sri Lanka, for example (*Shuyu zhouzi lu*, 312f).

56 *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, 393.

57 Jost 2018, 80.

58 The one reference to his fifth voyage is the note in the chapter on Sri Lanka in the *Shuyu zhouzi lu* mentioned in note 55. The texts I checked in this regard are: *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, *Yisheng, Xianbin lu*, *Fangyu shengjiie*, *Huangming xiangxu lu*, *Siyi guangji*, *Dongxiyang kao*, *Huangming siyi kao*, and *Xiyang chaogong dianlu*. As late Ming authors tended to copy from each other and especially the *Shuyu zhouzi lu* and *Siyi guangji* tried to synthesize and collect as much as possible, I do not believe that the picture would change considerably, if more texts were consulted.

Why then did Shen Maoshang leave out the sentence from the *Yingya shenglan* that the treasure ships had arrived in Siam? It is unlikely that it was a coincidence, as Shen Maoshang copied nearly the complete text. Maybe he thought the information was wrong, as he could not find any reference to Zheng He visiting Siam anywhere else. Unfortunately, Shen Maoshang never discussed his process of writing the *Siyi guangji*, so we cannot be sure of his motivation.

From the point of view of a scholar of the twenty-first century, leaving out Zheng He is very puzzling – after all, Zheng He is one of the most studied people from the Ming dynasty, and we now know many details about his voyages and the countries he visited. By reading the *Yingya shenglan,* the authors could have learned that he had been in Siam, but none of the authors extracted this knowledge from Ma Huan's text, suggesting that they did not attach much importance to Zheng He.

Late Ming authors held back their opinion on Zheng He, with neither very positive, nor very negative comments dominating the discourse. In the early Qing, the comments again turned less enthusiastic. However, instead of highlighting the financial burden, now literati expressed concern over his involvement in state affairs due to him being a eunuch.[59]

Thus, starting from the mid-Ming period, serious interest about Zheng He was handed over from scholarly discussion to the realm of the fictional with at least one drama (which also does not mention Siam)[60] and Luo Maodeng's novel prominently featuring Zheng He. At the turn from the Ming to the Qing, plays on Zheng He were quite popular, as Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629–1701) claims that such dramas were frequently played.[61]

Siam in the *Xiyang ji*

In chapter 33 and at the beginning of chapter 34 of the *Xiyang ji*, the fictional Zheng He and his companions visit Siam. Instead of using the term Xianluo for Ayutthaya, Luo Maodeng chose to call the country by its old name Luohu throughout his book. This is curious, as Luo Maodeng's main historical sources, the *Yingya shenglan* and *Xingcha shenglan* only name the country Xianluo. Most

59 Kutcher 2018, 28, 38. See also Lo 1958, 152f.

60 For a translation of the drama into German, see Ptak 1986. For a synopsis in English and a discussion of the sections on Sulu, see Ptak 1983.

61 Ptak 2007, 35.

other texts contemporary to the *Xiyang ji* including Luo Maodeng's probable source *Xianbin lu* describe the unification of Xian and Luohu to become Xianluohu, and the change of name to Xianluo during the Yongle period. These descriptions leave no room for misinterpreting the name of the country; Luo Maodeng made a conscious choice to use the old term. Why he did so, is unclear.

Luo Maodeng tells the following story about Zheng He's adventure in Siam: When Zheng He and his companions are in Bingtonglong 賓童龍 (Panduranga), they hear about a country ten days away. This country was supposedly good at maritime warfare. After arriving there, they learn that the name of the country is Luohu. Luohu's king – Canlie Zhao Kunya 參烈昭毘牙[62] – agrees to submit to Zheng He, but the king's general Xie Wenbin 謝文彬 stirs up trouble. Xie Wenbin is characterised as aggressive and Luo Maodeng states that he is a former salt merchant from Dingzhou 汀洲 in China who ended up in Siam. Because Siamese women like Chinese men, he is admired by many women. Canlie Zhao Kunya offers tribute, including a white elephant with gems on his tusk. In the end, Xie Wenbin provokes a naval battle. Of course, Zheng He and his companions are victorious.

As is well known, Luo Maodeng copied many statements from the *Yingya shenglan* and the *Xingcha shenglan*.[63] In the case of Siam, these include the description of Siam being good at naval warfare, the description that Siamese women manage the affairs of the country and that they like Chinese men, the custom of inlaying male genitals with pearls, and a basic report of the geography and climate of the country.[64]

Several further elements are also based on historical sources but not taken from the two travel accounts of Zheng He's voyages. The fictional Siamese king explains that China gifted his father a white horse and clothes interwoven with gold threads, and he himself had received clothes but no horse.[65] This story is

62 This is a misspelling for Canlie Zhao Piya 參烈昭毘牙 (Somdet Chao Phraya). He ruled during the Hongwu period until around 1371. See Wade 2000, 261.

63 Ma Youyuan has shown that the chapter on Siam in the *Xiyang ji* is based on the *Yingya shenglan* and that the *Xiyang fanguo zhi* did not serve as a source (Ma Youyuan 2006). See also Goode 1976, 33, 36, 43f.

64 For discussions about these customs, see the footnotes in Mill's translations of the two texts (Mills 1970, 102-107; Mills 1996, 42-44). For a discussion of the customs of Siam as described in late Ming texts, see Papelitzky 2017, 121-127. Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit in their expansive history of Ayutthaya, also make frequent reference to Ma Huan's description of Siam (Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit 2017).

65 *Sanbao taijian xiyang ji tongsu yanyi*, 428.

also told in historical-geographical texts such as the *Xianbin lu* and *Yisheng*, where the event is said to have happened in Xian during the Yuan dynasty. Luo Maodeng makes reference to a Siamese ship wrecking on its way to the Ryūkyūs, also mentioned in the *Xianbin lu* and *Yisheng*.[66]

In addition, the fictional Siamese king gives a white elephant as tribute. A similar account is recorded in most historical-geographical texts for the year 1553 with one major difference: The historical elephant died, so the envoys presented the Chinese emperor the animal's tusk inlaid with gems and sent its tail to prove that it had been white. In the *Xiyang ji*, the elephant stays alive.[67]

The most interesting parallel between fact and fiction is the story of Xie Wenbin. Texts such as the *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, *Siyi guangji*, *Xianbin lu*, and *Yisheng* record the following events as having happened in 1477: Bi Meiya 必美亞, who was previously called Xie Wenbin from Dingzhou, came to China to bring tribute. Xie Wenbin was formerly trading illicitly with salt and ship-wrecked in Siam, where he became an official. When he came to China as a Siamese envoy, he started trading with illegal goods, but was soon discovered. We do not know what happened to Xie Wenbin afterwards.[68]

Luo Maodeng took Xie Wenbin's background story from historical-geographical texts and incorporated it in the *Xiyang ji*. Including Xie Wenbin allowed Luo Maodeng to stage a naval battle (of course there had to be one since Siam was said to be good at naval warfare), while still keeping the image that the king of Siam was loyal to China. As Tang Yan has argued, Xie Wenbin – a trader – disrupted the good tribute relations, and the fact that in the end Zheng He eliminated Xie Wenbin, demonstrates that tribute prevails over trade.[69]

The authors of historical-geographical works expressed a similar sentiment, making it clear that Xie Wenbin was a bad person. After describing Xie Wenbin's story, Yan Congjian even makes a general comment explaining his wary attitude towards Chinese traders that went abroad.[70]

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66 Ibid.; *Xianbin lu*, 148f; *Yisheng* 2.25ab.

67 A white elephant is an important element of Thai diplomacy and a symbol of power. See for example Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit 2017, 95-96; Trakulhun 2006, 201-202.

68 *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, 281; *Siyi guangji*, *ce* 101; *Xianbin lu*, 149; *Yisheng* 2.25b, 26a. On Xie Wenbin, see Chan Hok-Lam 1996.

69 Tang Yan 2006, 173f.

70 For a translation of Yan Congjian's comment, see Chan Hok-Lam 1968, 417.

Comparing the chapter on Siam of the historical-geographical texts with the *Xiyang ji* also reveals an additional source of Luo Maodeng. While he copied many factual references from the *Yingya shenglan* and *Xingcha shenglan*, the misspelling of the name of the king (Zhao Kunya instead of Zhao Piya), the reference to the white horse during the Yuan dynasty, the wrecked ship on its way to the Ryūkyūs, and the story of Xie Wenbin point to Luo Yuejiong's *Xianbin lu* as a source for Luo Maodeng (see the table in the appendix for a comparison between texts based on these criteria). Since both Luo Maodeng and Luo Yuejiong are from around Nanchang, it is possible that the two authors were related, and thus personal connections might have played a role in Luo Maodeng's choosing of a source.[71]

Conclusion

Luo Maodeng's *Xiyang ji* captures the ambivalence about Siam in late Ming texts. The country liked to be at war, but the king was decent and sent tribute regularly. It was the evil trader Xie Wenbin who caused problems. Like other authors of the late Ming, Luo Maodeng portrayed trade negatively.

Late Ming authors of historical-geographical texts did not attempt to research if Zheng He had visited Siam. Shen Maoshang even seems to have not believed that Zheng He had been there despite having read the *Yingya shenglan*. This suggests that late Ming literati simply did not consider Zheng He as important as he is to scholars today.

Only in the realm of literature do we find more emphasis on Zheng He; he had become a popular figure for novels and plays. However, even though Luo Maodeng stages parts of his novel in Siam, this does not imply that he was aware that Zheng He *actually* had been to the country. The fictional Zheng He visits several countries the historical Zheng He definitely had not visited, such as the Land of the Women or Mindoro.[72] Knowledge of Zheng He's visits to Siam was buried until literati compiled the *Mingshi* during the Qing dynasty.

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71 Luo Yuejiong was directly from Nanchang. According to the local gazetteer of Nanchang, Luo Maodeng was from Fengxin 奉新, a place near Nanchang (*Nanchang fuzhi (Tongzhi)* 32.6b). Zheng Run in his study of Luo Maodeng's biography suggested another place based on the genealogy of the Luo family: Nanyuan in Nancheng County 南城縣南源, south of Nanchang. On Luo Maodeng's biography, see Zheng Run 2011. On Luo Yuejiong's biography, see Papelitzky 2017, 40.

72 For a list of all countries the fictional Zheng He visited, see Ptak 1986, 209-211.

Appendix

List of historical-geographical texts mentioning Siam. Years covered refer to the history section of the text. The next column gives the variant of the Siamese king: the correct Canlie Zhao Piya (毘) or the faulty Canlie Zhao Kunya (昆).

Title	Date	Author	Years covered	Piya or Kunya?	Xie Wenbin?
Xingcha shenglan 星槎勝覽	1436	Fei Xin 費信			
Yingya shenglan 瀛涯勝覽	1451	Ma Huan 馬歡			
Huanyu tongzhi 寰宇通志	1456	Chen Xun 陳循	Yuan–Yongle	毘	No
Daming yitong zhi 大明一統志	1461	Li Xian 李賢, Peng Shi 彭時	Yuan–Yongle	毘	No
Xiyang chaogong dianlu 西洋朝貢典錄	1520	Huang Xingzeng 黃省曾	Hongwu 4–Yongle 9	毘	No
Haiyu 海語	1536	Huang Zhong 黃衷			
Huangyu kao 皇輿考	1557	Zhang Tianfu 張天復	Yuan–Hongwu	None	No
Huangming siyi kao 皇明四夷考	1564	Zheng Xiao 鄭曉	Yuan–Xuande	毘	No
Shuyu zhouzi lu 殊域周咨錄	1574	Yan Congjian 嚴從簡	Sui–Jiajing 37	昆	Yes
Siyiguan kao 四夷館考	1580	Wang Zongzai 王宗載	Yuan–Wanli 6	昆	Yes
Minghui dian 明會典	1587	Shen Shixing 申時行	Hongwu 4–Wanli 7	毘	No
Xianbin lu 咸賓錄	1591	Luo Yuejiong 羅曰褧	Yuan–Longqing	昆	Yes
Guangyu ji 廣輿記	1600	Lu Yingyang 陸應陽	Hongwu	No name	No
Siyi guangji 四夷廣記	c.1601–1603	Shen Maoshang 慎懋賞	Sui–Wanli 20	昆	Yes
Xu wenxian tongkao 續文獻通考	1603	Wang Qi 王圻	Yuan–Wanli 20	毘	No
Sancai tuhui 三才圖會	1609	Wang Qi	Yuan–Hongwu	No name	No

Fangyu shenglüe 方輿勝畧	1612	Cheng Bai'er 程百二	Yuan–Longqing	昆	Yes
Tushu bian 圖書編	1613	Zhang Huang 章潢	Yuan–Wanli 6	毘	Yes
Yisheng 裔乘	1615	Yang Yikui 楊一葵	Yuan–Wanli 20	昆	Yes
Guochao xianwei lu 國朝獻微錄	1616	Jiao Hong 焦竑	Yuan–Yongle 13	毘	no
Dongxi yangkao 東西洋考	1617	Zhang Xie 張燮	Sui–Wanli	毘	Yes
Wubei zhi 武備志	1621	Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀	Yuan–Xuande	毘	No
Huangming xiangxu lu 皇明象胥錄	1629	Mao Ruizheng 茅瑞徵	Yuan–Wanli 22	毘	Yes
Mingshan cang 名山藏	1640	He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠	Yuan–Wanli	毘	Yes

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From Ricci's World Map to Schall's Translation of *De Re Metallica*: Western Learning and China's Search for Silver in the Late Ming Period (1583–1644)*

CAO JIN 曹晉

Monks from Afar

> Common in every part of the land and especially so among the more influential classes [...] is an effort to produce silver from other metals. [...] It is a daily and a public spectacle to see the wealthiest among them reduced to poverty after spending a great sum of money in attempting to verify this fraud.[1]

* This research is part of "Translating Western Science, Technology and Medicine to Late Ming China: Convergences and Divergences in the Light of the *Kunyu gezhi* 坤輿格致 (Investigations of the Earth's Interior; 1640) and the *Taixi shuifa* 泰西水法 (Hydromethods of the Great West; 1612)", a project supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG) from 2018 to 2021. The project is carried out at the Department of Chinese Studies at Tübingen University, Germany, and is directed by Prof. Dr. Hans Ulrich Vogel, with Dr. Cao Jin and Sabine Kink, MA, as collaborators, in close interaction with scholars in Europe, the U.S., and Asia, especially with members from the Department of History, University of Macau. It was also supported by, and contributes to the ERC AdG project TRANSPACIFIC which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (Grant agreement No. 833143) supervised by Angela Schottenhammer.
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Translation of the *Kunyu gezhi* itself is a collective enterprise at the Department of Chinese Studies at Tübingen University, in which – in alphabetical order – Dr. Cao Jin, Sebastian Demuth, MA, Guo Aiting, MA, Hou Yu, MA, Junior Prof. Dr. Huang Fei, Dr. Alexander Jost, Sabine Kink, MA, Edward Yong Liang, MA, Prof. Dr. Achim Mittag, Prof. Dr. Christine Moll-Murata (Fakultät für Ostasienwissenschaften, Ruhr-Universität Bochum), Prof. Dr. Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros (Department of History, University of Macau), Dr. Ailika Schinköthe, Anna Strob, MA, Dr. Ulrich Theobald, and Prof. Dr. Hans Ulrich Vogel take part. The group meets every week during the teaching period in a special translation seminar open also for students. For each session the translation of a section of the text is prepared by an individual member of the group and is then discussed collectively, with Hans Ulrich Vogel and Cao Jin responsible for the final revision and editing of the translation and with important inputs by Sabine Kink and Alexander Jost, the latter responsible for searching for origins of relevant information in Western sources.

What Matteo Ricci (1552–1610, Chinese name Li Madou 利瑪竇) observes and records in his journal with detestation is the perpetual pursuit of Chinese (as at times also of Western) practical alchemy to turn cheap materials into precious metals which pervaded and fascinated all layers of society. By the time Ricci entered China in 1582, the golden age of Chinese alchemy as a part of Daoist body-spirit cultivation was long over,[2] but belief in practices related to alchemist traditions persisted and during Ricci's time, especially attempts to create silver for practical as well as for spiritual purposes were widely popular.

The huge importance of silver within the Chinese monetary system throughout the late Ming period was responsible for this. During its first decades – as under the preceding Yuan Dynasty – the use of paper money remained mandatory, while the circulation of gold and silver as currencies was officially prohibited. Already by the early fifteenth century silver had nonetheless achieved a dominant position marking the beginning of the Chinese "silver economy."[3] In 1436, the silver ban was released, and silver was used for the payment of agricultural taxes,[4] a development which continued over a series of taxation reforms, most notably the so-called "single-whip law" (*Yi tiao bian fa* 一條鞭法) of the sixteenth century.[5] As a result, in late Ming China silver fulfilled the two basic monetary functions as unit of account as well as medium of exchange and was considered the leading currency in contemporary monetary theory and legislation.[6]

This labor division and work flow is reflected when quoting translations of the text which are done in the following way: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Kink (transl.) et al.; Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Cao (transl.) et al.; Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Puente-Ballesteros (transl.) et al., etc.

1 Ricci 1953, 90.

2 The fifth to ninth century are commonly counted as the golden age of Chinese external alchemy (*waidan* 外丹) see e.g. Ho 2007, 2.

3 Glahn 1996, 79-83.

4 *Mingshi* 80.1964 ("Shihuo 5").

5 The "single-whip law" (*Yi tiao bian fa* 一條鞭法) implemented in China had transformed the relationship between the central and local authorities as well as that between the government and the people. The reform aimed primarily to simplify the complex fiscal levies by commuting most obligations towards the central government – from land and poll taxes to the labour obligations of the peasantry and the tributes of prefectural and district officials – into a single silver payment. Thus, silver was specified as the major payment of tax and subsequently played a prominent role in state finance and administration. The maintenance of the ruling machinery and bureaucratic system relied heavily on silver, which laid the fiscal foundation of the government. See Chen Chunsheng and Liu Zhiwei 2010.

6 In 1487, Qiu Jun 丘濬 (1421–1495), Minister of Rites, proposed a tripartite currency system in which silver would serve as the primary currency and yet be relegated to the largely ceremonial role of providing a standard of value. In this system, "silver is the top currency, paper money is the middle currency, and coin is the bottom currency; the middle and bottom currencies

The following rapid development of the domestic commodity economy and the widespread circulation of silver determined that objectively a large amount of silver was needed as a currency.[7] After a short but "substantial boom" of domestic silver mines during the fifteenth century,[8] their output soon proved insufficient. The discovery of large silver deposits in Iwami 1526, remarkably increased the production in traditionally silver-poor Japan.[9] Around the same time, the Spanish began to mine silver in Mexico and, more importantly, in 1545 in Potosí (modern-day Bolivia), which would become the world's largest silver provider for centuries to come. Silver influx into China had two stages: the first was the period of Japanese silver, which began in the 1520s and peaked in the 1540s. Japanese silver played an important role in the initial demand for silver as the main currency for circulation in the early years of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1522–1566). The second was the period of American silver, which gained momentum when the first Manila galleons regularly crossed the Pacific in the 1570s.[10] Both origins of silver inflow converged and reached the climax during this time.[11] Spectacular profits arose throughout the worldwide supply chain, which resulted in the unprecedented shipment of thousands of tons of silver to China. This was the first "silver cycle" which could be labelled as the Potosí/Japan Silver Cycle, spanning a "silver century" from the 1540s to 1640s, and during which a preponderance of the world's silver production was concentrated at mines in Potosí and Japan.[12]

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are used both by public and private, and the top currency sets the standard to fix them." In 1567, an imperial decree was given that "for buying and selling goods, if the value of the goods is more than one *qian* [of silver, ca. 3.7 grams], both silver and coins can be used. If the value is less than one *qian*, coins must be used only." This order shows that silver gained its legal status. See also Peng Xinwei 1958, 452-453.

7 Qian Jiang 1985, 96.

8 Glahn 1996, 114.

9 Glahn 1996, 114.

10 Although impressive amounts of annually two to three million tons of silver crossed the Pacific on these galleons and singular sources mention numbers as enormous as twelve million tons in 1597, in the last consequence only about 25% of all American silver that reached China was shipped directly on this route. The majority first crossed the Atlantic to continue over multiple steps around the Cape of Good Hope, through the Middle East or Russia into China. For more details on these estimates, see e.g. Flynn and Giráldez 1995, 440. At any rate, the Manila galleons were the most direct and thus most easily perceivable link between the American silver mines and China.

11 Wan Ming 2013, 83.

12 The reason of global silver flow and the influx to China is excellently explained by the theory of the "Arbitrage Phases" raised by Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez (2002; 2004; 2008).

With the increasing availability of silver in China, quantity demand for silver increased even further. Many literary works of the late Ming period widely reflect this hunger and thirst for silver[13] not only frequently describing how silver was used, pursued and stored in daily life, but also attaching emotions, life, spirit, and even abilities to change its appearance to it, which deserve to be worshipped and eulogized in prose and poetry.[14]

Having gained such high practical importance along with transcendental connotations, methods of obtaining silver were certainly of great interest for everybody. Many believed in alchemist ideas about existence of magical methods which could turn base metals like copper, tin, or lead into gold and silver by using certain agents, generally called "the art of yellow and white" (*huangbai (zhi) shu* 黃白(之)術), referring to the colors of the two precious metals. Ling Mengchu 凌濛初 (1580–1644), one of many critical voices explains this term as follows:

> 何謂黃白之術？方士丹客哄人煉丹，說養成黃芽，再生白雪，用藥點化為丹，便鉛汞之類皆變黃金白銀。故此煉丹的叫做黃白之術。
> What is the so-called "art of yellow and white"? Diviners (*fangshi* 方士) and alchemists (*danke* 丹客) cheat people into the refining of elixirs (*lian dan* 煉丹). They say that after raising yellow sprouts, and then growing white snow, one uses an agent to transform (*dianhua* 點化) [it] into an elixir. Then lead, quicksilver and so on can all be changed into yellow gold and white silver. Thus, this kind of refining elixirs is called the "art of yellow and white."[15]

Interest in this art indeed reached the very top of Chinese society: Already in 1481, eager to obtain precious metal, for instance the Chenghua 成化 emperor (reign 1465–1487) believed a report from a commoner of Taizhou 泰州, who claimed that he was taught the technique of changing lead into silver eternally by an alchemist. The emperor sent eunuchs to observe his trial. The experiment lasted for over five months, but of course failed in the end.[16]

They compared the worldwide gold/silver ratio, for example, in the early sixteenth century, around 1:12 in Europe, 1:10 in Persia, and 1:8 in India; later in the 1590s, the gold/silver ratio was 1:5.5 or 1:7 in Canton, while in Spain at that time the exchange ratio was 1:12.5 or 1:14 and bimetallic ratios were about 1:10 in Japan and 1:9 in Moghul India at that time. Since merchants simply purchased silver where it was cheap (e.g. near production centers in Japan and Spanish America) and transshipped it to where silver was dear (especially in China).

13 For examples, see Ma Ning 2016; Shao Min 2010.

14 Wang Li 2000; Liu Weiying 2003.

15 *Erke pai an jingqi* 18.201.

16 *Ming Xianzong shilu* 229.3927 (Chenghua 18 nian, 7 yue, *jiashen*).

True to the Chinese saying that "monks from afar give the best summons" (*wailai de heshang hui nian jing* 外來的和尚會唸經), since their first arrival in China, Jesuit missionaries were believed to be particularly powerful masters of alchemy. Already in 1589, one of Ricci's first and most important followers, convert Qu Rukui 瞿汝夔 (1549–1612), had been attracted to Ricci and his teachings because of his desire to make profit by turning mercury into silver, while Ricci was reputedly a wonder-working alchemist who knew how to do so.[17] When introduced to the court in Beijing nine years later by the Nanjing Minister of Rites Wang Honghui 王弘誨 (1542–1615), the eunuch who met Ricci was disappointed when Ricci declared that he had no alchemist knowledge and denied to help him get in contact with the emperor.[18] Alchemy must have been a frequently raised topic by Chinese counterparts, but Ricci held it in low regard. He may have detested it, not only because the creation of precious metals could be motivated by material greed but also because it corresponded to the other great aim of Daoist alchemy, pursuit of immortality, which stood in stark contrast to Christian ideas of eternal life and religious salvation.[19]

One reason Ricci was considered an alchemist despite his repeated rejections can be seen from a note by scholar Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1570–1626) upon reading about Ricci's death in the government newspaper in 1610:

> 所入甚薄，而常以金贈人。置居第僮僕甚都，人疑其有丹方若王陽也。然實實多祕術，惜未究。
>
> His income was little but still he often gave silver or gold (*jin* 金) to other people, bought a house and had many servants. People suspected him to possess alchemist recipes like Wang Yang[20] did. Matteo in fact was skilled in many occult arts, it is regrettable that I did not investigate this."[21]

17 Engelfriet 1998, 60. Li Madou 2014, 161.

18 Ricci 1953, 314. "The palace eunuch, and everyone else, was highly pleased with the presents. He had heard that the Fathers could turn quicksilver into genuine silver metal and this seemed to please him more than anything else. He said he knew that this also would be the King's first interest. There is no question of satisfying human cupidity for wealth, even for the fabulously wealthy King of China, and when his servants heard that the Fathers were possessed of no such magic power, he was done with their petition. He told them that for various reasons he could not speak to the King on behalf of foreigners."

19 Mungello 1989, 71.

20 Wang Yang 王陽 was a Confucian scholar from the Han Dynasty who could produce gold, see *Han shu* 72.3068.

21 *Kexuezhai you ju shi lu* 4.1200.

Chinese must have seen that Jesuits never lacked money although they lived honestly, were not involved any business, and did not receive visible alms or donations. Those with closer contact to Jesuits, however, got to know more about actual origins of financial means, as Xu Shijin 徐時進 (1549–1632) recorded after visiting and questioning Ricci about Europe as early as 1600:

> 去國既久，橐應垂，又恭謹無旁，人疑有黃白術取充，而瞰室中無爐鼎。余問之，雲其國人多游佛郎機，佛郎機時有往來粵東者，從彼卻寄。
> Having left their countries for this long, their wallets must be hanging down [empty]. Because they still live sincerely and honestly, people suspect that they are skilled in the art yellow [gold] and white [silver] to supply themselves but when I looked around in their houses, there were no furnaces and cauldrons. When I asked him further, he said, the people from his country often travel to Folangji,[22] from time to time there are people from Folangji who come to Yuedong,[23] through them it will be sent.[24]

The *Baike wenda* 拜客問答 (Questions and answers during a guest's visit),[25] a Chinese textbook for newly arrived Jesuit missionaries that must have been compiled during early years of Ricci's stay in Beijing after 1601,[26] lists common questions asked of Jesuits by Chinese visitors and followers and suggests appropriate answers. Consequently, the topic of alchemy appears:

> 問：聞老先生有個秘蜜[密]的妙法，人見家裡費用不知所從來，所以有這個說。
> 答：學生從來不信有這個法，恐怕普天下沒有人做得來。就是有這個法，學生與鄙友不重這樣的事。
> Question: "We have heard that you, old master, have [...] a secret magic method [...] we don't know where that comes from what you pay for the expenses of your house, therefore there is this kind of talk."
> Answer: "I, the student, have never believed that this method exists, I am afraid in the world there is no human who can achieve this. Even if this method should exist, I, the student, and my friends do not value these kinds of pursuit."[27]

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22 Folangji 佛郎機 usually refers to Portugal, at times also to Spain. See Jin Guoping 2014.

23 Yuedong 粵東, i.e. Guangdong.

24 Gong Yingyan 2015, 84.

25 *Baike wenda* 拜客問答, wrongly read as *Shike wenda* 釋客問答, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS chinois 7204. In other slightly different manuscript versions also in the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Toledo de la Compania de Jesús under the title *Instrumento de visitante de los Mandarines* (Caja 101, China (II), N. 33 (Lg. 1042.14) and in the Bibliotheca Vaticana (MS Borg.cin. 316 and 503). See Li Yuzhong 2015.

26 Hsia 2010, 212-213.

27 *Baike wenda*, 33.

Already in the earliest years of accommodation, the official policy of Jesuits was to demonstrate distance from all alchemist practices and refute speculations in this direction, which apparently continued to arise. Instead, the fathers were advised to provide rather precise information on the origin of their metals:

> 問：老先生到了這邊二十年，費用亦大，是那裡來的？
> 答：是鄙國來的。兩三年一次，同會之朋友寄來。[...]
> Question: "You, old master, have arrived here twenty years ago, your expenditures are also high, where do they come from?"
> Answer: "They come from my country. Once every two or three years friends from the same order as mine send it here. [...]"

> 問：貴友托甚麼人寄這個銀子？
> 答：小西洋的船年年到廣東，銀子托一個商人帶，我們差人去取。[...]
> Question: "Your friends entrust what kind of people with the sending of this silver?"
> Answer: "Ships from the Indian Ocean (*xiao xi yang* 小西洋) arrive every year in Guangdong. A merchant is entrusted with bringing the silver, we dispatch somebody to go and pick it up. [...]"

> 問：一次寄多少？
> 答：寄夠用。
> Question: "How much do they send at once?"
> Answer: "They send enough for our needs."[28]

Thus, Jesuits did not conceal the foreign origin of their metals but interestingly withheld information on the nationality of ships transporting silver and about the arrival port. This may have been because the Portuguese settlers in Macau were seen as both traders and pirates, so it could not be in the interest of Jesuits to reputably receive money based on piracy.[29] The *Baike wenda* also contains numerous questions on silver prices and the exchange of precious metals in the west, which imply that it was surely known that silver was cheaper in the west and that westerners brought substantial amounts of silver to Guangdong. When asked about this topic, the suggested answer was careful to deny speculations on alchemy but also to avoid revealing the geographical origin of silver in the New World:

> 問：這許多銀子，是那裡來的？
> 答：都是鑛裏出來，不是煉的。
> Question: "This much silver, where does it come from?"
> Answer: "It all comes out of mines, it is not created through melting [by alchemists]."[30]

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28 *Baike wenda*, 32-33.
29 Frost 2017, 28.
30 *Baike wenda*, 34.

At last, a question is asked, why western merchants would then buy mercury in Guangdong. This question implies that purchased mercury may be directly transformed into silver by alchemist methods. In fact, as Ricci notes, at that time Chinese suspected westerners had access to a special herb which allowed the creation of silver from mercury.[31] The suggested answer does not deny the relation between mercury and silver production, but again denies involvement of any secret methods for silver creation. Moreover, Jesuits in China by then were already aware of the importance of amalgamation techniques in silver production.[32]

> 問：來廣東商人買這許多水銀，做甚麼緣故？
> 答：鑛裏新取的金銀與土在一塊，不用水銀分別不來，所以要買水銀。
> Question: "The merchants who come to Guangdong buy this much mercury. Why and what do they do with it?"
> Answer: "The gold and silver newly extracted from inside the mines is together with earth in blocks, if one doesn't use mercury, one cannot separate it [from the earth]. That is why they buy mercury."[33]

After Nanjing Jesuits around Alfonso Vagnone (1568–1640, Chinese name Wang Fengsu 王豐肅, since 1620 Gao Yizhi 高一志) had been arrested in 1616, Diego de Pantoja (1571–1618, Chinese name Pang Diwo 龐迪我) and Sabatino de Ursis (1575–1620, Chinese name Xiong Sanba 熊三拔) upon initiative of their adversary Shen Que 沈潅 (?-1623)[34] were accused of multiple misbehaviors in Beijing, again including allegation of using alchemist methods to create gold and silver.[35] Pantoja responded to this issue with the following repudiation:

> 一解工為黃白，揮金如土。黃白之術，世無此理。西土博物窮理之事，蓋亦反覆窮究，信其必無。昔年初至，或誤聽來問。勸令勿信。久已釋然矣。恐有迷惑沉痼者，猶疑秘而不傳，亦致怨致謗之端也。試思，既能燒煉，又何待遠人賫送耶？志在黃白，而能自作，曷為冒險冒謗，受勞受苦耶？

31 Spence 1985, 186.

32 Mercury from China was purchased by Spanish and Japanese through Portuguese for amalgamation process, see Souza 1986, 71-73; Schottenhammer 2018.

33 *Baike wenda*, 34

34 For Shen Que's memorials see *Shengchao poxie ji* 1.57-67 (南宮署牘).

35 The explained issues were: "大西國", "天主", "天體七重", "祖宗祭祀", "貲財與人", "左道亂政, 佯修善事, 煽惑人民, 師巫小術", "戎夏之防", "工為黃白, 揮金如土", "香山澳夷商細作", "南京住房", "招倭番海鬼諸惡夷", "釋道二氏流傳既久, 猶僅存之天堂地獄之說有助於儒術", "江浙閩廣, 處處布列, 煽惑從教, 受人朝拜".

> One [allegation] is about us being skilled at crafts of creating gold and silver and therefore spending gold like mud. As to the art of creating gold and silver: there is no such thing in the world. In western lands those studying the things and investigating their principles have also repeatedly investigated and researched this and believe that for sure it does not exist. In former years when we had just arrived, people sometimes heard such wrong rumor and came to ask. We persuaded them not to believe it. For a long time since then, we were left alone about it. We are afraid there are still people being confused and indulged in this, suspecting that we have secrets we do not make public and this eventually causes complaints and defamations. Try to imagine: If we could just [create gold and silver by] burning and melting, why then would we still wait for people from far away to give and send them? If our aim would be gold and silver and we could produce them ourselves, why would we risk danger and defamation, why then bear troubles and hardships? [...][36]

Diego de Pantoja and Sabatino de Ursis were expelled from Beijing and together with *confratres* brought to Macau that same year, a result which after all had little or nothing to do with presumed alchemist activities.[37] These examples, however, illustrate how strongly during early decades of silver influx into China, the only westerners whom Chinese officials or intellectuals beyond southern port cities were ever likely in contact with, were associated with obscure methods of creating precious metals in an attempt to explain their stable financial supplies, but also other phenomena such as purchase of mercury by Portuguese in Guangdong in exchange for impressive loads of silver from Japan or elsewhere.

Mountains in the East

Ricci's World Map

Although suspicions about magical methods of silver production applied by westerners persisted, with dissemination of first western maps and alongside vague initial knowledge about landmasses previously unknown, it became apparent that the origin of western silver was primarily a geographical issue.

Western world maps, which entered China first via Ricci, displayed revolutionary discoveries and knowledge gained during the preceding century, such as the sea route from Europe to India, American continents, and crossing of the Pacific Ocean. However, it took time for maps to reach a level of detail exceed-

36 *Jujie*, 13b-14b.
37 Brockey 2007, 63.

ing mere display of Earth and its continents, including finally providing more precise information on resources.

In 1583 Ricci began to live and preach in Zhaoqing 肇慶 Prefecture, Guangdong Province, and a map he brought from Europe immediately drew the interest of Chinese surrounding him, especially local prefect Wang Pan 王泮 (*jinshi* 1574).[38] With Wang's advice and help, Ricci painted his own world map adapted to Chinese taste the next year. The map was named *Daying quantu* 大瀛全圖 (Complete map of the Great Oceans). According to Tang Kaijian's 湯開建 research, this map (lost today) should have mainly depicted the oceans, as the title suggests.[39] A copy was produced by Zhao Kehuai 趙可懷 (1541–1603) in 1597 and carved onto a stele in Suzhou, with its name changed to *Shanhai yudi tu* 山海輿地圖 (Map of the mountains, seas, and the earth). Although those two maps are both lost, we know from Zhao's preface[40] to the latter that they contained Chinese names of some mountains and waters.[41] On his first travel to Beijing in 1598, Ricci brought along a map as a gift to the Wanli 萬曆 emperor (reign 1573–1620), but eventually failed to meet him. After returning to Nanjing, he revised this map into the *Shanhai yudi quantu* 山海輿地全圖 with advice of Wu Zhongming 吳中明 (?–1608). In this map, first printed in 1598, Ricci corrected many mistakes on preceding versions and added new legends, notes and descriptions, but no mention of silver deposits or other mineral resources can be found on it.[42]

On January 24, 1601 Ricci reached Beijing for the second time and again brought along gifts for the Wanli Emperor, among them a "great book" (*juce* 鉅冊)[43] containing "details of mountains, rivers, natural barriers and frontiers, as well as local customs" (*shan chuan xingsheng tusu zhi xiang* 山川形勝土俗之詳).[44] This book was received and kept in the palace. It was later mentioned by Pantoja and de Ursis in their report under the somewhat confusing name *Wanguo*

38 Li Madou 2014, 108-109.

39 Tang Kaijian and Zhou Xiaolei 2015.

40 "'Shanhai yudi tu' shuo"《山海輿地圖》說, in: *Ertan leizeng* 33.8a-9a ("Wenzun pian" 文尊篇) [203-204].

41 Tang Kaijian and Zhou Xiaolei 2015, 302.

42 Tang Kaijian and Zhou Xiaolei 2015, 307-308.

43 This book was likely to be Ortelius's Atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. See Huang Shijian and Gong Yingyan 2004, 30, 69. The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* is included in Verhaeren's *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-T'ang* in two editions, Antverpiae 1570 (#2355) and Antverpiae 1595 (#2356).

44 *Zhifang waiji*, preface by Li Zhizao 李之藻, 1a-1b.

ditu 萬國地圖 (Map of ten thousand countries), which implies that it was one painting or map rather than a book.[45] In the same year, the later convert Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565–1630, baptized as Leo) noticed a world map with the title *Dadi quantu* 大地全圖 (Complete map of the Great Earth) hanging on the wall of Ricci's house when he visited Ricci together with others.[46] It was Li who eventually helped Ricci with the compilation of his most famous *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (Complete geographical map of ten thousand countries), which was printed and published in Beijing in autumn 1602.[47]

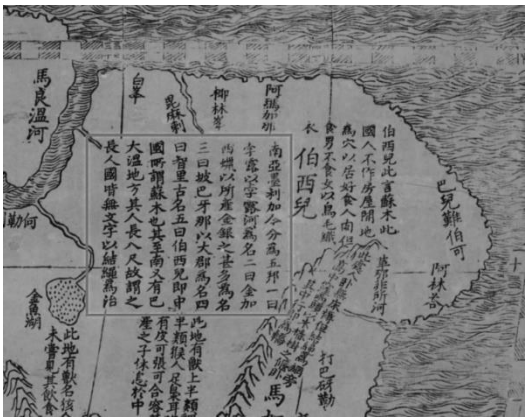

Figure 1: Close up of South America in *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, 1602[48]

Since he made the first map in Zhaoqing, Ricci's maps underwent a long development process. He made sure that "the characters, map scales, time, and place names were all consistent with Chinese customs."[49] As maps improved, more and more detailed annotations, descriptions and legends were added to correspond best with the interests of Chinese readers. With this increase in detail, it can be observed that on the 1602 *Kunyu wanguo quantu* map, mineral deposits, particularly silver mines, are highlighted for the first time. This is most prominently the case in its description of South America (See Figure 1):

45 *Jujie*, 3a.

46 *Zhifang waiji*, preface by Li Zhizao, 1a-1b.

47 See Huang Shijian and Gong Yingyan 2004, 30-33. Ricci's preface was dated on the first day (*jidan* 吉旦) of the seventh month (*mengqiu* 孟秋) of the *renyin* 壬寅 year in the Wanli reign-period, which was August 17, 1602.

48 United States Library of Congress's Geography & Map Division under the digital ID g3200.ex000006Za.

49 Li Madou 1986, 60.

南亞墨利加，今分為五邦，一曰孛露，以孛露河為名；二曰金加西蠟，以所產金銀之甚多為名 [...]
Nan yamolijia [South America] is today divided into five countries: The first one is Bolu [Peru], which is named after the Bolu river. The second is Jin jiaxila [Golden Castile], which got its name from the great amount of gold and silver it produces. [...][50]

On the continent of South America, there is another spot, which is most explicitly associated with silver deposits, namely Potosí, at that time home to the world's largest and most productive silver mine (see Figure 2). The legend reads briefly:

北度西山，此山多銀礦。
Beiduxi [Potosí] mountain. This mountain has much silver ore.[51]

Figure 2: Close-up of Potosí, *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, 1602.

There is one more description mentioning gold and silver production. It is located in eastern Africa around the equator and states among others that this place does not produce iron but gold, silver and ivory.[52]

Though these patches of information are not detailed and did not stand out visibly among the multitude of other legends and descriptions, to a knowledgeable Chinese reader of this time, the map could have provided a distinct indication on sources of western silver. Moreover, the fact that Ricci and Li decided to include gold and silver mines on the map shows that they saw an interest among Chinese readers for information on this topic.[53]

50 *Kunyu wanguo quantu*.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 For more information on Latin America in Chinese geographical works as well as on early sino-peruvian relations in general, see Schottenhammer 2020a.

The Expedition to Luzon

An important avenue for New World silver imports into China led through the Philippine island of Luzon. In 1521 Ferdinand Magellan had first crossed the Pacific Ocean westward and claimed the Philippines for Spain. After 1565, when Alonso de Arellano and Andrés de Urdaneta had succeeded to return eastward, the route of the so-called Manila galleons had been established, maintaining direct trade between Luzon and the port of Acapulco in Mexico (with few interruptions) for two hundred and fifty years to come. On this route, silver from various places in the Americas, most importantly from Mexico and Potosí annually arrived at the port of Cavite near Manila, to be transported further to China and other East Asian countries.[54]

Although Chinese settlers in the Philippines were involved in practically all steps of the galleon trade as shipbuilders, harbor personnel and even sailors on ships to Acapulco,[55] it appears that none of their presumed knowledge about the origin of silver they transported spread into spheres of the Ming court and its officials. For many decades, no Chinese sources appear to mention more than that Spanish (Ganxila 干係臘/幹係蠟, Gansila 幹絲臘, Shibanya 是班呀/是班牙 or generally Folangji 佛郎機),[56] or Portuguese (generally Folangji)[57] traders brought silver, and that enormous amounts of it could be found in Luzon (Lüsong 呂宋).

The latter information gained significance when in autumn 1602, almost at the same time of the initial publication of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, a memorial reached the Wanli Emperor suggesting – rather unusual for this phase of Chinese maritime policy – a naval expedition to Luzon that aimed to obtain great amounts of gold and silver.[58]

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54 Fish 2011, 128. While Luzon was the western terminus of practically all Manila galleons, and thus the only Asian harbor maintaining direct and regular connections across the Pacific, not all silver which reached Luzon and only a minor share of all American silver which reached China travelled through this route. For more details concerning these quantities, see e.g. Flynn and Giráldez 1995, 440. So also Flynn and Giráldez 2001.

55 Fish 2011, 139-140.

56 E.g. *Haiguo wenjian lu*, 41-42, 67.

57 E.g, *Dong xi yang kao*, 94.

58 The earliest mention of this memorial was on September 12, 1602, when Censor-in-chief Wen Chun 溫純 strongly disagreed against it in his memorial, see *Ming Shenzong shilu* 374.9b-11a. Wade (tr.): http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/wan-li/year-30-month-7-day-27 (accessed 12/04/2019).

The Philippines had deposits of gold on the islands of Camarines and Mindanao and also Luzon itself operated gold mines in a more remote region, which was then largely under control of an indigenous people, the Igorot. Philippine gold was a prominent item in trade with China and more than that with Japan already for decades and knowledge about its existence in China therefore not much of a surprise.[59] Silver, to the contrary, which for the Chinese surely played a greater role, is not known to be found and produced on the islands. The great amounts of silver traded through Luzon would usually originate from mines in Spanish Latin America (either directly onboard Manila Galleons or indirectly via Europe[60]) or in Japan.[61]

Due to demands of famine relief in northern China, but also to satisfy the emperor's own luxury desires, the imperial treasury was in urgent need of additional revenue. Trusted eunuchs were dispatched all over the country to function as overseers of mining (*kuangjian* 礦監) or tax commissioners (*shuishi* 稅使) in order to thus contribute to consolidation of state finances.[62] Gao Cai 高寀 (ca. 1599), who soon gained a reputation of extreme greed and ruthlessness in acquisition of profits, was sent to Fujian Province. He resolutely supported an initiative for a naval expedition proposed by military official Yan Yinglong 閻應龍 and local Fujian merchant or craftsman Zhang Yi 張嶷.[63] In a memorial to the Throne they claimed that just off the coast of Haicheng 海澄 district "on the island of Luzon there is a certain Jiyi Mountain (Jiyi shan 機易山) on which golden beans grow all by themselves. If one would send people to pick them up, immensurable profit could be reaped without limits."[64] He proposed preparation of ships, workers and capital ready to take off in two months and bring back a profit of as much as 100,000 *liang* (1 *liang*=ca. 37.3 g) of gold and 300,000 *liang* of silver per year.[65] Against advice of his conservative officials,[66]

59 For further information about trade in Philippine gold, see e.g. Iaccarino 2020.

60 Cao and Flynn 2019, 4. See also Cross 1983, 420.

61 Iaccarino 2020.

62 Tang Lizong 2009, chap. 2.

63 Yan Yinglong was a Company Commander (*baihu* 百戶) of the Left Guard of the Palace Guard Cavalry (*Yulin zuowei* 羽林左衛) and Zhang Yi was a local merchant from Fuzhou. See Zhao Shiqing 趙世卿, "Jiuqing Jiyishan kaicai shu" 九卿機易山開採疏, *Ming jingshi wenbian* 411.4458b-4459b. A Spanish source says that Zhang Yi was a carpenter, see Blair and Robertson 1906, 106. For more detailed information concerning the role of Fujianese merchants in maritime long-distance trade during this time, see e.g. Ptak and Hu 2013.

64 *Dong xi yang kao*, 91.

65 *Mingshi* 28. 8371.

who continued to advocate a strict sea ban, the emperor accepted gladly.[67] The Jiyi Mountain suggested for exploitation, however, was merely a misspelling of *Jiayi cheng* 加溢城, the Chinese name for the Spanish harbor and fortress of Cavite, where Manila galleons used to arrive.[68]

Immediately after the emperor's decision to send ships to Luzon to inquire about Jiyi Mountain, several officials sent memorials expressing harsh opposition to this plan. Censor-in-chief Wen Chun 溫純 (1539–1607) called the report about Jiyi Mountain "a lie, just really like a comedy" and daringly continued that he "did not expect that even someone as wise as the emperor would mistakenly listen to this." He did not believe their promises and accused them of suggesting this only to evade the sea ban and to cooperate with barbarians for their own profit against the public interest.[69] Minister of Revenue Zhao Shiqing 趙世卿 (1538–1615) went even further, warning that the real reason for this suggestion was fivefold: to gather an army of bandits, to monopolize profits from sea trade, to loosen the sea ban policy, to collaborate with invading Japanese Pirates and to harbor foreign fugitives.[70] Gao Kezheng 高克正 (*jinshi* 1592), examining editor of the Hanlin academy (Hanlin yuan jiantao 翰林院檢討) and himself a native of Haicheng, protested as well and argued that even people in his hometown would not know where Jiyi Mountain was.[71]

It is remarkable that none of these many elaborate writings of presumably educated and well-informed scholars tried to explain where the gold and especially the silver of Luzon really came from, and none even mentioned the presence of Spanish on the island. Their arguments relied exclusively either on general rationality or common ideas of conservative statecraft.

The further development of events is recorded in the *Dong xi yang kao* 東西洋考 (A study of the Eastern and Western Oceans, 1617), a seventeenth-century Chinese geographical work. Due to discussions at court, the delegation,

66 *Mingshi* 28.8371. See also *Ming Shenzong shilu* 374.9b-11a. Wade (tr.): http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/wan-li/year-30-month-7-day-27 (accessed 12/04/2019).

67 *Mingshi* 28.8371.

68 *Dong xi yang kao*, 94: "Jiayi Fortress 加溢城: Originally denoting a mountain, the barbarians (*yi* 夷) took it as their base. Fearing the roaming-around of the Dutch (*hongmao* 紅毛, lit. "red-hair"), they began to build a fortress and to place cannons inside of it. When the bandits arrived, they used those cannons to shoot at them, so that they dispersed and did not dare to look [back]. What Zhang Yi called 'Jiyi Mountain' seems to be a misspelling of 'Jiayi'."

69 *Ming Shenzong shilu* 374.9b-11a. Wade (tr.): http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/wan-li/year-30-month-7-day-27 (accessed 12/04/2019).

70 "Jiuqing Jiyishan kaicai shu", *Ming jingshi wenbian* 411.4458b-4459b.

71 Gao Kezheng 高克正: "Zhe Lüsong cai jin yi" 折呂宋採金議, in: *Dong xi yang kao*, 222-223.

including vice magistrate of Haicheng Wang Shihe 王時和, Company Commander Gan Yichang 幹一成 as well as Zhang Yi, departed with some delay in the fourth month (i.e. May or June) 1603. The Spanish worries about arrival of the fleet were eased by explanations from Chinese living in Luzon assuring them that no invasion was planned, and envoys were received with great honors. The scene when the topic of the Jiyi Mountain and its precious metals arise is depicted as follows:

> 酋[...]問丞曰："汝華言開山，山各有主，安得開也？且金豆是何樹生來？"丞無以對，數目顣。顣云："此地皆金，不必問豆所自。"[...]夷人皆大笑。
> The foreign chief [...] asked the vice-magistrate [Wang Shihe]: "You Chinese say you want to exploit a mountain. Every mountain has its owner. How can you exploit ours? Besides: what kind of tree is it that grows out these golden beans?" The vice-magistrate had nothing to respond and instead shot several glances at Zhang Yi. Zhang Yi replied: "This place is full of gold, there is no need to ask where the beans come from." [...] The foreigners all laughed.[72]

The *Dong xi yang kao* assumes that Zhang Yi had originally planned to invade and occupy Luzon, whereas he was taken captive and threatened with death by the Spaniards. Upon intervention of other Chinese, he was eventually released and the expedition returned on their ships to China, where Wang Shihe could not recover from his experience and soon died, while Zhang Yi was executed due to his false report and harmful suggestions.[73] The Spanish grew increasingly suspicious about Chinese intentions towards Luzon, which eventually resulted in a brutal massacre of almost the entire Chinese population in Luzon, circa 20.000 people altogether.[74] The event caused much hostility against the Spanish in Beijing, leading Ricci to fear association with them, and thus subject to revenge, as he wrote to his friend Maselli in Rome two years later.[75]

Spanish documents add details and, in some points, lend a distinct perspective to events. There is for instance a preserved Spanish translation of a letter originally written in Chinese, which was said to have arrived four days ahead of the delegation in the hands of the Spanish governor. In this letter, Chinese military official Gan Yicheng (here rendered as *Chanchian*) describes prior discus-

72 *Dong xi yang kao*, 92.

73 There are three records in the *Ming shilu* concerning the later punishment of Zhang Yi and Yan Yinglong. Shen-zong: 390.4b [vol. 113, 7338]. Wade (tr.): http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/wan-li/year-31-month-11-day-12. Shen-zong: 403.2b [vol. 114, 7536]. Wade (tr.), ~/wan-li/year-32-month-11-day-11. Shen-zong: 404.3a-b [vol. 114, 7547/48]. Wade (tr.), ~/wan-li/year-32-month-12-day-13 (all accessed 12/04/2019).

74 *Dong xi yang kao*, 92. For detailed information on the massacre, see Borao 1998.

75 Spence 1985, 216.

sions in China and most importantly indicates that he himself believed that Zhang Yi (here called *Tio Heng*) lied about the gold mountain and promised that the Chinese intended to leave the island after a short stay only.[76] There are, however, certain details indicating that knowledge of the Chinese could have been somewhat closer to the truth than can be assumed from their own sources. In this letter, Cavite is called "one lonely mountain in the midst of the widespread sea"[77] and it is stated that the people living close to this mountain "store [the precious metals] up to trade with the Sangleys (i.e. Chinese living on the Philippines) who come there to trade so that they may buy their property."[78] According to these passages, a stretch of sea needed to be crossed to reach the mountain, which was obviously done by Chinese in the Philippines who sold Chinese products to obtain precious metals. As is known, Chinese from the Philippines did occasionally sail on Spanish galleons to Acapulco and may thus have been a source of Zhang Yi's surely still incomplete information.[79]

Moreover, golden beans appear in said letter as well, but not growing on trees by themselves. Instead it is said:

> In that place (i.e. the mountain), is collected much gold and silver. The vassals of that mountain spend gold as freely as if it were chick-peas or lentils. He (i.e. Zhang Yi) has seen that the vassals of that mountain of Cavite dig and gather it from the earth.[80]

According to this understanding, the precious metals seem to be mined regularly and the mention of bean or the like only serves as a metaphor for its cheapness and abundance rather than introducing a legendary way to procreate them.[81]

In a petition concerning treatment of the Chinese delegation, written by fiscal of the Royal Audiencia Geronimo de Salazar y Salcedo, it is mentioned that Chinese emissaries brought their *alguazils* (i.e. court clerks) to enact justice upon Chinese in Luzon. As Salazar observes, this took place in that Chinese "flogged a Sangley in his own house; and another one they put to the hand torture."[82] It does not seem reasonable that they would have carried out trials, or

76 Blair and Robertson 1906, 87-94.
77 Blair and Robertson 1906, 88.
78 Blair and Robertson 1906, 88.
79 Fish 2011, 133.
80 Blair and Robertson 1906, 88
81 Another reason for the recurring appearance of the term "bean" may be that in Luzon the weight of a small rosary bean (Abrus precatorius) was used as a standard for weighing precious metals. The term saga, Tagalog for "bean", as a small unit of measurement spread as far as Malaysia. See Manansala 2016, 267; Potet 2016, 144.
82 Blair and Robertson 1906, 96

even criminal investigations during their brief stay in a place not under their authority. What seems more reasonable is that they employed harsh physical methods to force some Chinese residents they assumed to possess detailed information on whereabouts of precious metals to reveal knowledge.

Miguel Benavides, Archbishop of Manila, relates the story in a letter to the Spanish King, describing how the delegation arrived at the presumed gold mountain as well, and provides possible details of the conversation:

> They went there [to the mountain] and took with them the said chair-maker and carpenter Tienguen [another rendering of Zhang Yi], whom they brought from China for this purpose. The mandarins commanded Tienguen, when they arrived at Cavite, to show them where the gold was and have done with it. The man answered with good courage in a word and said to them, "If you choose that this be gold, gold it will be; but if you do not, it will not be gold. I tell you that you should cut off the heads of the Indians (i.e. the indigenous Filipinos) and you will find their necks all covered with chains and necklaces of gold."[83]

If Zhang Yi did say the words quoted, this may suggest a military conquest of the island.[84] Likely, he also refers to the custom of parts of the Luzon population "to wear cotton and silk garments, and gold pieces and brooches to fasten them; and rich necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, finger-rings, ankle-rings, on the neck, ears, hands, and feet - the men, as well as the women" and "even used to, and do yet, insert gold between their teeth as an ornament."[85]

Considering sources from both sides, it appears that Zhang Yi likely had somewhat more accurate knowledge about the situation than he showed in his communication with related Chinese officials and the court. He may have been clear that at least to reach the source of one of the precious metals,[86] was not exactly at the island of Luzon, but needed to be reached by another ship journey. Nonetheless, he mixed up the name of the mountain with the arrival port of Manila galleons which led Spaniards to believe that he was looking for a

83 Blair and Robertson 1906, 106.

84 This would be supported by Borao 1998, 12, who argues that Argensola has a similar understanding.

85 From a letter sent by the Jesuit Pedro Chirino to the general of his society Claudio Aquaviva, see Blair and Robertson 1906, 186.

86 The fact that many, especially the Spanish sources only mention gold and no silver in this context has to be understood from two sides: Firstly, the character *jin* 金 can stand for gold or for (precious) metals including silver in general, only as *huangjin* 黃金 it explicitly refers to gold alone. The Spaniards may thus have expected that the Chinese speaking about *jin* were only looking for gold; secondly, since the Chinese were searching for a mountain and there was no mountain producing silver on the island, they could only be looking for gold.

mountain of this name. Zhang Yi's information about this may have come from Chinese living in Luzon and having returned to Fujian, who had witnessed the Manila galleons' arrival and departure and heard about existence of legendary mines of silver (and gold as well) across the ocean. His plan to exact more precise information from resident compatriots in Luzon, however, failed partly because of unwillingness of Spanish authorities to allow him to do so.[87]

The massacre against the Chinese population of Luzon indeed, as Ricci had feared, caused much anger in China.[88] However, since the emperor was at that time not capable of any efficient military reaction, and after all Chinese as well as Spaniards were interested in continuation of trade, normality returned rather quickly. Chinese traders and other immigrants soon began to settle in Luzon again.[89] In a letter to the governor of Fujian Xu Xueju 徐學聚 (*jinshi* 1583), Left Vice Minister of Rites Li Tingji 李廷機 (1542–1616), a native from Quanzhou prefecture 泉州, concluded about the case and Chinese who fell victim:

> 所通乃呂宋諸番，每以賤惡什物貿其銀錢，滿載而歸，往往致富，而又有以彼為樂土而久留者。頃困某易山一勘，彼謂中國何知有此山，乃此等所為，遂憤而殲之。甘心就夷之民，無足憐惜，而自此彼必不容留吾人，即吾人無敢留，亦未敢往，實為中國閉絕此路也。或欲隨船給批，責令船頭伙伴相保結，如十人往而九人歸，連坐之。
>
> They always took some cheap and bad stuff, traded it against their silver coins and returned with fruitful results, always became rich. Some of them regarded [Luzon] as the land of happiness and stayed forever. Soon they got stuck in that incident about the inspection of some [Ji]yi mountain. The foreigners said "how come China knows about this mountain? It must be from these people. They got angry and killed them. Those willing to get close with barbarians are not worth our sympathy. Since [the massacre], the foreigners will definitely not allow our people to stay, and our people dare neither to stay nor to go there, this means indeed a shutdown of this trade route for China. What if we give every ship a license, order the captain and his companions to guarantee for each other? If ten go but only nine return, they will all be punished.[90]

87 For more details on the relations between the Spanish Philippines and China see e.g. Ollé (1999).

88 Articulated for example in the memorial by Dong Yu 董裕 in 1605, in: *Ming Shenzong shilu* 404.3a-b [vol. 114, 7547-7548]. Wade (tr.), http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/wanli/year-32-month-12-day-13 (accessed 12/04/2019).

89 Borao 1998, 10-12.

90 *Li wenjie ji*, chap.14 (報徐石樓). This letter must have been written shortly after the Luzon massacre, presumable 1603–1604, when Li was the Left Vice Minister of Rites, see *Ming Shenzong shilu* 386.7254 (Wanli 萬曆 31 nian, 7 yue, *xinyou*).

Silver Coins and Overseas Silver in Chinese Sources

Although no new attempt to look for the origins of the precious metals coming from Luzon was undertaken, interest in the question persisted as can be seen from the fact that nearly every description of Luzon, that can be found until long after the massacre mentions it in one or another way. Around the time of the massacre, Governor Xu could only answer that "people of Zhangzhou 漳州 only knew that there was silver [in Luzon] and that silver could be procured from there."[91] In his statement evaluating events around the massacre cited above, Li Tingji apparently does not consider the information about the legendary Jiyi Mountain itself wrong, but only the unlucky fact that Chinese in Luzon were blamed by Spaniards for selling this information to China. Only the *Dong xi yang kao* written fourteen years after the incident by Zhang Xie 張燮 (1574–1640) comes to a different conclusion, stating that Zhang Yi based his idea of golden beans from Jiyi Mountain on no more than hearsay that two hundred years earlier during the Yongle 永樂 reign period (1403–1424), Luzon once delivered a tribute of gold.[92] Zhang continues with a detailed description of silver coins used in Luzon, which precisely matches archaeological findings from Nan'an 南安 district in Quanzhou prefecture[93] (see Table 1), and he eventually states that these silver coins were "all brought from Folangji".[94]

Table 1: Silver coins in Luzon as described in *Dong xi yang kao*, in comparison to the Spanish coins[95]

Chinese transcriptions	Weight *qian*	Convert to *grams*	Nan'an coins	Spanish coins	Spanish names
Huangbizhi 黃幣峙	7.2[96]	(26.856g)	25.8-27.4g	1 Peso	un peso
Tuchun 突唇	3.6	(13.428g)	13.6g	1/2 Peso	mitad
Luoliaoli 羅料釐	1.8	(6.714g)	7g	1/4 Peso	dos reales
Huangliaoli 黃料釐	0.9	(3.357g)	3.2-3.3g	1/8 Peso	un real

91 Xu Xueju 徐學聚, "Chubao hongmao fan shu: Hongfan tongshi" 初報紅毛番疏, 紅番通市, *Ming jingshi wenbian* 433.4726b.

92 *Dong xi yang kao*, 94.

93 See Zhuang Weiji 1975, 353. Author of this article calculated the gram with 1 *jin* = 500g, this is not the case in the Ming Dynasty, when 1 *jin* in fact equals to 596.8g. See Qiu Guangming 1998, 447.

94 *Dong xi yang kao*, 94.

95 Qiu Guangming 1998, 447. Remark: weight quantity in the Ming Dynasty: 1 *jin* =16 *liang* = 596.8g; 1 *liang* = 10 *qian* = 37.3g; 1 *qian* = 3.73g.

96 七錢五分 should be a writing mistake of 七錢二分.

Although he still does not distinguish between Spain as the home country of the Folangji and South America as origin of silver, he is well aware that silver was produced neither at Jiyi Mountain nor in Luzon.

After publication of *Dong xi yang kao*, however, the rumor about the Jiyi Mountain and Luzon as producer of precious metals was not off the table yet. In 1629 and 1630, He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠 (1558–1632), author of the *Min shu* 閩書 (Book of Fujian) and a local scholar generally knowledgeable of affairs of the province and its coast, provided a vivid description in two memorials:

> 東洋則呂宋，其夷佛郎機也。其國有銀山出銀，夷人鑄作銀錢獨盛。
> In the Eastern Ocean there is Luzon, its barbarians are the Folangji. This country has silver mountains and produces silver, which the barbarians cast into a unique abundance of silver coins.[97]

And later with more precision:

> 其地有機翼山，金銀自出，充溢流露，不似中國須燒鑿煉冶，故彼亦不甚惜，今民間所用番錢是也。
> In this place [Luzon] there is a Jiyi Mountain. Gold and silver come out of it by themselves, appearing in overflowing abundance, not like in China were they first have to be roasted, chiseled, smelted and refined! Therefore, people also do not cherish them very much. The barbarian coins which are nowadays used among the people [in China] are just made of this [material]."[98]

As wrong as He Qiaoyuan is with this estimation, as well informed he is on the relation between Spaniards and their outpost in Luzon:

> 佛郎機之地，本在西洋，呂宋不過海島一浮漚耳，其民皆耕種為業，佛郎機奪其地，開市於此。
> The place of the Folangji is originally in the Western Ocean, Luzon is no more than a sea island like a floating bubble, and its people all live on farming. The Folangji have conquered this land and opened a market here.[99]

Despite detailed knowledge and widespread use of Spanish silver coins at least in parts of China and despite obvious interest Chinese sources show in the origin of their material, nothing indicates that their origin could be traced farther than Luzon during the late Ming period. This is all the more surprising since a remarkable book had already been printed in Hangzhou in 1623 which provided much information on mineral riches of Latin America and their ex-

97 "Qing kai haishi shu" 請開海事疏, written in 1629 (*Jingshan quanji*, 674).
98 "Kai yanghai yi" 開洋海議, written in Nanjing in 1630 (*Jingshan quanji*, 687-689).
99 Ibid.

ploitation, the *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 (Record of [lands] beyond the purview of the Bureau of the Operations).

The Eunuch Gao Cai, who had already been involved in the Jiyi Mountain incident of 1603, obtained two pieces of a folding screen from a ship arriving in Fujian in 1612 that showed parts of a western world map. Knowing of the Wanli Emperor's interest in world maps, he sent them "at top speed"[100] to Beijing. The Emperor sent for Diego de Pantoja and Sabatino de Ursis to check the two pieces to see if they showed the same kind of world map that recently deceased Matteo Ricci had presented to him before.

Jesuits replied that they belonged to a western world map originally consisting of four pieces, with the two pieces depicting the map of China (*Zhongguo tu* 中國圖) and the one of countries to the southwest (*xinan fangguo tu* 西南方國圖) missing.[101] They offered to create a new complete map including information about all countries of the world in Chinese language. For this purpose, however, they asked the Emperor to return the book called *Wanguo tuzhi* 萬國圖誌 (Illustrated record of ten thousand countries, i.e. Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*) presented by Ricci in 1601, which was in Latin and thus not readable to the emperor. At that time, this seemed to be the only work on western geography available which allowed an increase in detail towards the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* of 1603. Three days later, the emperor sent a eunuch with the two screen pieces to the Jesuits so that Pantoja and de Ursis could afterwards fabricate a new world map mounted on four picture scrolls, which they called *Wanguo dihai quantu* 萬國地海全圖 (Complete map of lands and oceans of ten thousand countries). This map must have been made without the help of the *Wanguo tuzhi* because after presenting it, the Jesuits asked for the book once more, apparently with the aim of producing a larger, more detailed eight-folded world map screen.[102] It is unclear if the book was given to them after all, since Li Zhizao, who had already worked with Ricci on his *Kunyu wanguo quantu,* recorded that the project was still unfinished in 1614. Pantoja and de Ursis, however, had to leave Beijing and died soon thereafter. The screen pieces were kept in the Investigation Bureau (Chayuan 察院) in the Inner City and some parts had already been copied and spread among the gentry of the capital, as Li denoted.[103] It was, however, not until Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582–1649, Chinese

100 *Zhifang waiji*, preface by Li Zhizao, 2b.

101 *Zhifang waiji*, zoushu 奏疏, 2b. About Japanese world map screens of this time period, see Loh 2013.

102 *Zhifang waiji*, preface by Li Zhizao, 3b.

103 *Zhifang waiji*, preface by Li Zhizao, 4a.

name Ai Rulüe 艾儒略) together with another convert named Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (1562–1627, baptized as Michael), based on preserved notes from Pantoja and de Ursis as well as on western books available to them, finally published the complete work in 1623.

The *Zhifang waiji* was printed and bound as a book and included a world map as well as separate maps of Asia, Europe, Africa, America and the pole regions. Every continental map was followed by a detailed description of countries belonging to it. Concerning cartographical detail, translated place names, and general geographical information available in China, the *Zhifang waiji* marked a considerable step forward. It also includes the earliest actual description of silver and gold production in Latin America as well as of shipping routes from Spain to America, and more importantly, across the Pacific Ocean from America to Asia. In the chapter on Spain (Yixibaniya 以西把尼亞), when describing an altar and a palace hall adorned with silver and gold in the city of Toledo, it is written that "the gold is what the people of this country brought from America (Yamolijia 亞墨利加) after they opened [the route] across the sea"[104] About Peru (Bolu 孛露) it is stated that:

> 地出金鑛，取時金土互涸，別之，金多于土，故金銀最多，國王宮殿皆以黃金為板飾之。[...]因其地金銀最多，任意可取，故亦無竊盜貪吝，亦不自知其富，或反作細微無益之務以當業。
>
> [...] the earth produces precious metal ore (*jinkuang* 金鑛). When excavated, metal and earth are mixed with each other. After one separates them, metal is more than earth. Therefore, gold and silver are extremely abundant. In the king's palace, everywhere gold is made into boards for decoration. [...] Because this place has that much gold and silver, it can be excavated at will, so there is no robbery, theft, greed or meanness. People are also not aware of their wealth, on the contrary they do small and meaningless jobs for a living.[105]

For the country of Brazil (Boxi'er 伯西爾), existence of alluvial silver deposits in the Rio de la Plata (Yinhe 銀河, literally "silver river") is mentioned,[106] the longest description is devoted to the region of "Golden Castile" (Jin jiaxila 金加西蠟), actually the area of present-day Columbia, where precious metals had previously been mentioned in the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*:

> 其地出金銀，天下稱首。其鑛有四坑，深者皆二百丈。土人以牛皮造軟梯下之，役者常三萬人。其所得金銀，國王什取其一，七日約得課銀三萬兩。其山麓有

104 *Zhifang waiji*, 2.12a.
105 *Zhifang waiji*, 4.4a.
106 *Zhifang waiji*, 4.6b.

> 城，名曰銀城，百物俱貴，獨銀至賤。貿易用銀錢五等，大者八錢，小至五分。金錢四等，大者十兩，小者一兩。歐邏巴自通道以來，歲歲交易，所獲金銀甚多，故西土之金銀漸賤而米穀用物漸貴，識者以為後來當受多金之累。然獲利既厚，雖知不能絕也。
>
> This place produces gold and silver, ranking the first all over the world. Its mine has four adits (*keng* 坑), the shafts are all two hundred zhang [ca. 640 m] [deep]. Local people use cowhide to make soft ladders to go down, normally there are thirty thousand corvee laborers (*yizhe* 役者) in service. From the obtained gold and silver, the king takes one-tenth, in seven days he gets about thirty thousand *liang* [ca. 1119 kg] of taxation silver. At the foot of the mountain there is a city called Silver City (Yincheng 銀城). All commodities are expensive [there], only silver is extremely cheap. For trade, five levels of silver coins are used, the big ones weighing eight *qian* [ca. 29.84 g], the small ones until five *fen* [ca. 1.865 g]; also four levels of gold coins are used, the big ones weighing ten *liang* [ca. 373g] and small ones one *liang* [ca. 37.3 g]. Since the [shipping] route is open, Europeans trade with them every year and obtain a lot of gold and silver. Therefore, in the western countries gold and silver become gradually cheaper while rice, grain and items of daily use become more expensive. Those who know this think in the future they will be burdened by having too much gold. However, the profit is large and although people know [the problem] they still cannot stop it.[107]

The silver mine "ranking first all over the world" is without doubt Potosí, which at that time belonged to the province of Peru and has mistakenly been placed by Aleni in the territory of Golden Castile. This also becomes obvious from the description of cowhide ladders, a moderately spectacular detail appearing in José de Acosta's Spanish *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* from 1590, the first extensive description of silver mining in Potosí available in Europe, which was translated and reprinted many times over following decades and may have been available to Aleni during writing of the *Zhifang waiji*.[108] It is not obvious, however, why Aleni makes this mistake, as he correctly locates Potosí on his continental map of South America, just as it had already been correctly placed by Ricci on the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*. Moreover, it is somewhat surprising that he does not mention the name Potosí in the description, as Potosí is among the fewer place names not copied identically from the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* to the *Zhifang waiji*, and was actively changed by Aleni from Beiduxi 北度西 to Boduoxi 波多西.

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107 *Zhifang waiji*, 4.8b.

108 The relevant part of d'Acosta's work is included in a Latin translation in Vol. 9 of Theodore de Bry's *Peregrinationes*, which is a part of the Beitang collection in Beijing (#1133) and should have arrived in China with the collection of Trigault in 1619, see Verhaeren 1949, 322.

A greater novelty than information Aleni provided about silver mining in South America was that he created the earliest Chinese language source to explicitly mention Spanish ships crossing the Pacific from America to Luzon and farther. Thus, a careful reading of the *Zhifang waiji* would have at least facilitated the conclusion that Spanish ships were likely to bring great amounts of silver from Latin American mines directly to Luzon. After describing shipping around the Cape of Good Hope from Europe to China, Aleni describes the two possible routes for European ships to reach China from an eastern direction:

> 若從東而來，自以西把尼亞，地中海過巴爾德峽，往亞墨利加之界，有二道，或從墨瓦蠟尼加峽出太平海，或從新以西把尼亞界，泊舟，從陸路出孛露海，過馬路古、呂宋等島，至大明海，以達廣州。
>
> If they are coming from the East, from Spain on the Mediterranean sea (Dizhonghai 地中海) they cross the Straits of Gibraltar (Ba'erde xia 巴爾德峽) towards the territory of America. There are two routes: either through the Strait of Magellan (Mowalanijia xia 墨瓦蠟尼加峽) into the Pacific Ocean (Taiping yang 太平洋), or through the territory of New Spain (Xin Yixibaniya 新以西把尼亞),[109] anchoring the ships, through the land route to the Sea of Peru (Bolu hai 孛露海). Then they pass the Moluccas (Malugu 馬路古), Luzon and other islands until they reach the Great Ming Sea (Da Ming hai 大明海) and arrive in Guangzhou."[110]

The description continues with the vastness of the Pacific Ocean, the scarcity of its islands and the technique of sailing with sea charts, gaining orientation from the compass.

The *Zhifang waiji* as a whole remained an influential source on world geography for a long time to come and was reproduced in various ways. Much of the text was reused by Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688, Chinese name Nan Huairen 南懷仁) in 1674 for his *Kunyu tushuo* (Explanation of the world map), and was reprinted in a number of collections, including Li Zhizao's collection of celestial studies,[111] the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete library in four sections) and several nineteenth and early twentieth century collectanea.[112] The chapter *Siyi kao* 四裔考 (A study on the four frontiers) of the *Qingchao wenxian tongkao* 清朝文獻通考 (Comprehensive investigations based on literary

109 Introduction to New Spain (*Xin Yixibaniya*): *Zhifang waiji* 4, 9b-10a.

110 *Zhifang waiji*, 6.11b.

111 *Tianxue chuhan*, ed. by Li Zhizao, 1628.

112 Beside *Siku quanshu*, *Zhifang waiji* is also included in several collectanea such as *Mohai jinhu* 墨海金壺 (comp. by Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬 in 1817), *Shoushange congshu* 守山閣叢書 (comp. by Qian Xizuo 錢熙祚, ?–1844)), *Huangchao fanshu yudi congshu* 皇朝藩屬輿地叢書 (comp. by Pu Family 浦氏 in 1903), and *Congshu jicheng* 叢書集成 (compiled and published by the Commercial Press 商務印書館 in Shanghai between 1935 and 1937). See *Zhifang waiji jiaoshi*, 9-10.

and documentary sources of the Qing period) compiled on imperial command between 1747 and 1784 was still largely based on content of the *Zhifang waiji*. Ironically, it calls the statement concerning existence of five continents in the *Zhifang waiji* "suspected of deception" and states that "all this kind of content should be plagiarism and absurd. So, these words which are too much beyond [common sense] are now all deleted and will not be retained."[113]

Specifically description of Golden Castile (and thus of Potosí) in the *Zhifang waiji* attracted attention of contemporary scholars Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611–1671), whose major work in natural studies *Wuli xiaozhi* 物理小識 (Preliminary records on the principles of things, completed in 1643) cites the passage in a shortened version, and Li Shixiong 李世熊 (1602–1686), who included it entirely into his *Qianshen zhi* 錢神志 (Record of the spirit of money, completed in 1645). They must have attached some importance to the text, selecting it for their own works, but still did not realize the connection between gold and silver produced in distant South America and the silver coins used in Luzon and even in parts of China. Although it seems that the *Zhifang waiji* was a rather visible publication in seventeenth century China, beyond these two works, not much information about American silver mines and origins of silver in Luzon was conveyed to its audience, and nearly nothing found its way into contemporary Chinese literature. Wang Yun 王澐, who travelled around Fujian between 1652 and 1654 speaks about western silver coins arriving there on overseas ships without mentioning their origin.[114] Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612–1672), 1647 Judicial Commissioner of Fujian knows that in countries of the Western Ocean (Xiyang 西洋), commonly a term for Europe, much gold and silver was produced and transported to Luzon for commercial exchange.[115] The same is confirmed by Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630–1696) in 1678 from Guangdong, who additionally still insisted that Luzon also produced silver itself.[116] The *Taiwan waiji* 台灣外記 (Inofficial record of Taiwan), a novel from 1704 uniting fictional and non-fictional elements, includes a report about Luzon written by Zheng Dexiao 鄭德簫 in 1683 with annotations by the book's author Jiang Risheng 江日昇 (*juren* 1713). The text does not show any direct influence from the *Zhifang waiji*, but encompasses new details compared with older Chinese sources. This concerned especially Spanish silver coins and their weights, where Jiang's annotation shows a higher level of precision than the *Dong xi yang kao* and the *Zhifang waiji* but like the latter it includes one smallest coin more than the former (see Table. 2). The report also points out a relation between silver money and the spread of catholic faith in Luzon, as Spaniards "lure people with silver coins to join their

113 *Qingchao wenxian tongkao* 298.16.
114 *Manyou jilue*, 1: 5a, in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan*, 17: 4.
115 *Min xiaoji*, 124.
116 *Guangdong xinyu*, 15: 406.

religion at first; when people fall for their jugglery then they will tempt them with [the promise of] going to Heaven."[117]

Only two centuries later, when the numismatist Ni Mo 倪模 (1750–1825) in his book *Gu jin qian lue* 古今錢略 (A brief introduction to coins through the ages, completed in 1809) quoted information concerning gold and silver coins from the *Zhifang waiji*, he made an unprecedented statement: "The gold and silver money used there [in Golden Castile] seems to be the [same as] the 'foreign coins' [*yangqian* 洋錢] circulating in Fujian and Guangdong."[118] This is the earliest existing Chinese record associating American gold and silver with coins circulating in China, six years before the last Spanish Manila galleon crossed the Pacific from Acapulco, and only sixteen years before Bolivia and thus Potosí gained independence from the Spanish motherland.

Table 2: Silver coins described in three sources.

Level of silver coin	*Dong xi yang kao*, 1617		*Zhifang waiji*, 1623		*Taiwan waiji*, 1704	
	Category	Weight (*qian*)	Category	Weight (*qian*)	Category	Weight (*qian*)
Large	*Huangbizhi*	**7.2**	Five levels	**8**	Large coin	**7.2**
	Tuchun	**3.6**		–	Middle coin, used per piece, regardless its size and weight.	**3.6**
	Luoliaoli	**1.8**		–		**1.8**
	Huangliaoli	**0.9**		–		**0.9**
Small		–		**0.5**		**0.45**

Methods from the West

極西有一引礦，至今歷九十年矣，每年取利二千八百四十餘萬。[...] 如中土礦山甚多，如此之富亦不止一處，但採之不得其法耳。

In the Extreme West there is a silver mine, which until today has already passed through 90 years [of operation] and from which every year a profit of more than 28,400,000 [real?] are extracted. [...] As in China, ore mountains are so numerous, such an abundance should not only be limited to one place; alone, one has not yet obtained here the [right] method to mine them.[119]

117 *Taiwan waiji*, 346-348.

118 *Gu jin qian lue* (completed in 1809), 19: 47b.

119 *Kunyu gezhi* 3A.24a-25a. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Jost (transl.).

These sentences belong to a description of Potosí in the *Kunyu gezhi* 坤輿格致 (Investigations of the Earth's interior), a translation project commissioned by the Chongzhen 崇禎 emperor (reign 1628–1644) and explicitly targeted the transfer of Western mining knowledge to China. Its compilation bears witness to a remarkable turn in attitudes of the Ming court towards acquisition of monetary metals during the last years of its existence.

Over the first decades of the seventeenth century, knowledge about overseas silver available in China had increased. The miracle of the beans of gold and silver at Jiyi Mountain in Luzon had been disproved, and it had become clear that foreign silver coins arrived there on Spanish ships. In maps and atlases introduced by Jesuits, silver mining areas of South America could be seen, and more details about them were provided. All this knowledge, however, could not be used by Chinese to procure overseas silver themselves. Between border wars and rebellions during the Chongzhen reign the state faced a severe financial crisis, precluding any ideas of maritime expansion, and at the same time exacerbating urgent need for any kind of revenue.

To generate additional revenues and improve the economic situation, policies in many fields became more pragmatic and offered opportunities for innovation and development. Prohibitions against domestic silver mining were loosened[120] and scholars adapted new appreciation toward what in historians' debates would be termed "useful and reliable knowledge."[121] As a prominent instance, the famous *Tiangong kaiwu* 天工開物 (Exploitation of the works of Nature) by Song Yingxing 宋應星 (1587–1666) was published in 1637, a comprehensive illustrated encyclopaedia on various arts and crafts shaping the Chinese economy. Chapters on metallurgy in this work are particularly detailed and reflect the state of this art in China at this time.[122] The primary method illustrated and explained in this work is the so-called "blowing ashes method" (*huichui fa* 灰吹法), known and practiced in the west as well under the name of "cupellation", a process that takes advantage of the chemical fact that certain metals such as lead and copper oxidise readily when heated in an ample supply of air while the noble metals, gold and silver, do not.[123] Heating of gold and silver together with lead in a cupel (i.e., a vessel or shallow hearth) usually made of bone ash results in the bone ash absorbing the lead and the oxides of other metals, leaving behind a

120 Tang Lizong 2009, 183.
121 On useful and reliable knowledge for purposes of production see O'Brien 2009.
122 For a translation see Zen Sun and Sun 1966.
123 See Golas 1999, 132.

cake or globule of the precious metal. This method was suitable for working argentiferous sulphite ores, especially those already containing significant amounts of lead, which were the rule for most deposits in Europe and China.

Only two years later on July 31 1639, Li Tianjing 李天經 (1579–1659), head of the Calendar Bureau (Liju 曆局) where Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666, Chinese name Tang Ruowang 湯若望) worked, produced a proposal for enrichment of the state treasury. He introduced a book called the "*Kunyu gezhi* from the Western Ocean",[124] in reference to *De re metallica*, written in Latin by the German scholar Georgius Agricola (1494–1555), which – though first published as early as 1556 – remained the most comprehensive and advanced handbook on mining and metallurgy in the West.[125] "If one is really able to open and work mines in an appropriate manner and to roast [ores] and melt [metals] according to [its] standards", he continues "then all the different metals gold, silver, copper, tin, *plumbum* and iron can be taken to fulfil the needs of the state."[126]

In many instances the tone of the memorial shows that Li as an educated Confucian scholar was shy to speak about endeavours like creation of wealth through mining. He repeatedly justifies himself, emphasizing that the book is not "only subjective guesswork" and stressing its mathematical character. Yet, he continues, that outside of China "mines that have been opened and worked since years in the Western countries show all true success." Based on this, *De re metallica* was compiled and "the subjects from afar [i.e. the Jesuits] took it with them and brought it here over a distance of tens of thousands of *li*." After providing an overview of content, Li explains that the translation had been discussed in the Calendar Bureau since the preceding winter. It seems that communication about this with the court had taken place before, although not preserved today. He concludes that Schall von Bell already finished the first three chapters of the book, which are handed in to the emperor for inspection together with the memorial. He asks for an imperial order to finish the larger remaining part of the work with support of two junior scholars of the Calendar Bureau, Yang Zhihua 楊之華 and Huang Hongxian 黃宏憲. Apparently in reference to earlier communication, he adds that, after that the book "should be

124 Li Tianjing's memorial "Ti wei daixian churao, yi yu guochu shi" 題為代獻蒭蕘, 以裕國儲事, in *Kunyu gezhi*, 1a-3a. See also *Zengding Xu Wending gong ji* 4.85-86. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Vogel (transl.).

125 Georg Agricola, *De Re Metallica*, translated into English in Hoover and Hoover 1912.

126 Li Tianjing's memorial "Ti wei daixian churao, yi yu guochu shi", in *Kunyu gezhi*, 1a-3a. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Vogel (transl.).

ordered to be sent to all the individual Defense Commands (*zhen* 鎮) which have opened and worked mines so that they adopt it item for item according to the methods [expounded there]." The emperor issued an edict six days later that approved of Li's ideas and ordered the work to be completed.

A year later on July 24 1640, Li could report that work on the *Kunyu gezhi* had been finished. He did so using words again with interesting reference to the context of alchemy, and remarks with almost ironic modesty that he had "the intention to serve the state, but was not able to [transmute other materials] into gold by projection, he had chosen this one item, the *Kunyu gezhi*, from the Western Ocean [...] and had it made into a book of three chapters."[127] From one perspective, writing of the *Kunyu gezhi* was thus something like a replacement for masteries of alchemy and magic which had repeatedly been expected from Jesuits. From another perspective, his remark shows that the *Kunyu gezhi* was clearly considered something distinctly different from such masteries, that he did not even need to fear that his efforts would be understood the wrong way.

In Li Tianjing's memorials, the Chinese *Kunyu gezhi* compiled by Schall von Bell and his collaborators is styled as a direct translation of one western book likewise called *Kunyu gezhi*. A closer look at text, however, shows that Schall must have supplemented information he found in *De re metallica* by translating or summarizing passages from at least four other western books: Vannoccio Biringguccio's *Pirotechnia*, Lazarus Ercker's *Beschreibung der Allerfürnemsten Mineralischen Erzt und Bergwerksarten*, Modestinus Fachs' *Probierbüchlein* and Theodor de Bry's *Peregrinationes*.[128] To do so, these rather specific books first needed to be at his disposal. Already Niccholò Longobardi (1559–1654, Chinese name Long Huamin 龍華民) had attached great importance to establishment of a more comprehensive library in Beijing in 1613[129] and the book collection of Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628, Chinese name Jin Nige 金尼閣) formed the foundation of the subsequently expanded later Beitang library.[130] Thus, it is not surprising that Schall had access to certain western standard works on different topics. What meets the eye is that during his book collection tour through Europe during the years 1616–1618 with

127 Li Tianjing's memorial "Ti wei zunzhi xujin Kunyu gezhi, yi yu guochu shi" 題為遵旨續進坤輿格致, 以裕國儲事, in *Kunyu gezhi*, 3a-5b, see also *Zengding Xu Wending gong ji* 4.86-88. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Vogel (transl.).

128 Jost 2019.

129 Fang Hao 1969, 46-47.

130 Verhaeren 1949; Golvers 2012; Zhao Daying 2015.

Johann Schreck (1576–1630, Chinese name Deng Yuhan 鄧玉函), Trigault acquired a larger number of books that contained information on topics related to mining and metallurgy, including even two versions of Agricola's work, one in German and one in Latin.[131] This allows the assumption that Jesuits considered this topic already much earlier as a field of special interest for the court and wanted to be prepared for compilation of a work like the *Kunyu gezhi* more than twenty years earlier.

The *Kunyu gezhi* was one of several translation and knowledge transfer projects of its kind on useful and reliable knowledge and applied technology. Already before Schall began to work on it, for instance, Sabatino de Ursis completed *Taixi shuifa* 泰西水法 (Hydromethods of the Great West, 1612) and Johann Schreck *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo* 遠西奇器圖說 (Illustrations and descriptions of extraordinary devices of the Far West, 1627). Schall himself in 1643 also compiled another work called *Huogong qieyao* 火攻挈要 (Essentials of firearms) introducing western weaponry and gunpowder technology.

Contents of the *Kunyu gezhi* generally followed a chapter division similar to *De re metallica*, but proceeded selectively with numerous omissions and changes from the order of the original.[132] While many parts deal with general topics like geological theory, prospection, excavation and the construction of galleries or furnaces, others provide more specific information on individual metals as discussing ore tenor, assaying or smelting. Although in its title and preface the production of silver is not highlighted as a particular aim of the book,[133] yet the frequent description of methods and other knowledge related to silver show that translators were well aware of high interest in silver by its potential readers.

The chapter "Ore tenor" (*zheng kuang pinfu* 徵礦貧富),[134] treats identification and evaluation of silver ores. Most passages rely on direct translation from Agricola and Biringguccio. At the outset it is stated concerning the relation between the original weight of ore and resulting silver after smelting and refining, that "if less than three *jin* are obtained out of one hundred *jin*, then its vein is poor [but] it depends on the local labor price being expensive or cheap, [whether one] decides [to mine it or not]." Given Ming Chinese technology applied during this time, few silver Mines in North Zhili 北直隸 and Liaodong

131 Golvers 2018, 175.
132 Fu Hansi 2016.
133 *Kunyu gezhi*, *xumu* 敘目, 1a-4b. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Cao (transl.).
134 *Kunyu gezhi* 1.9b-10a. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Jost (transl.).

遼東 rose to this standard, while the vast majority were inferior.[135] The text continues describing the visual nature of silver ores worth mining, as well as poor ores and rocks that commonly surrounded them.

Unfortunately, chapters about large-scale smelting and refining, which ought to be included in the part Schall translated together with Yang and Huang after Li Tianjing's first memorial, have either not been preserved or have yet to be discovered. Therefore, in order to understand the techniques included in the *Kunyu gezhi* for this purpose, only chapters on probing and assaying provide reference. All techniques introduced under "Methods for Probing Silver Ores" (*shi yinkuang fa* 試引[136]礦法)[137] make use of the so-called cupellation method. Silver ores are first distinguished according to hardness, which relates to silver content. In a second step, hardness and silver content determine the right amount of lead in the process. Other issues explained are the correct timing for addition of lead, ways of fire phasing (*huohou* 火候) and details concerning the composition, production and application of fluxes and other agents. Precise quantifications for the process and description of fluxes make it the clearest, technically advanced description of silver ore smelting available in China during its time.[138]

While representation of silver smelting by cupellation surely contained useful and valuable information for the Chinese reader, it was mainly another method which helped extract riches of Potosí and other Latin American Mines in the early seventeenth century. The so-called "patio process" was an efficient, industrially applied method that made use of knowledge already described in

135 Quan Hansheng 2011, 123-124. North Zhili's highest silver/ore ratio was 3% and Liaodong was 3-12%, while Potosí was 50%, Mexico / New Spain was 5-25%.

136 In the only preserved manuscript of the *Kunyu gezhi* in many places the characters for metals are replaced by other homophonous characters: *yin* 引 thus replaces *yin* 銀, *jin* 槿 replaces *jin* 金. The note added at a later point of time after the table of contents mentions that during the early Qing period mining was strictly prohibited and that for this reason all the characters denoting metals had been replaced and so it would be difficult to recognize that this was a treatise dealing with mining and smelting. See Fu Hansi 2016.

137 *Kunyu gezhi* 2A.14a-17a. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Cao (transl.).

138 Comparison is made mainly with the description from Song Yingxing's *Tiangong kaiwu*, see tr. Zen Sun and Sun 1966, 238-239. See also Xia Xiangrong et al. 1980, 295-297. Concerning the cupellation method, another account from the Southern Song period (1127–1279) preserved in Lu Rong's 陸容 (1436–1494) *Shuyuan zaji* 菽園雜記 provides detailed information too, see pages 175-176. Research on the silver smelting techniques during the Song period, see Wang Lingling 2005, 69-75.

Biringuccio's *Pirotechnia*[139] (and thus available to Schall) but had been developed to maturity only in Latin America. It was not applied in Europe until at least two hundred years later.[140] Despite this omission, the chapter entitled "Methods of Probing Gold Ores" (*Shi jinkuang fa* 試槓礦法) described a process using amalgamation but probed critically, because "it is not as accurate as the fire assaying method. This is because squeezing with leather bags let gold come out together with mercury, besides, during refining gold can sometimes evaporate together with mercury, thus it is not perfect."[141] Hence there is a possibility that amalgamation for silver was possibly excluded from the probing chapter, but may well have been included in the missing chapter.

At the end of a chapter entitled "Mining Ore" (*cai kuang* 採礦), which focuses on excavation techniques and gallery construction, an example of the layout and structure of a mine is given by describing a silver mine in the "Far West" (*jixi* 極西)".[142] Neither name nor location of the mine is given, but it "has already passed through ninety years [of operation]" and "every year a profit of more than 28,400,000 [(no unit given)] is extracted." The ore mountain itself is described as "approximately ten *li* wide at its foot and becoming increasingly pointed towards the top; its shape is round and its color is red." From these pieces of information, it can already be inferred that Schall had not chosen among technologically advanced mines of central Europe described by Agricola, but instead had referred to the world's most productive silver mine in South America: Potosí. The Spanish had begun silver mining there in 1545,[143] ninety-

139 Hoover and Hoover 1912, 297, footnote 12.

140 Guerrero 2016. The patio process was a complex but efficient way, specially suitable to obtain silver from chloride ores and certain leadless ("dry") sulphite ores, which dominate in the Andean deposits of Latin America but are hardly found in Europe and China. It makes use of both chemical and physical reactions including mercury to break up silver chloride and to amalgamate silver. For detailed descriptions in theory and practice, see Guerrero 2017, 118-122.

141 *Kunyu gezhi* 2A.19b-20a. Other than silver amalgamation, this process was, however, included in *De re metallica*, see Hoover and Hoover 1912, 43-44. While in the described gold amalgamation process part of the mercury in fact evaporates, the main reason for mercury loss in silver production via the patio process is not evaporation but the production of calomel (mercury chloride), see Guerrero (2017), 187-190.

142 *Kunyu gezhi* 3A.24a-25a. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Jost (transl.) The term *jixi* is in other instances of Jesuit writings indiscriminately used for "the West" and thus commonly associated with Europe. For example, in *Jie Pang Diwo Xiong Sanba*, 4a, when they explained the term "Da xiyang" 大西洋 they wrote the following: 大西洋者 [...] 間稱泰西，或太西，猶言極西耳，以自別於回回之西域也。

143 The first Spanish mining claim in Potosí was filed by a certain Juan Villaroel in April 1545. See Robins (2011), 16.

five years before the *Kunyu gezhi* began to be compiled. The number 28,400,000 *reales* of silver produced in Potosí annually can be calculated from a description by José de Acosta in his Spanish *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* from 1590, which was available to Schall in Latin translation as part of Theodore de Bry's *Peregrinationes*.[144] Finally, the shape of the Cerro Rico, the silver mountain of Potosí, matches exactly the description in the *Kunyu gezhi* (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Potosí and the Cerro Rico. Note: The *Kunyu gezhi*'s description is in reasonable agreement with the Cerro Rico's size, shape, and color. Source: Wikimedia

The arrangement of adits and shafts in the mountain is also described in relatively high detail and in close accordance with d'Acosta's account, as are four different appearances of ore found on site. After that, double ladders already mentioned by the *Zhifang waiji* are brought up as well in context of labor arrangement in Potosí. Interestingly, Schall uses entirely different language than Aleni in the related passage, indicating that his account of Potosí was unrelated to its mention in the *Zhifang waiji* fifteen years earlier.

> 內挂牛皮雙梯，間十餘丈，左右必置板欀，為負載憩歇。其沙盛叉袋，一人負五十斤，連升而出。
> Inside of [the shafts] they hang double ladders (*shuangti* 雙梯) made of cowhide more than ten *zhang* apart from each other, while left and right of them there must

144 One Peso minted in Potosí was worth 13 1/4 Reales (other than usually eight) and the King's fifth amounted to daily 6000 Pesos (ANPP). If one calculates 6,000 x 13.25 x 365 the result is 29,017,500 Reales, if one uses the Chinese year with 360 days, the result is 28,620,000 Reales. If one omits the 1/4 of the Reales in one Peso, the result is 28,470,000, which comes very close to the "more than 28,400,000" of the *Kunyu gezhi*.

> be benches installed for taking a rest with one's heavy load. The [ore] gravel is filled into "pronged bags" (*chadai* 叉袋), one man carrying 50 *jin* on his back and bringing it out by climbing up in succession.[145]

This description from d'Acosta was also picked up by de Bry and arranged into a copper engraving (Figure 4) in Volume nine of the *Peregrinationes*. Though nothing indicates that Schall wanted to use this illustration in the *Kunyu gezhi*, it may have caught the attention of Chinese collaborators or visitors eventually leading to inclusion of the related text into the *Kunyu gezhi*.

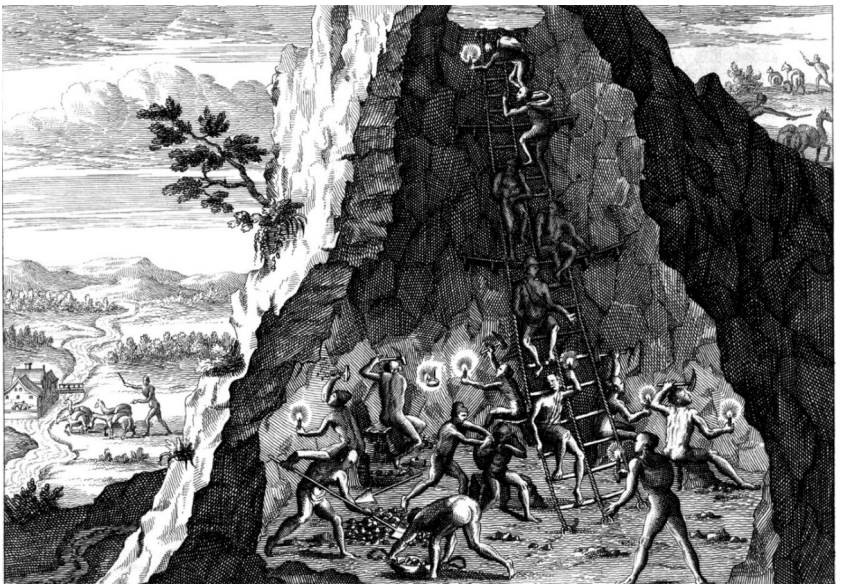

Figure 4: Illustration of Potosí Silver Mining in Theodore de Bry (1602)[146]

The text ends with the remark:

> 如中土礦山甚多，如此之富亦不止一處，但採之不得其法耳。
> As in China (Zhongtu 中土) ore mountains are so numerous, such an abundance should not only be limited to one place; alone, one has not yet obtained here the [right] method to mine them.[147]

145 *Kunyu gezhi* 3A.25a. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Jost (transl.).

146 Source: Theodore de Bry (1602), vol. 9, Illustration III. Note: See double ladders and resting platforms!

147 *Kunyu gezhi* 3A.25a. Translation: Vogel & Cao (rev. & ed.), Jost (transl.)

This passage provides the most detailed Chinese account about the world's largest silver mine and thus could have finally brought some clarification to the vagueness of Chinese knowledge about the origin of silver flowing into their country. Moreover, more than any other place in the text it directly justifies its mission to transfer Western mining technology to China. It is therefore even more odd that it is inserted between two purely technical chapters in the second-last volume of the work and stays entirely silent about the name and place of the described mine. Additionally, Potosí, where – as de Bry makes clear[148] – productivity heavily relied on exploitation of indigenous forced laborers under miserable and primitive technical conditions, was anything but a suitable example for superiority of western mining technology. It could have been a good instance of efficient application of amalgamation technology, but this remains unmentioned in the *Kunyu gezhi*. Schall must therefore have chosen Potosí because of its enormously high output and importance, the main function of which was to justify the statement that China still lacked the correct methods. It would only have disturbed this argument to mention that Europeans themselves had to sail thousands of miles to reach the legendary silver source, while, despite superior technology, production on the European continent was in decline.[149] It can furthermore be imagined that Schall did not include Potosí on his own initiative, but was asked to do so by other Chinese who had heard about that particular legendary silver mountain in the realm of the Folangji, had seen the entries about Bolu and Jin jiaxila on Ricci's map or had read respective chapters in Aleni's *Zhifang waiji*.

After the finished manuscript of the *Kunyu gezhi* had been handed over to the emperor in summer 1640, it appears to have been shelved for some time. Only in late 1643 and early 1644 did it become a topic of court communication again, and it was finally decided to send the *Kunyu gezhi* to provinces in order to stimulate and promote mining. However, it was already too late for the work to develop any practical innovative impact, as only three months later the Ming dynasty collapsed under the double impact of domestic uprisings and Manchu invasion.[150] Though the book *Kunyu gezhi* itself did not fall completely into oblivion, since documentation proves that it was still known and probably dis-

148 De Bry 1598, 147-149.

149 Central European mining was in a crisis from the mid-sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. See Suhling 1983, 167-177.

150 For details see Pan Jixing 1983; Vogel 1989; Pan Jixing 1991.

cussed by the central government during early years of the Qing period.[151] Traces of it vanished soon thereafter, and it was considered lost, if not already during looting of Beijing by Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–1645) and his rebels in 1644, then at least during chaotic first years of the Ming-Qing transition.

It was not until 2015, during work compiling a collectanea series, that Han Fengran 韓鳳冉 rediscovered a manuscript that appears to contain most original parts of the work, except chapters about smelting.[152] With this new source at hand, it is hoped that the intended knowledge transfer project of the *Kunyu gezhi* can be reconstructed to a much greater level of detail, that the whereabouts of the manuscript over the last three hundred and fifty years can be clarified and that it can be investigated, if despite its disappearance from extant sources, it may still have impacted mining practices in Qing China.

Conclusion

From the second half of the sixteenth century onward, western ships brought three important phenomena to China: western religion via Jesuit missionaries, western knowledge through books on science and technology, as well as western-style money as Spanish silver coins mined from rich deposits of Latin America. Careful Chinese observers from the beginning realized possible connections among these three phenomena, and at first suspected Matteo Ricci and other early Jesuit missionaries to be masters of alchemy well versed in "arts of yellow and white", that magically transformed base metals into gold and silver. Such assumptions were firstly fueled by observation that Jesuits clearly lacked a visible source of money but were never short of it. Secondly, it was observed that Portuguese took mercury away from Guangdong and returned with shiploads of silver. Suspicions about alchemist creation of precious metals by Jesuit missionaries could not be confirmed, however, and instead it became clear that much foreign silver entered China through the Spanish Philippines, which gave rise to new speculations. Chinese ships set out to grasp control of a legendary mountain in Luzon, where golden and silver beans were said to grow, from which western coins were thought to be produced. The endeavor failed, leading to a bloody

151 On this see a communication document of Sept. 1644 (Shunzhi 1/8) with the title "Bingbu wei yisong guanyuan yanshi Xiyang *Kunyu gezhi* shu you" 兵部為移送官員驗試西洋坤輿格致書由 in the holdings of Ming-Qing archives of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, in Taibei.

152 Han Fengran 2015; Fu Hansi 2016.

massacre against the Chinese population of Luzon at the hands of the Spaniards. Around the same time the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, Ricci's most detailed world map, displayed the mines of South America for the first time in China. In following decades, through numerous domestic Chinese publications but also through Aleni's geographic work *Zhifang waiji*, overseas origin of silver coins beyond Luzon was clarified and more detailed knowledge about the New World became available. This awareness arose at a time of crisis that terminated the Ming dynasty, however, so the aim of gaining control over the vaguely known silver deposits vanished. Instead, the idea became to increase domestic silver production and thus state revenue through the application of superior western mining and smelting methods, which brought about new hope and initiation of the *Kunyu gezhi* translation project led by Adam Schall von Bell. After a concerted effort of two years, the emperor ordered the completed book to be distributed to all mining regions in order to reform the Chinese mining industry. This order exerted no influence, however, because the onslaught of Li Zicheng's rebel army and subsequent Manchu conquest preceded its execution. These cataclysmic events ended China's endeavours to take action amidst global silver flows which had been shaping a new global economy. Qing efforts to maintain a certain level of monetary independence through a policy of economic isolation and strengthening of the copper cash sector[153] throughout the eighteenth century could only reduce, but not abolish, China's dependence on foreign silver with all its future consequences.

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Realms of Overflowing Gold? Re-Examining the Premodern Chinese-Muslim Encounter, 751–1644*

Niv HORESH

Introduction

One of the most enduring lines of research in Sinology has been the mutual perceptions of China and the West as arising from early encounters from the Tang era onward. Thus, classics by Henry Yule, Donald F. Lach and Jonathan D. Spence are by now three of the best-known books in the field.[1] And, more recently, prominent historian Jürgen Osterhammel has also weighed into the discussion.[2] Yet, surprisingly, Muslim-Chinese early mutual perceptions have attracted less scholarly attention even if their encounter predated contact with the West. Fields like geographical studies do cover the topic on occasion but remain outside the purview of Sinology for the most part, for example Geoffrey Gunn's work.[3]

This article aims to draw on primary sources, as well as on seminal contributions by Morris Rossabi, Raphael Israeli and Hyunhee Park, in order to offer a bigger-picture account of how Chinese-Muslim perceptions evolved over the course of the pre-modern era.[4] Our coverage will begin with the Battle of Talas in 751, which saw the two civilisations coming into direct (armed) contact for the first time. By contrast, the following centuries were marked by relatively peaceful encounters. The coverage will end with the establishment of the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1644 because the Qing era (1644–1911) is widely considered as one where a resurgence of anti-Muslim sentiments occurred in China.

That resurgence stemmed at once from Qing insularity and Muslim rebellions, which fed off Middle Eastern ideological currents. As noted by Rossabi,[5]

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1 Yule 1866; Lach 1965–1993; Spence 1969.

2 Osterhammel 2018.

3 Gunn 2018.

4 Rossabi 1985; Israeli 2002; Park 2012. See also Biran 2005, 97; Miquel 1985.

5 Rossabi 1985, 277.

few foreign Muslims reached China during the Qing era, and there was virtually no official contact with Muslim governments until the twentieth century. By contrast, Qing rulers had to come to terms almost from the outset with Russian encroachment into Central Asia, and later with European maritime expansion. Unlike earlier dynasties, Qing relations with Central Asian Muslims had to be negotiated through Russian intermediaries. Thus, Qing perception of the Islamic world came to be based almost exclusively on Chinese Muslims (Hui 回), many of whom turned against the dynasty by the mid-eighteenth century.

Qing ignorance about the Middle East was arguably paralleled by the Ottoman Empire's technological and cartographic falling behind Europe in the late seventeenth century. By the nineteenth century, much of what the Ottomans knew about China (or Europe for that matter) had in fact derived from Christian missionary writing. Ironically, the very same missionary writings had been partly informed by Arab knowledge that helped preserve classic Greek knowledge.[6] Moreover, the Ottomans were often distracted by rebellions in the Arab world, thereby failing to stem Portuguese expansion beyond Hormuz into insular Southeast Asia, the latter having begun to embrace Islam earlier in the fifteenth century. Neither did the Ottomans team up with the other Islamic powers –Safavid Iran or Mughal India – against Russian encroachment to the north.[7]

Early Contact in the Tang Era: From War to Coexistence

Following three centuries of political fragmentation, the reestablishment of Chinese dynastic rule under the Tang (617–907) is considered a civilizational highpoint. It is traditionally thought to have paved the way to prosperity and cosmopolitanism unparalleled in Chinese imperial history. Yet this was a period when Iranian languages rather than Chinese largely served as the main media of communication in Inner Asian trade.[8]

Bilateral contact did not always lead to positive interactions as evidenced by the famous Chinese peripatetic Buddhist monk, Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664). He described the pre-Muslim Sassanid Empire as "uncultured", "lacking courtesy" and "cruel by nature". Xuanzang conceded on the other hand that Per-

6 Bevilacqua 2018.
7 McNeill 1989; Casale 2010.
8 Park 2012, 191-192.

sians were good at crafts, particularly carpet weaving.[9] Ironically, Arab, Persian and Turkic sources would later portray the Chinese as excellent craftspeople. Inspired by Xuanzang, Chinese Buddhist monk Yijing 義淨 embarked in 671 on his voyage to India and Southeast Asia on board a Sassanid ship docking at Guangzhou 廣州, thus extending Chinese knowledge of the outside world.[10]

Xuanzang notwithstanding, Chinese-Sassanid ties had flourished, and the early Tang court imbibed much Persian cultural influence. Arguably, the Chinese had first caught wind of Arab expansion only in mid-seventeenth century. For in 677, a scion of the Sassanid royal family, Peroz, had had to seek shelter in the Tang court at the capital Chang'an 長安. Peroz was fleeing at the time from the invasion of Persia by Arab-led Muslim forces persecuting the Zoroastrian faith.[11]

The *Qur'an* itself does not mention China or the Chinese, and there is no Chinese reference to Arabs (Dashi 大食) in China prior to the Battle of Talas. Nevertheless, later Hui sources claim that Islam had entered China in the Prophet's lifetime (ca. 570–632). According to these sources, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqās was sent to China by the Prophet specifically so as to spread the new faith.[12] Based on Omani sources, Tadeusz Lewicki otherwise contended that a merchant by the name of Abu Ubaydah reached China as early as the mid-eighth century.[13]

It had largely been Tang pressure on the then-animistic Turks and the Tibetans that invited Ummayad expansion into Khorasan. That expansion was led by Arab general Qutayba ibn Muslim.[14] Then, after the fall of Umayyad Caliphate in 750, the Abbasid dynasty moved the capital from Damascus to Baghdad, resulting in further Muslim exploration and conquest eastward. On their part, Tang rulers pressed on westward.[15]Against this background, the Abbasid forces under General Ziyad bin Saleh ibn al-Atir clashed with Tang forces in the Ferghana Valley in 751.This fateful historical turnaround, which nipped in the bud Chinese cultural dominance in Central Asia, would become known to posterity as the Battle of Talas. However, contemporaneous Arab sources

9 Lestlie 1986, 10-11.
10 Lestlie 1986, 14; Allsen 2004, 9-11.
11 Frye 1983, 176.
12 Israeli 2000, 315.
13 Lewicki 1935.
14 Schafer 1963, 22-25; Lestlie 1986, 28.
15 Hourani and Carswell 1995, 62-64.

like al-Tabari (839–923) do not mention the Battle at all, suggesting it was scarcely thought of as very consequential at the time.[16]

We know what went on predominantly from a much later account by crusade historian Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233), who was otherwise silent on Chinese civilisation *per se*. Ibn al-Athir's account is confirmed separately by contemporaneous Tang annals, which provide soldier numbers but are similarly silent on the inter-civilisational dimensions of the Battle.[17]

The first substantive source bearing out the early Muslim encounter with China was written in Arabic by Persian geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (ca. 820–912). His information was limited, and he did not describe the Battle of Talas at all. Neither is he thought to have travelled to China: he relied instead on hearsay. Thus, Ibn Khurradādhbih confirmed the ubiquity of rice and porcelain in China, but also added that iron was of superb quality.[18] Elsewhere, he suggested there were no fewer than 300 prosperous cities in China. Yet, he seems to have lapsed into phantasmagoria when describing Wakwak, an island supposedly adjacent to China so overflowing with gold that dogs' chains there were made of the precious metal.[19]

In turn, the first detailed description of Arabs in Chinese sources is that of Du You 杜佑 (735–812). Along with his relative Du Huan 杜環, he fought for the ethnic-Korean general Go Seonji 高仙芝, leading the Tang forces in the Battle of Talas. Having returned to China by sea, Du You wrote that Arabs were "dark skinned and heavily bearded like Indians"; that their women were "dignified and beautiful" and when they went outdoors "they always cover up their faces with veils"; and that their writing systems differed from that of the Persians. Most of all, Du suggested that Arabs "[...] obtain purity by fasting", and that men in particular obtain merit by "killing" on the battle front.[20]

In effect, Tang defeat at that battle virtually curtailed Chinese expansion into Central Asia until Qing dynasty forays in the eighteenth century. Due to that curtailment, over the course of almost one millennium, there had been no epic wars conducted between the Islamic and Chinese civilizations, such that could be on par with the Crusades.[21] Equally importantly, the Muslim victors seem to have been impressed with the level of civilian craftsmanship shown by the Chi-

16 Barthold 1928, 5; Schottenhammer 2015.
17 Beckwith 1987, 138-140.
18 Barbier de Meynard 1865, 292.
19 Barbier de Meynard 1865, 293. Ibn Khurradādhbih may have been referring to Japan.
20 Leslie 1986, 21; Park 2012, 23-24.
21 Perdue 2009, 5-32; Park 2012, 23-24.

nese residents of the Ferghana Valley, from cotton and silk textiles right through to metal swords.[22]

As Chinese political influence in the Tarim basin began to wane in the ninth century, Islam did not necessarily gain cultural and religious prominence there right away. In fact, until the fourteenth century Buddhism remained the predominant religion along the Silk Road and among the Turkic speaking Uighurs, who controlled the eastern Tarim basin; Manicheans and Nestorian Christians were also active in the region. Thus, the Tang and Song (960–1279) dynasties are thought to have exchanged diplomatic missions with the Islamic world every few years on fairly equal footing.[23]

In fact, mere four years after the Battle of Talas, when renegade General An Lushan 安祿山, a Turk, threatened to destroy the dynasty, the Tang enlisted Arab mercenaries as well as Uighurs to push him back. That move pre-saged employment of Muslims by all subsequent dynasties as soldiers, navigators, astronomers or administrators. From the eighth century through to the fifteenth century, Muslim merchants (Arab, Persian, Indian, and Southeast Asian) largely controlled the maritime Silk Road to China.[24] Chinese silk and porcelain were coveted in the Western Eurasia, and China gained in return frankincense, amber, shells, glassware and cobalt from the Muslim world.

However, one feature of Tang influence in Central Asia remained visible. According to Persian historian al-Thaʿālibī (961–1038), it was Chinese craftsmen captured at the Battle of Talas that had introduced papermaking into the Muslim world.[25] Though not forming a full-fledged diaspora, it does appear Chinese craftspeople were from then on a fairly common sight in Central Asia. Indeed, the famous Muslim historian of India, al-Biruni (973–1048), suggested that

> [...] it was in China that paper was first manufactured. Chinese prisoners introduced the fabrication of paper into Samarkand and thereupon it was made in various places so as to meet the existing want.[26]

The disintegration of the Tang dynasty in the ninth century spelled disaster for the still relatively small Muslim communities in China, which at the time were confined to few of the bigger cities, and were largely made up of merchants and mercenaries. Those communities enjoyed autonomy from the Tang insofar as

22 Barthold 1928, 246.
23 Hansen 2015, 129-139.
24 Hourani and Carswell 1995; Sen 2003.
25 Bosworth 1968, 140.
26 Sachau 1888, 171.

conducting their ritual and internal affairs. Yet, as the Arab traveller Abū Zayd Ḥasan al-Sīrāfī (f. 910s) famously reports, after rebel Huang Chao 黃巢 (835–884) amassed power against the Tang court, he went on a rampage in Guangzhou (called in Arabic Khanfu), unleashing a massacre on the local Muslim, Jewish, Zoroastrian and Nestorian communities.[27]

Al-Sīrāfī described Chinese craftsmen as "the cleverest people on earth".[28] Perhaps unwittingly, he thereby echoed a *hadith* apocryphally attributing to Prophet Mohammed the dictum – "seek wisdom as far as China".[29] But the flipside of that admiration was al-Sīrāfī's stereotyping the Chinese elsewhere in his account as promiscuous and their dietary habits as unhygienic.[30]

Al-Sīrāfī's account gained greater currency in the Islamic world after it was cited by the historian al-Masʿūdī (895–956), often dubbed the "Muslim Herodotus".[31] Foreshadowing early-modern European admirers of China like Voltaire and Leibnitz, al-Masʿūdī otherwise extolled the "sage kings" of Chinese antiquity. Although not witnessing China first hand, he suggested that its rulers were "guided by reason in the fair and just judgements which they gave".[32] Al-Masʿūdī also observed that the Chinese of his time were "skilful in painting and all the arts".[33] One of his contemporaries living in Baghdad at the time similarly suggested the Arab world received from China many manufactured goods including silk, porcelain, paper, ink, and saddles.[34]

Nevertheless, later descriptions in Muslim sources would appear more akin to Montesquieu's in condemning the cruelty of Chinese law.[35] To be sure, al-Masʿūdī himself sounds somewhat puzzled by the Chinese habit of employing eunuchs as tax collectors; he was also appalled that Chinese parents willingly had their children castrated in order to improve their chances of moving up the government bureaucracy.[36]

27 Chaffee 2018.
28 Park 2012, 68.
29 Schimmel 1992, 58.
30 Mackintosh-Smith and Montgomery 2014.
31 Leslie 1986, 30-39, 61; Park 2012, 70; Lunde and Stone 1989, 114-118.
32 Lunde and Stone 1989, 103.
33 Lunde and Stone 1989, 113
34 Lewis 1982, 185.
35 Osterhammel 2018, 342-386.
36 Lunde and Stone 1989, 104.

The Late Abbasid-Seljuk Moment, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries

In China, the Tang dynasty finally collapsed in 907, ushering in a century of political instability. But in the Islamic world, the various successors of the fragmenting Abbasid Caliphate continued expanding east right until the advent of the Mongols. Yet rather than setting their sights on China proper, Islamic rulers were more preoccupied with Transoxiana, with India, and with warding off the crusades to the west. In historical terms, one can additionally surmise that the absence of an extensive Chinese-Muslim civilizational clash would be assured by the Buddhist Karakitai defeat of Seljuk Muslim armies at the Battle of Qatwan in 1141,[37] as well as by the untimely death of Tamerlane, who allegedly planned to conquer China.

If Arab and Persian maritime contact with China was shooting up at that time, China's reach into the Islamic world should not be overstated. Abu al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr (1145–1217), who travelled from Iberia through North Africa, Sicily and the Levant mentioned he saw, for example, Indian goods and Indian merchants in the Horn of Africa and the Arabian peninsula. The absence of reference to Chinese merchants or Chinese goods is his account is quite telling in that respect.[38]

During the Five Dynasties and Song (907–1279) eras, Muslim merchants continued to be active along the overland as well as maritime silk route of the Indian Ocean, often engaging in piracy. Muslim merchants had also started settling in South China in greater numbers, with few of their descendants – like the famous Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚 – attaining high-ranking positions in the Chinese imperial bureaucracy both under the Song and later under their Mongol enemies.[39]

Consequently, the orientation of the Muslim community in China was in the main mercantile and mercenary between the eighth and eleventh centuries. In 1070, for example, the Shenzong 神宗 emperor enlisted 5,300 young Arabs to fight the Liao kingdom in the northwest.[40] Yet the plight of Muslims in China started changing qualitatively when Khitan, Jurchen, and finally Mongol pressure, forced the Song Empire to retreat southward. Having relocated their capital from Kaifeng 開封 to Hangzhou 杭州 (Lin'an 臨安) in 1127, the trau-

37 Biran 2005, 41-47.
38 Broadhurst 1954, 57-65, 117, 175.
39 Schottenhammer 2008, 134-135.
40 Israeli 2002, 283-284.

matic Song withdrawal southward reconfigured Chinese imperial statecraft. Hitherto, the presumption was that foreigners coming into contact with China would eventually choose to assimilate to its superior civilization of their own accord (*lai-hua* 來化. "come and be transformed"). However, military defeat forced the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) into with the powerful steppe peoples to its north.[41] However, military defeat forced the Southern Song dynasty into appeasement of the powerful steppe peoples to its north. In order to break through its isolation, the dynasty forsook its traditional northern-frontier orientation, promoting instead maritime trade. As a result, three centuries after the Huang Chao 黃巢 massacre, Muslims were now thriving again in China, with the hub of their community shifting by then from Guangzhou to Quanzhou 泉州 – the fabled Zaytoun in medieval Arabic sources.[42]

The Song era is widely considered the peak of Chinese premodern technological innovation, including in the field of navigation. It was during that time that the magnetic compass was adopted by Chinese junks, and it is believed that Chinese merchants thereby became more visible along the maritime Silk Road. Yet, overall, it was the famous Arab *dhow* ships, designed for monsoonal currents, which accounted for the bulk of long distance trade at the time.[43] The early-twelfth century work *Pingzhou ketan* 萍洲可談 suggests that foreign ships, including those from Southeast Asia, dominated the shipping lanes between China and the ports in the Indian Ocean. Later sources suggest that by the first half of the fourteenth century Chinese vessels were no longer a rarity along the shipping lanes across the Bay of Bengal.[44]

Consequently, Chinese cartographic and socio-economic knowledge of the Islamic world greatly improved on Du You's important account in the wake the Southern Song reorientation. Perhaps the best-known and most influential travelogue (*Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志) from that era is the one penned by Zhao Rugua 趙汝适 (b. 1170). Interestingly, Zhao demarcates the limits of the Chinese sphere of maritime influence when mentioning the island of Hainan as already largely sinified. He describes Taiwan, on the other hand, as still primitive and inhabited by "naked" tribesmen. More importantly, Zhao had good grasp of historical evolution: his was the first Chinese source to clearly distinguish between Umayyads and Abbasids ("white" vs. "black"-robed Dashi). Zhao

41 Rossabi 1983a, "Introduction"; Waley-Cohen 2000.
42 Leslie 1986, 61; Chaffee 2018.
43 Abu Lughod 1991, 112.
44 Sen 2006.

deemed the Abbasid Empire to be "powerful" and "warlike", but one which "presented tribute", namely, recognized China's superiority.[45] Zhao also provided accurate descriptions of the pillars of Islamic faith, of the Prophet's identity, and of the Kaaba worship in Mecca.[46]

Trailing the significance of al-Sīrāfī's, two other detailed accounts of millennial China we have are by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marvazī (1056/57–1124/25), written in Persian around 1120; and by ash-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, written in Arabic around 1154. However, unlike al-Sīrāfī, neither author is thought to have visited China in person.

This is probably why al-Marvazī erroneously suggested that most Chinese worshipped Mani rather than Buddha or Confucius.[47] Nevertheless, his judgement was otherwise positive, describing Chinese mentality as "moderate and pleasant", and possessed of "mild manners". Echoing al-Masʿūdī, al-Thaʿālibī and al-Sīrāfī, al-Marvazī also deemed the Chinese to be the "most skilful nation in handicraft", surpassing even the Byzantines.[48]

Al-Marvazī was more ambivalent about the Chinese system of governance though. He noted that both adulterous men and women were executed in China, implicitly referring to the gender imbalance in *shari'a* law as regards extra-marital affairs.[49] He added that any conviction in the Chinese legal system was predicated on the extraction of confessions beforehand.[50] On the one hand, he described the Chinese emperor as "invisible", meaning unapproachable to commoners, and that no subject could leave China without an imperial permit.[51] Nevertheless, elsewhere, he suggested commoners regularly had audiences with the emperor to lay out their complaints.[52]

To Arab and Persian merchants arriving by sea in Guangzhou, at any rate, the emperor showed great "respect".[53] Al-Marvazī was clearly aware China had a large army, and that it had been the dominant power in Central Asia before the Battle of Talas. He observed that it retreated east thereafter, leaving behind in Samarkand the secrets of papermaking.[54]

45 Hirth und Rockhill 1911, 115-117.
46 Hirth und Rockhill 1911, 124-126.
47 Minorsky 1942, 15.
48 Minorsky 1942, 14, 16.
49 Minorsky 1942, 24-25.
50 Minorsky 1942, 26-27.
51 Minorsky 1942, 25, 27.
52 Minorsky 1942, 25.
53 Minorsky 1942, 16, 22.
54 Minorsky 1942, 18, 25.

Despite not visiting the country himself, al-Marvazī notes that no one in China is allowed to "[...] monopolise wheat, wood, salt or iron".[55] This in fact could possibly be a reference to the vast system of government relief granaries and commodity monopsony that typified the premodern Chinese economy.[56]

Geographer ash-Sharīf al-Idrīsī (1100–1166) worked for Roger II, the Christian conqueror of Sicily. He is credited with having taken from classic Greek works the notion that the world was round, at a time when Western European medieval thinking deemed it heresy.[57] In his famous survey, he tended to lump China and India together, writing as he did just when the Muslim conquest of the latter had started.[58] Unlike Ibn Jubayr, he does mention the availability of Chinese goods in south Arabia. Yet, his description would appear to suggest the ships departing from Aden to China, for example, were all manned by Arab sailors.[59]

Idrisi deemed the Chinese emperor – though "infidel" himself" – as kind towards Muslims. He was also greatly impressed with Chinese medical advancement. On the other hand, much like al-Masʿūdī, Chinese law as a whole was very harsh according to his account. For example, he notes with disapproval that thieves were allegedly put to death there.[60]

The Mongol Moment

The Mongol onslaught westward and southward in the early thirteenth century shattered the Iranian and Chinese worlds. To this day, across the Islamic scholarly world and to a lesser extent in the Chinese one, the Mongol invasion is portrayed as nipping in the bud civilizational splendour. That is to say that Chinese and Islamic self-esteem had been crushed by Mongol brutality; to the extent both societies subsequently became inward looking and averse to rationalism.[61]

However, once Genghis Khan's heirs established themselves in across the breadth and length of the Eurasian landmass, they secured the overland and maritime Silk Road. By the mid-twe3lfth century, the Mongol Empire had split

55 Minorsky 1942, 26.
56 Deng 2002.
57 Park 2012, 83.
58 Jaubert 1836–1840, 51.
59 Jaubert 1836–1840, 60.
60 Jaubert 1836–1840, 91, 101, 187.
61 Duara 1996, 57; Lewis 2002.

up between the heirs, whereby Kublai Khan formed for example the Yuan dynasty in China; and Hülegü formed the Ilkhanid dynasty in Iran, which eventually converted to Islam. As a result, contacts between China and the Islamic world grew exponentially. However, direct cultural and scientific cross-fertilization remained on the elite fringes of either society.[62]

As Marco Polo (1254–1324) suggests, Muslims – or "Saracens" in the medieval European parlance – were to be found all over China in Yuan times.[63] Their presence grew exponentially not least because the Mongol conquest ensured a greater degree of safety along the overland Silk Road.[64]

Central Asia, to be sure, had partly converted to Islam not long before the Mongol arrival. In their Central Asian conquered territories, the Mongols would therefore largely forsake Lamaism for Islam, and in addition would bring many Muslims to help them administer polytheistic China. One of these Central Asians was Sayid Ajall (1279–1368). Born in Bukhara, Ajall was entrusted with the Yuan occupation of Yunnan, and is credited with the establishment of what would become a large Muslim community there in the years to come.[65]

Mongol patronage certainly did not imply acceptance of the Hui by the Han ethnic majority as one and the same. Many Chinese in fact resented the privileged status that Muslims and other Western Asians (as well as a spattering of Europeans like Marco Polo) retained in the Mongol bureaucracy. All these foreigners came to be known as *semu* 色目, i. e., possessing coloured eyes. The best known anti-Muslim Han polemicist of the time was Song loyalist Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241–1318). Zhang would eventually die fighting against the Mongols, but he ironically described Muslims as fanatical martyrs earlier on.[66]

One of the best-known Chinese accounts of the outside world from the Mongol era is by Wang Dayuan's 汪大淵 (b. 1311).To be sure, his laconic *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (A Brief Account of the Island Barbarians) is focused on Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, unlike Zhao Rugua, Wang claimed to have actually travelled west rather than relying on second-hand accounts. The *Daoyi zhilüe* provides for example a description of Hormuz, where Wang witnessed the nail-free assemblage of an Arab ocean-going *dhow*. That observation is lent

62 Allsen 2004; Hansen 2015, 227-235.
63 Benedetto 1931, 127.
64 Liu 2010, 116-118.
65 Israeli 1994, 57-58.
66 Allsen 2004, 69-72; Park 2012, 118.

greater credibility because it accords with al-Sīrāfī's earlier description of the same assemblage.[67]

An important Ilkhanid account of China, as well as other faraway realms, was written by a Jewish convert to Islam named Rashīd al-Dīn (1247–1318). Serving as the emperor's personal physician and court historian, Rashid a-Din had access to privileged Mongol sources of information. Thus, although he had not travelled to China himself, the eminent physician could definitely place China's significance in the larger scheme of Mongol grand imperial rule.

Rashīd al-Dīn observed for example that the Mongol tribes had been disunited before the advent of Genghis Khan, or else they would have vanquished even the "Cathaians" (i. e. Chinese) long ago.[68] To be sure, those "Cathaians" lived in a country that was "vast" and "thickly inhabited"; the "Great Khan", being the Mongol ruler of China, had a "splendid palace" in the capital Khanbaliq (Beijing). There, trees from all over the world were planted, amongst other marvels. Khanbaliq enjoyed propitious geography and infrastructure masterminded by the "architects and wise men of Cathay". The eminent physician then goes on to mention China possessed intricate waterways and ports including Quanzhou (Zaytoun), describing it as gateway to India.[69]

Rashīd al-Dīn was also clearly aware of the economic sophistication of the Chinese. For his master, the emperor Ghaikhatu, cruelly yet unsuccessfully tried to impose on his subject in Tabriz imperially issued paper money, in a bid to emulate the Chinese success in that regard.[70] Chinese paper money was a marvel that Marco Polo famously documented as well around the same time.[71] Rashīd al-Dīn was also greatly impressed by Chinese medicine, suggesting in passing that Chinese physicians might have been present in Ilkhanid Iran.[72]

As a convert to Islam with many detractors at court, the eminent physician probably felt compelled to rationalise the advent of Mongol rule within Islamic tradition. First, he suggested that despite their different appearance, Mongols had in fact descended from an ancient pan-Turkic race, which itself had descended from the biblical Japheth.[73] Secondly, he suggested Genghis Khan had

67 Park 2012, 91-132.
68 Thackston 1998–1999, vol. 1, 44.
69 Thackston 1998–1999, vol 1, 44.
70 Thackston 1998–1999, vol 2, 583-585.
71 Vogel 2012.
72 Jahn 1984.
73 Thackston 1998–1999, vol. 1, 18-19.

been chosen by Allah to serve the expansion of the faithful much like the biblical Abraham. And although Rashīd al-Dīn could not credibly portray Genghis Khan himself as Muslim, the conversion of his Ilkanid heir, Ghazan Khan (1271–1304), served as proof of divine intervention. Also adduced was the islamization of the Uighur people at much the same time.[74]

Understandably missing from his account are earlier references to Chinese law as harsh and the Chinese system of governance as tyrannical. After all, this would have suggested something wrong with Mongol suzerainty. Regrettably, later in his career, none of Rahsida-Din's rationalizations prevented his enemies from denouncing him as convert Jew, and eventually get him beheaded.[75]

Rashīd al-Dīn notwithstanding, the Arab equivalent of the travelogue Marco Polo wrote was the epic *Rihla* by Muḥammad ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1369). This is firstly because its author did travel to Mongol-ruled China himself, and hence his impressions are more credible. Secondly, his voyages were part of his religious *hajj* duty, taking him from his native North Africa to Arabia, Iran and India too. Thirdly, North Africa, where he grew up, was part of the Islamic world that the Mongols never reached near.

The *Rihla,* much like Marco Polo, often heaps praise on China as fertile, safe and sophisticated country, where high-quality silk and porcelain are produced, and where paper money circulates widely. Nevertheless, in contrast to Polo, ibn Baṭṭūṭa's descriptions are also replete with cultural discomfiture and puzzlement. He particularly abhorred the prevalence of polytheism, and would only find inner peace when coming across other Muslims in China. Arguably, this unease was engendered because ibn Baṭṭūṭa, unlike Marco Polo, did not in fact stay in China very long. Rather, he somewhat pretentiously presented himself to locals as an envoy of the Sultan of India.[76]

Muslims living in China were by and large cognizant and grateful for their privileged position under the Mongols. But that is not to say local revolts involving the Hui did not break out particularly in the waning days of the Yuan dynasty, for example in 1343 in Changzhou and in 1357–1358 in Quanzhou. Whilst sponsoring Muslims in high office, the Mongol rulers of China did not convert to Islam themselves, unlike the Mongol rulers in much of the rest of the Mongol

74 Thackston 1998–1999, vol. 1, 16-17.
75 Boyle 1971.
76 Dunn 2012, 258-260.

Empire. In essence, the Mongols were most suspicious of their ethnic Chinese subjects but often *also* distrusted some of their very own *semu* in high office.[77]

Following the disintegration of the Mongol Empire, the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) restored ethnic-Han suzerainty. Upon seizing power, the Hongwu 洪武 Emperor (r. 1368–1398), the Ming founder, revived the Confucian *tianxia* 天下 ("all under heaven") discourse whereby disinterest in foreign affairs and cultures was feigned. This was a pushback against residual Mongol armed resistance in north China. However, apart from the descendants of Pu Shougeng, Hongwu did not persecute Muslims, who had served the Mongols. Quite the contrary, he often relied on Muslim generals in his battles to repel the Mongols, and continued to employ Muslims as astronomers.[78]

The Longer Ming Moment Explained

Following the usurpation of the throne by Zhu Di 朱棣 (the Yongle 永樂 Emperor, r. 1402–1424), a dramatic expansion of Ming naval expansion occurred. The famous Muslim eunuch Zheng He 鄭和 (1361–1433) was commissioned by the newly proclaimed Yongle Emperor to undertake exploratory missions which, amongst other things, called on Persian Gulf ports several times, and paved the way for broader Chinese immigration to Southeast Asia. However, the Ming dynasty emphatically turned inward after the demise of the Yongle Emperor in 1424, and the naval missions Zheng had put in train were gradually wound up. Even so, his exploits greatly enriched Chinese knowledge of the Islamic world, from Southeast Asia right through to Africa.[79]

Part of the reason why Zheng's missions were curtailed had to do with their crippling cost to the imperial treasury. Subsequently, both the late-Ming and the Manchu Qing dynasties lost interest in maritime expansion, greatly constricting the flow of goods and information into China. Under the late-Ming and Manchu rulers, Chinese Islam came of age in the sense that Chinese isolationism restricted its ties with the rest of the Islamic world, thereby setting in train a process of *en masse* acculturation. Against this backdrop, the Hui developed a unique canon (*Han kitab*) that sought to re-position Chinese Islam as part of a broader Confucian intellectual realm. Mosques built in China at that

77 Leslie 1986, 129-130; Vogel 2012, 166-169.
78 Dillon 2013, 28-31; Benite 2005, 23.
79 Marks 2007, 46-48; Dreyer 2007; Tan 2009.

time resembled Chinese temples; Chinese was adopted by Muslims as their main medium of communication, and hybrid Chinese-Muslim calligraphy appeared.[80]

Ma Huan 馬歡 (b. c. 1380) was a Hui navigator and polyglot who accompanied Zheng He on most of his voyages, and wrote the best known account thereof in Chinese.[81] Given his personal background, Ma's description of Muslim peoples along the way was understandably positive. Nevertheless, Ma was clearly bound by Chinese imperial conventions, as even Muslim peoples fell in his writing under the term *fan* 蕃 (alien, barbarian), i. e. they were bestowed gifts from on-high by the emperor, and sent back tribute to China.

Ma also made important observations of the societies and economies of the non-Muslim realms he traversed. In reference to Java, for example, he notes that the island had not yet been fully converted from Buddhism, Hinduism and animism into Islam; and that Chinese copper coinage of previous dynasties was current there; he observed that Cantonese and Teochew free settlers lived there, of whom a minority were Muslim. Also present in Java was a large privileged community of Muslims from West Asia. Ma suggests local Javanese, who had not converted to Islam, formed the lowest class of inhabitants on the island, and that they possessed "ugly and strange faces [... and were] devoted to devil worship. By contrast, Ma describes the population of Melaka and Aceh as thoroughly Muslim in orientation, and "very honest and genuine" at that.[82]

In sum, Ma gives the impression of established Chinese communities in South East Asia having formed by his time, whereas Rashīd al-Dīn and others speak at best of the presence of only few Chinese in the Muslim urban centres of West Asia.[83]

Upon arriving in the Arabian Peninsula, Ma described the Muslims of Dhufar, as "tall and stout" in appearance. Unlike China's copper coinage, he observed that the currency in use there was gold *tanka* suggesting perhaps South Asian influence.[84] The kingdom of Aden, he observed, was more powerful than Dhufar, and its inhabitants "overbearing". Nevertheless, even those inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, from where Islam had originally emerged, obediently sent back to the Chinese emperor – according to Ma – tribute of

80 Rossabi 1985; Israeli 1994, 122, 274-275; Benite 2005.
81 Mills and Feng 1970.
82 Mills and Feng 1970, 88-93, 110, 123.
83 Mills and Feng 1970, 168.
84 Mills and Feng 1970, 151-153.

gold, jewellery, gems and clothes along with a letter of submission written on gold leaf.[85]

Ma described Hormuz Island as a bustling trade hub attracting merchant ships from all over the world. He stressed the piety and cleanliness of the Muslims he encountered there, who "pray five times daily [...] and practise abstinence", implicitly contrasting their lifestyle with the more relaxed attitudes of Muslims in Java. The level of detail adds credibility to Ma's firsthand account: he mentioned for example the local dish of *harissa* as made of minced meat and pounded grain. Not to be confused with the Moroccan *harissa* sauce, south Arabian *harissa* remains in fact popular to this day. However, if Chinese acrobats usually elicited wonderment from premodern Muslim visitors, then Ma suggested Hormuz acrobats were mediocre.[86]

By far, Ma reserves the greatest praise for the people of Mecca, where he performed his hajj *duty*. Upon visiting the Kaaba, he was clearly impressed with the law abidance and the puritanism of the city, where alcohol was prohibited and women were fully covered up. He concluded that Mecca was surely "a most happy" place.[87]

Overland, Zheng He's voyages were arguably paralleled by the embassies shuttling between the Ming and Timurid court in Samarkand. To be sure, the storied Tamerlane, who founded the Timurid Empire, is thought to have planned invading Ming China shortly before his death. After some correspondence, Tamerlane concluded Hongwu to be an impertinent infidel due to the latter's paternalistic attitude. But relations between Tamerlane's successor, Sharukh, and the Yongle emperor were more affable, not least since the latter agreed to adopt more egalitarian wording in his correspondence.[88]

The *Xiyu fanguo zhi* 西域番國志 (Annals of Foreign Lands in the West) is an important chronicle of those Ming-Timurid contacts, written by the Yongle emperor's envoy Chen Cheng 陳誠 (1365–1457). It is an important repository of Chinese cultural attitudes, because Chen was not Muslim himself, unlike Ma Huan. His travel diary therefore offers "unvarnished" information on the bazaars, bathhouses, medical, religious, nuptial and funerary customs of Central Asia.

85 Mills and Feng 1970, 168.
86 Mills and Feng 1970, 165-166.
87 Mills and Feng 1970, 167-176.
88 Fletcher 1968.

To be sure, on the upside, Chen shuffled Muslim travellers' mystification of Chinese riches on its head. He suggested for example the people of Herat possessed "abundant quantities of gold, silver, gems, coral, amber, crystal, diamonds, cinnabar, chopping stones, pearl sand green jade". He even suggested Central Asians mastered the secrets of silk production, even if the secrets of Chinese-style "thick silk" were still confined to China proper.[89]

Ironically mirroring Muslim abhorrence of Chinese dietary customs, Chen was aghast for example at the fact that the Muslims of Central Asia ate with their hands. Similarly, Chen was surprised to come across underground wine consumption despite the blanket prohibition of alcohol, and the absence of stronger spirits.[90]

But if the accounts of Du You and his contemporary Ma Huan had both suggested Arab women were veiled, Chen Cheng remarked reproachfully that the Muslim women of Central Asia were in fact freer than Chinese women.[91] We may have here important comparative evidence that arguably bears out both the decline in the status of Chinese women from the Song era onward, as well the degree to which fifteenth century Islam was more lenient towards women outside of Arabia. Chen noted seeing many women riding horses and mules. And when these women met acquaintances on the road – they "chat, laugh, and play jokes on each other without any shame [...] they use profane words in greeting each other [...] and the foulness of the males [is] even worse."[92]

Chen was also surprised at the practise of free coinage in Herat, since money issue traditionally was a monopoly of the state in China. Chen suggested individuals voluntarily brought metal to Central Asian mints, where it would be turned into dang and dinar flans, and stamped with the ruler's seal. In rerun for that service, the mint would charge customers a fee, and unstamped flans could legally circulate in the marketplace.[93]

But Chen's biggest surprise had to do with two other features of society in Herat. First, he formed the impression that incestuous marriages between siblings were prevalent there; secondly, he considered the local legal system to be exceedingly lenient. He was thereby obviously misinformed about *sharia* strictures. His assertion for example that neither criminal law nor capital punish-

89 Rossabi 1983b, 54.
90 Rossabi 1983b, 50.
91 Rossabi 1985; Kauz 2005; Park 2012, 168-170.
92 Rossabi 1983b, 53.
93 Rossabi 1983b, 50-51.

ment existed in Herat, and that there was otherwise little litigation, does not stand up to historical scrutiny.[94]

Fortunately, Timurid envoys to China also documented their impressions so that we can compare them with Chen's. The first source was compiled by Hafiz Abru (d. 1430), a Muslim scribe accompanying the 500-man embassy from Shahrukh to the Yongle court, which was led by Ghiyatu a-Din. Abru arguably provides us with a glimpse in the Persian language into the relatively late islamization of southern Xinjiang, as he found the inhabitants of Turfan to be "unbelievers" (*kafirin*) worshipping idols.[95]

Chen Cheng indicated Central Asian leniency toward grape wine as compared with Arabia. Abru on his part certainly corroborates that impression, when recounting with merriment how the entire embassy became inebriated at the border, having been lavished food and beverage by the Chinese welcoming party.[96] Abru then notes the border banquet included a spellbinding acrobatics performance. Like previous Muslim accounts, he effuses the acrobats were "handsome boys with their faces painted red and white in such a way that whoever happened to look at them took them for girls [...]".[97]

Nevertheless, the frivolity of the welcome banquet did not hamper Chinese officials from carefully registering each entrant in accordance with the law. Implicit here is the notion that cross-border movement was much freer in Western Asia.[98] And upon reaching Beijing, Abru was clearly awed by the discipline and subservience both officials and commoners showed the emperor. In fact, he drew and analogy between their respectful prostration before the emperor (*koutou* 叩頭) and Muslim prostration before Allah during prayers.[99]

Whilst sojourning in Beijing, Abru came to the conclusion that Ming officials were tolerant of the Muslim faith. For example, when the embassy members refused to attend a banquet with the emperor during Ramadan, they were forgiven.[100] Moreover, the emperor is described as having built a mosque for the local Muslim community, suggesting the Hui were visible to the embassy.[101]

94 Rossabi 1983b, 51.
95 Maitra 1934, 12-13.
96 Maitra 1934, 16-17.
97 Maitra 1934, 22.
98 Fletcher 1968, 206-224.
99 Maitra 1934, 22.
100 Maitra 1934, 22.
101 Maitra 1934, 78-79.

Upon departing Beijing, the embassy was showered with exotic gifts by the emperor, including gerfalcons, precious metal, gem, and garments.[102] Notably, the embassy was also bestowed Chinese government-issued paper money. Here, Abru explicitly uses the transliterated Chinese term *chao* 鈔 (banknote), which Rashīd al-Dīn had first used in an Islamic context.[103] This is likely to have been a subtle yet predictable claim to universal suzerainty on the part of the Chinese emperor as *chao* enjoyed legal-tender status only in China. The note, in other words, did not have any intrinsic value. Similar bestowal was recorded in other cases too. Von Glahn indicated, for example, that in 1453, the Ming court tried to pay a Japanese trade envoy with paper money in return for copper imports.[104]

Written in Persian several decades after Abru's, the History of China (*Tārīkh-i Khaṭā'ī*), which attributed to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh (fl. 1420), is another important source on Ming-Timurid relations. Naqqāsh, it should be recalled was the leader of the Timurid embassy that Abru documented. As it later turned out, Naqqāsh's account was to influence the Ottoman knowledge of China more. But much like Abru, Naqqāsh described Chinese cities as very impressive, the Chinese emperor as generous to Muslims, and Chinese law as otherwise very cruel.[105] Like Abru, Naqqāsh also makes a point of describing boy acrobats at the court being dressed and made up "in the manner of girls".[106]

The Early Ottoman Era

Timurid suzerainty in Central Asia was tapering off in the early sixteenth century. At the same time, to the West, another Turkic power – the Ottomans – were asserting their control of much of the rest of the Islamic world. In time, the Timurid dynasty would be partly reconstituted in South Asia in the image of the Mughal Empire (1526–1857). And in Iran, the *shi'a* Safavid dynasty would proclaim its rule. However, despite geographical proximity, Safavid and Mughal sources on China are certainly not better informed than Ottoman ones. This was not least because Persian was used by the elite in all three, levelling the playing field.

102 Maitra 1934, 98-99.
103 Maitra 1934, 98-99.
104 Von Glahn 1996, 91.
105 Bellér-Hann 1995, 171-172.
106 Bellér-Hann 1995, 174-175.

In 1516, Persian merchant Syyid Ali Akbar wrote an important account of his putative trading sojourn in Ming China, thus providing earthier and more up-to-date observations of the country than either Abru or Naqqāsh could have.[107] Titled the *Khitainama* (Book of China), the manuscript found its way to Istanbul and made great impression there on Ottoman geographers and policy-makers. This unofficial travelogue seems nevertheless to have induced embassies from the early Ottoman Empire directly to China between 1524–1618.[108] In China, too, we find several citations of the Ottoman Empire or Rum (Lumi 魯迷) in official records. However, Ottoman-Chinese contact diminished after the fall of the Ming, not least due to the Manchus' anti-Muslim bias.

Much like his predecessors, Akbar reported that the Chinese emperor protected local Muslims from the bias of his Han mandarins.[109] Quite predictably by now, he also applauded Chinese adroitness in metallurgy, in medicine and astronomy, and in issuing paper money. [110] But he bitterly denounced what he saw as a Chinese tendency to think theirs was the only civilized society on earth. To be sure, Akbar describes Chinese society as prosperous and orderly but confides in his readers that this stability was the work of a eunuch-run secret police.[111] If Chen Cheng had earlier described Arabia contradictorily as puritan and incest-stricken at once, then Akbar suggested China was a realm of imperial tyranny, rife prostitution and cruel legal system.[112]

Notably, Akbar also assessed that – despite technological sophistication in other walks of life – the imperial Chinese army was less agile than the Muslim and Mongolian armies at the time.[113] However, that army was vast in terms of soldier numbers. It used cannons and sought to purchase Central Asian horses in return for silk so as to patrol the northern frontier. Moreover, he deemed the Chinese to cringe war, and prone to financial appeasement of their enemies.[114]

At any rate, Akbar may have inspired a later Ottoman account of China written in Arabic in 1585 by Muhammad bin Hajji Ali (*Iqlim Nameh fi e-Tarikh*). Commissioned to write the book for the Ottoman military, Ali is however not likely to have visited China himself. Some of his impressions faint-

107 Bellér-Hann 1995, 20.
108 Kauz 2005, 264, 266-67.
109 Mazahéri 1983, 105-108; Schefer 1883, 48, 66; cf. Hemmat 2010.
110 Mazahéri 1983, 154-155, 166.
111 Mazahéri 1983, 112.
112 Mazahéri 1983, 117-120.
113 Schefer 1883; Mazahéri 1983.
114 Mazahéri 1983, 117-120; Schefer 1883, 46, 63.

ly echo earlier accounts, but the book also contains hyperbole that casts a shadow over its authenticity.

Ali effuses for example a China abounding in "gold, gems and sapphire", in "trees, water and resources", and that its inhabitants – although short in girt – are "exceedingly handsome and skilful in fine workmanship".[115] But he then goes on to claim seeing in China a man "[...] who yelled like a monkey and had body hair like a monkey [...living] on trees.[116]

Following Ali, the Ottoman military scholar Kâtip Çelebi (1609–1657) penned a geographical book containing information on China (*Jihanuma*) that represented in many ways the coal face of Islamic knowledge at the time. Celebrated by the famous Ottoman modernizer Ibrahim Müteferrika (1674–1745), Çelebi had in fact been ahead of his time in using European atlases. But when it came to China, his descriptions blended familiar physical and cultural tropes, not least because he did not visit the country himself.

Thus, he suggested at once that the Chinese were prone to adultery and actually lacking in body hair.[117] He quite perceptively noted that Chinese emperors rarely appeared before their subjects, presumably in order to enhance the mystique of their power. Like Akbar, Çelebi also observed that the Chinese – albeit vainglorious, promiscuous and timid – excelled at arts and crafts.[118]

When the Manchus defeated the Ming, establishing the Qing dynasty in its stead, they were suspicious of Muslim connections with the previous rulers. Indeed, many Muslims remained loyal to the Ming later in the seventeenth century. And as part of the Qianlong emperor's western expansion policy, he was forced in 1758 to suppress a Muslim rebellion in newly conquered Kashgar.[119]

These fraught relations sowed the seeds of the wider Muslim rebellions against the Qing in the nineteenth century, at a time when the economic plight of Muslims was worsening. There were three factors weighing down on Muslim livelihood in China: First, Europeans had displaced Muslims on the maritime trade routes by then, and were also eroding the profits of the caravan trade overland. Second, the Qing discouraged foreign trade overall. Third, frequent droughts occurred in the provinces where Muslims were concentrated: Gansu,

115 Israeli 1992, 212-213.
116 Israeli 1992, 213.
117 Savcı 2013, 225-230.
118 Savcı 2013, 154-159.
119 Fletcher 1968, 219.

Ningxia and Shaanxi. On the other hand, Qing pressure on the Muslim to assimilate entrenched lingual and aesthetic acculturation by the Hui.[120]

In 1844, as China was emerging out of its self-imposed seclusion, an official, Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794–1857), was motivated to publish a summation of what was known about the outside world at the time. Glossing over more than two centuries of virtually no official contact with the Ottomans, Wei hazily drew on earlier imperial annals. In his *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms) first published 1844, he described the Ottoman Empire as a "faraway realm [which] during the Ming Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1522–1566) dutifully dispatched a tribute of one lion and four oxen". Yet, the tribute was supposedly turned down by the Jiajing emperor because rearing lions was deemed incongruent with Chinese sensibilities, the latter being so different to foreigners' (*renwu yixing* 人物異性).[121]

It was only in 1901 that Sultan Abdul Hamid sent the first official mission to China proper, at the behest of the German Kaiser. The purpose of the mission was to persuade Chinese Muslims to break ranks with the Boxer anti-Western rebellion sweeping across Gansu at the time.[122] The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the 1910s, however, made more of an impact on the anti-Manchu Chinese nationalist movement, exiled in Japan and influenced by pan-Asian ideology in the early twentieth century. Nationalists argued that China would "perish" in much the same way if it did not modernize quickly enough.[123]

Conclusions

China has always cast a spell on the Muslim imagination but, unlike India, it was never deemed an integral part of *Dar al-Islam*. Theologically and culturally, it remained aloof during the Middle Ages, and hence did not constitute a serious intellectual challenge in the way Christendom had. Some early-modern and modern Western accounts of the Chinese penal system described it as cruel.[124] Early Islamic portrayals were somewhat more complimentary but not wholly

120 Rossabi 1985, 275.
121 *Haiguo tuzhi*, vol. 24; cf. Mosca 2013.
122 Brophy 2016; Benite 2008.
123 Jahn 2002, 177; Horowitz 2004; Esenbel 2017, "Introduction".
124 Lach 1965–1993, vol. 3, 1579; Mackerras 1989, 25.

positive either. In fact, one regularly finds in later Muslim sources admiration for Chinese craftsmanship and aesthetics alongside abhorrence of perceived idolatry, pervasive castration, and sexual promiscuity.

By the Mongol era, China was portrayed in Muslim sourcesas a prosperous realm, what with overflowing gold, high-quality silk, porcelain, and paper money in circulation. Nevertheless, ibn Baṭṭūṭa's descriptions are replete for example with abhorrence at the prevalence of Chinese "idolatry". Arguably, this unease continued to resonate in the Muslim mind-set until the twentieth century.[125] Later accounts generally portray Chinese emperors as tolerant of Muslims, but cast the system of government and criminal law as exceedingly repressive. One also finds on occasion denunciations of Chinese civilizational self-centeredness.

On their part, early Chinese accounts of the Islamic world tended to stereotype Muslims as exceedingly puritanical and battle-hardened. Curiously, a few sources attributed the very same abundance of gold to the Islamic world rather than China. And, ironically, whereas Muslim sources often praised the beauty of Chinese women, Chinese premodern sources often praised the chastity and body-cover of Arab women. By the sixteenth century, however, a clearer distinction seems to have emerged in Chinese portrayals between Arab, Central Asian, and Southeast Asian Muslims. Namely, if one were to rely on Chen Cheng, then Central Asian attitudes to women or alcohol consumption, for example, would appear lenient as compared with Arabia. Chinese judgement of the Islamic penal system seems, on the other hand, inconsistent over time.

From a Sinological perspective, the new understanding of Muslim-Chinese early mutual perceptions sheds light on the confines of either world, and the interactions between them in the realm of foreign affairs. It is obvious that at various times suspicions obtained, but there is also mutual respect evident in the sources. Those sentiments help explain why the two worlds never became enemies in conceptual terms even at the height of suspicion. Nevertheless, the engagement between the two worlds remained selective, and a sense of foreignness and impenetrability lingered on. Neither world conceded cultural supremacy in dealing with the other world.

125 Dunn 2012, 258-260.

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Xiamen at the Crossroads of Sino-Foreign Linguistic Interaction during the Late Qing and Republican Periods: The Issue of Hokkien Phoneticization

Sebestyén HOMPOT

Origins of Hokkien phoneticization

The Works of Philippines-based Spanish Dominican Missionaries

The earliest examples of Hokkien phoneticization go back to the works of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish Dominican missionaries based in the Philippines. The Hokkien-Spanish linguistic interaction in the Philippines began with the translation of Spanish works into Hokkien using Chinese characters, the earliest of them being the translation of *Doctrina christiana en lengua y letra china* (Christian doctrine in Chinese language and script, 1587) by Miguel de Benavides and Juan Cobo (Klöter 2002, 1). Hong Weiren (2014, 6) argues that a Spanish translation of the *Mingxin baojian* 明心寶鑑[1] (POJ[2]: *Bêng-sim Pó-kàm*) by Juan Cobo under the title *Beng Sim Po Cam* published in 1593 in Manila[3] is not only the earliest translation of a Chinese work into any Western language but can also be regarded as the earliest example of Hokkien phoneticization, since it includes a number of Romanized Hokkien names and expressions (incl. its title). Hong (2014, 8) mentions an anonymous manuscript found in the British Library titled *Bocabulario de la lengua sangleya por las letraz de el A.B.C.* (Vocabulary of the Sangley[4] language according to the letters of the

1 A popular work during the late Ming dynasty containing aphorisms and quotations from classical Chinese works. Its title can be translated as "a precious mirror enlightening the heart/mind".

2 Throughout the study, the Peh-oe-ji (POJ) transcription method will be used to denote Hokkien pronunciation.

3 Hong (2014) gives 1590 as the date of publication and the subtitle of the book as *Rico espejo dal buen corazon* (Precious mirror of the good heart). However, according to most other sources such as the full digitalization of the book by the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (https://www.upf.edu/asia/projectes/che/s16/bengsi.htm) the date of publication is 1593 and its subtitle is *Espejo rico del claro corazón* (Precious mirror of the bright heart).

4 Sangley was a term commonly used for Chinese people in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period. There are various theories on the origin of the name, of which according to Hong (2014) the most likely is the Hokkien word *seng-lí* 生理 (business), referring to the occupational background of most Chinese people residing in the Philippines at that time.

ABC) published around 1617 as the earliest example of a Hokkien grammar featuring systematic Hokkien Romanization. Klöter (2016) also mentions the *Bocabulario*, nevertheless he names the *Arte de la lengua chio chiu* (Grammar of the Zhangzhou language) compiled by an unknown author, published in 1620 by Manila-based Dominican missionary Melchior Mançano as the earliest extant Hokkien grammar including a systematic Romanization. According to his account the two extant manuscripts of the *Arte* are found in the British Library and in the library of the University of Barcelona. Several other Hokkien-Spanish grammars were compiled in the following decades as well. While these works are important sources for the study of historical Hokkien phonology and the history of Sino-Western cultural interaction, it is unlikely that they had any influence on the main subjects of the present study, namely the phoneticization methods emerging in the nineteenth century. As also pointed out by Klöter (2002, 2) there is no mentioning of any Spanish sources in the rime dictionaries and missionary works of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Hokkien Operas and Rime Dictionaries

The tradition of writing Hokkien with Chinese characters including a large number of non-standard characters (*suzi* 俗字), phonetic loan characters (*jieyinzi* 借音字) and through semantic reading (*xundu* 訓讀) starts with the *Li jing ji* 荔鏡記 (The tale of the lychee mirror). The *Li jing ji* is a popular opera written in the Quanzhou and Chaozhou (Teochew)[5] dialects whose earliest extant manuscript dates to 1566. A comparative analysis between the language of *Li jing ji* and other Ming dynasty Hokkien operas and that of the above-mentioned Spanish sources (which are based on the Zhangzhou dialect, the ancestral home of most Chinese Filipinos) was made by Wang Jianshe (2012), pointing out the large number of similarities between these sources. Hence although in Southern Fujian Hokkien had a history of being recorded with Chinese characters in a non-standardized way, the first efforts by Chinese authors to record its pronunciation and to phoneticize it appeared significantly later than the works of the above-mentioned Spanish missionaries, namely at the end of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century. These efforts were realized in the form of traditional "rime dictionaries", the most well-known of them being the *Huiyin miaowu* 彙音妙悟 (POJ: *Lūi-im miāu-ngō*, Gathering and understanding sounds) published in 1800 and the *Huiji ya su tong shiwu yin*

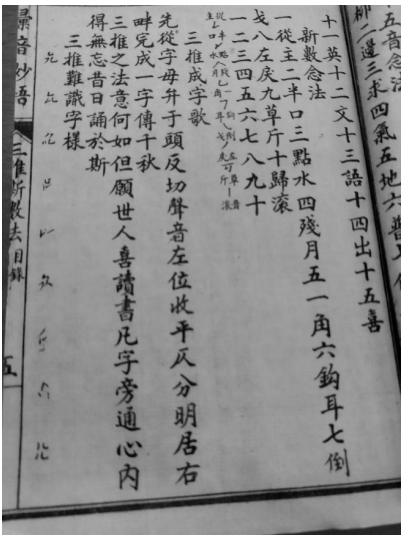
5 Generally considered part of the Southern Min group of Chinese language varieties, but not part of Hokkien (or "Minnan proper").

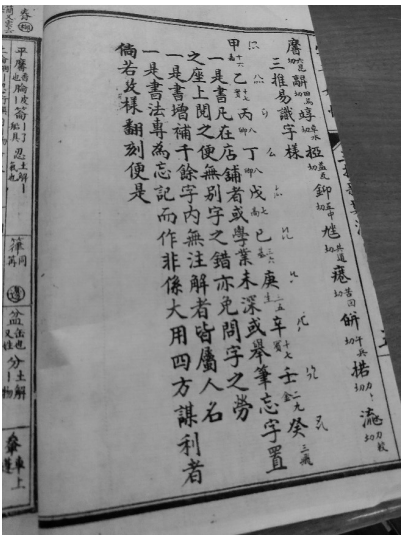
彙集雅俗通十五音 (POJ: *Lūi-chi̍p ngá-sio̍k-thong si̍p-ngó͘-im*, Compilation of the fifteen sounds of refined and popular [speech]) published in 1818.[6] The basic principle of rime dictionaries is the so-called *fanqie* 反切 method, the indication of the pronunciation of Chinese characters by combining two more commonly used characters. The first among these characters represents the "onset" (the first consonant of the syllable or the lack thereof known as "null onset"), whereas the second one represents the "rime" (the parts of the syllable following the "onset") and the tone of the syllable.[7]

The *Huiyin miaowu* (1800) compiled by Huang Qian 黃謙, based on the Quanzhou dialect advocates the usage of "conventional (non-standard) characters" (*suzi* 俗字) and the "popular / local accent" (*suyin* 俗音 / *tuyin* 土音) as beneficial for "village schools" (*cunshu* 村塾) and for the "peasants, workers and merchants" (*nong gong shang gu* 農工商股) (Huang 1905 [1800], IV-VI). It is notable that Huang Qian compiled his work almost a century prior to the emergence of the Western-inspired "Language and Script Reform Movement" of the late nineteenth century, in an era when ideas of Western-style mass education had not yet arrived in China. What is remarkable is, as well that Huang Qian's work contains an early phoneticization method for Hokkien called *san tui cheng zi fa* 三推成字法 (forming characters in three steps). The 15 initials, 50 rimes and 8 tones of the Quanzhou dialect are each assigned to numerical values represented by a set of strokes corresponding to the ten numerical characters from one (*yi* 一) to ten (*shi* 十). These numerical symbols are written in a triangular shape, wherein the rime is indicated at the top, the onset at the bottom left and the tone at the bottom right (see Pictures 1-2, Appendix 3). According to Huang (2003, 259-260) and Ma (2016, 703), the *san tui cheng zi fa* is Huang Qian's own creation and can be regarded the earliest example of a Chinese phoneticization method created by a Chinese author.

6 Rime dictionaries for certain other varieties of Chinese had existed for a long time before the publication of the *Huiyin miaowu*. *Qieyun* 切韻 (published in 601 CE by Lu Fayan 陸法言) is generally considered to be the earliest Chinese rime dictionary.

7 To provide an example, the modern Standard Chinese morpheme *gōng* 公 can be indicated by combining ***gāo*** 高 and ***dōng*** 東 (公: 高東切) when using the *fanqie* method.





Picture 1 [left]. The *san tui cheng zi fa* (forming characters in three steps) phoneticization method in *Huiyin miaowu* (Huang 1905 [1800], VII) (Xiamen University Libraries). The application of the method is demonstrated at the left edge of the page. (For more details see Appendix 3.)

Picture 2 [right]. The *san tui cheng zi fa* (forming characters in three steps) phoneticization method in *Huiyin miaowu* (Huang 1905 [1800], VIII) (Xiamen University Libraries). The application of the method can be seen at the beginning of the second paragraph (the book is written in vertical columns from right to left).

Contrary to Huang Qian's *Huiyin miaowu* (1800) which is based on the Quanzhou dialect, the *Huiji ya su tong shiwu yin* (hereafter *Shiwu yin*) (1818) compiled by Xie Xiulan 謝秀嵐 is based on the Zhangzhou dialect. Its main innovation is connected to the difference between the so-called "literary and colloquial readings" of characters (*wen bai yidu* 文白異讀) in Hokkien. Hokkien is a variety of Chinese made up by two main linguistic strata, one (more ancient) mostly present in the spoken language and one (later adopted from Tang dynasty Middle Chinese) used primarily in formal contexts such as the reading of written texts. For this reason, most characters have at least two pronunciations, one so-called "colloquial reading" (*baidu* 白讀) and one so-called "literary reading" (*wendu* 文讀). In *Huiyin miaowu* colloquial reading is indicated by adding the word *tuyin* 土音 (colloquial sound) below colloquial pronunciations. In *Shiwu yin*, the distinction is made more visible by using red and black ink colors for literary and colloquial readings respectively. In the decades following its publication, the *Shiwu yin* became a popular work within Hokkien-speaking communities around the South China Sea, serving as a reference work for foreign missionaries compiling new Romanization methods for Hokkien.

The Emergence of English-Hokkien Linguistic Interaction in Southeast Asia

Walter Henry Medhurst's *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms* (1832) is regarded as the starting point of the nineteenth century Hokkien-foreign linguistic interaction process. Medhurst (1796–1857), a British member of the London Missionary Society (LMS) arrived in Malacca in 1816 where he quickly realized that understanding Hokkien is essential for missionary work among the local Chinese:

> The author, having never visited China, has had little opportunity of conversing with the higher ranks of the Chinese, but from a constant intercourse with the middling and lower classes who emigrate to the Eastern Islands, his uniform experience for the last fourteen years has been, that not one man in five hundred knows anything of the Mandarin tongue, or can carry on a conversation of more than ten words in it. [...] The author, on commencing the study of Chinese, attended solely to the Mandarin, but, finding that it was not understood by the mass of emigrants in the Malayan archipelago, he turned his attention, in the year 1818, to the Hok-këèn dialect (Medhurst 1832, V-VI).

The two main influences of Medhurst were the *Shiwu yin* and *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language,* the earliest English-Mandarin dictionary published in three parts between 1815 and 1823 in Macau, compiled by British Protestant missionary Robert Morrison (1782–1834):

> The present work is founded on a native Dictionary of the Hok-këèn dialect, published in the year 1818, called the Sip gnoé yim 十五音 [*Shiwu yin*], or "fifteen sounds," which contains both the Reading and Colloquial idiom, with the sounds and tones very accurately defined. [...] the author has [...] adopted that mode of spelling which appeared to him the best, following, in most instances, the orthography of Dr. Morrison, in his Dictionary of the Mandarin tongue (Medhurst 1832, VII-VIII).

The Chinese Repository,[8] an English-language periodical published between 1832 and 1851 in Guangzhou provides information on the further development of Hokkien Romanization. *The Chinese Repository* was edited by Protestant missionaries and was intended to inform fellow missionaries about the history, culture and languages of China in order to help their work. In Vol. 6 (1837–1838) the preface of Medhurst's dictionary is published (pp. 142-

8 All volumes are available in digitized format at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000541105 (acc. on 2018-07-04).

148). In Vol. 13 (1844) a translation and Romanization of one of Aesop's tales (The snake and the file) is published in the Zhangzhou and Chaozhou dialects (p. 102). The translation is attributed to a Chinese translator named as R. Thom. The Romanization is a joint work of two British Protestant missionaries, Penang-based Samuel Dyer (1804–1843) and Singapore-based John Stronach (1810–1888). As also mentioned in the article, Dyer had already published a *Vocabulary of the Hokkien Dialect* in 1838 (for a detailed analysis of its orthography see Ma 2016, 230-254). Stronach later became one of the first missionaries in Xiamen, arriving there in 1844 (Pitcher 1912, 234). The Romanization method used in their translation shows more similarities with Medhurst's orthography than with later Peh-oe-ji. In Vol. 22 (1851) a short extract from the 46th chapter of Genesis is presented. The orthography used here largely corresponds to Peh-oe-ji. The article in which the extract appears is written by the editor of the periodical, Guangzhou-based American Protestant missionary and linguist Samuel Wells Williams (1812–1884). According to DeFrancis (1950, 21) and Klöter (2002, 7), the author of the passage is most likely to be an unnamed missionary from Xiamen instead of Williams himself, since the passage appears in the *Bibliographical Notes* of the periodical.

Xiamen, the Gulangyu Joint Concession and the Emergence of the Peh-oe-ji Romanization Method

Earlier History of Christianity in Southern Fujian

Prior to the nineteenth century Catholicism had already been present in Southern Fujian for centuries. The diocese of Zayton (Quanzhou) was established by Fransiscan missionary Gerardo Albuini in 1313 (Lin 2002). Between 1644 and 1663, while Southern Fujian was under the rule of Ming loyalists Zheng Zhilong 鄭芝龍 and his son Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (Koxinga), Spanish Dominican missionaries were reportedly present at the headquarters of the Zheng clan on the Xiamen main island (Busquets 2006 citing contemporary accounts Riccio 1667, Palafox y Mendoça 1670 and Navarrete 1676).[9] During the eighteent century Dominican missionaries in the region were severely persecuted,

9 Victorio Riccio later became an envoy of Zheng Chenggong to the Spanish in Manila (Busquets 2006). According to the comparative analysis of Busquets (2006) he was apparently the only one among the three authors who had personal contact with the Zheng rulers. The other two authors apparently retold his account in their more general description of China's contemporary affairs.

nevertheless they continued to operate clandestinely (González 1964). During the first half of the nineteenth century, legal missionary activity outside of Portuguese-administered Macau was limited to Guangzhou, the city where Morrison, Williams and other missionary-linguists of the first half of the nineteenth century spent their productive years (Li and Zhang 2012).

The Treaty of Nanking and the Emergence of Xiamen as a Center of Missionary Activity

The Treaty of Nanking (1842) led to significant changes in the conditions of missionary activity around China. Xiamen (traditionally known as Amoy[10]) among other port cities was forcibly opened and foreign missionary work was forcibly legitimized across the country. Many of the newly-arrived missionaries in Xiamen were already well trained in Hokkien, due to their experiences of working with Hokkien-speakers in Southeast Asia. As Xiamen-based British Protestant missionary John Macgowan (1836–1922) puts it:

> In the meantime [before the First Opium War] as there was no scope for missionary work in China, missions were commenced in Batavia, Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, amongst the Chinese residing there. One very valuable result of this was that men were being trained in a knowledge of Chinese and of Chinese life that would specially qualify them to be workers in China the very moment that country was opened. (1971 [1889], 20)

Most of the earliest missionaries arriving to Xiamen in the 1840s such as David Abeel (arriving in 1841), John Stronach (1844), Elihu Doty (1844), John Van Nest Talmage (1847), listed in the account of Xiamen-based American Protestant missionary Philip Wilson Pitcher (1856–1915) were already known for their work on Southeast Asian colonies (Pitcher 1912, 230-236).

A small British Concession, mainly consisting of trading posts operated on the Xiamen main island between 1852 and 1930. The preferred residence of most foreigners arriving to Xiamen came to be the small island of Gulangyu 鼓浪嶼 (POJ: *Kó͘-lōng-sū*) opposite to the British Concession. Although during the second half of the nineteenth century Gulangyu effectively became a foreign-administered exclave with numerous foreign-funded and operated schools and churches, it was not until 1903 that the island became officially recognized

10 Likely to derive from *Ē-mûi*, the Zhangzhou dialect pronunciation of Xiamen 廈門.

as a "joint concession" (*gonggong zujie* 公共租界).[11] Between the First Opium War and World War II, 12 educational institutions on Gulangyu (Zhu 1997, 25-32) and several others on the Xiamen main island were established by American and British Protestant missionary societies, attesting to the significant role English-speaking foreign missionaries had on the development of Xiamen during that period (He 2007).

The Emergence of Peh-oe-ji

In popular narrative Gulangyu has long been considered the birthplace of the first successfully popularized and to the present day widely used Romanization method of Hokkien known as *Pe̍h-ōe-jī* 白話字 (vernacular writing). The earliest extant work recognizably written in Peh-oe-ji, the *Anglo-Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial* (1853) was compiled by Gulangyu-based American Protestant missionary Elihu Doty (1809–1864) (Klöter 2002, 3). An earlier Peh-oe-ji textbook titled *Tn̂g-oē Hoan-jī Chho-ha̍k* 唐話番字初學 (Introduction to Chinese Romanization, 1852) compiled by Doty's colleague John Van Nest Talmage (1819–1892) is mentioned in several sources. In popular narrative Talmage is venerated as the "Father of Peh-oe-ji" (*baihuazi zhi fu* 白話字之父), assuming that he was the sole creator of the script (see e.g. Liu 2013). According to Klöter (2002, 6) Peh-oe-ji is likely to be a result of several Xiamen-based missionaries' work and became largely fixed by the late 1850s. The argument that Peh-oe-ji was not created by one single author but emerged from various Romanization attempts is also confirmed by the foreword of the *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1873) compiled by Xiamen-based British Protestant missionary Carstairs Douglas (1830–1877):

> The basis of this Dictionary is the manuscript vocabulary prepared by the late Rev. J. Lloyd, Missionary of the American Presbyterian Church. When I arrived at Amoy in 1855, I copied it for my own use, adding the additional words in Doty's Manual, and have been constantly enlarging and re-arranging the collection of words and phrases ever since. A few years after copying Lloyd's Vocabulary I collated the manuscript dictionary written by the Rev. Alexander Stronach of the London Missionary Society (1899 [1873], VIII).

By the 1850s, the instruction of Romanized Xiamen Hokkien had already started at the missionary schools of Xiamen according to Pitcher (1912):

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11 The name "joint" refers to the fact that Gulangyu was administered by several foreign powers at the same time. In Chinese history the only other example of a jointly administered foreign concession territory was the Shanghai International Settlement.

> The chief promoter of this new scheme of writing Chinese was, perhaps more than any other, the Rev. J. V. N. Talmage, D.D. He was, however, heartily supported by all his colleagues working in the three Missions, viz. his, own, the American Reformed Missions, the English Presbyterian, and the London Missionary Society. Dr. Jas. Young, of the English Presbyterian Mission, and Rev. E. Doty, of the American Reformed, showed their enthusiasm by teaching it at that time (1850) by blackboard exercises in a mission school over in Amoy (Pitscher 1912, 207-208).

Dutch-Hokkien Linguistic Interaction and Its Relation to Xiamen

It is important to mention that apart from the English-Hokkien linguistic interaction initiated by Protestant missionaries, a Dutch-Hokkien interaction process was also initiated by linguists from the Dutch East Indies arriving to Xiamen in the 1850s. According to the foreword of the *Chineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (Chinese-Dutch dictionary of the Amoy dialect),

> Back in 1856 when the author of this work was sent from Batavia to China to learn Chinese, he decided to establish his residence in Amoy, as most of the Chinese on Java stem from Amoy and its surroundings (Francken and De Grijs 1882, I).

Apparently, the author came into touch with the American and British missionaries already residing in Xiamen:

> [...] except for a short wordlist by the American missionary E. Doty and a small Chinese dictionary the 十五音 Sip ngo im [*Shiwu yin*] translated by Medhurst [the author apparently refers to Medhurst's *Dictionary* (1832) here], there had not been anything published about the Amoyish yet. (Francken and De Grijs 1882, I)

It is notable that contrary to English-Hokkien materials published during the nineteenth century, the Dutch dictionary project was carried out by a secular organization, the "Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen" (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).

A further significant Dutch-Hokkien dictionary titled *Nederlandsch-Chineesch woordenboek met de transcriptie der Chineesche karakters in het Tsiang-tsiu dialekt, hoofdzakelijk ten behoeve der tolken voor de Chineesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Dutch-Chinese dictionary with transcription of Chinese characters in the Zhangzhou dialect, mainly for the purpose of translating the Chinese language in Netherlands India, 1886–1890) was compiled by Dutch sinologist Gustaaf Schlegel (1840–1903), a co-worker of Francken and De Grijs (mentioned in Francken and De Grijs 1882, I). Schlegel's work was published in the Netherlands in four volumes between 1886 and 1890 and is the most comprehensive Hokkien dictionary published until the present day. In the introduction of his dictionary Schlegel claims to have contacted Douglas

before his return to the Netherlands in 1872. However, the orthography used in both Dutch dictionaries is markedly different from Peh-oe-ji promoted by English-speaking authors (Klöter 2002, 10).

The Spread of Peh-oe-ji around the South China Sea

Further Developments in Xiamen

The expansion of Peh-oe-ji was elevated to a new stage with the publication of the *Chinese–English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1873) compiled by Carstairs Douglas. The dictionary was the first linguistic work on Hokkien written exclusively in the Latin alphabet without using Chinese characters. Douglas was the first author promoting the idea of an independent Hokkien written language by emphasizing its distinctiveness from other varieties of Chinese and the difficulties of writing Hokkien with Chinese characters. In the preface of his work he directly challenges the traditional notion that Hokkien is the dialect of a single Chinese language:

> It is not a mere colloquial dialect or patois; it is spoken by the highest ranks just as by the common people, [...] Nor does the term "dialect" convey anything like a correct idea of its distinctive character; it is no mere dialectic variety of some other language; it is a distinct language, one of the many and widely differing languages which divide among them the soil of China. [...] In like manner the language which for want of a better name we may call the Amoy Vernacular or spoken language, contains within itself several real dialects, especially those of Chang-chew, Chin-chew, Tung-an and of Amoy itself [Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Tong'an 同安[12] and Xiamen]. (Douglas 1899 [1873], VII)

Regarding Chinese characters Douglas argues that

> There are a very large number of the words for which we have not been able to find the corresponding character at all, perhaps a quarter or a third of the whole; [...] many of them rare, and many difficult to recognize from the great variations that take place between the written and spoken forms of the language (Douglas 1899 [1873], VIII).

In the following decades Peh-oe-ji became widely used in and around Xiamen and a large amount of literature was published using Peh-oe-ji. According to the account of Pitcher written in 1912

> [Peh-oe-ji] is taught in all our primary schools, in the churches and chapels on Sundays, and in the homes on week-days. It is difficult to estimate accurately the num-

12 Located north of the Xiamen main island, independent county until 1997, today part of mainland Xiamen (Tong'an District 同安區).

> ber of readers of this Amoy Romanization. Probably a safe estimate would be between five and six thousand (Pitcher 1912, 133).

Pitcher mentions more than 40 publications in Peh-oe-ji, which apart from Christian religious materials include works on natural sciences, history and translations of Confucian classics (pp. 210-211). A longer (still not exhaustive) list is provided by Xu and Li (1992, 64-66) including 120 works published in Peh-oe-ji from the 1880s to the 1940s. This clearly shows that by the early twentieth century Peh-oe-ji has gone beyond its originally intended purpose as a tool for spreading Christianity and became a tool of secular learning as well. During the same time period, several new Peh-oe-ji textbooks and dictionaries were published in Xiamen, namely the *English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect* (1883) by Macgowan, the collection of Talmage's works in the *Ē-mn̂g-im ê jī-tián* 廈門音的字典 (Dictionary of the Xiamen dialect, 1894) and the *Lessons in the Amoy vernacular* (1911; republished in Warnshuis – De Pree – Chiu 1930) by American Protestant missionary Abbe Livingston Warnshuis (1877–1958).

According to Pitcher's account, by the early twentieth century Peh-oe-ji books were already used outside Southern Fujian as well. Regarding Doty's *Manual* (1853) Pitcher reports that

> This is still in existence and formed the basis of the Manuals now used in this region and in Singapore and Formosa (1912, 234).

Pitcher also praises Douglas' Dictionary (1873) as

> [...] the joy and delight of every one living in this region, across the Channel, or in the Straits Settlements, fortunate enough to possess a copy (1912, 236).

The Spread of Peh-oe-ji on Taiwan

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, Peh-oe-ji became widely used by missionaries on Taiwan as well. In 1885 British Protestant missionary Thomas Barclay (1849–1935) launched Taiwan's first newspaper titled *Tâi-oân-hú-siâⁿ Kàu-hōe-pò* 台灣府城教會報 (Taiwan-fu Church News), printed in Peh-oe-ji. In 1913, *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken throughout the Prefectures of Chin-Chiu, Chiang-Chiu and Formosa* was published by Barclay's fellow British colleague William Campbell (1841–1921), also known for his extensive writings on Taiwan's history. Following this, Barclay authored a supplement to the second edition of Douglas' *Dictionary* (1899) titled *Supplement to Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1923). In the preface of the *Supplement* Barclay notes that its publication was necessary since

> During that time a great change has come over China. Western civilization, to an increasing extent, has been welcomed, and new ideas in every department of thought and action have filled the minds of the people. [...] Accordingly some ten years ago I received an invitation from my Amoy colleagues to make a collection of these new words and phrases, to be published as a Supplement to the Dictionary (1923, I).

Hokkien-Japanese Linguistic Interaction on Taiwan and Its Relation to the English-Hokkien Interaction Process

Following the occupation of Taiwan by Japan in 1895 a large number of Japanese-Hokkien and Hokkien-Japanese dictionaries and textbooks were published as well. Some of these works are partially written in Peh-oe-ji or contain references to the aforementioned works of Western missionaries. In a 60-volume compilation and reprint of 134 Chinese language books published in Japan during the Edo (1603–1868) and Meiji (1868–1912) periods edited by Li Wuwei (2015), eight works on Taiwanese Hokkien published between 1895 and 1903 can be found. On the website of Japan's National Diet Library,[13] a further nine works on Taiwanese Hokkien published during the Japanese colonial period can be found (dated between 1895 and 1944). A comparative examination of Taiwanese Hokkien materials edited by Japanese authors reveal some similarities and distinctive features with the aforementioned works of English-speaking missionaries.

First of all, although Xiamen was not part of the Japanese Empire until its occupation in 1937, almost all of these works use Xiamen pronunciation as their standard. In the foreword of *Taiwango hatsuongaku* (Phonetics of Taiwanese) by Kanematsu (1900), Medhurst, Macgowan, and among others a certain "Xiamen dictionary" (厦門字典) and "Book of the Xiamen dialect" (厦門方言書) are cited as influences. In most works the explanation for using Xiamen dialect as standard is the fact that Xiamen is located between Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, Xiamen dialect in turn featuring a mixture of characteristics found in these two neighboring dialects. Quanzhou and Zhangzhou are the ancestral homelands of most Taiwanese Hoklo (Hokkien-speakers), but according to most authors Quanzhou or Zhangzhou dialect is almost nowhere spoken in its pure form on Taiwan in their time, making Xiamen dialect the most suitable choice. This way of reasoning appears in the seminal work *Nittai Daijiten* (Comprehensive Japanese-Taiwanese Dictionary, 1907, V-VI) compiled by Japanese linguist Ogawa Naoyoshi 小川尚義 (1869–1947), also

13 http://www.ndl.go.jp/ (acc. on 2018-07-12)

known for his works on Taiwanese aboriginal languages. It is further elaborated in later works, such as in Iwasaki (1922),

> Taiwanese in this book is primarily based on Xiamen pronunciation. Perhaps excluding Hakka (Cantonese) [sic],[14] what generally is called Taiwanese is the language of the two counties Quanzhou and Zhangzhou. However, except for a few small villages in the Yilan area where pure Zhangzhou dialect is spoken, in most cases a so-called "neither Zhangzhou, nor Quanzhou" mixture is spoken instead.[15] [...] Geographically, Xiamen is located between Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, the intonation of its speech likewise combining the features of both. (Iwasaki 1922, II)

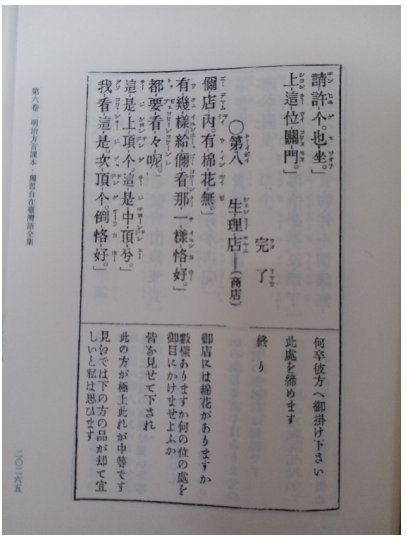
According to Higashikata (1931),

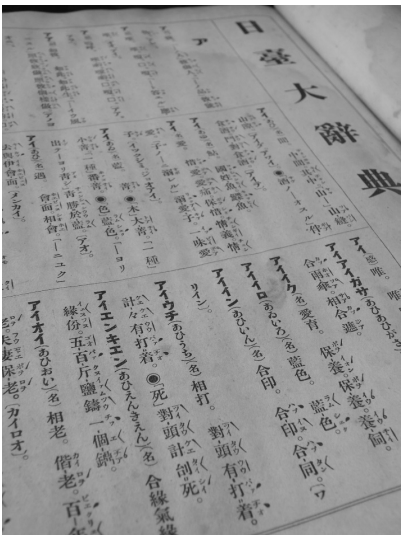
> Since Xiamen is geographically located between Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, the characteristics of its speech are also situated between the Quanzhou and Zhangzhou dialects. The features of the Southern Fujian language can be understood by examining the Xiamen speech. [...] Furthermore, regarding the Southern Fujian language spoken on Taiwan today, due to the development of transportation facilities the distinction between the Quanzhou and Zhangzhou dialects has become unclear. Because of this condition of "neither Quanzhou, nor Zhangzhou" [mixed speech], in this book the Xiamen speech will be investigated and explained (Higashikata 1931, 6).

For the convenience of Japanese readers, the main writing system used for recording Hokkien in Japanese publications is a modified version of Katakana, the so-called Taiwanese Kana (*Taiwango kana* 台湾語仮名). Japanese has a far smaller sound inventory than Hokkien, lacking aspirated sounds among others, as well as nasalization and morphological tones. Therefore, additional characters and supplementary symbols had to be created. Hokkien syllables not found in Japanese (e.g. [*ti*]) are indicated by the modification of Katakana symbols (in the case of [*ti*] a horizontal line added on top of the *chi* チ character). The seven tones of Xiamen Hokkien are represented by a set of strokes written on the right side of the Taiwanese Kana symbols.[16] In case a syllable is nasalized, a small circle is added on these strokes. Aspiration is represented by a dot added under the basic character (e.g. *ka* カ vs. *kha* カ゚, for more information see Appendix 2). In some works full Peh-oe-ji transcription is added besides Taiwanese Kana phoneticization and Japanese translation (Iwasaki 1922), while in others com-

14 蓋し客人語（広東語）を除きて。
15 泉、漳混淆所謂不漳不泉なるものにして。
16 Note that Japanese texts in the period were mostly printed vertically, with columns following each other right-to-left.

parison tables indicate the correspondences between Taiwanese Kana and Peh-oe-ji (Kanematsu 1900 in Li 2015, 21243).





Picture 3 [left]. *Dokushū jizai Taiwango zenshū* 独習自在台湾語全集 (1896) by Kihara Chitate 木原千楯, in Li 2015, Vol. 41, 20131-20369 (Xiamen University Libraries). The large characters of the upper part of the page constitute the Hokkien text. The small characters written at the right side of the large characters are the Taiwanese Kana transcription of the Hokkien text (note that in this early work they appear without intonation marks). The lower part of the page contains the Japanese translation of the Hokkien text.

Picture 4 [right]. First page of Ogawa Naoyoshi's *Nittai Daijiten* (Comprehensive Japanese-Taiwanese Dictionary, 1907). Entries start with Japanese words written in Katakana, followed by their transcription in Hiragana and Chinese characters. This is followed by the Hokkien translation written in Chinese characters with Taiwanese Kana transcription on their right side (including the tonal marks to the right of the Taiwanese Kana characters). (Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4b/Japanese-Taiwanese_Dictionary.jpg [acc. on 2018-11-23]).

The Hokkien textbooks of Japanese authors were mostly intended for the use of Japanese police and military personnel stationed on Taiwan and some of them were actually published by police or military institutions.[17] Therefore, the

17 See e.g. Higashikata (1931) published by *Taiwan Keisatsu Kyōkai* 台湾警察協会 (Taiwan Police Association); also *Taiwan Nichiyō Dogoshū* 台湾日用土語集 (Compilation on the Taiwanese native tongue, 1895) published by *Hōko Rettō Hishijima Konsei Shitai Shireibu* 澎湖列島比志島混成支隊司令部 (Headquarters of the Hishijima Mixed Forces on Penghu, in: Li 2015, Vol. 41, pp. 20011-20130); Matano Wakichi 俣野和吉 *Gunjin-yō Taiwango* 軍人用台湾語 (Taiwanese for military personnel, 1897) published by *Gunjin Kyōikukai* 軍人教育会

topics covered in these textbooks mostly relate to everyday life and are intended to improve the reader's spoken language skills. Contrary to the works of Western missionaries, these textbooks and dictionaries were not intended to facilitate the creation of an independent written Hokkien language and the translation of extensive and sophisticated texts from foreign languages, such as the Bible. Taiwanese Kana and in general Hokkien texts never appear alone in these works. Pages are usually divided into two parts, the upper part containing the Hokkien text written in Chinese characters with pronunciation on the right side of the characters written in Taiwanese Kana and the lower part containing the Japanese translation (see Picture 3).

The Spread of Peh-oe-ji to Southeast Asia

Apart from Southern Fujian and Taiwan, Peh-oe-ji works were published by locally based authors on Southeast Asian colonies as well. Two volumes of the textbook *The Hokkien Vernacular* edited by George Thompson Hare, member of the Civil Service of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States were published by the Government Printing Offices of Singapore (1897) and Kuala Lumpur (1904). The first volume is written in Chinese characters, while the second volume contains the English translation and Peh-oe-ji transcription of the first volume. In the introduction of the second volume, Hare notes that

> In this book the vernacular as spoken in Amoy is adopted as the standard for pronunciation. [...] In the Straits Settlements and Dutch Colonies, the immigrants and settlers from the Chiang Chiu [Zhangzhou] Prefecture predominate in point of number and in influence, and their pronunciation is, perhaps, that most frequently heard. No one, however, who learns thoroughly the language as spoken in Amoy, will fail to easily understand or fail to be understood by a speaker either from the Chiang Chiu or Tsoân Chiu [Quanzhou] Prefectures (Hare 1904, I).

Hare names the *Yü-yen Tzŭ-erh Chi* 語言自邇集 (1867), a textbook of colloquial Beijing Mandarin compiled by British diplomat and sinologist Thomas Francis Wade (1818–1895) as his main influence. He mentions Macgowan's *Dictionary* (1883) as well noting that

> There is, at present, no complete Hokkien Colloquial text book for a student to use to begin the study of Hokkien, except the Revd. J. McGowan's Beginner (Hare 1904, IIA).

(Association of Military Personnel Education); *Taiwango kyōkasho* 台湾語教科書 (1944) published by *Taiwan Sōtokufu Keisatsukan oyobi Shigokukan Renshūjo* 台湾総督府警察官及司獄官練習所 (Training School of the Taiwan Governorate Police and Prison Administration).

Hare refers to Douglas while introducing the orthography of his work (1904, III). However, contrary to Douglas, Hare defends the usage of Chinese characters stating that

> The great drawback about the romanised colloquial is that it divorces the learner from the Chinese character (Hare 1904, II).

Regarding the usage of phonetic loan characters for words without their own character Hare argues that

> [...] even in these cases a knowledge of the characters employed phonetically to express the sound of such words will increase the learner's acquaintance with the form of a number of useful characters in common use (Hare 1904, II).

A similar return to the usage of Chinese characters can be observed in the works of Campbell (1913) and Barclay (1923) as well, the former one mentioning Hare among his influences (1913, I). From a functional point of view, Hare's work can be compared to the aforementioned works of Japanese authors. The topics covered in the textbook mostly relate to everyday life, especially the functioning of the Civil Service in the Hoklo-populated areas of British Malaya.

A further notable work published in Singapore is the two-volume *A Pocket Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular* (English-Chinese, 1934; Chinese-English, 1935) by British Protestant missionary Ernest Tipson (1883–1958). Regarding orthography, in the preface of the Chinese-English edition Tipson notes that

> The system used in this book is that which is employed in the books and monthly magazines issued in Kolongsu [Gulangyu], Amoy. The principal changes used in the Formosan books are given with the Amoy pronunciation indicated (Tipson 1935, IV).

Hokkien-Spanish Works Published in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although the relative influence of Catholicism declined compared to Protestantism in Southern Fujian, it had a continuous presence in the region. In 1859 a new church was built on the Xiamen main island and in 1860 Xiamen was established as the center of the Southern Fujian vicariate under the administration of T. M. Gentili and other Italian missionaries. In 1883, the newly organized Xiamen vicariate was handed over to Spanish Dominicans and came to include the Quanzhou, Longyan 龍岩 and Yongchun 永春 counties of Southern Fujian and Taiwan as well. In 1914, the center of the vicariate was moved to Gulangyu were a new church was built in 1917 (operating until the present day) (Lin 2002). A primary school

called Weizheng Primary (維正小學) was also established by Dominican missionaries on Gulangyu in 1912 (Zhu 1997, 32).

A certain *Diccinario Tonico Sino-Espanol, Del Dialecto de Emoy, Chiang-chiu, Choan-chiu Formosa* (Tonal Chinese-Spanish dictionary of the Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and Taiwanese dialects), compiled by "R. P. Fr. Ramon Colomer", published in 1900 at "Gulangyu's Cuijing Temple" (鼓浪嶼萃經堂) is listed by Chiung (2010, 25), referring to Hong (1996). Two lingusitic works of a certain Dominican missionary called Francisco Piñol y Andreu are mentioned in several sources and catalogues. The *Gramática China del Dialecto de Amoy* (Chinese Grammar of the Xiamen Dialect) authored by "P. Fransisco Pinol, O.P."[18] published in "Hong Kong, 1928" is listed in the catalogue of the Dominican Provincial Archive of Saint Thomas in Ávila (Spain).[19] Another work of Piñol y Andreu titled *Diccionario chino-español* (Chinese-Spanish Dictionary, 1937) translated as *Hua-ban cidian* 華班辭典 is mentioned in various Chinese secondary sources (Xu and Li 1992, 59-63; Zhan and Lin 2007, 223). The *Archivo Chino-España 1800–1950* of the Open University of Catalonia lists both works under the name of Francisco Piñol y Andreu, the publisher as "Hong Kong: Imprenta de Nazaret" and 1928, 1937 as the years of publication.[20] The subtitle of the 1937 work is apparently *Del dialecto de Amoy, Chiang-chiu, Choân-chiu, Formosa, etc.* (About the dialect of Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Taiwan, etc.), as it appears in five out of six WorldCat entries.

Xu (Xu and Li 1992, 59) states that the transcription method used in the *Diccionario chino-español* (1937) is a "newly discovered, other sort of Hokkien vernacular script" .[21] Xu does not provide any further explanation for his statement or any evidence from the original work. The author of this paper was not

18 The abbreviations P. (*padre,* 'father') and O. P. (*Ordo Praedicatorum,* 'Order of Preachers'), refer to Piñol's status as a missionary of the Dominican Order. In all other sources where this title appears, the surname of the author is given as Piñol y Andreu, therefore the author of this paper assumes this version to be the correct one.

19 http://archiprov-avila.org/index.html (acc. on 2018-11-25) The provincial archive of the Dominican Holy Rosary province (covering the Philippines and most of East Asia) was relocated from the convent of Saint Dominic in Manila to the convent of Saint Thomas in Ávila (Spain) in 1987. The archive keeps a valuable collection of ca. 1500 manuscripts, ca. 1400 volumes of printed materials and ca. 500 rolls of microfilms dated between the late fifteenth and twentieth centuries, related to Dominican missionary activity in East Asia. The catalogue of the archive contains 46 titles which include the word "Amoy" or "Emuy" (Xiamen), among them a large number of correspondences and reports written by Xiamen-based Dominican missionaries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the present day, no digitalization of the material is available online.

20 http://ace.uoc.edu/obras-publicadas-fuera-espana (acc. on 2018-07-12)

21 新發現的另一種閩南白話字.

able to obtain access to the works of Francisco Piñol y Andreu in either printed or digitized format, therefore cannot state anything with certainty about their contents except for the information provided by their titles and subtitles. In the subtitle of the 1937 work the names of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou (Chiang-chiu, Choân-chiu) are clearly written in common Peh-oe-ji used by English-speaking authors of the same period.

Xiamen's Role in the "Language and Script Reform Movement"

Phoneticization Efforts of Chinese Authors in Southern Fujian Prior to 1892

During the last decades of the Qing dynasty, the spread of mass education based on Western and Japanese models became a principal aim of most reformist Chinese intellectuals. The lack of a standardized phonetic transcription method for Chinese characters came to be regarded by many of them as one of the main obstacles for achieving mass literacy. Not surprisingly, Xiamen as a focal point of Sino-Foreign linguistic and cultural interaction played an important role in the emerging "Language and Script Reform Movement" (*yuwen gaige yundong* 語文改革運動). Xiamen-based linguist Lu Zhuangzhang 盧戇章 (1854–1928; POJ: *Lô·Gōng-chiong*, also Romanized as Lu Kanchang) and the publication of his phoneticization method in *Yimu liaoran chujie* 一目了然初階 (First steps in understanding at a glance, 1892) is traditionally regarded as the earliest phoneticization method published by a Chinese author and the starting point of the movement (DeFrancis 1950, 31-54; Xu 2000).

However, the view that Lu's phoneticization method was the earliest one came to be challenged by certain experts of Hokkien linguistics. As mentioned earlier, Huang (2003) and Ma (2016) both rightfully claimed that a phoneticization method can already be found in Huang Qian's *Huiyin miaowu* (1800). Furthermore, Ma (2016, 703) claims that a certain Xiamen-based Late Qing-era scholar named Li Dingchen 李鼎臣 (ca. 1832–1911 according to Ma) was the second Chinese author creating a phoneticization method, citing *Xiamen zhi*, "Wenyuan zhuan" (*gaoben*) 廈門誌・文苑傳 (稿本) (Xiamen annals, Biographies of scholars [Manuscript]). In *Xiamen shizhi* (Minguo), "Wenyuan zhuan" 廈門市誌 (民國) ・文苑傳 (Xiamen annals (Republican era), Biographies of scholars, 1999) a short biography of Li Dingchen, identical to the one quoted in Ma (2016) appears. According to this, Li Dingchen was

> [...] also known as Meisheng 梅生, a man of letters, a native of Tong'an, he was teaching in Xiamen, his home was there. [...] He put a huge effort into studying phonology, not only carefully investigating the ancient rime books, but also thoroughly examining

> the phonetic methods of Manchu and Western scripts. Since our country's script is complicated and hard to understand, not as that of Westerners which implies the sound and is easy to spread among the people, he painstakingly worked out and created a phonetic script with simple strokes, one which is easy to learn. Women and children could grasp it in a little while. … He authored several volumes of the *Xianglian shi* 香奩詩 [Poems of the perfume casket], *Tong'an zhuzhici baishou* 同安竹枝詞白首 [One hundred bamboo poems[22] of Tong'an] and several books on phonology. After his death these were all lost (Xiamen Shizhi 1999, 555).[23]

Furthermore, Ma claims that he has conducted personal interviews with two of Li Dingchen's former students, Sun Yanzong 孫延宗 and Yu Shaowen 余少文. Ma states that a manuscript by Yu titled "Shouchuang pinyin zimu de Li Dingchen xiansheng zhuan" 首創拼音字母的李鼎臣先生傳 [Biography of Mr. Li Dingchen, first creator of a phonetic script] is kept at the Xiamen Political Consultative Conference's Department of Literature and History (廈門市政協文史組). Ma states that based on his students' accounts Li Dingchen was influenced by Huang Qian's numerical phoneticization method found in *Huiyin miaowu* (1800) and he created a strokes-based[24] "double pinyin"[25] scheme with tone signs added on the side. He used his method in his private school to help students memorize the pronunciation of Chinese characters (Ma 2016, 703-705).

Sino-Foreign Interaction in Xiamen, Lu Zhuangzhang and the "Qieyin Movement"

Lu Zhuangzhang (1854–1928), born in Tong'an was introduced to Christianity and the Romanization methods of foreign missionaries after starting teaching in traditional private schools in Xiamen during his youth. After failing at the

22 *Zhuzhici* 竹枝詞 (lit. "bamboo poetry"): literary style based on folk songs originating in the Tang dynasty.

23 The whole entry reads as: 字梅生，以字行，同邑人，館於廈，家焉。少孤力學，事母至孝。弱冠入邑庠時，時士子竟尚製藝，鼎臣鄙而捨去，精研數理音韻學。音韻尤所致力，非特古代韻學諸書，纖求縷析，即清文西文諸切音法，亦皆洞澈靡遺，嘗以我國文字複雜難通，未若西人寓音於字易普及，苦心構思，創造一種注音字母，筆劃簡而易通。婦人孺子費數間均可領會。 „„著有《香奩詩》數卷，《同安竹枝詞白首》及韻學諸書。卒後均散佚。

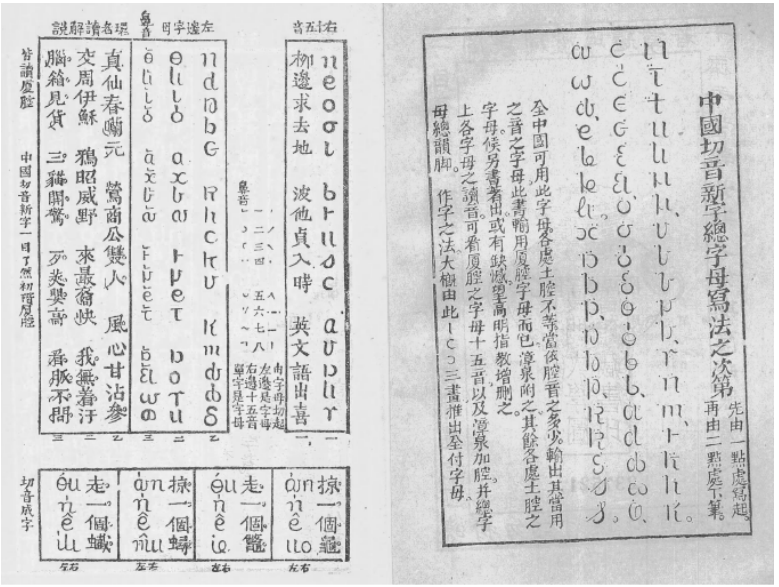
24 Strokes-based (筆劃式) phoneticization schemes (e.g. Bopomofo) use phonetic characters based on elements of Chinese characters.

25 "Double pinyin" (*shuangpinzhi* 雙拼制) phoneticization schemes feature one set of characters denoting the onset and another set of characters denoting the entire rime of a syllable. They are contrasted with "triple pinyin" (*sanpinzhi* 三拼制) schemes wherein rime is split up into two parts, most often (e.g. in the case of Bopomofo) the glides (*i, u, ü* in Mandarin) being denoted separately. In practical terms this means that in a "double pinyin" phoneticization scheme the Mandarin syllable *huang* is indicated as *h* + *uang*, whereas in Bopomofo it is indicated as *h* + *u* + *ang*.

imperial examinations of 1875, Lu moved to Singapore where he studied English for four years. Upon his return to Xiamen, Lu settled down on Gulangyu where he started teaching English for locals and Hokkien for foreigners. During these years Lu worked together with Macgowan on his *Dictionary* (1883). He was recommended by Macgowan to assist British diplomat and sinologist Herbert Allen Giles (1845–1935), stationed in Xiamen between 1878 and 1881 in his compilation of *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (1892). Giles' work is a primarily Mandarin-English dictionary including character pronunciations in nine other varieties of Chinese (incl. Hokkien), as well as Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese. The Romanization scheme used by Giles for Mandarin in his *Dictionary* (1892) is a revised version of the one used by Wade in *Yü-yen tzŭ-erh chi* (1867). It came to be known as the Wade-Giles system and was the most widely used Mandarin Romanization scheme worldwide until the second half of the twentieth century. After decades-long study of traditional rime dictionaries and works of Western authors, Lu published his own phoneticization method called *Zhongguo qieyin xin zi* 中國切音新字 (New Chinese *qieyin* script) in *Yimu liaoran chujie* (1892) (Xu 2000).

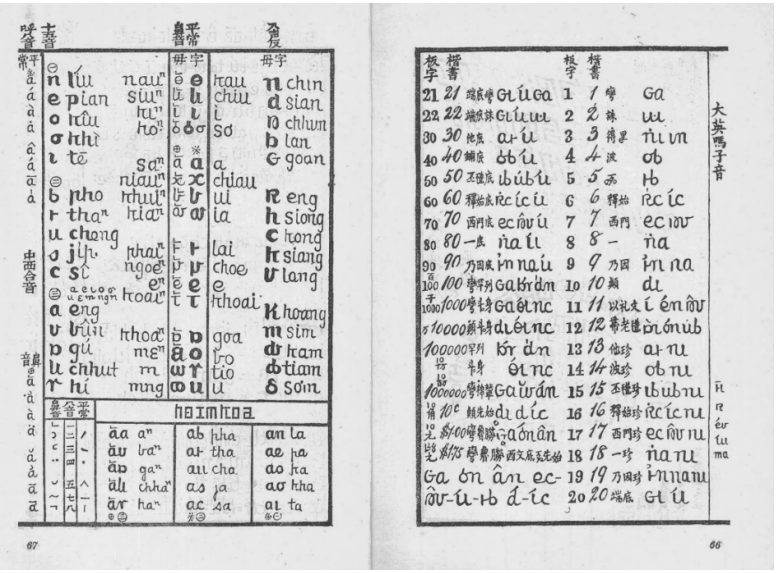
As pointed out by DeFrancis (1950, 31-54) and Xu (2000, 129-132), regarding the structure of phoneticization methods, the early period of the "Language and Script Reform Movement" was characterized by the compilation of *qieyin* 切音 (lit. "sound cutting") schemes. *Qieyin* phoneticization was influenced by the *fanqie* 反切 method of traditional rime dictionaries (see section II.2). The main innovation of *qieyin* compared to *fanqie* was that a narrow set of phonetic symbols and tone marks was created to denote the onsets, rimes and tones of syllables, instead of using a wider range of more common Chinese characters. This also meant that tone came to be denoted with a separate set of symbols instead of being denoted via the tone of the rime character. The creation of 'double-pinyin' (*shuangpin zhi* 雙拼制; see note 23) *qieyin* schemes was preferred vis-à-vis Romanization by most Chinese authors of the Late Qing era. According to their argument in these system two characters were enough to denote any Chinese syllable, whereas by using Latin alphabet it often required three to six letters.[26]

26 Take the example of the Mandarin syllables *zhuang* or *chuang* transcribed by using six letters.



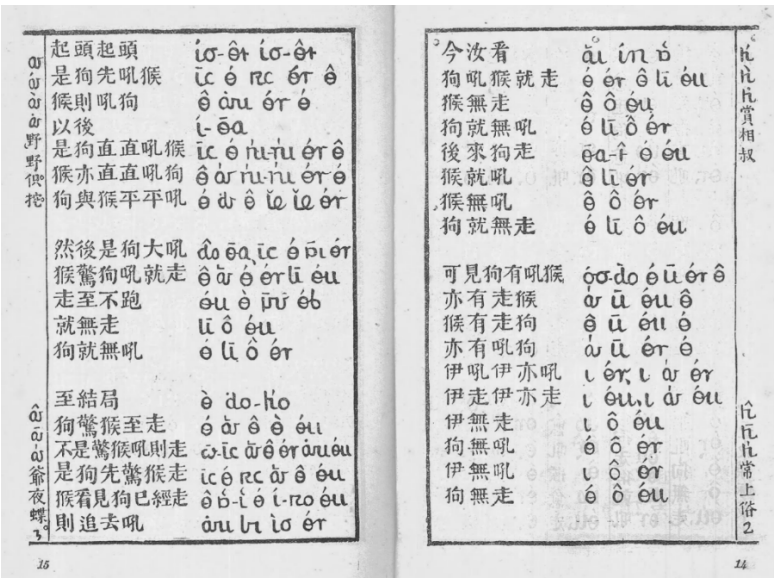
Picture 5. Character chart in Lu Zhuangzhang's *Yimu liaoran chujie* (1956 [1892]; Xiamen University Libraries). The page on the left side contains a comparison table of Lu's *Zhongguo qieyin xin zi* method and the Chinese *fanqie* characters used in *Shiwu yin* (the former one ordered to the right side, the latter one ordered to the left side).

Regarding the form of characters, most early authors continued to be influenced by Chinese characters, creating so-called "strokes-based" (*bihua shi* 筆畫式) phonetic symbols based on elements of Chinese characters (see note 22) (Xu 2000). According to Xu (2000), regarding the form of characters, among 28 phoneticization schemes created between 1892 and 1910 by Chinese authors, 14 were strokes-based, 5 were based on Latin letters, 5 were based on the shorthand (*suji* 速記) versions of Chinese characters and 4 were numerical systems (cf. Huang Qian's *san tui cheng zi fa*) and others (pp. 132-134).



Picture 6. Numbers written in Zhongguo qieyin xinzi (p. 66.) and comparison table of Zhongguo qieyin xinzi and Peh-oe-ji (p. 67) (Lu 1956 [1892], Xiamen University Libraries)

Lu's "New Chinese *qieyin* script" is a "double pinyin" scheme featuring characters invented by Lu. The characters are based on Latin letters in their appearance. The scheme contains 15 onset characters, 33 rime characters, 14 additional characters for nasalized rimes and seven tone diacritics. Reading exercises in the book are written in the Xiamen dialect. However, as Lu's long-term plan was the creation of a unified phoneticization method for the whole of China, additional characters for the Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, Shantou, Fuzhou dialects, Cantonese and Nanjing Mandarin are also featured in the book. Comparison charts between Lu's method, Peh-oe-ji and the *fanqie* characters of the *Shiwu yin* are included as well. Writing directions in Lu's earliest work show a somehow peculiar mixture of traditional Chinese and Western influences, a possible reason why the scheme failed to gain widespread popularity. The general direction of texts is left-to-right horizontal, but within each syllable rime characters are written first (on the left) and onset characters second (on the right). Morphemes of a single word are separated by hyphens, clearly an influence of Peh-oe-ji (Lu 1956 [1892], see Pictures 4-6).



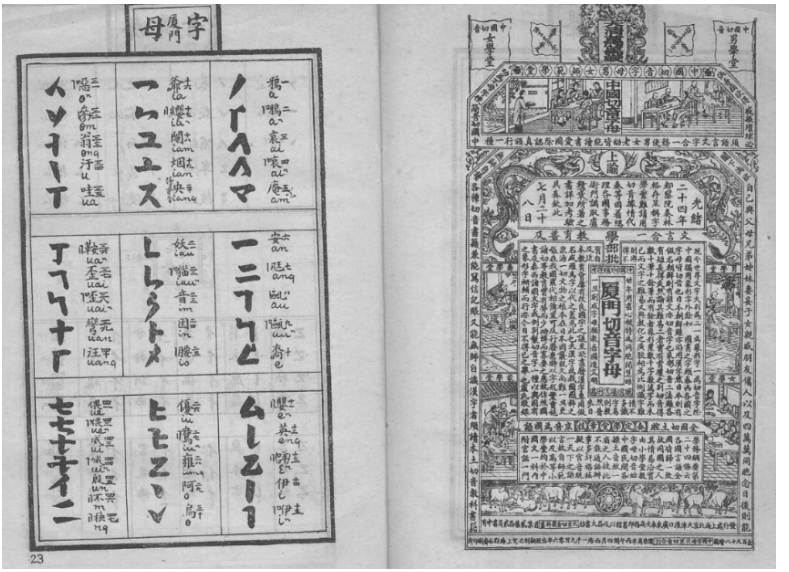
Picture 7. Reading exercise in Xiamen Hokkien in Lu (1956 [1892]; Xiamen University Libraries). Lu's *Zhongguo qieyin xin zi* method can be seen on the right side, the Hokkien text written with Chinese characters can be seen on the right side. The characters bear physical resemblance to Latin letters but mostly represent distinct phonetic values. To illustrate the way this transcription method works, the first syllable of the left page (Chinese character: 起, POJ: *khí*), is taken here as an example. In Lu's method it is denoted by the combination of a cursive "i"-like rime character (corresponding to POJ *i* and the *Shiwu yin* character 伊, see Picture 4) and a cursive "o"-like onset character (corresponding to POJ *kh* and the *Shiwu yin* character 求, see Picture 4). Diacritics on the characters mark tones, while hyphens are used to separate morphemes of single words.

As pointed out by DeFrancis (1950, 31-54) and Xu (2000) the ideas expressed in Lu's early work later became representative of the 'Language and Reform Movement' as a whole. According to Xu, the four core ideas of the movement, namely the promotion of a common language, the creation of a standard written language based on the spoken language (*baihuawen* 白話文), the simplification of Chinese characters and phoneticization can all be found in *Yimu liaoran chujie* (Xu 2000, 130-132). In the foreword of the work, Lu argues that

> The prosperity and strength of a country is based on natural sciences; the flourishing of natural sciences is based on whether men, women, old and young learn them easily. Whether they are able to learn them easily depends on whether a phonetic transcription of characters exists. [...] If script and speech are uniform, what is read through the mouth immediately passes to the mind. If characters are simple, it is easy to learn them and grasp the writing brush. [...] Currently the whole world apart from China uses twenty to thirty phonetic letters. The British and Americans use twenty-six, the Germans, French and Dutch use twenty-five [...] Hence, in the civilized countries of Europe and America, even among the men and women of remote

> villages there is no one above the age of ten who cannot read books. According to the Western newspapers of last year, in Germany in every one hundred person there is only one who cannot read [...]. Japan also used the Chinese script until recently, but not long ago specialized scholars devised a phonetic script of forty-seven simplified symbols, hence their culture and education flourishes (Lu 1956 [1892], 3).

Regarding the creation of a standardized modern national language for China, in his first work Lu advocated the usage of Nanjing Mandarin as its base (Lu 1956 [1892], 2).

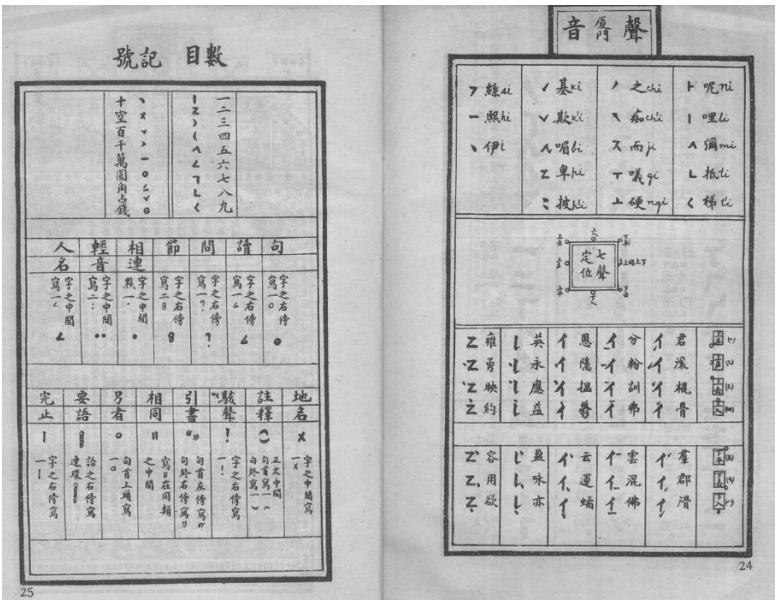


Picture 8. The right side is the introduction page to the chapter on Xiamen Hokkien in Lu Zhuangzhang's *Zhongguo zimu Beijing qieyin heding* (1957b [1906]; Xiamen University Libraries). The left side contains a list of the rime characters of Lu's *Zhongguo qieyin zimu*, accompanied by Chinese characters of corresponding rime and Peh-oe-ji transcription on the right side of the characters. The rime character constitutes the central element of this phoneticization scheme. The onset character is placed around the rime character according to the seven tones of Xiamen Hokkien.

In 1893 Lu published an abbreviated version of his 1892 work titled *Xin zi chujie* 新字初階 [Introduction to the new script]. In 1895, his phoneticization scheme was published in the reformist magazine *Wanguo Gongbao* 萬國公報 (The globe magazine)[27] founded by Kang Youwei. During the Hundred Days'

27 The magazine changed its name to *Zhong-wai jiwen* 中外記聞 (Chinese-foreign news) in 1896. It should not be confused with *Wan Kuo Kung Pao* 萬國公報 (The Globe Magazine) run by Christian missionaries between 1868 and 1907.

Reform of 1898 Lu's phoneticization scheme was presented to the *Zongli Yamen* 總理衙門[28] by Fujian-born member of the "Board of Works" (工部)[29] Lin Lucun 林輅存. Following the end of the reform movement, plans for language and script reform were abandoned, therefore Lu's plans could not be realized (Xu 2000, 34-36).



Picture 9. Pages from Lu Zhuangzhang's *Zhongguo zimu Beijing qieyin heding* (1957b [1906]; Xiamen University Libraries). The uppermost section of the page on the right side contains the onset characters of Lu's *Zhongguo qieyin zimu*, accompanied by Chinese characters of corresponding onset and Peh-oe-ji transcription. The second section from above shows the location of the onset character around the rime character, according to the seven tones of Xiamen Hokkien. The two lower sections of the page on the right side show examples of the application of the script, accompanied by Chinese characters of corresponding pronunciation. The page on the left side introduces the assignment of numerical values to *Zhongguo qieyin zimu* characters, as well as punctuation marks.

In 1898, at the invitation of the Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan Kodama Gentarō 兒玉源太郎, Lu spent three years on Taiwan. During these years he devised a new phoneticization scheme called *Zhongguo qieyin zimu* 中國切音字母 [Chinese *qieyin* letters]. Apparently under the influence of Taiwanese Kana and the works of other Chinese authors, this new script features strokes-based characters. In an innovative but rather complicated manner, every syllable is made

28 Qing dynasty equivalent of a Foreign Office.
29 One of the six ministries of imperial China.

up from a larger character denoting its rime placed in the middle and from a smaller character denoting its onset located at a certain point of the four sides of the rime character based on the seven tones of Xiamen Hokkien. Based on Chinese traditions and contrary to Lu's earlier scheme, syllables (morphemes) follow each other vertically, while lines follow each other right-to-left (see Pictures 7-9).

In 1905 Lu travelled to Beijing where he unsuccessfully tried to promote his new phoneticization scheme at the imperial government until 1906 (Xu 2000, 37-64). Following this, he travelled to Shanghai where he published his new scheme in the *Beijing qieyin jiaokeshu* 北京切音教科書 (Beijing *qieyin* textbook, 1906) and *Zhongguo zimu Beijing qieyin heding* 中國字母北京切音合訂 (Chinese letters, Beijing *qieyin* in one volume, 1906). Following general trends by this time Lu had started advocating Beijing Mandarin as a basis for China's future national language instead of Nanjing Mandarin. Reading excercises in the two above-mentioned works are written in Beijing Mandarin, while further sections introducing the transcription of Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Fuzhou dialects and Cantonese are also included (Lu 1957a [1906]; 1957b [1906]).

Picture 10. Reading exercise in Beijing Mandarin in Lu Zhuangzhang's *Beijing qieyin jiaokeshu* (1957a [1906]; Xiamen University Libraries). The Mandarin text is written in the upper part, accompanied by its *Zhongguo qieyin zimu* transcription in the lower part.

In 1912 the newly established Republican government convened the Commission on the Unification of Pronunciation (*duyin tongyi hui* 讀音統一會). Lu

participated as a representative of Fujian province, proposing his *Zhongguo qieyin zimu* scheme. In 1913, the commission accepted a scheme based on Zhejiang representative Zhang Binglin's 章炳麟 proposal. This scheme became the earliest version of *zhuyin fuhao* 注音符號 (also known as *Bopomofo*), the official phoneticization scheme of Mandarin in mainland China from 1928 until 1958 and in Taiwan from 1945 until the present day. Lu was dissatisfied with *zhuyin* and continued to promote his own phoneticization scheme. He published a modified version of his second scheme in *Zhongguo xin zi* 中國新字 (New Chinese script, 1915) and *Zhonghua xin zi* 中華新字 (New Chinese script, 1916). In *Zhuyin zimu yu Zhonghua xinzi bijiaobiao* 注音字母與中華新字比較表 (Comparative table of the *zhuyin* letters and the "New Chinese script", 1920) he published a critique of *zhuyin* and an extended version of *zhuyin* for the phoneticization of Hokkien. During the 1920s Lu became supported by Gulangyu-based Taiwanese philanthropist Lin Erjia 林爾嘉 (1874–1951), member of the influential Banqiao Lin family (板橋林家) of Taiwanese businesspeople, politicians and scholars. Together with Lin, Lu established the "Commission of research on *qieyin* script'" (切音字研究會) and launched *Xin zi yuekan* 新字月刊 (New script monthly) in 1920 (Xu 2000, 65-80).

In summary, although Lu's phoneticization schemes did not become widely used, his works became noted by later authors for their pioneering and innovative spirit. His biography and works also shed light on the way the phoneticization efforts of China-based nineteenth century foreign missionaries and diplomats influenced Chinese intellectuals who later became promoters of the 'Language and Script Reform Movement'. A further relevant context is the impact of Southeast Asian and Taiwanese Hoklo communities on the modernization of the region during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (cf. Cook 2003).

The Xiamen University, Zhou Bianming and the "National Language Romanization Movement"

Cook (2003, 167-168) and He (2007) argue that by the early twentieth century the impact of returning overseas Chinese (*guiqiao* 歸僑) on Xiamen's modernization became comparable to that of foreigners. They base their argument on the number of educational and cultural institutions established and/or administered by overseas Chinese. By 1934, 17 out of the 39 primary schools of Xiamen and six of its private secondary schools were established and/or administered by

overseas Chinese (Zhu 1997, 81, 136-139). Some of these secondary schools, such as the Anglo-Chinese College (英華書院)[30] on Gulangyu and the Tongwen Institute (同文書院) on the main island became well-known and attracted students from around the South China Sea (Cook 2003, 178-181). The most significant achievement of overseas Chinese in the field of education was arguably the establishment of the Xiamen University in 1921. The university was founded by Tong'an-born,[31] Singapore-based businessman and philanthropist Tan Kah Kee (Chen Jiageng 陳嘉庚, 1874–1961). Its second president between 1921 and 1937 was Penang-born Lim Boon Keng 林文慶 (1868–1957), a social and educational reformist of considerable influence in both Xiamen and the Straits Settlements. During the 1920s the university attracted well-known reformist figures such as Lu Xun and Lin Yutang who both spent a short time lecturing there (Cook 2003, 192-218).

The increasingly globalized environment of the 1920s and 1930s led to new trends in the "Language and Script Reform Movement" as well. A second wave of the movement often referred to as the "National Language Romanization Movement" (*Guoyu Luomazi Yundong* 國語羅馬字運動) emerged. Promoters of this movement argued that Latin alphabet should be used for phoneticization within China itself instead of *qieyin* schemes. The life and works of Zhou Bianming 周辨明 (also Romanized as Chiu Bien-Ming and Jou Bienming; 1891–1984) are in many ways representative of this new generation of scholars. Zhou, born into a Christian family in Hui'an 惠安 (Quanzhou County) in 1891 received primary and secondary education at Gulangyu's Xunyuan College (尋源書院), an institution established and run by the American Reformed Mission. He obtained his B.A. degree in 1911 at St. John's University in Shanghai, a prestigious university run by American missionaries between 1879 and 1952. He worked at St. John's University between 1911 and 1914, at Tsinghua University between 1914 and 1917 and received a scholarship at Harvard University between 1917 and 1919. At Harvard he came into contact with well-known linguist and poet Zhao Yuanren 趙元任 (also Romanized as Chao Yuen Ren; 1892-1982), one of the main figures of the Romanization movement. In 1921,

30 The institution on Gulangyu was jointly established in 1897 by the London Missionary Society, the English Presbyterian Mission and the American Reformed Mission. It was modelled on the LMS's school of the same name established by Robert Morrison in Malacca in 1818 (Zhu 1997, 25-32).

31 Tan Kah Kee was born in the present-day Jimei District 集美區 of mainland Xiamen, part of Tong'an County during the late Qing dynasty.

Zhou returned to Xiamen and started working at the newly established Xiamen University. In 1928 he was admitted to the University of Hamburg where he received his PhD in linguistics in 1931. Between 1931 and 1948 Zhou worked as a professor of literature and English language at Xiamen University. After 1948 Zhou left China and worked at the SOAS in London and at various universities in Singapore until his death in 1982 (Zheng 2016, 19-25).

Together with Lin Yutang, Zhao Yuanren and other well-known reformist linguists of the first half of the twentieth century, Zhou worked on the development and promotion of a new Romanization scheme for Mandarin called *Gwoyeuh Romatzyh* 國語羅馬字 (National Language Romanization). The main innovation of the scheme was the usage of so-called 'tonal spelling' which intended to facilitate typewriting and printing by avoiding the usage of diacritics for tone indication (as in the contemporary Wade-Giles system and later in Hanyu Pinyin). *Gwoyeuh Romatzyh* relied only on the 26 basic letters of the English alphabet to denote all sounds and tones of Mandarin.[32] Zhou published several textbooks written in *Gwoyeuh Romatzyh* and its later version *Quoyu Romatzyh,* such as *Guoyu luomazi biaoyin fuhao* 國語羅馬字表音符號 (English title: *A Phonogram in Chinese with a Guoryu Romanization*, 1930), *Qianqu guoyu luomazi duben* 前驅國語羅馬字讀本 (Pioneering Romanized national language reader, 1934), *Guoyu luomazi jiben zihui* 國語羅馬字基本字彙 (Basic glossary of Romanized national language,1937) (Zheng 2016, 19-25).

Zhou advocated the parallel usage of *Gwoyeuh Romatzyh* with Chinese characters, but similarly to other pragmatists of his era (Xu 2000), he considered the full abolition of Chinese characters in official usage a viable alternative:

> Some form of Romanization is admittedly the most practical mode of writing for a modernized and mechanized China – witness its obvious advantages in telegraphy, printing, typewriting, education, and international communication – and so will eventually be adopted in China, at least as a system of writing parallel to [...] Hanndzy [*Hanzi:* Chinese characters]. (Zhou 1945, 3)[33]

Regarding the benefits of tonal spelling he notes that

> After years of effort on the part of Chinese scholars, we have so perfected and simplified the system that only letters within the 26 of the Roman alphabet are employed and no diacritical marks are needed. This is brought about by the principle of

32 This was achieved by modifications in orthography, including duplication and substitution of vowels and adding silent consonants, e.g. the four tone of the Mandarin syllable *ma* were denoted as *ma, mar, maa, mah*.

33 Translated in the original (bilingual) work by the author.

> "Tonal Spelling", whereby tones are expressed by means of letters woven into the texture of the spelling of the written word. It would be as if in English: mai, mae, may; seen, scene; rite, write; mean, mien; foul, fowl; tailor, taylor; etc. – being spelled differently, would be read in different tones, and therefore would have different meanings (Jou [Zhou] 1951, 79).[34]

Zhou was also a pioneering researcher of Hokkien historical phonology and put efforts into the application of 'tonal spelling' in the Romanization of Hokkien and the related Southern Min variety spoken on Hainan (Hainanese). In 1931 his PhD thesis written at the University of Hamburg titled "The Phonetic Structure and Tone Behaviour in Hagu (Commonly Known as the Amoy Dialect) and Their Relation to Certain Questions in Chinese Linguistics" was published in the renowned Dutch sinology journal *T'oung Pao* 通報 (Second Series, Vol. 28, No. 3/5 [1931], pp. 245-342) edited by Paul Pelliot. Zhou also created "tonal spelling" schemes for Hokkien and Hainanese. In the case of Halgur Alphabet (廈語字母) created for the phoneticization of Xiamen Hokkien, the silent tone consonants -c, -d, -f, -q, -r, -w, -y were added at the end of syllables to denote its seven tones. Except for the superscript *n* denoting nasalization (borrowed from Peh-oe-ji), only the 26 letters of the English alphabet are used for Hokkien phoneticization in Zhou's Halgur Alphabet (Jou [Zhou] 1949, 192-200).

Subsequent History of the "Language and Script Reform Movement"

Tonal spelling Romanization methods for varieties of Chinese failed to gain popularity compared to those using diacritics. They were, however, successfully popularized for certain tonal languages of Southwest China, most notably Zhuang and Hmong. In mainland China, Zhuyin remained the official phoneticization scheme for Mandarin until 1958 when it was replaced by Hanyu Pinyin. A new Hokkien Romanization method based on Hanyu Pinyin known as *Bbánlám Hōng'ggián Pìngyīm Hōng'àn* 閩南方言拼音方案 was devised at Xiamen University and published in *Putonghua Minnan fangyan cidian* 普通話閩南方言詞典 (Mandarin-Hokkien dictionary, 1982). It remains the principal Romanization scheme used in Hokkien-teaching materials published in mainland China until today.

Peh-oe-ji remains popular in Taiwan among promoters of Taiwanese Hokkien as an official language of the country. New phoneticization schemes for the language were also introduced in post-WWII Taiwan, such as an extended ver-

34 Originally written in English.

sion of Bopomofo, the tonal spelling-based Modern Literal Taiwanese (MLT) and the Peh-oe-ji-based Taiwan Romanization System (*Tâi-lô* 台羅) promoted by the government since 2006. Furthermore, the practice of writing Hokkien with a combination of Chinese characters and Peh-oe-ji or Tai-lo remains common as well (Klöter 2005).

Conclusion

The earliest attested examples of Hokkien phoneticization are the Romanization attempts of Phillippines-based Spanish Dominican missionaries in the early seventeenth century. However, this was not the earliest appearance of Hokkien as a written language. Contrary to many other parts of the world where missionaries created writing systems for so far unrecorded languages, Hokkien had had an unstandardized way of being recorded with Chinese characters, starting with the Hokkien operas of the mid-sixteenth century. Several popular rime dictionaries compiled by Chinese authors had also been published before the large-scale Romanization projects of nineteenth century foreign missionaries and linguists.

The nineteenth century English-Hokkien interaction similarly to the earlier Hokkien-Spanish interaction emerged as a result of foreign missionaries' attempts to spread Christianity among the Hokkien-speaking Chinese communities of colonial Southeast Asia. China's defeat in the First Opium War and the forced opening of Xiamen made it possible for foreign missionaries to continue their work in the ancestral homeland of the Hoklo diaspora. Since the seventeenth century Xiamen had already been the principal port of Southern Fujian, but the dialects of the two traditional centers of the region Quanzhou and Zhangzhou were still used as standards in Chinese rime dictionaries and foreign works of the first half of the nineteenth century. Xiamen dialect emerged as the new standard of Hokkien after the forced opening of the city led to the arrival of a large number of Western missionaries and linguists in the 1840s and 1850s. In the publications of Xiamen-based English-speaking missionaries, a new Romanization scheme based on the Xiamen dialect became mostly fixed by the late 1850s and came to be known as Peh-oe-ji (vernacular script). In the following decades Peh-oe-ji became widely used by authors throughout the South China Sea region.

Based on its geographical location between Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, Xiamen dialect became preferred by many authors for its transitional nature between the Quanzhou and Zhangzhou dialects as well. This was especially true for Taiwan, where most of the population speaks a mixture of the two. During

the Japanese colonial period, although Japanese authors primarily used Taiwanese Kana instead of Peh-oe-ji for the phoneticization of Hokkien, they used Xiamen dialect as a standard in their works due to its combination of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou dialect features.

Although apparently some experiments of phoneticization by Chinese authors appeared earlier (see section V.1.), it was not until the late nineteenth century that phoneticization as a tool in combatting illiteracy was taken up by a large number of reformist Chinese intellectuals. Xiamen as a focal point of Sino-Foreign cultural and linguistic interaction during that period came to play an important role in China's emerging 'Language and Script Reform Movement' as well. Influenced by his interaction with foreigners in Xiamen, Lu Zhuangzhang was the first Chinese author publishing a detailed and relatively well-known work on Chinese phoneticization. His work therefore came to be regarded as the starting point of the movement. Although Lu's first work was focused on Hokkien phoneticization based on the Xiamen dialect, similarly to other Chinese authors of his era he advocated the idea of a standardized single national language based on Mandarin and intended his phoneticization schemes to become a tool for describing every variety of Chinese.

By the early twentieth century important changes occurred in Xiamen's cultural landscape. A large number of educational institutions were established by returning overseas Chinese. Xiamen University, established by Singaporean philanthropist Tan Kah Kee in 1921 became an intellectual hub of overseas Chinese returnees and attracted many reformist intellectuals born in China as well. During the 1930s and 1940s, the university was involved in the new wave of language and script reform known as the 'National Language Romanization Movement'. Textbooks of the tonal spelling-based Mandarin Romanization known as *Gwoyeuh Romatzyh* were published and tonal spelling-based Romanization for Hokkien were devised at the university during this period. The Xiamen University has remained an important center of Hokkien linguistic research in mainland China until today.

Appendices

A1 Comparison Tables of Various Hokkien Phoneticization Schemes Mentioned in the Text

IPA	p	pʰ	b	m	t	tʰ	l	n	k	kʰ	h	g
Peh-oe-ji (POJ)	p	ph	b	m	t	th	l	n	k	kh	h	g
BPHP[35]	b	p	bb	m	d	t	l	n	g	k	h	gg
Halgur (Zhou Bianming)[36]	p	ph	b	m	t	th	l	n	k	kh	h	g
Extended Bopomofo[37]	ㄅ	ㄆ	ㄋ	ㄇ	ㄉ	ㄊ	ㄌ	ㄋ	ㄍ	ㄎ	ㄏ	ㄍ
Shiwu yin	邊	頗	門	門	地	他	柳	柳	求	去	喜	語

Table 1. Onsets (1)

IPA	tɕ	ts	tɕʰ	tsʰ	ɕ	s	dʑ	ŋ
Peh-oe-JI (POJ)	chi/tsi	ch/ts	chhi	chh	si	s	j	ng
BHPH	zi	z	ci	c	si	s	zz	ng
Halgur (Zhou Bianming)	ci	c	chi	ch	si	s	j	ng
Extended Bopomofo	ㄐ	ㄗ	ㄑ	ㄘ	ㄒ	ㄙ	ㄖ	ㄫ
Shiwu yin	曾	曾	出	出	時	時	入	語

Table 2. Onsets (2)

IPA	a	i	u	e	m	ŋ	ə	ɔ	ua	ue
Peh-oe-ji (POJ)	a	i	u	e	m	ng	o	o͘	oa	oe
BHPH	a	i	u	e	m	ng	o	oo	ua	ue
Halgur (Zhou Bianming)	a	i	u	e	m	ng	o	o͘	oa	oe
Extended Bopomofo	ㄚ	–	ㄨ	ㄝ	ㄇ	ㄫ	ㄜ	ㄛ	ㄨㄚ	ㄨㄝ
Shiwu yin	嘉	居	居	伽	姆	鋼	高	沽	瓜	檜

Table 3. Rimes (1)

IPA	uai	ɪan	uan	iŋ	ik̚	ã
Peh-oe-ji (POJ)	oai	ian	oan	eng	ek	aⁿ
BHPH	uai	ian	uan	ing	ik	na
Halgur	oai	ian	oan	eng	ek	aⁿ
Extended Bopomofo	ㄨㄞ	ㄧㄢ	ㄨㄢ	ㄧㄥ	ㄧㄍ	ㄚ
Shiwu yin	乖	堅	觀	輕	億	監

Table 4. Rimes (2)

35 *Bbánlám Hōngʻggián Pìngyīm Hōngʻàn* 閩南方言拼音方案 (Pinyin-based method used in mainland China since 1982).

36 Tonal spelling-based method developed by Zhou Bianming (1934).

37 Devised by Zhu Zhaoxiang 朱兆祥 in 1946, used in some publications in Taiwan since the 1990s.

	Tone 1	Tone 2	Tone 3	Tone 4	Tone 5	Tone 6
IPA	˥˥	˧˥	˨˩	˨˩	˧	˧˥~˥
POJ	a	◌́(á)	◌̀(à)	a(p/t/k/h)	◌̂(â)	◌́(á)
BHPH	-(ā)	◌̌(ǎ)	◌̀(à)	ā(p/t/k/h)	◌́(á)	◌̌(ǎ)
Halgur	a	ar	ad	a(p/t/k/h)	aa	(6=2)
Ext. Bop.	○	○ˋ	○ㄣ	○(ㄱ,ㄉ,ㄍ,ㄏ)	○ˊ	○ˋ

Table 5. Tones (1)

	Tone 7	Tone 8	Tone 9	Neutral tone	Nasalized	Nullonset
IPA	˧	˥	˥˥	◌̊	◌̃	ʔ
POJ	ā)	a̍(p/t/k/h)		--a	aⁿ	Ø
BHPH	◌̂(â)	á(p/t/k/h)			na	y(i)/w(u)
Halgur	al	a(pp/tt/kk/hh)		ah		Ø
Ext. Bop.	○ㅏ	○(ㄅ̇, ㄉ̇, ㄍ̇, ㄏ̇)			ㄚ, ㄊ̃, ㄧ̃, ㄛ̃, ㄨ̃, ㄞ̃, ㄠ̃	Ø

Table 6. Tones (2)

A2 Taiwanese Kana

	Ø	p	pʰ	b	m	t	tʰ	l
a	アア	パア	パ ア	バア	マア	タア	タ ア	ラア
i	イイ	ピイ	ピ.イ	ビイ	ミイ	ヂイ	ヂイ	リイ
aʔ	アァ	パァ	パ ァ	バァ		タァ	タ ァ	ラァ
ai	アイ	パイ	パ イ	バイ	マイ	タイ	タ イ	ライ
au	アウ	パウ	パ ウ	バウ	マウ	タウ	タ ウ	ラウ
auʔ			パ ゥ		マゥ	タゥ		ラゥ
am	アム					タム	タ ム	ラム
an	アヌ	パヌ	パ ヌ	バヌ		タヌ	タ ヌ	ラヌ
aŋ	アン	パン	パ ン	バン		タン	タ ン	ラン
a̍p	アプ					タプ	タ プ	ラプ
a̍t	アッ	パッ		バッ		タッ	タ ッ	ラッ
a̍k	アク	パク	パ ク	バク		タク	タ ク	ラク
ia	イア	ピア			ミア	ヂア	チ.゙ア	
iau	イァウ	ピァウ	ピ ァウ	ビァウ	ミァウ	ヂァウ	チ ゙ァウ	リァウ
iə	イヲ	ピヲ	ピ ヲ	ビヲ		ヂヲ	チ.゙ヲ	リヲ

Table 7. Partial chart of Taiwanese Kana[38]

Tone number	**1**	**2(6)**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**7**	**8**
IPA	˥˥	˧˥	˨˩	˧	˨˩	˥	˥˩
Taiwanese Kana (Normal vowels)	None						
Taiwanese Kana (Nasal vowels)							
POJ	a	á	à	ah	â	ā	ah

Table 8. Tone marks in Taiwanese Kana[39]

38 For the full chart see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taiwanese_kana (acc. on 2018-11-23).

39 Tone diacritics are written on the right side of the syllable. See also Picture 4.

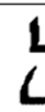
A3 Huang Qian's numerical phoneticization method in Huiyin miaowu *(1800)*

Huang Qian's numerical phoneticization method for Hokkien called *san tui cheng zi fa* 三推成字法 ('forming characters in three steps') is made up from ten symbols corresponding to Chinese numerals from one to ten. Huang (2003, 260) lists the symbols as shown in Picture 11.

Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Chinese character	一	二	三	四	五	六	七	八	九	十
Symbol										

Picture 11. The ten numerical symbols of *san tui cheng zi fa*

These numerical symbols are combined in triangles whereby the symbol in the upper part denotes the rime, the bottom left symbol denotes the onset and the bottom right symbol denotes the tone of the syllable. In the Quanzhou dialect (which forms the basis of Huang Qian's work) there are 50 rimes, 15 onsets and 8 tones, each of which are assigned a numerical value. Huang (2003, 260) gives an example of the application of the method by writing *Quanzhou dongxi ta* 泉州東西塔 (the "Eastern and Western pagodas of Quanzhou", two popular tourist sites of the city) in *san tui cheng zi fa* (see Picture 12).

Morpheme	泉	州	東	西	塔
Rime	31 川	24 秋	26 江	13 開	16 嘉
Onset	8 爭	8 爭	5 地	10 時	7 他
Tone	5	1	1	1	4
Transcription in *san tui cheng zi fa*					

Picture 12. Example of the application of *san tui cheng zi fa* (Huang 2003, 260)

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Abstracts

CHEN Zhenxiu 陳朕秀, Angela SCHOTTENHAMMER 蕭婷, LI Man 李漫, Tang Local Migratory Patterns, and Relationships between Local Developments, Central Politics, and Maritime Trade

Relations between central and local levels of government, between China proper and its frontier regions, and between indigenous residents and immigrants, are key questions for Tang Studies. Addressing this concern, we possess various general publications introducing China's connections to her neighbouring countries and peoples, but many more detailed case studies and examinations of sources are required. In this article, we introduce a case study from Lingnan, the region studied by our tragically deceased colleague Chen Zhenxiu, and one from Xiyu (*i.e.* the areas west of the Hexi 河西 Corridor, mainly coinciding with present-day Xinjiang and adjacent Central Asian territories) as examples for two different migration scenarios.

CHEN Zhenxiu 陳朕秀, Angela SCHOTTENHAMMER 蕭婷, LI Man 李漫, 唐代地方移民方式及其与地方发展、朝廷政治及海上贸易之间的关系

中央与地方政府之间，中国内腹地区与边境地区之间以及土著居民与移民之间的关系是唐研究的关键问题。着眼于解决这一问题，虽然已经有各种一般性的研究成果出版面世，叙述中国与邻邦及其人民的联系，但还需要进行更多详细的案例研究和文献检索。 在本文中，作为两种不同的移民方式的示例，我们讨论了一个岭南的案例，岭南是我们不幸病逝的同事陈朕秀所研究的区域，另一个则是西域地区的案例 (即河西走廊以西的区域，大致与今日新疆和邻近的中亚地区相吻合)。

CHEN Zhenxiu 陳朕秀, Angela SCHOTTENHAMMER 蕭婷, LI Man 李漫, 唐代地方移民方式及其與地方發展、朝廷政治及海上貿易之間的關係

中央與地方政府之間，中國內腹地區與邊境地區之間以及土著居民與移民之間的關係是唐研究的關鍵問題。著眼於解決這一問題，雖然已經有各種一般性的研究成果出版面世，敘述中國與鄰邦及其人民的聯繫，但還需要進行更多詳細的案例研究和文獻檢索。在本文中，作為兩種不同的移民方式的示例，我們討論了一個嶺南的案例，嶺南是我們不幸病逝

的同事陳朕秀所研究的區域，另一個則是西域地區的案例(即河西走廊以西的區域，大致與今日新疆和鄰近的中亞地區相吻合)。

CHEN Zhenxiu 陳朕秀, Angela SCHOTTENHAMMER 蕭婷, LI Man 李漫, 唐時代における地方移民パターンと地方開発、さらに、唐中央政治と海上貿易の関係について。

中央政府と地方政府間、さらには、中国内陸部とその国境辺境地区間における、土着の人々と移民の人々の関係は、唐研究における重要な問題である。この問題に関して、中国と近隣諸国の関係やそこの人々との関係を紹介するさまざまな、一般的な研究が出版されているが、より多くの詳細なケーススタディと資料調査が必要である。本論文では、先般不幸にも亡くなった同僚の陳鎮秀が研究した地域である岭南の事例を検討し、及び、西域地区(河西回廊の西側地域、主に現在の新疆と隣接する中央アジアの領土と一致する地域)の事例をも検討する。

CHEN Zhenxiu 陳朕秀, Angela SCHOTTENHAMMER 蕭婷, LI Man 李漫, 당대 (唐代) 의 지방 이민 방식과 지방 개발, 중앙 정치 및 해상 무역의 관계

중앙 정부와 지방 정부, 또는 중국 내륙과 국경 변방 지역, 토착민들과 이민자들 사이의 관계는 당대 (唐代) 시기 연구에서 중요한 문제이다. 이 문제와 관련해 중국과 인근 국가 및 그 지역민들과의 관계를 소개하는 다양한 일반적인 연구가 출판되고 있지만, 이에 대한 더 자세한 사례 연구 및 자료 조사가 필요하다. 본고는 다양한 이민 방법의 두 가지 예로서, 최근 불행하게도 명을 달리 한 동료 陳朕秀 가 연구한 지역인 영남 (岭南) 의 사례 및, 서역 지구 (하서 주랑의 서부 지역, 주로 현재의 신장 (新疆) 및 이에 인접한 중앙아시아 영토를 포함하는 지역) 의 사례를 검토한다.

ЧЭНЬ Чжэньсю 陳朕秀, Ангела ШОТТЕНХАММЕР 蕭婷, ЛИ Мань 李漫, Танские местные миграционные модели и взаимосвязь между развитием на местном уровне, политикой центра и морской торговлей

Отношения между центральным и местным управлением, между исконными и пограничными регионами Китая и между коренным населением и мигрантами – ключевые вопросы в изучении эпохи Тан. В нашем распоряжении имеются различные общие публикации, посвящённые этим проблемам, в которых кратко описаны связи Китая с соседними странами и народами, но необходимо гораздо больше детальных тематических исследований источников. В этой статье мы представляем тематическое исследование Линнаня, региона, который изучал наш безвременно почивший коллега Чэнь Чжэньсю, и ещё одно

исследование региона Сиюй (т.е. областей к западу от Хэсийского 河西 коридора, в целом соотносящихся с современным Синьцзяном и прилегающими центральноазиатскими территориями) как примеры двух разных миграционных сценариев.

چِن شِنشیو CHEN Zhenxiu ، آنگلا شوتن هامر Angela SCHOTTENHAMMER ، لی من LI Man
الگوهای مهاجرتیِ محلیِ سلسله ی تانگ، مناسبات میان تحولاتِ بومی، سیاست‌های مرکزی و تجارت دریایی

یکی از کلیدی‌ترین سوالاتِ مرتبط با مطالعاتِ سلسله‌ی تانگ، روابط میان سطوح مرکزی و محلیِ دولت، مناسبات چین و مناطق مرزی و همچنین روابط میانِ ساکنینِ بومی و مهاجر در این دوره می‌باشد. با توجه به این پرسش، منابع منتشر شده‌ی عدیده‌ای را در معرفیِ مناسبات و روابط کشور چین با همسایگان و مردمانشان مورد تحقیق و بررسی قرار داده‌ایم، هر چند که این عناوین مستلزمِ مطالعاتِ موردیِ بیشتر و دقیق‌تری می‌باشند. در این مقاله، به معرفی دو مطالعه‌ی موردی از سویی به منطقه‌ی ***لینگنان*** Lingnan (که حیطه‌ی مطالعاتیِ همکار متوفی ما ***چن شنشیو*** می‌باشد، که به طرزی ناگوار از میان ما رفت) واز سوی دیگر به ***شیو*** Xiyu (مناطقِ غربیِ نواره ***خِه شی*** 河西 Hexi مقارن با ***شین جیانگ*** Xinjiang کنونی ومجاور سرزمین‌های آسیای مرکزی) می‌پردازیم که دو سناریوی متفاوت از مهاجرت را نشان می‌دهند.

Maddalena BARENGHI, Some Notes on the Historiography and History of the Chile 敕勒 Turks (Fifth to Seventh Century)

The terms "Gaoju" 高車 and "Chile" 敕勒 / "Tiele" 鐵勒 identify a confederacy of Turkic-speaking tribes that dwelled in the Mongolian steppe belt from the late fifth to the early eighth century. This group of tribes established patron-client relations with both the steppe regimes of the Rouran khanate (402–552) and the Turks of the first Turk Empire (552–630), as well as the rulers of the Central Plains, the Tuoba Northern dynasties (386–581), the Sui (581–617), and the early Tang court. Over the course of the centuries, tribal units affiliated to this nomadic confederacy moved southwards within the various parts of the northern and northwestern frontier of the empire, voluntarily or not, and became part of its defensive system. This paper is a survey inquiry into the early relations between the confederacy and the rulers of the Central Plains as narrated in the early medieval sources, with a focus on the *Weishu* and the *Beishi*. From a broader perspective, this article is a preliminary inquiry into the modes of narrating migration patterns of the Turkic groupings that settled in the Tang border zone.

白榕 (Maddalena BARENGHI)，对敕勒突厥人 (五至七世纪) 的历史编纂学及历史的几点讨论

高车及敕勒/铁勒，这两个名词所指是，从第五世纪末期到八世纪初，居住在蒙古草原带的突厥语部落联盟。这些部落既与草原政权，如柔然汗国 (402–552) 和突厥第一汗国 (552–630) 的突厥人，也与中原统治者，如北魏的拓跋氏 (386–581)，杨隋 (581–617) 和李唐早期，都有附属关系。在几个世纪的过程中，隶属于这种游牧联盟的部落，自愿地或不自愿地在帝国北部和西北边界的各个部分向南移动，并成为帝国防御系统的一部分。本文是对中世纪初文献中所描述的联盟与中原统治者之间的早期关系的检讨和探求，重点是《魏书》和《北史》。从更广泛的角度来看，本文是对如何叙述定居在唐帝国边境地区的突厥集团的迁徙模式的初步探讨。

白榕 (Maddalena BARENGHI)，對敕勒突厥人 (五至七世紀) 的歷史編纂學及歷史的幾點討論

高車及敕勒/鐵勒，這兩個名詞所指是，從第五世紀末期到八世紀初，居住在蒙古草原帶的突厥語部落聯盟。這些部落既與草原政權，如柔然汗國 (402–552) 和突厥第一汗國 (552–630) 的突厥人，也與中原統治者，如北魏的拓跋氏 (386–581)，楊隋 (581–617) 和李唐早期，都有附屬關係。在幾個世紀的過程中，隸屬於這種游牧聯盟的部落，自願地或不自願地在帝國北部和西北邊界的各個部分向南移動，並成為帝國防禦系統的一部分。本文是對中世紀初文獻中所描述的聯盟與中原統治者之間的早期關係的檢討和探求，重點是《魏書》和《北史》。從更廣泛的角度來看，本文是對如何敘述定居在唐帝國邊境地區的突厥集團的遷徙模式的初步探討。

Maddalena BARENGHI，敕勒突厥人 (五世紀から七世紀) の歴史編纂学と歴史に関するいくつかの論考

高車 Gaoju と敕勒 Chile /鐵勒 Tiele という用語は、5 世紀後半から 8 世紀初頭にかけてモンゴルの草原地帯に住んでいたトルコ語を話す部族の連合を示している。この部族グループは、如柔然汗国 (402–552) と突厥第一汗国 (552–630) の突厥人、さらに、中原统治者といわれる北魏防御跋氏 (386–581) 、さらに、隋 (581–617) や李唐の最初期などと、付属関係を保っていた。何世紀にもわたって、この遊牧同盟に所属する部族集団は、帝国の北部および北西部のさまざまな地域内を自発的にまたは非自発的に南方へ移動することによって、帝国の辺境防御系統の一翼

を担うことになった。この論文は、『魏書』と『北史』に焦点を当てながら、中世期当初の文献に記述されている連盟と中原統治者間の初期の関係に関して調査検討する。より広範な観点から検討することにより、本論考は、唐の国境地帯に定住した突厥集団の移動パターンを論述するため予備研究となる。

Maddalena BARENGHI, 철륵(敕勒) 돌궐인(5 세기에서 7 세기)에 관한 역사 서술과 역사에 대한 몇 가지 논고

고차(高車)와 철륵(敕勒/鐵勒)이라는 용어는 5 세기 후반에서 8 세기 초에 걸쳐 몽골의 초원 지대에 살던 터키어를 구사하는 부족연합을 가리킨다. 이 부족 그룹은 유연(柔然) 카간국(402–552)과 첫 번째 돌궐 제국(552–630)의 돌궐인들, 또한 중원을 통치한 탁발 북위조(386–581), 수나라(581–617), 및 당나라 초기의 통치자들과 부속관계를 유지하고 있었다. 수세기에 걸쳐 이 유목 동맹에 소속된 부족들은 제국의 북부 및 북서부의 여러 지역을 가로질러 자발적 또는 비자발적으로 남하하면서 이 제국의 변방 방어 체제에 일익을 담당하게 되었다. 본고는『위서(魏書)』와『북사(北史)』에 초점을 맞춰, 중세 초기의 문헌에 기술되어 있는 연맹과 중원 통치자들 사이의 초기 관계를 재조명한다. 더 넓은 관점에서, 본고는 당나라의 국경 지대에 정착한 돌궐 집단의 이주 패턴을 설명하는 방법에 대한 예비 토론이다.

Маддалена БАРЕНГИ, Несколько заметок об историографии и истории тюрок Чилэ 敕勒 (с пятого по седьмые века)

Под терминами “Гаоцзюй” 高車 и “Чилэ” 敕勒 / “Телэ” 鐵勒 понимается объединение тюркоязычных племён, которые обитали на просторах монгольских степей с позднего пятого по ранний восьмой века. Эта группа племён установила патрон-клиентские отношения со степными государственными образованиями Жужаньского каганата (402–552), тюрками первой Тюркской империи (552–630), а также властителями Центральной равнины, Северными династиями (386–581), империей Суй (581–617) и ранним танским двором. На протяжении веков племенные единицы, входящие в это кочевое объединение, по своей воле или же нет, переместились на юг в различные части северных и северо-западных пограничных районов империи и стали частью её оборонительной системы. Эта работа представляет собой исследование отношений между этим объединением и властителями Центральной равнины согласно данным ранних средневековых источников, в особенности *Вэйшу* и *Бэйши*. В более широкой перспективе эта статья – предварительное исследование моделей описания миграционных потоков тюркских племён, которые осели в танской пограничной зоне.

مادالنا بارنگی Maddalena BARENGHI

چند یادداشت، در خصوص تاریخ نگاری و تاریخ ترک طبارانِ *شیِه لِه* Chile در قرن پنجم تا هفتم میلادی

عبارات ***گاجو*** Gaoju ، ***شیِه لِه*** Chile/ ***تیِه لِه*** Tiele به اتحادیه‌ای از قبایل ترک‌زبان اطلاق می‌شد که در اواخر قرن پنجم تا اوایل قرن هشتم میلادی در کمربندیِ سبزدشتِ مغولستان سکنی گزیده بودند. این دسته از قبایل، با دُوَل خاناتِ روران (۴۰۲-۵۵۲) و اولین سلسله ی ترک (۵۵۲-۶۳۰) و همچنین با حاکمین سرزمین‌های مرکزی (سلسله‌ی شمال توبا ۳۸۶-۵۸۱) ، سلسله‌ی سویی (۵۸۱-۶۱۷) و اوایل دوره‌ی تانگ روابطی ملوک الطوایفی به وجود آوردند. در طی قرون متمادی، واحدهای قبیله‌ای وابسته‌ی این اتحادیه‌ی عشایری، به قسمت‌های مختلفِ مرزهای شمالی و شمال غربیِ امپراطوری، به صورت اختیاری و یا اجباری راهیِ جنوب و بخشی ازسیستم دفاعی آن شدند. این مقاله پژوهشی درباره‌ی روابط اولیه بین اتحادیه و حکام سرزمین‌های مرکزی (آنگونه که در منابع اولیه‌ی قرون وسطایی نیز ذکر شده است) با تمرکز بر ***ویشو*** Weishu و بیشی Beishi، مورد بررسی قرار می‌گیرد. از منظری گسترده‌تر، این مقاله، پژوهشی ابتدایی می‌باشد، درباره‌ی حالاتی از روایت الگوهای مهاجرتِ اقشارِ ترک که در منطقه‌ی مرزی تانگ مستقر بودند.

Ilya S. KOLNIN, Some thoughts on Zhao Rugua's biography and *Zhufan zhi*: translation and comparison of relevant fragments from various sources

Zhao Rugua is mostly known as the author of a famous Song dynasty historical geographical treatise entitled *Zhufan zhi*. However, very scarce information is available about him and his life. Despite that, since Hirth and Rockhill's translation of *Zhufan zhi* in 1911 a lot more data has been found on him in various sources, including his tombstone excavated in 1983. This article's main goal is to try and summarize all that data by translating and analyzing relevant fragments and extracts including three main ones: author's preface to *Zhufan zhi*, commentary from *Siku quanshu* and the tombstone inscription. Several vexatious misprints made in the Russian translation of the inscription have been taken into consideration and corrected in this article.

伊利亚·科尔宁 (Ilya S. KOLNIN), 对赵汝括传记和《诸蕃志 》的几点思考：不同文献来源相关片段的翻译和比较

赵汝括是著名的宋代历史地理论著《诸蕃志》的作者。 但是，关于他及其生平的信息很少。 尽管如此，自从 Hirth 和 Rockhill 在 1911 年翻译《诸蕃志》以来，在许多不同来源都发现了关于他更多的信息数据，包括 1983 年出土的墓碑。本文的主要目的是通过翻译和分析相关内容，尝试总结所有这些数据。 信息片段和摘录包括三个主要部分：《诸蕃志》

的序言，《四库全书》的注释和墓碑铭文。 本文已注意到并更正了俄译铭文中出现的一些令人生厌的印刷错误。

伊利亞·科爾寧 (Ilya S. KOLNIN), 對趙汝括傳記和《諸蕃志》的幾點思考：不同文獻來源相關片段的翻譯和比較

趙汝括是著名的宋代歷史地理論著《諸蕃志》的作者。但是，關於他及其生平的信息很少。儘管如此，自從 Hirth 和 Rockhill 在 1911 年翻譯《諸蕃志》以來，在許多不同來源都發現了關於他更多的信息數據，包括 1983 年出土的墓碑。本文的主要目的是通過翻譯和分析相關內容，嘗試總結所有這些數據。信息片段和摘錄包括三個主要部分：《諸蕃志》的序言，《四庫全書》的註釋和墓碑銘文。本文已註意到並更正了俄譯銘文中出現的一些令人生厭的印刷錯誤。

Ilya S. KOLNIN, 趙汝适の伝記および『諸蕃志』についてのいくつかの考え：さまざまな資料からの関連事項の翻訳と比較

趙汝适は、宋時代の歴史地理書である『諸蕃志』の著者として、広く知られている。しかし、彼と彼の人生に関する情報として使えるものは、非常に少ないのが現状である。それにも関わらず、ハースとロックヒルが、1911 年に『諸蕃志』を翻訳して以来、1983 年に発掘された墓石など含むさまざまな資料が多く発見されてきた。本論考の主眼は、遺稿や引用文を翻訳し分析することにより、次の三点を含む情報全てを要約することである：すなわち、その三点とは、趙汝适の自著『諸蕃志』への序文、『四庫全書』における注釈、および、墓石碑文である。本論考では、ロシア語の碑文の翻訳作業で行われたいくつかの厄介な誤植が検討され、修正される。

Ilya S. KOLNIN, 조여괄 (趙汝适) 의 전기 및 『제번지 (諸蕃志) 』에 대한 몇 가지 소고: 다양한 사료에 보이는 관련 사항의 번역과 비교

조여괄 (趙汝适) 은 송나라의 역사 지리서인 『제번지 (諸蕃志) 』의 저자로 널리 알려져 있다. 그러나 그 자신과 그의 인생에 관한 정보로서 사용할 수 있는 정보가 매우 적은 것이 현실이다. 그럼에도 불구하고, Hirth 와 Rockhill 이 1911 년에 제번지를 번역한 이래, 1983 년에 발굴된 묘비 등을 포함한 다양한 자료가 많이 발견되어 왔다. 본고의 주목적은 다음의 세 가지 주요 사료를 포함해 흩어져 남아있는 관련 사료들을 번역하고 분석하여 남아 있는 전체 정보를 요약하는 것이다. 이는 조여괄의 저서 제번지에 실린 서언, 『사고전서 (四庫全書) 』의 주석, 및 묘비 비문을 포함한다. 본고는 이 비문의 러시아어 번역에서 보이는 여러 무질서한 오타를 검토하고 수정한다.

Илья Сергеевич КОЛНИН, Некоторые мысли о биографии Чжао Жугуа и *Чжу фань чжи*: перевод и сравнение соответствующих фрагментов из различных источников

Чжао Жугуа преимущественно известен как автор выдающегося историко-географического трактата *Чжу фань чжи*, написанного во время империи Сун. Несмотря на это, есть очень мало информации о нём и о его жизни. Однако с момента перевода *Чжу фань чжи* Хиртом и Рокхиллом в 1911 году, в различных источниках было обнаружено гораздо больше данных о нём, в том числе в его надгробной надписи, откопанной в 1983 году. Основная задача этой статьи заключается в изложении всей доступной информации о Чжао Жугуа посредством перевода и анализа соответствующих фрагментов и отрывков, включая три основных: авторское предисловие к *Чжу фань чжи*, аннотацию из *Сыку цюаньшу* и надгробную надпись. Несколько досадных опечаток в русском переводе надписи были приняты во внимание и исправлены в этой статье, в частности, описка в отношении 3-его года правления под девизом Кайси (вместо 1203 г. должен стоять 1207 г.) .

ایلیا س. کلنین Ilya S. KOLNIN
تاملی بر بیوگرافی ژاو روگوا Zhao Rugua و ژوفان ژی *Zhufan zhi*
ترجمه و مقایسه ی تطبیقیِ منابعِ پراکنده‌ی متعدد

ژاو روگوا Zhao Rugua بیش از هر چیز به عنوان پدیدآورنده‌ی رساله‌ی جغرافیایی تاریخیِ دوره‌ی سانگ به نام **ژوفان ژی** Zhufan zhi شناخته شده است. هر چند که در مورد او و زندگی شخصیش اطلاعات و منابع بسیار کمی در دسترس می‌باشد. پس از ترجمه‌ی رساله‌ی **ژوفان ژی** توسط **هیرت** Hirth **و راک هیل** Rockhill در سال ۱۹۱۱، اطلاعات بیشتری در مورد او در منابع مختلف در دسترس عموم قرار گرفت، به خصوص پس از حفاری و کشف مقبره‌ی او در سال ۱۹۸۳. این مقاله با هدف جمع آوری این داده‌ها و اطلاعات از طریق ترجمه و تحلیل و استخراج منابع انجام گرفته، به سه مورد اصلی می‌پردازد: دیباچه‌ی نویسنده در خصوص **ژوفان ژی**، تفسیری از **سیکو کوانشو** Siku quanshu و سنگ نوشته‌ی مقبره. بسیاری از منابعی که با برخی از اشتباهاتِ سردرگم کننده در مورد این سنگ‌نوشته که به زبان روسی ترجمه شده‌اند، در این مقاله مورد توجه قرار گرفته و تصحیح شده‌اند.

Elke PAPELITZKY, The Knowledge of Late Ming Literati about Zheng He's Visits to Siam – A Comparison of the *Xiyang ji* and Historical Geographical Texts

Zheng He went to Siam (Xianluo 暹羅) on several of his seven voyages. Both Ma Huan 馬歡 and Fei Xin 費信 wrote an account of the country detailing the customs of the Siamese people. In the last 100 years of the Ming dynasty, the

publishing boom and an increased interest in foreign matters resulted in several books about foreign countries, many of them also describing Siam and explaining the history of Sino-Siamese relations. However, these books usually do not mention Zheng He's voyages to Siam. A notable exception is the Zheng He map in the *Wubei zhi* 武備志 and the *Nanshu zhi* 南樞志.

In contrast to these scholarly works, the novel *Xiyang ji* does have a chapter on Siam, but instead of calling the country Xianluo, Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 uses the older term Luohu 羅斛, designating Lopburi that united with Xian 暹 during the Yuan dynasty to form Xianluo. This article aims to explore the reasons for the lack of accurate knowledge of Zheng He's visits to Siam as well as discuss the voyage to Siam by the fictional Zheng He.

林珂 (Elke PAPELITZKY), 晚明文人对郑和访问暹罗的知识–《西洋记》与历史地理文献的比较

郑和在他七次下西洋中有几次去了暹罗。马欢和费信都详细描述了暹罗的风土人情。在明朝的最后一百年里，出版业兴旺发展，对外国事务的兴趣不断增加，由此而产生一些关于外国的书，其中许多书也描述了暹罗并解释了中暹关系的历史。但是，这些书通常不会提及郑和的暹罗之旅。一个显著的例外是《武备志》和《南枢志》中的郑和地图。

与这些学术著作不同的是，小说《西洋记》中确有一章关于暹罗，但罗茂登并没有称其为暹罗，而是使用了较早的称呼罗斛，指的是元朝时期与暹联盟的华富里。本文旨在探讨缺乏对郑和访问暹罗的准确知识的原因，并讨论虚构中的郑和到暹罗的航行。

林珂 (Elke PAPELITZKY), 晚明文人對鄭和訪問暹羅的知識–《西洋記》與歷史地理文獻的比較

鄭和在他七次下西洋中有幾次去了暹羅。馬歡和費信都詳細描述了暹羅的風土人情。在明朝的最後一百年裡，出版業興旺發展，對外國事務的興趣不斷增加，由此而產生一些關於外國的書，其中許多書也描述了暹羅並解釋了中暹關係的歷史。但是，這些書通常不會提及鄭和的暹羅之旅。一個顯著的例外是《武備志》和《南樞志》中的鄭和地圖。

與這些學術著作不同的是，小說《西洋記》中確有一章關於暹羅，但羅茂登並沒有稱其為暹羅，而是使用了較早的稱呼羅斛，指的是元朝時期與暹聯盟的華富裡。本文旨在探討缺乏對鄭和訪問暹羅的準確知識的原因，並討論虛構中的鄭和到暹羅的航行。

Elke PAPELITZKY, 鄭和が暹羅 (Xianluo) を訪問したことに関する明後期の文人のおける知識–『三宝太監西洋記』と歴史地理学文献との比較研究

鄭和は、彼の第七次下西洋航海中に、暹羅 (Xianluo) を訪れた。馬歓と費信との両者は、暹羅の人々の習慣を詳細に詳述した。明朝最後の 100 年間に、出版ブームと外国問題への関心が高まり、外国に関するいくつかの書籍が出版された。それらの多く本の中には、暹羅を詳しく描写し、さらに、中国と暹羅の関係史についても説明している。ただし、これらの本では通常、鄭和の暹羅への航海については言及していない。注目すべき例外は、武備志 と南樞志中にある鄭和の地図である。これらの学術作品とは対照的に、小説『三宝太監西洋記』 (1597 年) には、暹羅に関する一章がありますが、その国を暹羅 (Xianluo) と呼ぶ代わりに、作者の羅懋登は、旧国名である「羅斛」(Luohu) を使用している。この、羅斛は、元朝時代と暹連盟の華富里 (ロッブリー) を指している。本論考では、鄭和の暹羅訪問の確実な知識欠乏の原因を検討し、合わせて、小説中の鄭和の架空の「暹羅への航海」をも論ずる。

Elke PAPELITZKY, 정화 (鄭和) 가 섬라 (暹羅: 지금의 타이) 를 방문한 것에 대한 명대 (明代) 후기 문인의 지식 — 『삼보태감서양기 (三宝太監西洋記)』와 역사지리문헌과의 비교 연구

정화 (鄭和) 는 그의 제 7 차 하서양 (下西洋) 항해 중에 섬라 (暹羅: 지금의 타이) 를 방문했다. 마환 (馬歡) 과 비신 (費信) 은 섬라인들의 습관을 상세하게 기록했다. 명나라 마지막 100 년 동안에 출판업의 발전과 외국에 대한 관심이 높아지면서 외국에 관한 여러 권의 책이 출판되었다. 그 많은 책들은 섬라를 자세하게 묘사하고, 중국과 섬라의 관계의 역사에 대해서도 설명하고 있다. 그러나 이들 책들은 일반적으로 정화의 섬라로의 항해에 대해서는 언급하지 않고 있다. 주목할 만한 예외는 무비지 (武備志) 와 남추지 (南樞志) 중에 있는 정화의 지도뿐이다. 이러한 학술 작품과는 대조적으로, 소설『삼보태감서양기 (三宝太監西洋記) 』 (1597 년) 에는 섬라에 관한 한 장을 담고 있는데, 저자 나무등 (羅懋登) 은 그 나라를 섬라라고 부르는 대신 구국가명인 “라후 (羅斛, Luohu) ”를 사용하고 있다. 이, 羅斛은 원나라 시대에 “섬 (暹) ”과 연결되어 섬라를 지칭하게 되었다. 본고는 정화의 섬라 방문에 대한 정확한 지식 부족의 원인을 검토하고, 소설 중에 나오는 정화의 섬라 방문도 논할 것이다.

Элке ПАПЕЛИЦКИ, Знания поздних минских литераторов о плаваниях Чжэн Хэ в Сиам – сравнение *Сиян цзи* и историко-географических текстов

Чжэн Хэ посетил Сиам (Сяньло 暹羅) несколько раз в своих семи экспедициях. И Ма Хуань 馬歡, и Фэй Синь 費信 сочинили описания этой страны, подробно остановившись на обычаях народа Сиама. В последние 100 лет империи Мин стремительный рост книгопечатания и повышенный интерес к зарубежью привели к написанию нескольких книг о чужеземных странах, многие из которых также описывали Сиам и объясняли историю китайско-сиамских отношений. Однако эти книги обычно не упоминали плавания Чжэн Хэ в Сиам. Примечательным исключением является карта Чжэн Хэ в *Убэй чжи* 武備志 и *Наньиу чжи* 南樞志.

В отличие от этих научных трудов, в романе *Сиян цзи* есть глава о Сиаме, но вместо того, чтобы назвать эту страну Сяньло, Ло Маодэн 羅懋登 использует старое название Лоху 羅斛, обозначающее Лопбури, которое объединилось с Сянь 暹 и образовало Сяньло во время империи Юань. Цель этой статьи – изучить причины отсутствия точных знаний о посещениях Чжэн Хэ Сиама и обсудить путешествие в Сиам «вымышленного» Чжэн Хэ.

الکه پاپلیتزکی Elke PAPELITZKY
دانسته‌های اواخر دوره‌ی مینگ در مورد دیدارِ *ژانگ خه* Zheng He از سیام
مقایسه‌ی *سیانگ جی Xiyang ji* و متونِ جغرافیایِ تاریخی

ژانگ خه در پی هفت سفر بزرگش، به دفعات به سیام سفر کرده بود. ***ما هوآن*** Ma Huan***وفی شین*** Fei Xin، هر دو، گزارش دقیقی از آداب و رسوم مردم سیام به نثر درآورده‌اند. در صده‌ی پایانیِ دوره‌ی مینگ انتشاراتِ بسیاری در پیِ تمایلاتی که به فرنگ وجود داشت، در خصوص کشورها و دول خارجی صورت گرفت، که بسیاری از این کتب به معرفی سیام و همچنین به روابط چین و سیام پرداخته‌اند. با این وجود، اغلبِ این کتب به سفرهای ***ژانگ خه*** به سیام اشاره‌ای نکرده‌اند. مستثنی در این زمینه، نقشه ی ***ووبی شی*** *Wubei zhi* ***و نانشوژی*** Nanshu zhi می‌باشند. برخلاف این آثارِ علمی، داستانِ کوتاهِ ***سیانگ چی***، فصلی درباره‌ی سیام دارد که در آن، ***لو ماودنگ*** Luo Maodeng به جای عنوان کردن کشور ***سیانلوآ*** Xianluo، از واژه‌ی قدیمی‌ترِ ***لوهو*** Luohuاستفاده می‌نماید که نشانگرِ یکپارچگیِ ***لوپبوری*** Lopburiبا ***سیان*** می‌باشد که در حین دوره‌ی ***یوآن، سیانلوآ*** را پدید آورد. هدف این مقاله، بررسی دلایل و علّلِ فقدان آگاهی از سفرهای ***ژانگ خه*** به سیام می‌باشد ودر ادامه سفرِ شخصیتِ داستانیِ ***ژانگ خه*** به سیام را مورد بحث قرار می‌دهیم.

CAO Jin, From Ricci's World Map to Schall's Translation of *De Re Metallica*: Western Learning and China's Search for Silver in the Late Ming Period (1583–1644)

When during the sixteenth century increasing amounts of silver from Japan and Latin America arrived in China aboard Western ships, this sparked speculations about its origins. Western missionaries were often believed to possess alchemist knowledge to create gold and silver. Although American silver mines appeared already on early Western maps in China, a Chinese naval expedition was dispatched to the Luzon to find a legendary silver source there. It failed and resulted in a massacre against Manila Chinese by the Spanish. Thereafter, the state aimed at increasing domestic silver production by using Western methods. German Jesuit Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) translated parts of Georgius Agricola's (1494–1555) *De re metallica* and other Western books and compiled them into a handbook named *Kunyu gezhi*. This work, which interestingly also contains a description of the Potosí silver mines, was lost during the Ming-Qing Transition but recently rediscovered. It provides invaluable information illuminating this phase of early Western learning in China.

曹晋, 从利玛窦绘世界地图到汤若望译《坤舆格致》：晚明西学与中国对白银的探求

16 世纪，来自日本和拉丁美洲的白银越来越多通过西方的船只运抵中国，这引发了中国人对其来源的猜测，人们常常认为西方传教士拥有所谓的"黄白之术"，即炼金术知识来创造金银。尽管美洲的银矿此时已经标注于利玛窦等人绘制的西方地图上，但明政府却派遣官兵前往吕宋，寻找传说中的银山。这一行动以失败告终，并导致了西班牙人对马尼拉华人的屠杀。此后，崇祯时期试图采用西法，以增加国内的白银产量。德国耶稣会士汤若望翻译了阿格里科拉的《论矿冶》和其他西方采矿冶金类书籍的部分内容，将其编译成为《坤舆格致》，其中就包含了关于波多西银矿的独特描述。该书长期以来被学界认为已于明清之际散佚，但最近又被重新发现，它为中国早期西学东渐的研究提供了宝贵的信息。

曹晉, 從利瑪竇繪世界地圖到湯若望譯《坤輿格致》：晚明西學與中國對白銀的探求

16 世紀，來自日本和拉丁美洲的白銀越來越多通過西方的船隻運抵中國，這引發了中國人對其來源的猜測，人們常常認為西方傳教

士擁有所謂的"黃白之術"，即煉金術知識來創造金銀。儘管美洲的銀礦此時已經標注于利瑪竇等人繪製的西方地圖上，但明政府卻派遣官兵前往呂宋，尋找傳說中的銀山。這一行動以失敗告終，並導致了西班牙人對馬尼拉華人的屠殺。此後，崇禎時期試圖採用西法，以增加國內的白銀產量。德國耶穌會士湯若望翻譯了阿格裡柯拉的《論礦冶》和其他西方採礦冶金類書籍的部分內容，將其編譯成為《坤輿格致》，其中就包含了關於波多西銀礦的獨特描述。該書長期以來被學界認為已於明清之際散佚，但最近又被重新發現，它為中國早期西學東漸的研究提供了寶貴的信息。

曹晉，マテオ・リッチの世界地図からアダム・シャルの *De Re Metallica* の翻訳まで：明後期 (1583–1644) の西洋知識修得と中国の銀探索に関して

16 世紀において、日本やラテンアメリカから大量の銀が西洋の船によって中国に到着したとき、それらの銀は、その起源についての憶測を巻き起こした。人々の多くは、西洋から来た宣教師たちは、金と銀を作るための錬金術の知識を持っているとしばしば信じられていた。アメリカの銀鉱山はすでに、マテオ・リッチらによって作製された中国初期の世界地図に登場していて、中国海軍の遠征隊がルソン島に派遣され、そこで伝説的な銀の源を発見した。この遠征は、結果的には、失敗し、スペイン人によるマニラ在住の中国人に対する虐殺をもたらした。その後、崇祯帝の治世に、西洋の方法を採用して、国内の銀生産を増やすことを目指した。ドイツのイエズス会士アダム・シャル・フォン・ベル Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) は、ゲオルギウス・アグリコラ Georgius Agricola (1494–1555) の *De re metallica* と他の採鉱冶金学に関する西洋の本を部分的に翻訳し、『坤輿格致』という名前のハンドブックに纏め上げた。興味深いことに、ボリビアにあるポトシ Potosí 銀鉱山の説明も含まれているこの本は、明清移行中に失われていたが、最近、再発見され、中国における初期の西洋知識修得の段階を明らかにする貴重な情報を提供することとなった。

曹晉, 마테오 리치의 세계지도에서 아담 샬의 『금속에 대하여 (*De Re Metallica*) 』의 번역에 이르기까지: 명나라 후기 (1583–1644) 의 서양 지식 습득과 중국의 은의 탐험에 관해서

16 세기에 일본과 라틴 아메리카로부터 대량의 은이 서양 배로 중국에 도착했을 때, 그렇게 전해진 은은 그 기원에 대한 추측을 일으켰다.

많은 사람들은 서양에서 온 선교사들이 금을 만들기 위한 연금술의 지식을 가지고 있다고 종종 믿고 있었다. 미국의 은 광산이 이미 마테오 리치 팀에 의해 제작된 중국 최초의 세계지도에 등장했지만, 중국은 해군 원정대를 필리핀의 루손 섬에 파견해 그곳에서 전설적인 은의 근원을 발견하고자 했다. 이 전략은 결과적으로는 실패하고, 스페인인들에 의한 마닐라에 거주하는 중국인에 대한 학살을 초래했다. 그 후, 중국 조정은 서양의 방법을 채용하여 국내 은 생산을 늘리는 것을 목표로 했다. 독일 예수회 아담 샬 폰 벨 (Adam Schall von Bell: 1592–1666) 은 게오르기 우스 · 아그리콜라 (Georgius Agricola: 1494–1555) 의『금속에 대하여 (*De Re Metallica*)』와 다른 채광 야금술에 대한 서양의 책을 부분적으로 번역하여『곤여격치 (坤輿格致)』라는 핸드북을 편집했다. 흥미롭게도, 볼리비아의 포토시 (Potosí) 의 은 광산의 설명도 포함하고 있는 이 책은 명청 교체기에 분실했지만 최근 다시 발견돼 중국에서 초기의 서양 지식 습득의 단계를 밝히는데 에 귀중한 정보를 제공하게 되었다.

ЦАО Цзинь. От карты мира Маттео Риччи к переводу *De Re Metallica* авторства Адама Шалля. Изучение Запада и погоня Китая за серебром в позднюю Мин (1583-1644)

Когда в шестнадцатом веке всё увеличивающееся количество серебра из Японии и Латинской Америки прибывало в Китай на бортах западных кораблей, это вызвало подозрения относительно его происхождения. Считалось, что западные миссионеры обладали познаниями в алхимии о том, как создавать золото и серебро. Хотя американские серебряные шахты уже появились на попавших в Китай ранних западных картах, в Лусон была отправлена китайская морская экспедиция с целью найти там легендарный источник серебра. Она провалилась и привела к расправе испанцев над манильскими китайцами. После этого Китай начал стремиться к увеличению производства серебра с помощью западных технологий. Немецкий иезуит Адам Шалль фон Белль (1592-1666) перевёл фрагменты *De re metallica* авторства Георгия Агриколы и другие западные книги и составил из своих переводов справочник *Куньюй гэчжи*. Эта работа, которая также содержит описания серебряных шахт в Потоси, была утеряна в переходный период от империи Мин к Цин, но недавно вновь была обнаружена. Она предоставляет бесценную информацию, проливающую свет на раннее изучение Запада в Китае.

سائو جین (CAO Jin)
از نقشه جهان ماتیو ریچی (Matteo Ricci) تا ترجمه De Re Metallica توسط آدام شال فن بل (Adam Schall von Bell) انتقال دانش غربی و جستجوی چین برای یافتن نقره در اواخر سلسله مینگ (Ming) (1583-1644)

هنگامی که در قرن شانزدهم نقره از آمریکای لاتین و ژاپن در کشتی های غربی به میزان فزاینده ای به چین وارد شد، این امر منجر به گمانه زنی هایی در یاره منشأ آن گردید. در مورد مبلغان مسیحیت که از غربی آمده بودند گفته می شد که آنها دارای دانش کیمیاگری برای تولید مصنوعی طلا و نقره می باشند. اگرچه معادن نقره آمریکا در نقشه های جغرافی اولیه غرب در چین درج شده بودند، ولیکن چین یک هیئت را از راه دریا برای جستجوی معادن افسانه ای نقره به لوزون (Luzon) اعزام کرد. این پروژه ناکام ماند و منجر به قتل عام چینی ها در مانیل توسط اسپانیایی ها گردید. بعدها دولت چین در صدد این بود که تولید نقره داخلی را با استفاده از روش های غربی افزایش دهد. ژزوئیت آلمانی، آدام شال فن بل (Adam Schall von Bell) ، بخش هایی از *De Re Metallica* نوشته گئورگیوس آگریکولا (Georgius Agricola) و دیگر آثار غربی را ترجمه و آنها را در یک کتاب راهنما تحت عنوان *Kunyu gezhi* تنظیم کرد. این کتاب که جالب توجه است که توصیف معادن نقره را نیز دربردارد در زمان گذار از سلسله مینگ (Ming) به سلسله گینگ (Qing) گم شده بود، اما اخیرا مجددا پیدا شده است. این کتاب یک منبع بسیار ارزشمند برای درک بهتر مرحله انتقال دانش از اروپا به چین می باشد.

Niv HORESH, Realms of Overflowing Gold? Re-examining the Premodern Chinese-Muslim Encounter, 751–1644

One of the most enduring lines of research in Sinology has been the mutual perceptions of China and the West as arising from early encounters. Yet, surprisingly, Chinese-Muslim early mutual perceptions have attracted less scholarly attention even if their encounter predated contact with the West. This article aims to fill the gap by re-visiting, analysing and integrating primary-source translations straddling a millennium. The result is a condensed, bigger-picture account of how Muslim-Chinese perceptions evolved over the course of the pre-modern era. Our coverage will begin with the Battle of Talas in CE 751, which saw the two civilisations skirmishing for the first time. By contrast, the following centuries were marked by relatively peaceful encounters. The coverage will end with the establishment of the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1644 because it is widely considered as one where a resurgence of anti-Muslim sentiments occurred in China. In conclusion, the article suggests that China was portrayed in diverse Islamic sources as prosperous and technologically sophisticated. Nevertheless, Muslim authors were explicitly or implicitly uneasy about what they considered Chinese idolatry and cultural sense of superiority. In

addition, the Chinese system of governance and criminal law were seen as repressive. Early Chinese accounts of the Islamic world tended, on their part, to stereotype Arabs as puritanical and battle-hardened.

Niv HORESH, 黄金遍地之国度？ 重新审视前现代时期穆斯林与中国的相遇，751–1644 年

汉学中最持久的研究方向之一就是中国和西方的相互认知，这是两者早期相遇所引起的结果。然而，令人惊讶的是，即使二者的相遇要早于中西接触，中国 - 穆斯林早期的相互认知却缺乏足够的学术关注。本文旨在通过重新审视，分析和整合时间跨度千年的原始资源翻译来填补这一空白。关于中国-穆斯林在前现代时期的观念如何演变这一问题，本文的解读是高度概括而宏观的。本文将从公元 751 年怛罗斯战役开始，其时两个文明之间第一次发生正面冲突。相比之下，接下来的几个世纪以相对平静的接触为标志。叙述跨度随着 1644 年满清王朝的建立而结束，因为它被广泛认为是中国反穆斯林情绪再次兴起的年代。总之，文章认为，中国在各种伊斯兰文献中被描绘为繁荣、技术繁复的国度。尽管如此，对于他们认为的中国偶像崇拜和文化优越感，穆斯林作者明确表示或暗示了不快。此外，中国的治理和刑法体系被视为具有压制性。中国早期对伊斯兰世界的描述倾向于将阿拉伯人定型为清教徒和善战者。

Niv HORESH, 黃金遍地之國度？重新審視前現代時期穆斯林與中國的相遇，751–1644 年

漢學中最持久的研究方向之一就是中國和西方的相互認知，這是兩者早期相遇所引起的結果。然而，令人驚訝的是，即使二者的相遇要早於中西接觸，中國 - 穆斯林早期的相互認知卻缺乏足夠的學術關注。本文旨在通過重新審視，分析和整合時間跨度千年的原始資源翻譯來填補這一空白。關於中國-穆斯林在前現代時期的觀念如何演變這一問題，本文的解讀是高度概括而宏觀的。本文將從公元 751 年怛羅斯戰役開始，其時兩個文明之間第一次發生正面衝突。相比之下，接下來的幾個世紀以相對平靜的接觸為標誌。敘述跨度隨著 1644 年滿清王朝的建立而結束，因為它被廣泛認為是中國反穆斯林情緒再次興起的年代。總之，文章認為，中國在各種伊斯蘭文獻中被描繪為繁榮、技術繁複的國度。儘管如此，對於他們認為的中國偶像崇拜和文化優越感，穆斯林作者明確表示或暗示了不快。此外，中國的治理和刑法體係被視為具有壓制性。中國早期對伊斯蘭世界的描述傾向於將阿拉伯人定型為清教徒和善戰者。

Niv HORESH, 黄金があふれる地域？前近代期 (751 年から 1644 年) における中国人とイスラム教徒との接触に関する再考

Sinology において、長く研究されているテーマの一つは、中国と西洋との相互認識とそれに伴い、初期の相互認識によって引き起こされた結果を研究するものである。しかし、驚くべきことに、西洋との出会いよりも先立つのに、中国人とイスラム教徒の初期の相互認識は、学術的な注目を集めてこなかったことである。本論考は、千年にわたる第一次資料を再考し、翻訳、分析、統合を行い、この学術的な空白を埋めることを目的としている。その結果として、イスラム教徒と中国人の認識が前近代の過程でどのように発展進化したかについての、より詳細にわたる、全体像が説明できることである。本論考は、2 つの文明が初めて武力的に接触した、751 年のタラスの戦いから始めるが、次の数世紀は比較的平和な相互接触によって特徴付けられるのである。1644 年の満州清王朝が設立に終了する。なぜならば、このときに、反イスラム感情の復活が起こったものとして広く考えられているからである。結論として、本論考は、さまざまなイスラム圏の資料では、中国が繁栄し、技術的に洗練されていると描かれていることを示す。それにもかかわらず、イスラム教徒の著者たちは、中国人たちの偶像崇拝や中国人たちが持っている文化的優位感に関して、明示的または暗黙的に不快感を抱いていた。さらに、イスラム教徒の著者たちは、中国の統治システムと刑法は、抑圧的であると看做していた。初期のイスラム世界に関する中国の記述は、その一方で、アラブ人を純粋主義者であり、戦闘にたけた人々というようにステレオタイプ化する傾向があった。

Niv HORESH, 황금이 넘치는 지역? 전근대 시기 (751 년에서 1644 년)의 중국과 무슬림 간의 조우에 대한 재검토

중국학에서 오랫동안 연구되고 있는 주제 중 하나는 중국과 서양 간의 초기 만남을 바탕으로 한 상호 인식이다. 그러나 놀랍게도 서양과의 만남보다 앞서 행해진 중국과 무슬림의 초기 상호인식은 상대적으로 학술적인 주목을 덜 받고 있었다. 본고는 약 천 년 동안 이루어진 이 역사적 주제에 관련한 1 차 사료의 번역을 통합적으로 분석하며 재검토해서 이 학술적인 공백을 메울 것을 목표로 한다. 그 결과로 이슬람과 중국의 인식이 전근대의 교류 과정에서 어떻게 발전, 진화했는지를 큰 맥락에서 압축적으로 설명할 것이다. 본고는 두

문명이 처음에는 751 년의 탈라스 전투에서 군사적으로 충돌하지만, 그 이후의 몇 세기는 비교적 평화로운 상호 접촉이 이어진 것을 보인다. 본고는 1644 년에 만주족이 청나라를 설립했을 때까지 만을 논하는데, 이때부터 중국에서 반이슬람 감정이 부활한 것으로 널리 인식되고 있기 때문이다. 결론적으로 본고는 다양한 이슬람권의 사료들이 중국을 문화적으로 번영하고 기술적으로 정교한 문명로 묘사하고 있는 것을 보인다. 그럼에도 불구하고 이슬람권의 저자들은 중국인들의 우상 숭배와 중국인들이 가지고 있는 문화적 우위 느낌에 대해 명시적으로 또는 은연중에 불편하게 느끼고, 중국의 통치 시스템과 형법은 억압적인 것으로 여기고 있었다. 반면, 초기 이슬람 세계에 대한 중국의 묘사는 아랍인을 엄격하고 전투에 능한 사람들로 정형화하는 경향이 있었다.

Нив ХОРЕШ. Пересмотр китайско-мусульманских контактов до Нового времени, 751-1644

Одно из самых устойчивых направлений в синологии – изучение восприятия Китаем Запада и наоборот на основе их ранних контактов. Однако, к удивлению, раннее китайско-мусульманское взаимовосприятие привлекло гораздо меньше внимания учёных, хотя их контакты предшествовали контактам Китая с Западом. Эта статья призвана ликвидировать этот пробел с помощью пересмотра, анализа и перевода источников, охватывающих почти тысячелетний период. Результатом явилась более чёткая и широкая картина того, как китайско-мусульманское взаимовосприятие эволюционировало на протяжении веков до Нового времени. Охватываемый нами период начинается с Таласской битвы в 751 г. н.э., когда две цивилизации столкнулись друг с другом в первый раз в истории. При этом в последующие века наблюдались достаточно мирные контакты. Охватываемый период заканчивается с установлением маньчжурской империи Цин в 1644 г., так как, по общему мнению, это время считается возрождением анти-мусульманских настроений в Китае. В заключении статьи выдвинуто предположение, что Китай описывается в различных исламских источниках как богатая и технологически развитая страна. Тем не менее, мусульманские авторы явно или неявно выражали беспокойство относительно того, что они считали китайским идолопоклонничеством и чувством собственного превосходства. Кроме того, китайская модель государственного управления и система наказаний воспринимались как репрессивные. Ранние китайские описания Исламского мира, в свою очередь, тяготели к стереотипному восприятию арабов как воинственных пуритан.

نیو هورش Niv HORESH
سرزمینی لبریز از طلا؟ بررسی مجددِ رویارویی پیشامدرنِ چین و اسلام ۷۵۱-۱۶۴۴

یکی از مواردِ پایان ناپذیر در وادیِ مطالعاتِ چین، همواره تعابیر مشترکی از چین و غرب بوده است که برگرفته از رویارویی‌های ابتدایی آنان می‌باشد. غافلگیر کننده است که تعابیر مشترکِ اولیه ی چینی اسلامی کمتر مورد توجه علما قرار گرفته است، علی رغم آن که رویارویی آنان به تماسشان با غرب بازمی‌گشت. هدف از این مقاله بررسی دوباره، تحلیل و یکپارچه سازی منابع اولیه‌ی ترجمه شده‌ایست که یک هزاره را در بر می‌گیرد. نتیجه‌ی این تحقیق، یک تصویر کلی و فشرده از چگونگی تعابیر چینی اسلامی در طی دوران پیشامدرن می‌باشد. بخش نخستِ پوششِ علمی ما با نبرد تالاس، در سال ۷۵۱ پس از میلاد مسیح، زمانی که اولین درگیری بین هر دو تمدن شکل گرفت، آغاز می‌شود. در مقایسه، قرون بعدی نشانگرِ برخوردهای نسبتا مسالمت آمیزتری بوده‌اند. این پوششِ علمی نهایتا با تاسیس سلسله‌ی ***مانچوکینگ*** در سال ۱۶۴۴ پایان می‌یابد، زیرا دراین برهه‌ی زمانی، تمایلاتِ ضد اسلامی که به طور گسترده نیز مورد توجه قرار گرفته است، در کشورِ چین به وقوع پیوست. نتیجتا این مقاله به منابع عدیده‌ی اسلامی که از چین به عنوان یک کشور ثروتمند و به لحاظ فناوری پیشرفته یاد کرده است، اشاره می کند. نویسندگان مسلمان در عینِ حال صراحتا و یا غیرمستقیم ناخوشنودی خود را از آنچه که به عنوان بت پرستی و یا احساس برترِی فرهنگیِ چینی می دانستند، ابراز کرده‌اند. ضمن این که نظام حکومتی و حقوق قضایی چین اغلب سرکوبگرایانه انگاشته می شد. منابع اولیه‌ی چین نیز در مورد دنیای اسلام، به کلیشه ای جلوه دادن اعراب به عنوان مردمانی پاکدین و سرسخت در جنگ تمایل داشتند.

Sebestyén HOMPOT, Xiamen at the Crossroads of Sino-Foreign Linguistic Interaction during the Late Qing and Republican Periods: The Issue of Hokkien Phoneticization

The aim of the present paper is to introduce the process through which the Chinese port city of Xiamen came to play a central role in regional Sino-Foreign linguistic interaction in the time period between the First Opium War (1839–1842) and the end of the Chinese Civil War (ca. 1950) . The present paper intends to demonstrate that during this period the Xiamen dialect of Hokkien came to be used as a standard for compiling Hokkien linguistic materials throughout the South China Sea region. Phoneticization of Hokkien based on the Xiamen dialect became a major aim pursued by foreign missionaries, colonial administrators and reform-minded Chinese intellectuals alike around the region. The present paper relies primarily on dictionaries and textbooks compiled by contemporary Chinese and foreign authors as primary sources.

洪思明, 晚清民国时期中外语言交流的十字路口厦门：福建话的拼音化问题

本文的目的是介绍第一次鸦片战争(1839 年至 1842 年)至中国内战(约 1950 年) 期间，中国港口城市厦门，在区域中外语言交流中发挥中心作用的过程 。 本文旨在证明，在此期间，福建厦门的方言在整个南中国海地区，已被用作编制福建语言资料的标准。基于厦门方言对福建话进行拼音化已成为该地区的外国传教士，殖民行政人员和具有改革思想的中国知识分子追求的主要目标。 本文主要依靠当代中外作者编写的字典和教科书作为主要资料。
关键字：厦门，福建话，拼音，白话字，鼓浪屿

洪思明, 晚清民國時期中外語言交流的十字路口廈門：福建話的拼音化問題

本文的目的是介紹第一次鴉片戰爭(1839 年至 1842 年)至中國內戰(約 1950 年) 期間，中國港口城市廈門，在區域中外語言交流中發揮中心作用的過程 。本文旨在證明，在此期間，福建廈門的方言在整個南中國海地區，已被用作編制福建語言資料的標準。基於廈門方言對福建話進行拼音化已成為該地區的外國傳教士，殖民行政人員和具有改革思想的中國知識分子追求的主要目標。本文主要依靠當代中外作者編寫的字典和教科書作為主要資料。
關鍵字：廈門，福建話，拼音，白話字，鼓浪嶼

Sebestyén HOMPOT, 清末期と中華民国時代における中国と外国の言語相互交流の十字路として廈門：福建語の音声表現化 (拼音化) の問題

本論考の目的は、第一次アヘン戦争 (1839–1842) から中国内戦約 1950 年) 期間終戦までの期間、中国の港湾都市「廈門」アモイにおいて見られた、中国と外国の言語相互交流において中心的な役割を果たすようにことを紹介することである。本論考は、上記の期間中に、福建語廈門方言が、南シナ海地域全体において使用されていた福建語言語資料を編集するための標準言語として使用された。廈門方言に基づく福建語の音声表現化 (拼音化) は、外国人宣教師、植民地行政官と、さらに、この地域の改革志向の中国人知識人たちもが追求する主要目的となった。本論考は、主に、当時の中国人および外国人の研究家によって編集された辞書と教科書を使用する。

Sebestyén HOMPOT, 청나라 말기와 중화민국 시기의 중국과 외국의 언어 상호 교류의 십자로에 선 하문 (廈門) : 복건어의 음성 표현화 (병음화) 문제

본고의 목적은 1 차 아편 전쟁 (1839–1842) 에서 중국 내전 종전기 (약 1950 년) 에 이르는 기간 중 중국의 항구 도시 하문 (廈門) 이 중국과 외국의 상호 언어교류에서 중심적인 역할을 한 것을 소개할 것이다. 본고는 이 기간 동안 복건어 하문 방언이 남중국해 지역 전체에서 복건 언어 자료를 편집하기 위한 표준 언어로 사용된 사실을 보인다. 하문 방언에 근거해 만들어진 복건어의 음성 표현화 (병음화) 는 외국인 선교사, 식민지 행정관, 및 이 지역의 개혁 지향의 중국 지식인들이 모두 추구한 것이었다. 본고는 주로 당시의 중국인과 외국인의 저자들에 의해 편집된 사전과 교과서를 연구의 원사료로 사용한다.

Шебештьен ХОМПОТ, Сямынь на перекрестке взаимодействия китайского и иностранных языков в позднюю Цин и республиканский период: вопрос фонетизации южноминьского (хоккиен) языка

Цель настоящей статьи - описать процесс, благодаря которому китайский портовый город Сямынь стал играть центральную роль в региональном взаимодействии между китайским и иностранными языками в период между первой опиумной войной (1839–1842) и окончанием Гражданской войны в Китае (около 1950 г.) . В настоящем документе мы намерены продемонстрировать, что в этот период сямыньский диалект южноминьского языка использовался в качестве стандарта при составлении лингвистических материалов на южноминьском языке во всём регионе вблизи Южно-Китайского моря. Фонетизация южноминьского языка на основе сямыньского диалекта стала главной целью, преследуемой иностранными миссионерами, колониальными администраторами и китайскими интеллектуалами, настроенными на реформы, по всему региону. Настоящая статья опирается, главным образом, на словари и учебники, как на первоисточники, составленные в тот период китайскими и зарубежными авторами.

هُمپوت سِبِستِن Sebestyén HOMPOT

شیامِن Xiamen در تقاطعِ فعل و انفعالِ زبان شناسیِ چینی-فرنگی در اواخر دوره ی کینگ و بازه ی جمهوریت: مسئله ی آوانگاریِ هوکِین Hokkien

هدف از این مقاله، معرفیِ فرآیندیست که طیِ آن، در حین اولین جنگِ تریاک (۱۸۳۹-۱۸۴۲) و در پایان جنگ داخلی چین (حدود سال ۱۹۵۰) ، در پی فعل وانفعالات زبان شناسیِ چینی –

فرنگی، شهرِ بندریِ ***شیامِن*** نقشی کلیدی ایفا نمود. این مقاله قصد دارد نشان دهد، که درسراسر منطقه دریای چین جنوبی، گویشِ ***هوکیِنِ شیامِن*** در این دوره،به واسطه‌یِ گردآوریِ مطالبِ زبانی آن به یک گویش استاندارد بدل شده بود. آوانگاریِ ***هوکین*** بر اساسِ گویشِ ***شیامن*** برای مبلغین خارجی، استعمارگران و روشنفکرانِ اصلاح طلبِ چینی، به طورِ یکسان در سراسر منطقه به یک هدف اصلی تبدیل شده بود. مقاله‌ی حاضر در درجه‌ی اول به عنوان منابعِ اولیه، به فرهنگ لغات و کتب آموزشیِ تالیف شده توسط نویسندگانِ چینی وخارجیِ معاصر می‌پردازد.

کلیدواژه: Xiamen ، Hokkien ، آوانگاری، Peh-oe-ji، Gulangyu