JOURNAL
OF THE
CHINA BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR 1891-92.
NEW SERIES, VOL. XXVI.

SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, YOKOHAMA & SINGAPORE:
KELLY & WALSCH, LIMITED.
LONDON:—MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL, E.C.
PARIS:—M. ERNEST LEROUX, RUE BONAPARTE, 28.
BERLIN:—K. F. KÖHLER'S ANTIQUARIUM.
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THE FISH-SKIN TARTARS.

BY E. H. FRASER.

Considerable attention has been attracted to Siberia of late years by several causes. The adventurous voyages of Captain Wiggins up the Yenissei River to within a few hundred li of China, and his support both by the Russian Government and by the British Foreign Office; the building of the great railway, so interesting to foreign residents in China, both from the political possibilities with which it is fraught, and the personal consideration of a three weeks journey to England, with the Channel the only salt water to cross; the attention of late given to gold mining both by Chinese and Russians; and the Korean question, so intimately connected with the Siberian. It is a land, says Savorgn, where everything that man can need is found in abundance,—a Canada in reserve which is destined to relieve the over-crowding of Europe for centuries. It has rich arable land, fat meadows, iron, silver, gold, copper, lead, and precious stones. In the rivers are the otter, the beaver, and fish in such abundance that they can be in places scooped out in buckets full. In its woods are sables, squirrels, martens, foxes, ermines. Had not its exploitation been left to the enterprise of private conquistadores like Ermak Timoféievitch and Khabároff who sought rather their own benefit than the permanent advantage of the State, there is little doubt, as Ravenstein observes, that the Amur colony might have been made a wealthy, populous, and prosperous
colony two centuries ago. At present the population of about 40,000 Russians and 24,000 natives have on an average each 6 square miles of elbow-room. It is now quite a long time ago since I was called upon to translate from Russian the two interesting monographs of V. P. MARGARITOFF—published in 1887 and 1888 by the Vladivostock Society for Promoting the Knowledge of the Amur Region—on the Orotchis, a tribe who may be called a sort of poor relations of the Manchus who rule this huge empire, the other on kitchen midden remains, found in the Amur Gulf near the Sedimi River. MARGARITOFF is a specialist in skulls; but although he devotes much of his two pamphlets to anthropological subjects, yet there is much in them which it is hoped will be thought of general interest.

Mr. M. VENIOKOFF, of the Russian Geographical Society, in the Russian work¹ describing his travels, which he was good enough to present to this Library, says that he found his knowledge of the language of the Goldi enabled him to understand the Orotchis, as the two peoples have a great many words in common. The pronunciation, he says, differs considerably: the Orotchis say "lanu" for namu (sea), "bila" for bira (river), and generally soften their words. He extracted a vocabulary from the Travels of La PEROUSE, but unfortunately lost it before he could verify it on the spot. Mr. VENIOKOFF’s guide, who was acquainted with almost every Tungusic dialect,—more especially Transbaikal Tungus, Solon, Goldi, and Mangun, told him that Orotchi was more like to Solon than to any of the others. He says the Chinese call the Orotchis Erh Yao-tsz. The Chinese immigration, he says, does not extend beyond 46° N. lat.

The country VENIOKOFF describes as a land rich in wonderful natural harbours, rivalling even South Australia in this respect,

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¹ Puteshestvya po Okrinenam Russkoi Azii i Zapiski o nikh, p. 88. St. Petersburg 1888.
called by the Russians Beregevoi Khrebet, the coast range. The Sikhota Alin parades the narrow strip of land lying along the Pacific, here called Gulf of Tartary and Sea of Japan, from the basin of the Ussuri and the Amur Rivers. To the west of the Sikhota Alin range flow these two great rivers, soon united into one, the Amur, in a nearly due north direction, with only a trifling inclination to the east. From the Sikhota Alin flow eastwards into the Pacific those minor rivers by which the Orotchis and Goldis trap the sable and spear or net the salmon and the sturgeon. This great mountain range thus plays in Siberia much the same rôle that the mighty chain of the Andes does in South America. It is, however, not of such a regular wall-like shape, being more Alpine in character. Its crest varies in distance from 25 to 80 miles from the coast.

The Orotchis, a Tungusic tribe, formerly occupied the part of Russian Tartary extending from the shores of Peter-the-Great Bay (Zalif Petr-Veliki), lat. 42° N., long. 132° E., to De Castries² Bay, lat. 51°·28 N., long. 140°·49 E., and from the upper affluents of the Rivers Ussuri and Amur to the Pacific. Here surrounded on three sides by peoples of other type, they have undergone in the course of time an ethnological modification, their contact with the Manchus, a people of far greater culture, having worked the most powerfully in that direction. In the neighbourhood of Vladivostock (42° N.) there are now no pure Orotchis, and indeed up to about 48° North latitude; the Orotchi type, expressing the outer life, and the language expressing the inner having been gradually so changed by Manchu and Chinese influence, that even the Tungusic origin of the race is hard to identify.

The transforming influences from the West and North have been less marked, but have been nevertheless so effectual that the primitive appearance of the Orotchis now remains intact

² Named by La Perouse, in 1787, after the Minister of Marine of France,
only north of 48°, and moreover only along the coast. For this reason Mr. V. P. Margaritoff, from the Russian of whose work the following is a translation, considerably adridged, was instructed by the Society [Amur Province Scientific Exploration and Investigation Society] to proceed as far North as 49°, to Port Imperial³ (Imператорская Haven), to study the pure Orotchi, instead of to any point nearer Vladivostock, the head-quarters of the Society. This entailed a sea voyage of about 800 miles. Messrs. Shevlev and Shulin gave the explorer a free passage there and back in their steamer "A. K. Wolden," and the Society voted 400 rubles for his equipment—which included objects suitable for barter with the Orotchis for objects for the Museum—and for hire of guides, drivers, etc., in the course of his explorations, which extended along the course of the rivers Koppi, Tundji, Khodä, and Vä.

The most costly objects acquired were men's and women's costumes, and shaman paraphernalia, but the dearest to the explorer's heart were 17 Orotchi skulls and one skeleton, which were obtained gratis, but with much risk and trouble, as the Orotchis (he naïvely explains) "like all semi-savages, are ever ready to take up arms in defence of the tombs of their ancestors." These skulls of Orotchis, for the first time acquired by the Vladivostock Museum on this occasion, he considers most important aids to our knowledge of anthropology, the more so as some of them were obtained from very ancient burial-places. Of the manner in which he obtained one, he speaks [on p. 30] in a manner which it is very painful for one not an anthropologist to read.

³ This place is marked on old ... maps as Barracouta Bay. The "Barracouta" was a British war steamer which took part in the inglorious Siberian campaign of the English and French during the Crimean War. It was in Port Imperial that the greater part of the allied forces were lying when on 1st July official confirmation of the conclusion of peace arrived in the far north-east. The first Russian Settlement, named Konstantinofsk, was established here only in 1858. It was abandoned during the war, but re-occupied afterwards. It is closed by ice from November to middle of May.
SCHRENB, when he visited the Amur River in 1854, found that the modern Orotchis extend from De Castries Bay, N. 51° 28', E. 140° 49', to St. Olga's Bay, N. 43° 41', E. 135°, having the sea for their eastern boundary, and for their western the upper waters of the Ussuri and Amur, consequently they inhabited the western as well as the eastern slopes of the Sikhota Alin range. South of these, i.e. on St. Olga's Bay, and further south, lived Orotchis who had become considerably changed by Manchu influence, and were known by the Manchu name of Tadzi. They lived by the Ussuri and extended even to Vladivostock. These Tadzi have shifted their boundaries since to further North, and now live on the R. Nelma, falling into the Sea of Japan and called by them the Shamarga. Though these Shamarga Tadzi (or Tazi) withdrew from a condition of subjection to the Mandzi to further North, they have nevertheless lost the pure Orotchi type, and their language has been so changed that they are not easily understood by the Port Imperial Orotchis. Mr. MARGARITOFF saw two Shamarga Tadzi who were at Port Imperial en route northwards to Nikolaevsk to buy goods. These could talk with the Orotchis, but not perfectly intelligibly on either side. They shave their foreheads and wear two queues; their costume and their boats resemble those of the Mandzi. In a word, they are no longer Orotchis, but an offshoot of the Orotchis; the real Orotchis extend southwards only to the River Botil, where there is a village of 8 yurts of them.

On the other side the western Orotchis, living in the immediate neighbourhood of the Goldis, have mingled with the latter and adopted some of their peculiarities, and although they are acknowledged by the Orotchis of Port Imperial as Orotchis ("Amur Orotchis") they are not thought quite the same as themselves. "Amur Orotchi," said an Orotchi of Port Imperial, "a little Goldi, a little Orotchi, but not Orotchi and not Goldi; catch fish, very stupid, sell sables all same me,
pray all same Orotchi, and steal all same Goldi." These "Amur Orotchis" live on the Rivers Dongdong, Khungar, and generally on the western slopes of the Sikhota Alin. These rivers flow down from it into the Amur, which here flows nearly due north.

The Orotchis speak also of Amur Giliaks, still further North. "Giliak," however, in the mouth of an Orotchi speaking to Russians, means all natives anything like himself. Margaritoff was surprised when the first Orotchi he asked what he was, at Port Imperial, replied "a Giliak." [This custom has led to errors in Russian maps.] At last he succeeded in eliciting the information that generally speaking the Orotchis live at Port Imperial, the Orotehons on the Amur, beyond Khabaroffka, the Goldis on the Amur near Khabaroffka, the Giliaks away North at Nikolaevsk and the Tazi at Shamarga and past it.

According to Schrenk, the northern neighbours of the Orotchis are called Olitchi. Among the Orotchis themselves dialectic differences are apparent between places only distant a few miles from each other, thus some call the sable Nogo, others Nosoo; some call the bear Mapa, others Mafa;—(it may be said in passing, that Mapa is mafa, grandfather or ancestor, the tiger, whose beat extends to 51° N. lat., being known also as "mafa,"—Sakhale Mafa, old black grandfather). They believe in a migration of souls, in which the tiger and bear play a part, and this belief is thought to be typified in some of their idols, half-beast, half-man. The Bear-Feast is not attended by the women among the Orotchis near Port Imperial, while further north among the Orotchis living along the Tundja River the women take part in this characteristic sport and ceremony. Their whole number, men, women and children, living at Port Imperial, and 70 miles round it, is only reckoned at 318. Even this is higher than the number given in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, which states that in |880, the whole
nation of the Orotchis only numbered 260. They are evidently the remains of a large tribe, for Schrenk mentions villages even the names of which have now passed from the memory of the natives. Their chief occupation is trapping animals for fur, and catching fish, principally salmon. As the Tundja is the only river in this district up which fish ascend many miles to spawn, it is only along the Tundja that the habitations of this Tungusic tribe are found far from the Pacific Ocean. Although the Russian authorities are endeavouring to make them into a settled people, the nomadic habit ingrained in the race for centuries is hard to change. The necessity of storing and curing fish to make the yukola on which they mostly subsist, has always made them build some sort of permanent loft for that purpose, and a separate temporary dwelling for himself, the yurt. In these cold, smoky and filthy-smelling dwellings disease plays havoc among the natives, and they are no doubt the cause of this tribe having become so few in number now.

If the master of the hut is a shaman, there are seen near his yurt his idols, sticks carved into the shapes of bears, tigers, men, etc. An Orotchi village or settlement (sednie in Russian) consists of 6 or 7 such miserable houses, built by a river, and each generally built end on to the prevailing wind. Each village has about 50 half wild dogs, whose barking, and howling as they fight over their food, thrown to them occasionally, is deafening. Nearly every one has a smith's anvil, bellows, etc., and makes his own rough implements such as knives, but arrows and spears are made by their regular arrow-smiths, who make also silver ear-rings, rings and bracelets. The Russian soldiers even entrust their rifles to these men when they require mending.

The food of the Orotchis is probably anything they can get, barring snakes, which they think unclean. Partridge, fish, deer, crow, seal, squirrel,—none of these come amiss to them. Bear is the favorite meat; they are fond of vegetables, which
they taste but rarely, but hitherto the orders of the Russian Government, which has directed them to plant kitchen gardens, build good cottages and keep poultry and pigs, have been almost a dead letter, as the people are so incurably lazy. Their iron kettles, and their tea-pots come from Manchuria; they drink a good deal of tea, and use chopsticks. Soup as a rule they despise, throwing it to the dogs, the only soup they esteem is a kind made of fish-heads, mixed with reindeer or seal fat. The yukola (cured fish) plays the same part there as bread in Russia. They have a custom, similar to what prevails among certain South American aborigines, of chewing the yukola and expectorating the juice into bowls; with some wild berries added: this is considered a savoury dish to set before a guest. Altogether the children are often given raw fish-heads to suck; the practice of eating fish which has not been either cooked or cured, so common in Japan, or raw meat of any kind, is almost unknown, except in cases of urgent necessity, as when out hunting, etc.

Skins of large fish, especially the whale and salmon (Salmo gibbosus, "gorbusha," ) are used for clothing and foot-gear. Having neatly stripped off the skins of the fish, and dried and smoked them over the fire-place which is found in every hut, they fold them up any way, into as small a compass as possible and cram them into a groove two inches long and one inch broad in a thick beam of wood. They then set to work and hammer the dry skins with a very blunt iron axe, or a wooden axe made specially for the purpose. This softens the skin and makes it fit for wearing. The most ornamental skins are those of the Kuldja fish, which has dark spots; this makes pretty gala dresses for children. It is only women and children who wear complete suits of fish-skin; the men make little use of it except for foot-coverings, as for winter hunting it is too cold, and, not resisting water well, it is unfit for summer hunting and fishing, which bring the man often
into the water or under showers of rain. Chinese cotton cloth (ta-pu) is the principal material used for clothing, and in winter dog-skins and occasionally fox-skins are worn. Many dogs are reared for their skins. Dogs are also said to be reared for this purpose at Newchwang. Bed-covers, rugs, etc. are made of bear, musk-deer and reindeer skins. Sable and fish otter are only used for ornament, and then only by comparatively wealthy natives. An Orotchi with great stores of valuable furs will sometimes buy for large sums from the Mandzi wadded khalats and even sheep-skin robes. The Orotchi man’s dress consists of the following: A khalat of tu-pu or other material, coming a little below the knee, with fastenings doing duty for buttons all the way down, the upper part crossed across the chest; favourite colours, white and dark blue, sometimes cinnamon coloured. A collar and facings of a different colour. A few wear a cotton shirt beneath, and sometimes a man will wear two khalats, or robes, the older of the two outside. Breeches, and spatter-dashes coming half way up the hip, as we often see among the Chinese. A belt, with side thongs for the spatter-dashes. The latter are sometimes made of fish-skin, seal-skin or fur, according to the air temperature to be guarded against. In winter a skaba, or skin robe shorter than the khalat, is worn. Shoes principally of fish-skin, occasionally, however, of musk-deer fur for winter, and dressed reindeer hide for summer. Shoes of reindeer or fish-skin, with soles of reindeer skin, are worn in summer, for fish-skin soles would soon wear out on the hard ground; but in winter, when the Orotchi goes generally on snow-shoes, he wears fish-skin soled boots. He is generally hatless, but dons a conical broad-brimmed birch-bark hat for rainy weather. In winter, a little cap of skin from reindeer’s or musk-deer’s legs, and a scarf of squirrels’ tails, rolled round his neck and head outside his cap. In his cummerbund he carries two knives in birch-bark or leathern sheaths; one—long, narrow, and
pliable—serves as a gimlet, plane, etc., the other—shorter and broader—to cut his food, and for coarse work generally. He carries a birch-bark tobacco-pouch in his bosom, made fast to a coral running through his top button-hole. A few well-off natives have silks, but these are principally used for being looked at and admired, and not worn. They are given in exchange for wives by men marrying; and Margaritoff says he found in tombs silk and even brocade.

Women's costume differs little from men's: it is of course more ornate in style and of brighter colours, and it is adorned with brass plaques; favorite colours, yellow and red, light blue and cinnamon are also used, the rule being that the facings are of a different bright colour from the ground-tint; ear-rings of silver an inch across, with bright coloured stones attached. The rich wear three or four of these big ear-rings in each ear, and a few wear small nose-rings. This custom is very common on the opposite coast among the North American Indians. A few wear bracelets and rings.

Sable hunting forms the principal occupation of the Orotchis. It is not only their business, but their support and pastime, of which all the men are passionately fond. Margaritoff wished to take to Vladivostock as a servant a 15 years old boy, who had hunted sables one winter only. He offered him seven roubles a month wages and his clothes, and promised to send him home again. "There can do sable business?" he asked, and when Margaritoff said "No," the lad refused to go, saying "I will stop along you summer. No want money, only want do sable business." Another instance: Mr. Blomster, a fish-dealer, has a workman, who is an orphan with no home of his own; he engaged this man on the condition, without which he could never have obtained his services, that he should have leave in autumn and the beginning of winter to go a-sable hunting.

The trappers' season begins about 1st October (13th October)
with the first snows. Then the Orotchi, having equipped himself for the chase, or before he begins to do so, goes out into the lonely taiga (taiga means the world) to pray Anduri for help in his undertaking. This every man, whether nominally orthodox Greek Church Christian or not, never fails to do. If he can get some flour, he (not his wife, but himself, in this instance) makes about 2 lbs. of it into a cake with berries and seal or reindeer fat. Some pounded yukola often has to do duty for the flour. Alone in the vast taiga, he kneels and prays: “Anduri, Anduri, I am a poor Orotchi, often sick, feet sore, hands sore, cannot go long way in taiga, send my traps good large sables, make me shoot reindeer, catch musk-deer, etc., etc. [as explained to Margaritoff in broken Russian]. He then scatters the cake north, south, east and west, and if he has any vodka, he pours out a libation of vodka. That whole day the Orotchi does no work of any sort, and next morning he is off into the taiga to set his nets and lay his arrows. He takes with him 4 lbs. of chopped yukola in a little fish-skin bag, 4 inches by 5, and a bit of brick tea (kirpishnå tohai) and a tea-pot or kettle (tchainik). He has on a short shuba of dog-skins and long warm gaiters of seal-skin; he wears an apron of fish-skin to keep his skirts from wearing out, and he carries a portable yourt, or tent, if he owns one. Much hunger and cold he endures, so equipped, in day-long wanderings over the trackless taiga. At night he sleeps in the little tent, in which he builds a fire; or else he buries himself in a hole in the snow for shelter from the wind; and so he wanders on after sables till his provisions are exhausted. Then he turns back, and does the return journey of several days without provisions! One Orotchi said they sometimes gorged themselves with food before setting out, and then made the whole expedition, sometimes lasting six or seven days, without taking any provisions with them at all.

In autumn, when the whole taiga is white with snow, but
the rapid rivers are not yet iced over, the Orotchi catch the sables with nooses (*plenka*). The *plenka* is a cord with a noose. Knowing the habit of the sable to cross small water-courses by trees if any have fallen across them, the Orotchi throws sometimes as many as 20 such bridges over his stream and lays on each what Siberians call a *plenka*.

Here it is necessary to explain that each Orotchi family inherits from its ancestors a stream on which that family has exclusive rights of fishing and trapping; and often they will journey long distances to fish in their own preserves. The sable running over the beam in order to cross the water, finds his road barred when half over across by a portcullis-like arrangement of little sticks leaving only a hole large enough for him to run through. When once he has entered the hole, he releases the fastening which keeps down a hair noose attached to a bent stick; the stick straightens itself in an instant, and the animal is killed by hanging.

This is considered the best trap both because it does not injure the fur, and because the sable dangling on high over the water is out of the reach of foxes and other animals for several days if necessary till the trapper arrives. With other traps, he sometimes finds the prey half eaten by foxes or ravens. When he has set his traps, the trapper goes away for a day and night, during which he generally prays to *Anduri* for good sport. The next day he returns, takes out any sables caught and resets his traps. With the exception of a few visits to his home for a twenty-four hours snooze, the Orotchi is occupied with his noose-traps the whole of autumn. When the rivers get frozen over hard, the *plenka* becomes useless, as the sables then cross on the ice and have no need of a bridge. The Orotchi now sets his spring-bows. In China also these are used. At a Russian brick tea factory between Yenping and Kienning, up the Min River from Foochow, I saw in 1877 the skin of a huge snake 16 feet long, which had been killed
THE FISH-SKIN TARTARS.

in a spring-bow trap. A long string connected with the ex-
temporized trigger which keeps the bow bent, is stretched
across the animal’s run, and made fast to a tree. The bow is
raised on a rest elevated more or less from the ground in pro-
portion as the animal, for whose heart the arrow is intended,
is large or small,—for a reindeer, two feet; for an otter,
less; and for a sable still less. Other sable traps are made in
holes in trees about three feet or less from the ground. A
bait is put in the hole to which is attached a slender stick
which props up a heavy beam until the sable himself shakes
out the support, brings down the beam, and is crushed to
death.

Roving over the taiga on snow-shoes all winter, as he does,
the Orotchi makes war on the sable with gun and bow as well
as with trap. When his sharp dog puts up a sable, it endeav-
ours to tree the game so that its master may kill it with a
bullet or an arrow. When the game hides in a hole, still
another trap, the bag-net comes into play. The hunter with
stamping and yelling scares out the simple sable, right into
the net, and then dog or man makes short work of him. There
are no wolves or racoons near Port Imperial, but the fox,
otter, musk-deer and squirrel are also hunted for their skins
as a secondary occupation, by the Orotchi on the campaign
against the more valuable sable. The fox is sometimes shot,
but generally killed by poison or caught by dogs. The
Orotchis get from the Goldis drugs for poison prepared by the
Manchus. Of late they have been getting a little strychnine
from Russian traders. The otter’s habit of always leaving
the water at one favourite landing-place makes it easy to shoot
him with the spring-bow. The squirrel is not held to be
worth a charge of powder and shot, or of special traps, and is
caught anyhow and anywhere. Deer are not much hunted,
but a pair of soft antlers are sometimes dried and sold to the
Goldis, the southern neighbours of our Orotchis. Near Port
Imperial musk-deer are in great abundance, and their musk is sold not only to Goldi and Manchu, but also to Russian traders. There is a special trap for these animals. The musk-deer, treading on a platform round which is laid a running noose, tilts up one end of one of the loose boards, and by so doing releases the catch which holds down the bent small tree to which the noose is attached. The tree straightens itself instantly, carrying the deer aloft suspended by the legs in the cruel lazo. The elk, spotted deer, bear, wild pig, two kinds of seal, and sea-lion (sivoutch) are hunted for food as well as for their fur, as are also occasionally lynxes. The elks' young horns and downy wool are sold for mattresses. The sea-lion's hide makes tough and enduring leather for straps. The boar is considered the most noble game, and the bear the most dangerous. The elk and reindeer are generally killed with spring-bows; the seal and sea-lion with gun and with arrow. In spring, when, as the Orotchis declare, these beasts do not dive when wounded, they go after them in large boats with guns. As the seals at all other seasons dive, they then steal among them at night and harpoon them from small boats. They never throw the harpoon until they have shouted and awakened the game from its sleep. If the harpooned seal makes for the sea, the hunter has to cut the rope, otherwise he follows in tow. Where there are no natural basking and sleeping places, like flat rocks or trees just awash, the Orotchi builds some in the water to attract the seals. The bear and boar are killed with the bullet or thrown spear. Young bears are sometimes caught alive, reared till three years old in cages, and then become the central figures in a bear feast and are killed and eaten. Fur-trapping is getting worse and worse every year owing to the drying-up of the small watercourses; so at least, aver the Orotchis. Even the seals whose watery environment, the sea, is more stable, are becoming rarer; the white seal has now almost disappeared from the
neighbourhood of Port Imperial, leaving only the spotted variety. With land animals, more exposed to the severity of the climate as they are, the case is still worse. Frequent forest fires, winters with excessively deep snow, silting up of rivers, are steadily diminishing their number. All these misfortunes have come upon them, so they believe, with the coming of Europeans and especially of Russians. They even go so far as to lay the appearance of new phenomena like thunder at the door of the Russians. Every native when asked how many sables he trades away in a year, will religiously inform the questioner that before they knew Russians and other foreigners who come in steamers, sables and all kinds of game abounded in the taiya, but are now getting fewer and fewer. There can be little doubt that the immense prairie fires are the principal cause of this diminution, as they burn not only their lairs but the animals themselves. As in California these fires are generally caused by the carelessness of Europeans, to whose minds the welfare of the taiya’s vegetable and animal life does not present itself as an object of such vital importance as it does to the native hunter’s. A keen and sturdy hunter can still get in a year, say 70 sables, 30 foxes, and 75 head of other game; a hunter of middling capacity say 40 sables, 15 foxes and 50 other game; a lazy or weak man only 10 sables and say 20 head in all of other animals. The Orotchi boats are of various kinds. The biggest, a sea-boat, of five stout long planks, forming the bottom and sides, with prow rising about 18 inches higher than the sides; a rough attempt at a swan figurehead adorns the bow. When only one man is rowing, as for instance when they are casting out nets, the bulwarks are lowered by removing the upper side planks, leaving a smaller boat of the same shape, but lower and narrower and with a more salient prow. Wooden nails are used, and seams are stuffed with thin laths caulked with boiled moss. These boats are about 10 arshins, or
23 feet long, by 5 feet broad. They sit very lightly, drawing less than 4 inches, and carry up to 5 men and 50 pounds, or 1,800 lbs. of cargo into the bargain. The omorotchka, or "dug-out" canoe of pine, poplar or willow is so crank that a tyro capsizes in a few strokes. A double-bladed paddle is used, except when creeping after seals, when the short paddles are held, one in each hand. The canoe is about 14 feet long, and just broad enough to sit in; it carries 360 lbs. of cargo besides the paddler. There are in addition river boats (ulmak), with rounded bottoms, looking like long troughs afloat. A false bow protects from reefs and snags, and prevents the boat dipping nose under when propelled against the current. In such boats the Orotchi does all his summer flittings, and his sea and river fishing either in what the Russians call an artel, or company of workmen, in the big boats, or alone in the light canoes.

The "whale" and the gorbusha (Salmo gibbosus) are most sought after by the fisherman, whether armed with net or spear. These are both fleshy fish, good for making yukola out of, and are easily caught en masse owing to their habit of swarming up the rivers to spawn at regular seasons, moreover they spawn just at the time of year when the Orotchi is not taken up with his favourite trapping and hunting pursuits and has consequently more time to devote to the preparation of yukola. The keta, first described by Pallas under the name of Salmo lagocephalus, is really a salmon; he passes most of his time in the deep sea, and comes as far up rivers as he conveniently can to spawn at fixed seasons. How he lives there we are never very likely to know, but this much we can hazard, that he rarely goes far from the mouth of the river in which he was born, and therefore does not journey to the Arctic Ocean and back as some suppose, but that both old fish and new-hatched little ones, when they descend the rivers again, only swim as far as the sea, and pick up their nourish-
ment there near the mouths of the rivers till spawning time comes round again. Indeed, BREHM says that science has now abandoned all the old ideas about immense sea-voyages made by salmon, herrings, etc. The salmon make their appearance about the mouths of the rivers in June, and from then till the middle of September they ascend the rivers in three swarms, separated from each other by a short interval of time. In the district surrounding Port Imperial the first swarm begins about 15th June and goes on till the beginning of July. About ten days later, say 20th July, begins swarm No. 2, and goes on till about 1st August. Then after another couple of weeks interval begins the third swarm. By middle of September the salmon have quite ceased to pass up the rivers and are beginning to come down again. The last is the biggest swarm of the three, and the first is the smallest, but the first contains the best fish. The first is not a swarm in the strict sense of the word, as the fish do not go beyond the influence of the sea-tides. The *keta* at this time looks fresh and lively; his scales gleam like silver, his gills are rosy, his jaws straight and firm, his teeth hardly visible, his flesh of ruddy tint, and able to stand a long sunny day without going bad. The *keta* of the first swarm salt down excellently both with regard to flavour and with regard to keeping qualities.

About 20th July begins the second swarm. The first ascend in great numbers and seem eager to get into fresh water, being caught now miles from the sea. They are no longer fresh and vigorous; their silvery scales are wanner, their gills more dusky; dark irregular spots appear near their fins; their upper jaw projects forward and bends down, their teeth are full grown and some of them bent backwards. The flesh has lost its rosy colour, and goes bad in the sun in 12 hours; and the second swarm salt down, but by no means so well as the first.

About 20th August all the Orotchis who have been prevented by laziness or other causes from laying in a stock of
excellent first and second swarm, first for *yukola*, make vigorous onslaught on the third swarm and third-class fish which have gone much higher up the rivers than their predecessors. This third swarm are, indeed, ready to brave every obstacle in their rage to swim higher up the rivers. They are now so changed that it is difficult to believe that they are the same sort of fish as the first swarm. They have grown a dirty piebald colour with dark gills, distorted jaws, and large hooked teeth. They look unhappy and seem to have no ambition for anything but to get farther from the sea. The flesh of this last swarm exposed to the sun goes bad in a few hours.

These changes in appearance are common to all the salmon tribe at spawning time, and are due to many causes, food and water, light and warmth, but principally to the spawning itself. Margaritoff saw keta which had been caught at the time of the second swarm fully two miles from fresh water, and had already deteriorated in the manner above described even in the sea. The fish of the first swarm are still fresh and vigorous, perhaps because younger and spawning for the first time. The fish of the first and second swarms undoubtedly return to the sea, but many of the third swarm die. The Orotchis say in June the old fish come up, in July younger ones, and in August the youngest of all, which are spawning for the first time. Margaritoff is inclined to believe that this is true, and that the fish of the third swarm, the August swarm, of one year, become the fish of the second, the July swarm, in the next year; the fish of the second become the fish of the first in the next year, etc. He cannot believe that an animal so high in the scale of creation dies immediately after it has performed the function of reproduction, as some believe. He would like, however, before expressing a decided opinion, to have this question answered: does the jawbone change, or only the gums and teeth? If the latter be the
case it may well be that the same fish return within a year, or within two years still more possibly.

The *gorbusha* (*Salmo gibbosus*) is very like the *keta* (*Salmo logocephalus*) but smaller, and therefore more quickly made into *yukola*, and more in request among the fishermen. It spawns in the same way, in three swarms, but each a little earlier than the *keta*. Thus between the two they are swarming up the rivers all summer. The *gorbusha* has smaller scales, and when salted down has a coarser taste. The Orotchis say that when the first swarm of *gorbusha* is abundant, *keta* will be not so numerous as usual, and when small, *keta* will be abundant.

The *gorbusha*’s changes are still more marked than those of the *keta*. A hump appears on the *gorbusha* of the third swarm, an inch high, beginning at the back of the head and sloping down gradually to the tail, which makes the fish look half as big again as it generally is. Worms sometimes appear in the hump of the flabby *gorbusha*, of the third swarm, even during the life-time of the fish.

Another species of *salmo*, the *tchuma*, is in size half way between the two preceding species, from which indeed it is scarcely distinguishable. It does not undergo changes during the spawning season, or, more accurately, no one has yet observed such changes in this fish. It swarms twice. It salts down best of all the salmon, but is in too small quantity to be an article of export.

The skin of the *khoyo*, a fish like a large pike, makes good material for clothes and boots, and its flesh is excellent eating. Its mouth is so big that it swallows down entire without difficulty a bait composed of a *gorbusha* nearly five inches broad by eleven inches long. It spawns in fresh water, but does not go into the rivers for that purpose in shoals. It is sometimes harpooned from canoes. Herrings and cod are numerous but not much sought after; the latter grow to about
18 lbs. weight; children too young to go sable hunting catch them with hook and line.

Nets are made of the fibres of a sort of nettle growing in low places near the sea. The stalks are picked in autumn when quite mature, and in winter the women pound them in grooves like those in which fish-skins are pounded and made soft and supple. The fibres are then spun with a distaff like flax, and twisted together into the thicknesses required for ropes, cords or nets. The men complete the manufacture of the net themselves, and as soon as made boil it for two or three days in reindeer's blood to make it, as they suppose, last the longer in salt water. This boiling gives the nets a ruddy colour. The drag net is a good deal used. Some natives of Japan squatted on this coast during 1883 and carried off large quantities of fish.

The Orotchi often sells his furs, musk, etc. for money, and he knows pretty accurately the proper price in money to ask, and will not lower it. But on the other hand, he often has to barter, or truck his goods for others, for tobacco, tea, powder, lead, flour, metal pots, pans, etc., guns, cloth, and so on, and sometimes he may wish to barter for ear-rings, buttons, necklaces, etc. In this case he is invariably cheated by the trader. Say he values a sable at 6 or 8 roubles. If he does not want goods, but wants money, he will not sell under 6 or 8 roubles, as the case may be, but once let him be in need of goods, and he is swindled into taking two roubles worth of tapa ("daba") or even half a rouble's worth of gunpowder, as the equivalent of a sable-skin, which is worth 6 roubles, and thinks he has made a good bargain. Sable, fox, and otter skins, and also musk, are the principle objects of this traffic. The average price paid for a sable skin is 5 roubles in money or 2 roubles worth of goods, say for instance 3 lbs. of powder and 5 lbs. of lead. A fox-skin is sold as dear as a sable. Other skin costs 1 rouble the tchetveft; an otter-skin
weighing 5 tchetverts costs 4 roubles, etc. The musk from a full-grown deer, 3 roubles, or say 1½ rouble in truck. These prices of course vary; in 1888 sables were 3 roubles each at Nikolaevsk, and a musk bag rouble 75 kopeks.

As yet only one Orotchi travels with furs for sale, although the Russian Government are trying to induce them to do so. He not only journeys with his own furs to Nikolaevsk, but he buys up furs from others before he starts. Ordinarily the merchants come to Port Imperial from the Amur to get them. The journey by land can only be made in winter, when sledges can get about; at other times of the year the roads are impassable. The sledges, long narrow vehicles called nart, are drawn by dogs. Each merchant travels with a train of 3 or 4 of these narts. The traces for coupling so many dogs are about 20 feet long. Ten dogs can easily track 20 puds (over 700 pounds) of goods and the driver’s weight into the bargain. The driver sits astride of the sledge, with snow-shoes on his feet rather shorter than what are used for journeys on foot, steers with an iron-pointed pole, and shouts to the two leading dogs in a peculiar vocabulary which they perfectly understand. There are three roads, the first passing a little North of Habaroffka, by the Doudon or Neikhe, an affluent of the Amur River, the second by the Khungar River, and the third over Lake Kizi and Rivers Yai and Muli.

The Russian Government is endeavouring with some success to educate Orotchis into traders who can take their own goods to Nikolaevsk and other places for sale, for at present these simple people are, as already mentioned, badly exploited by certain Russian traders as well as by other Asiatics such as Nandza and Goldis.

All the Orotchis of Port Imperial and neighbourhood are nominally Christians of the orthodox (i.e. Greek) Church, and a few of them know how to cross themselves, but their ideas of the Christian religion are of the vaguest. Missionaries of
the Greek Church have been among them three times; the last time was eight years ago, so none of the children under eight years old have been christened with Greek names. A few own a cross hidden somewhere away. In some of the remote districts the grown-up people, accustomed to using their Orotchi names among themselves, have difficulty in remembering their Christian ones; when they meet foreigners, one will stammer out, for instance, after looking round the rest for some one to prompt, Trilka (Kirilka, "Little Cyril"). Each in secret follows the pagan religion of his ancestors. Margaritoff gives such details on this point as follow, with some diffidence, as although he did his best to check the information received from one native, by questioning many others in succession, religion is a hard matter for two people imperfectly comprehending each other's language to confer about.

The Supreme Power is called Anduri; to Anduri they pray for food, help, and counsel in visions. They consider Anduri to resemble a man in external appearance. [This is the Manchu word Enduri, which appears to correspond rather with the Chinese word 神 and along the Amur and Ussuri River Enduri is the word used.] Anduri is the Anduri, or Spirit, par excellence, who dwells in the sky, called Boà Anduri, the Boà being the Mongol word. There are secondary gods who serve the supreme one; thus Temu, God of the Sea, Kamtchanga, God of the Mountains and Heathys (taiga). As sea and wild desert are all that the Orotchi has to look upon, it is natural enough that he should have only these three gods. In their minds Temu and Kamtchanga are not only less powerful, but less magnanimous, than the supreme god of the sky Boà. "Anduri," said a native to Margaritoff, "ordered Kamtchanga to watch over the taiga, and not to allow it to be spoiled or made use of beyond our necessities." Kamtchanga too jealously guards what is entrusted to him, and he is even unwilling to allow the poor hunter to take anything out of the
taiga at all. When the Orotchi prays to Anduri, scatters his cakes and pours his vodka on the ground before starting on his winter sable-hunts, the cakes and vodka are to propitiate Kamtchanga, the prayers are for the great Boa Anduri. In like manner before beginning the summer fishing the Orotchi addresses a prayer to Anduri, and throws into the sea or river old yukola and cakes for the jealous guardian of the deep waters—Temu.

The inferior deities of land and sea have both been seen by men.

Once a rich Orotchi strolled into a great forest to gather fir-cones for his pastime. He soon had a whole bagful of them, and sat down to eat nuts under a tree, but as he was not very hungry, he threw away more than he ate. Suddenly appeared Kamtchanga like a colossal man, and saying "Why are you stealing the fir-cones?" took the poor Orotchi by the shoulders and carried him away into the mountains. After a time Kamtchanga arrived at a deep rock, which had a cleft in it; the cleft widened, and Kamtchanga, with the Orotchi on his back, entered. Inside he found himself in a large, handsomely furnished yurt; there, said the narrator to Margaritoff, were many mamkas (women) and many children. The Orotchi was frightened and did not know what he ought to do. Luckily he remembered that Kamtchanga, by order of Anduri, was forbidden to touch the blood of human beings; he took out his knife and cut himself in the breast, and smeared himself all over with his own blood. Kamtchanga seeing what a sharp customer he had to deal with, wanted to get the better of him; so he rolled him up in birch bark so as not to get the blood on his own hands and carried him off to a stream to wash him. He left him in the water a long time, then picked off his clothes, put on clean ones which he took off himself, took him back to the rock and gave him some meat. The Orotchi knew that if he ate it Anduri would cease to protect
him and he would never see his home again, so he refused to eat it in spite of all Kamtchanga's invitations and even threats, and fervently prayed to Anduri. Seven days passed without the Orotchi daring to eat or drink anything. At last Kamtchanga got irritated at his obstinacy, fearing he would die of hunger, and carried him to the place from which he had taken him. The Orotchi threw away all the nuts with the bag, went home and related the adventure, adding, "Anduri preserve me from seeing Kamtchanga again!"

Temu, God of the Sea, has also been seen by human eyes. Once on a time there was an old Orotchi who lived with his old wife and a young son 20 years of age. They were well off, had many sables and silk robes. One day they went out in their canoes to get seals; the old man paddled a little ahead, his son behind. Soon they saw some seals: the old man went in chase of one, his son of another. After a fruitless chase the father stopped, looked round, and could not see his son. He thought he had capsized, but neither canoe nor man was in sight; he went ashore, and there also found no traces of the youth. Days passed, and he did not return. Two years passed; the old couple were worn and thin with care and hope deferred, and still continued their search. The third year one day they were in the very bay where he was lost; they sat weeping on the rocks and praying Anduri to help them. Suddenly Temu appeared sitting on some rocks not a stone's throw from where they were; he appeared as a gigantic man with long white beard, and asked, "Why are you weeping so bitterly?" The old man having overcome his natural first terror, told the story of their loss. Then Temu told him that his son was alive and with him, Temu, and if the old man wanted to see him, let him within the following night build a new yurt on the shore, and his son would come to him in the yurt. Having declared these conditions, Temu threw himself into the sea and disappeared.
The old man sent his old wife off home, and set to work at the yurt. The work was arduous, but hope gave him strength, and it was built before the dawn. The old man then lay down in it exhausted and tried to sleep, but suddenly the door opened and from outside a cradle was thrown at his feet, enveloped in cloth and tied with a rope. He unwound the cloth, turned down the coverlet and beheld a baby just like his son had been in infancy. The delighted old man took it to his wife, who fed it with fish. The child grew bigger, not every day but every hour, and in two years was reproduced the lost son of 20 years old; and all lived happily as before. Now this son had been, when he was lost, in chase not of a real seal, but of a huge fish in whose jaws was the dwelling of Temu. "Yes," said the Orotchi narrator, "any "Orotchi might see Kamtchanga or Temu, but to see Anduri "one must be a Great Shaman." The shamans are almost identical with the medicine men of the American Indians. A Great Shaman must be a man who can bring himself by enduring torture to the necessary insensibility of nerves and contempt of earthly comfort and convenience. He begins by burning in the ever-smouldering fire of his yurt a kind of grass, giving out a stifling blinding smoke. He half closes his eyes, or binds a fillet before them so that his internal contemplation may not be disturbed by visible objects. He ties round his waist a short red canvas skirt fastened with a girdle. The girdle is hung with dangling jangling iron rattles, "corals." In his left hand he takes a drum over two feet broad made of the skin of a young reindeer, and in his right a flat roller wound in the dressed hide of an elk's foot. Standing just inside the door in the stifling smoke he begins to smite the drum in slow single strokes to announce that the shaman fit is coming on him. Soon from his mouth mysterious whisperings of sounds issue understood by no one, not even by himself; Cho, Cho, Cho, Shi, Shi, Shi, and so
on, interspersed with hideous howlings, and the boom of the drum. Then there is a lull, after which the horrible sounds begin again, louder than before, as the shaman rushes round and round the fireplace in a kind of three-time dancing step, first striding out long with one foot, then after two little steps striding out long with the other foot. His body quivers ever more and more violently, and the iron ornaments hanging from his belt clash loudly together. The noise made by a shaman when under this influence, whatever it is, may be heard more than 3 miles away at night over the silent taiga. At last, fearfully yelling, he ceases to run round the fire, takes up his stand at the door again, and beats himself on the head or on the trunk. He then starts off again on his wild polka round the fire, and after half a dozen circles stops and punishes himself again. After an hour of this maniacal conduct, his face looks disfigured, his eyes look terrible, sweat pours from him, his long howls have become hoarse broken yelps, which combined with the rattle of the iron and the hollow boom of the drum, work on the nerves of any one who has not seen a possessed shaman before, with terrifying effect. Finally the shaman, with a parting bang on the drum, hurls it from him, gives himself a mighty blow on the head and rolls exhausted on the couch. His family make him as comfortable as they can and stow him away to sleep or meditate, and not till the next day is he asked what communication he received from Anduri. In some cases the shaman, especially if a woman, falls ill or goes mad after a nocturnal possession of this nature. Margaritoff was shown a woman, an ardent shaman, who one day after such a fit forgot her mother tongue, spoke in one unknown to the Orotchis and only two months afterwards began to pick up her own language again word by word as infants learn. What would she have become if her husband had not removed
all her shaman paraphernalia out of her reach and absolutely
forbidden her to shamanize?

A seer who considers himself to have received inspiration
during his raving, sometimes will preserve a morose silence
on the ensuing day, and sometimes will impart to his tribesmen
a prophecy, say how many fish there will be next season—few
or many—will a ship arrive, etc., etc. He sometimes guesses
right, and of course the oftener this occurs, the more convinced
he becomes of his own capacity, and the more he is honoured
by the rest. He is called to see the sick, to divine where a
lost article is, or to point out a course to avoid threatened
misfortunes. A shaman in repute grows naturally a regular
drone, who does nothing but shamanize. It is as curers of
diseases that the supernatural abilities of one of these sooth-
sayers are most in request. The shaman soon after a fit
visits the patient, and ordinarily prescribes the making of a
wooden idol—a bear, swan, tiger or other representation—and
the setting up or hanging up of the same in the place
indicated for that purpose, where the patient must see that
the idol is well provisioned with frequent offerings of fat.
Such idols, often suspended at the end of long poles, may
be met in every village. Some are large enough to be called
statues, and these, located in special enclosures are apparently
worshipped as gods. The prescription is scrupulously followed
until the patient either recovers or dies; in the latter case,
the explanation is ready; the patient has not accurately enough
carried out the injunctions communicated to him by Anduri
through the medium of the shaman. There are but few
shamans credited with power among the Orotchis; the most
renowned ones come to them from the Goldis on the Amur
River; there are many who go through the forms described
above to obtain inspiration, but they are not considered to
have much success. The Orotchis say plainly that these men
are humbugs; when an Orotchi proper makes night hideous
with his drumming and yelling, they are apt to mutter to one another, "So-and-so has begun to play the fool." A prophet receives small honour in his own country. Under the influence of Christianity, or perhaps to please Margaritoff as a Russian official, many Orotchis spoke of the practice to him as charlatanry, and even named the influence at work as not Anduri, but Amba,—that is to say, the Devil. Of this evil power they conceive that he is all-seeing but not all-powerful. He is ever watching for a chance of doing people an injury or thwarting their designs. Another name for him is Ganki, but this is more used of men as a term of coarse abuse. The evil spirit which dwells in gloomy forest depths, in deserts and in abandoned ruined yurts is Shaka; but this demon can only injure those who trespass on his domain, and "molest his ancient solitary reign." Margaritoff found it impossible to get the people to say much about the native theories of the order of the creation of all things, and the first appearance of man in the world. "Perhaps Anduri made it all, and he knows," they said, "but we Orotchis do not understand anything about it." It is a subject which they prefer to evade if possible. Margaritoff has in this connection arranged the following stories in the order which they appear to him to have, though he heard them separately, as he believes them to form a connected series.

(1.)—A long, long time ago, there were three suns in the sky; it was so hot then, no one could live on the land; there were men, and there were beasts, but the men lived in the water, and could walk on the air. At last men or a man grew tired of this aquatic existence, and took bow and arrow to shoot at the sun. At last two of the suns fell to his shots, fell hissing into the water and were extinguished. The earth became cool enough to walk upon, and presently grew clothed with the taiga. The porous or spongy stones still found on some of the mountains are a relic of these piping hot times,
Such stones had evidently once been so heated that they were actually in flames.

(2.)—Another legend has the shooting of the two suns, but adds that then man lived like a wild animal, with neither clothes nor cookery; other animals lived with him in company and he knew no more how to speak than they did. All the rivers had two currents, one flowing along each bank, in opposing directions; the wind blew from all quarters at once, the trees were hard as stones, and stones would burn like trees. In short, all was in a chaotic state. It was the otter who prevailed on Anduri Boä to change all this. The otter was then a land animal; she was swimming a river with her cub; near the middle the otter was carried one way, and her cub in the opposite direction, and lost in spite of her efforts to keep him in sight. After looking long for him she went to Anduri and besought him to order things better in the world, telling him of her loss. Then Anduri commanded the otter to live for ever after in the water, only allowing her to pay visits few and far between to the land and watch how other animals live, and Anduri then introduced the system and order which we know now, set man at the head of all animals and gave him the right and the power to control and make use of them.

(3.)—At the beginning man lived quite like the animals, uttered the same cries, and no man feared or obeyed another man. There was no order then. Then Anduri divided the animals into kinds (genera), and put man in a class apart and at the head of all. The man built a yurt and lived in it at first all alone, catching fish and sables and praying Anduri to give him power over all living beings. One day the duck (Kiotcha) came into the yurt and laid her head on his knees as he sat. At first he was minded to kill her, but seeing her so gentle and fond, he kept her and fed her well instead. At last she grew very large, could understand
what the man said, and even began to utter sounds much like human speech, till one day she put on clothes, and became a woman, of whom the man made his wife. In a few years they had a son and a daughter.

(4.)—At first death among men was unknown, but one day a young Orotch, the son of a shaman, crawled up a high rock to get the eggs of a sea duck. The rock was high and slippery, and coming back with the eggs he slipped, fell, and was killed. The shaman murmured that only his son had died, when no one else died. Then he had a shaman fit lasting a long time, and at last he went away to the mountains, dug a deep pit in the ground, and said: “Let deep pit be the road to Bunni Boà,” i.e. to the unseen life where all must go sooner or later. Bunni Boà is another world containing land, taiga, sun, water, and supplying without labour everything a man can require. Those who go to Bunni live there a very long time, then they die there and their souls rise like smoke to this upper world again and are re-incorporated in new-born children. In the nether world, besides Bunni Boà, or paradise, there is also Okki Boà where those who have led bad lives meet with their deserts. In Okki Boà it is always dark, cold, and famine-stricken. The roads in the nether world are winding and difficult, and it is only the souls (miya) of the good who can find the road to Bunni; the bad always come upon Okki.

The Milky Way is said to be the tracks of the snow-shoes of a mythical personage who was allowed by Anduri to search there for his lost parents, when parents and children were first parted by death. The first duty of the relatives is to shave the dead, to wind face and head in a kerchief, generally a dark blue one, and to put on the body its best attire, and the second to cut or tear the collar of the coat, the pantaloons at the knees, and the chaussure at the toes, so that he may have to receive a new costume when he reaches Bunni, the unseen nether world. If the departed was rich, some silken cloth or
brocade which he owned is wrapped outside him. Rich and poor alike are wrapped in birch-bark, sometimes three or four turns being taken, the object of this being to protect the corpse from external moisture. Birch-bark is also spread at the bottom of the coffin, and heaped up inside before the lid is put on. In it are laid beside the body its property, spear, arrows, knives, and the body of any sable, otter or fox which the man left behind him. Axe and kettle are also laid there, the kettle stuck on the feet. The canoe, harpoon, snow-shoes, etc. are laid outside the coffin close to it and surrounding it. In the coffin of a shaman are deposited all the paraphernalia of his profession, but first broken and rendered useless. In the coffin of a woman are laid her feminine house gear and appurtenances. The Orotchis believe that the spirit of the departed hovers round his ancient dwelling for a fortnight among his relations and acquaintances, therefore nothing which belongs to him is touched during that period, while when food is taken or tea drunk, his cup and platter are also filled, and placed before his accustomed seat in the yurt, to be taken away each time after the repast and poured as a libation in the taiga. Some people carry the food to the coffin during this first fortnight, and leave it there till the time for the next meal, when it is changed, etc.

When the two weeks have elapsed, all the property which can be used is taken by the relations for themselves, and all which is useless is burnt. The vessel which held the food is left by the coffin. The coffin is made of larch planks secured with wooden nails. It stands between 2 and 3 feet above the ground, resting on wooden supports, except in the case of children, when it is sometimes placed in the fork of a tree. When the family has many working hands, a shed is sometimes built over it. A very few of these frame-houses are of pyramidal form. A few are built like a small round conical topped yurt. These sheds are generally placed over the bodies of the drowned. With
regard to the drowned, it is a custom if the body is not found within 2 years, to carve a wooden image in the likeness of the deceased, coffin it and give it sepulture under these small conical yurts.

So many of these have been burnt in forest fires during the last 4 or 5 years, that the Orotchis are beginning to bury their dead under ground, generally defended by planks from the attacks of wild beasts, but sometimes in a boat. They are always laid to rest face up and head to the West, with hands stretched by their sides.

*Marriages* are conducted on strictly business principles. The previous life of the bride is not carefully enquired into, and the existence of love is considered superfluous. The one essential is that the price—the *kalum*—be forthcoming. It is not necessary for the young people to have seen each other before the nuptials, and a match is often pre-arranged by the parents while those who are principally interested are still children. It is only those who are without parents, and who are not in dependence on older relations, who can choose for themselves; and the number of girls to choose from is so small, that independent swains are generally glad to get anyone, without exercising their right of selection. The number of women is so small that there are many unmarried men, as the wives are bought up by the most wealthy, one of whom will sometimes even keep 3 or 4, but this is rare, and the subsidiary wives are generally left by the man's brothers who have died. Some rich men buy women to be ready as wives for those who are now only children, and hence a wife is often nearly twice as old as her husband. A poor father sometimes sells a daughter when she is just out of the cradle. The earliest age for marriage is 17 years for a boy and 12 to 14 for a girl; but the match is often pre-arranged and the money paid long before that. The price is sometimes taken out in *labour*, and a lad will work in a house where is growing up
a little girl who will one day be his wife. In some cases, the debt is not paid by the time the marriage-day arrives, and he works on for his father-in-law till he dies.

The *kalûm* (price of the bride) is generally made up in sables, silk, and domestic utensils, as pots, tea-kettles, choppers, and in provisions—*yukola*, tea, flour and so forth. About 50 sables, three pieces of silk and a kettle make up the average price of a bride; of course some are dearer, some cheaper than this; when once bought she becomes the property of the husband's family, and if he dies she becomes the wife of his youngest brother, and passes into his *yurt* with her children. Failing a brother, she becomes the wife of the next near relation of her late husband's. In this last case she has the option of returning to her father, who then has to refund the *kalûm*—the price originally paid for her. Her children, however, remain with her husband's relatives. As the father of the widow is not always in a position to refund the *kalûm*, practically it is refunded to the relations of her late husband by anyone who wants to marry her. An old Orotchi, known as Alexis, bought for his son, 20 years old, a wife of the same age. The same year there was another son born to Alexis, and the duty of nursing this infant devolved on the new daughter-in-law of Alexis. A year passed and by the end of it both he and his elder son had fallen victims to a mortal epidemic. By Orotchi custom the young widow had become the wedded wife of the child she had just ceased to suckle. Just then Otcho, a distant relative of Alexis, returned from a journey, and declared his right to the old woman, widow of Alexis. Taking the old widow as his wife, he was bound to receive into his family and care for poor Anna with her year-old husband and nursling. Before long the relations of Otcho with Anna were of a compromising nature, and the older widow complained to Margarittoff bitterly of her husband's fickleness, and by his advice she waited on a *starshind* of the village, who was
passing through to Nikolsk to buy goods, and begged him to take her part. The starshiná assembled the other elders, including the starshiná of Datta, the hamlet where Anna was born. A formal trial was held, at which Margaritoff and the oldest Russian soldier were present. Otoho was condemned to 100 strokes of the rod, but the punishment was commuted to two days in prison in consideration of his old age; the old widow, the baby husband and Anna his grown-up bride, were sent away from their village on the Khode River to Datta to Anna’s father, who was enjoined to keep a careful watch over his daughter’s conduct for the future.

At the same sitting were heard two other cases, bearing on Orotchi family life and customs. (1) An Orotchi had died leaving a wife with three boys, one 12, one 10, and the third 3 years old. The nearest relative of the deceased wished to marry the woman and adopt the family. She declined and married another man, who accordingly paid the nearest relative the due kalâm. She did not wish to be separated from her children, but Kapelda, her first suitor, took them away by force and threatened to kill her new husband if he claimed them. Kapelda, a lazy rascal, was only really interested in the eldest boy, as the others were too young to work for him, but he kept them too, to spite his successful rival and the woman he had wanted as a wife. He treated the children very cruelly, once hanging up the smallest over the fire, and would not take him down till the next eldest declared he would beg the starshinás to let them both go to their mother. The mother hearing of this cruelty tried all she could to get the children away, but none of the Orotchis, wedded as they are to their ancient customs, would help her to take the children from him who, according to the old native law, was their natural guardian. Margaritoff humanely came forward and threatened to inform the great Russian, who would send soldiers and march him off to Habaroffka to
prison. Kapelda took fright and gave up the children, but Margaritoff, fearing there might be more trouble when he was no longer there to take their part against the brutal Kapelda, had the case laid before the Court then sitting, Trishka, brother of the unfortunate mother, appearing for her. After hearing both sides and the evidence of witnesses, the Court decided that the eldest boy should remain with Kapelda and the two youngest should go to their mother, this being a special favour allowed to her because it had been proved that Kapelda beat them. Kapelda and his brother Tchaika got a day in gaol for threatening to kill Trishka and the husband of the children’s mother.

(2).—Kirill (Cyril), a bigoted old native, had a son Sergius, married to a young woman named Marfa. A year before, Sergius, while hunting a seal, had been dragged from his canoe and drowned. As old Cyril had no other sons or near relations to whom he might transfer Marfa, she went back to her father, taking with her a 3-year old son. Basing his claim on Orotchii law, Cyril demanded this child, and also the refund of the kalum which he had paid for Marfa when he bought her as a wife for his son Sergius. The plucky Marfa, happy in the chance of having been wedded to Sergius by a Russian priest who had happened to come to the village on the Tundja River, produced the priest's certificate of her marriage, and claimed that Russian law should be enforced instead of native law. Margaritoff and the soldier were examined as experts, and after a long palaver of the Court, judgment was given that Marfa should keep her son, old Kirill having the right of appeal to the Ispravnik (Commissary of Police) at Sophisk, and getting back the dowry as soon as Marfa got another husband.

The last case was the adjudging of 50 strokes of the rod to a youth of 18 who had used insulting language to an old man, and this correction was summarily inflicted.
The birth of children is a subject of great rejoicing among the Orotchis, and a girl who can bring in a good price from her father-in-law or husband is as welcome as a strong-armed boy. A small conical yurt is provided for the accouchement in good time, apart from the dwellings, and named the yataku. Here the wretched mother remains in some cases 5, in others the 10 days after the birth: on the last day she washes the child, dresses it and hands it out to the nurse, who carries it to the father's yurt and presents it to him there. The mother then puts on clean new clothes, first burning in the fire those she had on before, and joins her husband again. The husband then closes the yataku, and bars it up with timbers to prevent dogs getting in. Although a birth does not properly speaking constitute the occasion for a feast, there is generally a good deal of eating and tea-drinking going on about this time; the yurts are full of friendly or inquisitive visitors, and an Orotchi never refuses the bite and sup to people who drop in this way. The children have two sorts of cradles, the wooden day cradle keeping the baby in a sitting posture, the birch-bark night cradle allowing his little limbs to be extended. He is snugly tucked in with soft moss, shavings and chips, and rattles composed of bones, teeth and jawbones of wild animals, hang from the cradle and divert his infant mind by their clattering when some one gives the cradle a swing. The children are treated with great kindness, but also firmly, and no child would dream of arguing the point with its mother.

Illegitimate children are despised outlaws whom any one may molest, or even kill, without fear of punishment. Tukasa-si-la, "Oh, you foundling," is a term of abuse.

The festivals of the Orthodox Eastern Church are unknown to the Orotchis, and of their own savage festivals only one has still survived—the Bear Feast.

When winter is more than half over and the sable-hunting has nearly ceased, some Orotchi, who has been rearing a bear
in a large cage with that intention, announces a feast in honour of the animal, and invites all the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements. Any one who catches a young bear-cub in the taiga, considers it his bounden duty to rear it for about 3 years, so as at the end of that time to kill it publicly and eat the flesh in company of all his friends. A man who has been thwarted in his announced intention to give a bear-feast by not having the animal ready, will often give roubles worth of furs to buy one so that the public may not be disappointed. The nominal occasions of the feast are various, it may be because Anduri has been good enough to send many sables of late, or in honour of some worthy father who has died leaving an inheritance to his children, or perhaps some other occurrence worthy of record and celebration. The bear-feast being a public feast, although organised by one individual, they try to have one in each Orotchi village every year in turn; thus in 1886 it was held in Datta, in 1887 at Vi, and in 1888 at Koppi. They get the bear out of the cage for his preliminary wash very skilfully. A reata with a slip knot is let down through the top of the cage over the bear’s neck, and two more nooses for his front paws. Hauling Bruin in three directions, and keeping him just taut, they remove the roof of the cage, and a nimble native lowers himself astride on his back and girds him a little aft of his front paws with a stout girth, to which a long rope is made fast. All then pull with a will and the bear is dragged out and taken wherever they like. Gloriously fed up, and wreathed all over with gay-coloured ribbons and glittering ornaments, he is led in triumph to the huts. All who take part in the procession are armed with lances, bows, and arrows. When Mishka, as the Russians affectionately call the bear, reaches the yurt of the giver of this popular prazdink, bear and bear-leaders are treated to something good to eat and drink, and if the impressario be a well-to-do man, they
process round a few more times, bringing up again at the conclusion of each round to re-bait at the door of the wigwam. This goes on morning and evening for a few days, until all the huts, not only in that village but also in the next one, have been visited, and there is nobody left to "invite the bear." These days are given up to sport and noisy jollity. Old Orotchis recall with some bitterness and regret the bygone times when fathers taught their sons not only hunting and fur-trading, but games and sports useful for developing their physical powers and hardening them for the struggle for existence. There were then regular gymnastic professors and trainers. Each youth was taught not only how to shoot an arrow, but how to avoid one intended for himself. Then, only he was deemed worthy of competing in the bear feast who had shown that he could dodge an arrow discharged at him point blank from 15 or 20 feet distance, or even three arrows in succession coming flying from a yurt 60 feet away. Leaping, tree and pole climbing, and fencing with spears, were then taught to all the youths. A trained gymnast could clear his own height in the air; or three times his own length along the ground, and could clamber up a tree so quickly and adroitly that an arrow aimed from 70 feet away could never touch him. Now, instead of these good old warrior sports, there are only ball-play, archery at a mark, and dog-races. These last are the only ones that the old fellows do not consider unworthy of a former generation. The dogs run drawing the narts, or sledges of the people, and amongst the excited spectators many an intending dog-buyer keeps a connoisseur's eye on the performances of the couples, especially the two leaders.

The whole feast ends with the tying of the bear to a tree or wooden pillar to serve as a mark for the arrows of the crowd. The giver of the feast has the first shot and immediately after him the crack marksmen of the table. They
begin at about 70 yards, and diminish it if necessary to 20 yards or even nearer than that. In those rare cases when even at such a short distance the bear is not killed, the giver of the bear feast finishes him with a vigorous thrust of his spear. Bonfires are then built and the meat is soon roasting on spits, and the crowd sit round and all share in the feast. Amongst some of the Orotchis those of the Tundja River, women take part in bear feasts, while among the Orotchis of the River Vi, the women will never even touch bear flesh.

While on the subject of the amusements of the Orotchis, MARGARITOFF adds one or two old stories with which they beguile their leisure hours. The following has something of a Japanese ring about it to me:—

There once lived seven young brothers and a sister in one yurt. One day they were playing before the door, and the game was to throw sticks and try to knock down other sticks stuck in the ground at some distance. While they were shying a squirrel came up and she also joined in the sport. By inadvertence one of the brothers struck the squirrel with his foot, and she got in a rage, and ran away after threatening to come back next day with all the squirrels and kill them all. The brothers were frightened and began thinking how they were to escape from the threatened attack. At last the eldest suggested that they should climb up into the sky; and the rest all assented to the proposal. Then said the youngest brother: "What are we to do with our little sister, as she can’t climb up, and it is no good hiding her in the taiga, as the squirrels will find her and kill her?" They thought about it and at last decided to dig a hole and put the little girl in, leaving only an opening above her head for her to breath through. On her breast they put a bag full of reindeer’s blood, and then they filled in the earth. Then the eldest brother shot an arrow into the sky; the arrow stuck in and hung down. The second brother discharged his arrow and it stuck in the
head of the first, the third then let fly, and the third arrow stuck in the head of the second, and so on until there was a pole of arrows reaching to stretching distance of their hands. Up this they swarmed as up a ladder, one after the other, and the one who went up last, the youngest, took out each arrow as soon as he had a firm grip of the arrow above it, and at last climbed on to the sky with the whole sheaf of arrows on his back. Next day came along the army of squirrels and began to search for the brothers everywhere without, of course, finding them. Then the squirrels asked all the house utensils, the pots and pans, the dishes and knives, one after the other, where the brothers had gone to, but not even the tea-cups or spoons would tell where they had gone. Only a spiteful old pair of unta (fish-skin boots) acted the sneak and divulged the secret of where the brothers had gone and how they had hidden the sister under the fireplace. Then the squirrels set to work and drove their long spears into the ground by the fireplace. One spear pierced the bag full of reindeer's blood, and it spurted up. The squirrels believed they had killed the little girl, so after smashing all the dishes and cups they went off again into the taiga (the jungle). Then the little girl crept out of her hiding place, and the first thing she did was to take the disagreeable couple of unta (the fish skin boots) which had played the spy, and cut them into little pieces. Then she set out to look for her brothers, in a great fright all the time lest the squirrels should come back. She ran on and ran on till she came to a yurt where lived Miss Frog. The Frog saw that she had on pretty clothes, and at first made much of her, and then took all her clothes away, and put them on her own ugly body, leaving the poor little damsel with nothing at all to cover her. Suddenly a dog was heard barking, then Miss Frog said: "There come two handsome young Orrotchis, one of them will see how nicely I am dressed and will ask me to marry him, and they will
turn you out in the cold.” So saying she left the hut to meet the young trappers and the poor little girl, from grief and despair, began to beat herself on the head with a stick. The stick split open and she crawled into the cleft and hid herself. Then in came the two fine young hunters, and the elder sat down to talk to Miss Frog, and the younger sat down in the corner close by the stick, where the dear girl was hidden. Out of sheer idleness he took the stick and began to whistle. Suddenly blood came out, and he was scared, threw down both his knife and the stick and ran out of the yurt. The elder at last noticed that his brother had gone, and he too set off home, taking the frog with him. The younger now remembered that he had left his knife in the yurt, and went back to fetch it. When he arrived at the door, he thought he would first look in and see if there were any one there, when he saw the poor girl sitting there all alone weeping. He opened the door, went in, and took hold of her; she tried to hide herself in the stick again but could not. Then she told him all about her brothers, and how the frog had taken away her clothes. He gave her such of his as he could spare, and took her away to his father. The old man was waiting for both the brothers; the elder was the first to return with the frog. The old man began to ask her about her family, who they were and where they lived. The frog then stupidly began to brag about her brothers and said, “I will soon let you see them, lend me this pail!” Out she went with the pail to the river side, drew it full of water and frogs and came back to the yurt. As soon as the old man saw what brothers she had, he drove her out of his wigwam, and began to ask the little maiden about her brothers. She went out into the taiga, stood under a tall birch-tree and began to pray to Anduri. Anduri heard her; her seven brothers came to her, and each brought a beautiful rig-out of new clothes. She put on the frock given by the youngest of them, and she led the whole seven to the
old man. As soon as he saw her coming with them hand in hand, he spread a great piece of silk at the door of the yurt, received them all with open arms, and spread a feast. They only stayed three days; they told him that their home was now in the sky with Anduri, asked him to treat their sister kindly, and then departed, while the sister lived happily ever after with the old man’s youngest son.

Of historical events the Orotchi has but a poor recollection. Not only do they interest themselves but little in the long past and gone, but even occurrences 5 or 6 years old are generally consigned to oblivion. A few things which have passed recently under their own eyes are remembered, for instance the wreck of the frigate Pallada, the wintering in Port Imperial of the Mandgar, etc. But a mother will quite forget how old her child is after it has reached about the age of 5, and give the vaguest replies to questions on that point. An old Orotchi will indicate dates thus: "When the Russians first came here, I had a son, just able to walk," or "just able to trap sable." Owing to this vagueness it is of course very difficult to obtain information as to the mortality in any particular year. At last Margaritoff after repeated questioning obtained from an old native particulars of the number of Orotchis living on the Rivers Khode and Mai in the year the "Pallada" sunk, viz. in 1856. According to his list—he gave the names of every one on these two rivers—there were then 56 men and 48 women. The population was in 1886 little more than a quarter of this, and there is little doubt that the diminution in the population has been quite as great on the other rivers. The principal cause of this is the severity of the conditions of life. The principal diseases prevalent are exematose and rheumatic, but epidemics, small-pox and typhus have also been known. The yurts, composed of a few poles, fish-skin and birch-bark, give sufficient protection from rain and snow, but hardly any from cold and wind, which penetrate
from every side, especially in winter. In spite of the too abundant ventilation the air breathed is anything but pure. The smell of smoke and of fish, fat, dirty clothes, leather, dressed and undressed, and of the unwashed inhabitants themselves, combine to render the atmosphere almost insupportable.

The Orotchis are small in stature, 5 ft. 4 in. being considered a fair height for a man, and 4 ft. 10 in. for a woman. They have great endurance, being able to row for 6 or 7 hours at a time without resting or feeling fatigued afterwards. Strange to say, although their life is so much on the water, they cannot swim at all, and if one capsizes from his canoe “he goes to the bottom,” to use their own expression, “like a wounded seal.” They have small heads, straight low foreheads, broad faces, broadest at the cheek-bones, and scanty black hair. They are broad shouldered and look clumsily built, but are capable of great agility when excited by hunting, etc. They can descry a fish two feet under water from their boat on a foggy day, and throw a harpoon at fish at that distance with unerring aim. MARGARITOFF gives here two tables of measurement, one of 50 living subjects, and one of the 17 skulls which he collected, and he concludes with lists of words and phrases.
A COMPARATIVE TABLE
OF THE
ANCIENT LUNAR ASTERISMS.

By T. W. KINGSMILL.

Astronomical history may be said to have had its beginning about the year 2150 B.C. when the astronomers of Chaldea substituted solar for lunar observations and marked out the zodiac into the twelve constellations which with little change still hold sway. Prior to the introduction of the reform the moon had kept guard over the calendar, and the commencement of the year was connected with the position of the full moon in the zodiacal asterisms. Owing however to the fact that the anomalistic month, the period in which the moon makes the complete circuit of the ecliptic, was not commensurate with any number of solar days, being about an hour and eighteen minutes above twenty-seven and a-half days, a difficulty was always experienced in the accurate division of these asterisms, which were made to vary from twenty-seven to twenty-eight. Gradually the latter number seemed generally to have prevailed, though the Indians seem frequently to have preferred the lower number twenty-seven. This however is of little consequence, as the principal asterisms are sufficiently well marked in all. There seem to be evidences of a former very wide extension of the division of the lunar zodiac. In China the 宿 suk or lunar stations have held their own in popular language to the present day. Indian astronomy hands down their history from very early times,
and the *Bundahesh* tells of their existence in ancient Persia. In Arabia they have come down as the twenty eight *manāzils*, and the *mazzaroṭh* of the books of Job and II Kings have by competent authorities been interpreted to indicate their extension into ancient Chaldea and Palestine. We may therefore reject as frivolous the strife between authors as to their birthplace, and accept them as in the widest sense of the term Asiatic, and date back their origin to the prehistoric tribes of Central Asia before the great dispersal of the Aryans.

There are evidences that the older astronomy did not yield without a struggle to its more modern rival. As in Europe in the sixteenth century, the illiterate crowd demanded back the ten days which they alleged had been stolen from them by the reform of the calendar, so we find in India that the substitution of the constellations in conjunction for those in opposition was held to be an interference with the course of the heavenly bodies. Thus we learn that when Balarāma, the Indian Hercules, was about to be born to Vasudeva of his wife Devakī (the stars in the right leg of Bootes) the king of Mathurā, who had been warned that a son of hers would kill him and overthrow his kingdom, seized the pair, put to death their six children already born (the months) and imprisoned Devakī, waiting for its birth to kill the yet unborn child. By divine agency the child was transferred to the womb of his other wife Rohinī, who was still at liberty and so escaped destruction. A comparison with the list of Chinese asterisms, where झ Kioh (Spica) in conjunction with Devakī is still the first asterism marking the vernal equinox, throws light on the astronomical character of the myth, which however from its mention of Devakī can hardly be older than the second century B.C.

Fragments of similar myths remain here and there in Chinese lore. Thus the *Shu king* [III. 1. “Songs of the Five
Children""] tells us how T'ai k'ang went to hunt to the south of the Loh, whence for a space of some ten decades (of days) he had not returned. Coming back to the Ho he finds his passage threatened by the great hunter I, prince of _qos Kiung (the Empyrean), who dethrones him and seizes the government, which he holds for twenty-seven years. The story is easily explained. The sun (T'ai k'ang) at the autumnal equinoxes crosses the equator and wanders 356 amongst the southern constellations; coming back at the equinox he finds the great hunter Orion pointing his bow at the equinox (at about 1600 B.C. in B.C. 3. h.) The rule of the usurper for twenty-seven years does not appear in the Shu king, it refers plainly to the twenty-seven (or twenty-eight) su, i.e. a whole solar year till the next vernal equinox. I is in Chinese lore the archer par excellence who always draws his bow to the full and will not change his method. He appears in connection with the fabulous emperor Kuh, and in the myth of Yao we learn he shot arrows into the air to deliver the moon during her eclipse.

As the Greeks, following the Babylonian epic of Gisdhubar, tried to make history out of the astronomical legend of Hercules and his twelve Labours, founded on the progress of the sun through the twelve zodiacal signs, it is not surprising that we find similar myths wrought into the so-called early history of China. Thus we learn that the especial solar hero of China, the great Wu shun, had to undergo his trial of twenty-eight years before attaining the rank of Ti, going in fact through the twenty-eight zodiacal asterisms. In the spring (the second month) we find him at the eastern Yok (T'ai tsung) the vernal equinox, represented by the T'ai shan on earth as by Aldebaran in the heavens. In summer (the fifth month) we find him at the southern Yok (the solstice), represented below by the Hwang shan, above by Regulus. In autumn (the eighth month) he gains the
western Yok, on earth the Hwa shan in Shensi, above Antares, the autumnal equinox, while in mid-winter he attains to the extreme northern limit, reaching in the eleventh month the northern Yok, the winter solstice, on earth the Hang shan in Shansi, and in heaven represented by the star Fomalhaut. He it is who in Chinese lore instituted the twelve چو divisions (of the zodiac), raising twelve mountains (the signs), and demarcating them by چئن (rills), their appointed boundaries. However the myth gained its entrance into China, whether directly from India, or more probably from a common source north of the Himalayas, it cannot be dissociated from the Indian myth of Vishnu, the two names being in effect phonologically identical. The institution of the twelve چو (from root دل, to divide) seems to show that already the Babylonian division of the ecliptic had penetrated to eastern Asia. In China, till the reorganisation of the calendar under the Hans, it had never received much popular sanction, and the older division has never been ousted from the recollection of the people.

Sundry attempts founded on astronomical formulæ have at various times been made to establish a chronology in China. Some of these bear evident traces of their foreign origin, while others are as evidently Chinese. The most popular makes the state to have begun with ten dynasties, the united number of whose reigns mounts up to 216, evidently related to the number of minutes (21,600) in the great circle of the zodiac. The ten dynastic periods must be referred to the same source as the ten antediluvian kings of Berosus whose united reigns amounted to 120 سال of 3,600 years or 432,000 years in all, where the same number is repeated, or the ten antediluvian patriarchs of Genesis v. whose united years, deducting the overlap between the births, amounts to just 7,200 and is still divisable by the ideal number 3,600. As no trace of these computations are to be found in China prior to the Han
dynasty, during a portion of which (the reign of the Emperor Wu) communication was fully established with the Parthian state, which included a great part of Mesopotamia, there is no difficulty in tracing their origin directly to the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates. As we shall see later on, the medium was Persia, and when in the year B.C. 105 the Emperor Han Wu ti finally determined to begin a new cycle, it was to Persia he looked for the annual title. He directed that the first day of the eleventh moon should be observed as the beginning of the new era to which he gave the name of T'ui ch'u (Grand Beginning) and intended to substitute for the old cyclical characters a series of names of foreign introduction. Other sovereigns had previously attempted a reform, but had met with so much opposition or been so busily engaged struggling for existence that nothing could be done. From the times of Li and Yu of the Chows (878 to 770 B.C.) no record had been kept; the princes had never proclaimed the commencement of the year, and the people were dispersed or killed at the hands of the hostile tribes of the I and Tiks, so that no one had any clue as to the course of time. In Siang Wang's time three intercalary months were added in the one year 625 B.C., which the Tso chuen blames. Afterwards, in the time of the Warring States, till Tsin attained to empire, affairs were still worse. As no written record goes back beyond the year 721 B.C., we may discard all attempts to found a chronology antecedent to that date, a task which indeed Sz-ma Tsien did not attempt, but it is evident that we cannot place any reliance on the calendar even in the early portions of the Ch'un ts'iu period, from the evident mistakes in the times of the solar eclipses recorded, which have all the appearance of having been calculated backwards from crude tables.

The records of even the Chow dynasty I have elsewhere pointed out begin in myth, and the story of the destruction of the earlier line and the removal of the capital from Shensi to
Honan is surrounded with a final coruscation which repeats even to details the stories of the fall of the previous Hias and Shangs. It and the fairy tales of the handsome Muh, of his eight horses, his visit to the realms of Si wang mu (Sumêru), and his feasting with the K‘wenlun (Gandharvas), are a fit sequel to the burst of myth with which the record opens, of the Chinese Dioskuroi, Wu and Chow, and the battle against the herdsmen on the field of Mukye, as the rising sun suffused the sky with the bright colours of the dawn. The Chows were in fact a myth-loving people, and their long journey from the land of Pin to their final resting-place at Loh in Honan constitutes an epic quite as fanciful and as interwoven with nature myths as the Iliad itself. Many of these myths I have at various times had the opportunity of investigating, and the same features of reverence for the powers of nature, and the habit more especially of clothing with human habiliments the movements of the celestial sphere, which has prevailed with so many other nations, found here its fullest development. To the euhemeristic character of the later Chinese, who in perfect good faith adopted these myths and sought to incorporate them into history, we owe their preservation, and the critical mythologist can here and there pick out of the purple stream a few relics of hard fact, or genuine tradition which enables him to feel his way cautiously to the consideration of the older condition of the T‘ien hia. From earliest times the Chinese have had a lunar calendar, and to the present day the division of the ecliptic into the twenty-eight lunar mansions or suk (i.e. resting-places) prevails; it is therefore by no means surprising to find that they have entered largely into the so-called history of China. Above I have referred to the case of Wu shun, for so rather than Shun of Wu should the great Chinese solar hero be called, as also to the case of T’ai k‘ang and the hunter I, but it is in the so-called dynasty* of Shang or Yin, the one representing the
sun when above the equator prior to the time of leaving the Ho, and being phonetically connected with \( \text{shang}^1 \) (upper), and the latter originally meaning deflected, bent, indicating its position during the winter half of the year, that the full development of the myth is to be found.

That the names of the so-called sovereigns of Shang and Yin were really astronomical is a fact that has struck most thoughtful critics. With the sole exception of T'ang, whose name I shall explain further on, they are all compounded with the calendric stems, two of which only are absent; Kia and Ting occur each six times; Kang, Jen and Yih each four; while a single name is compounded respectively with Ki, Jen and Wu. Tsu (a beginning), t'ai (great), and siao (small) account for most of the prefixes, while lin and t'an are evidently the different renderings of the same word. So far as we know, the Chaldeans divided their year, prior to the introduction of the duodenary system, into ten parts, and it is possible that some trace of this division may have penetrated to China and resulted in the “ten stems.” It must however be remembered that in Rome, prior to the time of King Numa, the year was said to have likewise been divided into ten months, so that the resemblance does not necessitate actual connexion. However it was, an old division of the year and probably of the zodiac into ten parts prevailed widely and reached as far as China. The archaic form of the words used to denote the terms forbids any surmise as to their origin, but they must have been in use long before the introduction of the “twelve branches,” whose Persian origin is clear. An attempt to effect a compromise between the decimal notation and the twenty-eight lunar constellations probably resulted in twenty-seven of the twenty-eight names handed down. The key has however been lost, and the presumed length of the reigns have been put down in arbitrary figures. The one exception to the cycle name appearing in the list of asterisms
is that at the head—T'ang ch'eng—which may be rendered as T'ang the Completer, the keystone of the celestial arch, completing the year. Accordingly we find T'ang surrounded with all the glories of the solar hero, reproducing exactly the story of Ch'ang, otherwise Wan wang, the founder of the Chows. The state is in darkness, 桀 Kih, the "Cruel" or 犬 Kwei the last "stem" of the previous dynasty (or year) had plunged it in anarchy; he engages the state in a contest with the chief of 施 Shi (Erelius) and the latter, to propitiate him, gives him his daughter 妹喜 Mè hi (Megha, the Clouds). The universe was disturbed; the earth shook; mountains were moved; rivers dried up, while in the heaven itself two suns fought for victory to show their detestation of his acts. Then the people turned to 湯 T'ang—but a disguised form of 晚 or 景 Yang the Glorious, the sun himself at whose rising the darkness of winter is dispelled and the glad new year begins. T'ang has for his minister 伊尹 I yin, who is appropriately a dweller in 旦 Sin, the "dawn land," for 旦 is phonetically connected with Ushas and Aurora, both names of the dawn. I yin had originally an initial $, which leads us to identify him with the Surameya or Hermes of the west, an identification well borne out by his frequent flittings from T'ang to Kwei (light to darkness) and by his reported skill in cookery, to which the legend says he owed his introduction to T'ang. Correcting the so-called chronology by the recurrence of the "stems," and revising in accordance with Mencius the common allowance of thirty-three years to T'ai kia, we get a length of 560 years, which is just twenty times twenty-eight, and the lowest number which would permit of the two systems being combined. This would agree with the crossing of the Ho (the equator) by P'an kang, the equivalent of 胃 Wei, the seventeenth suk, the autumnal equinox circiter b.c. 1600 actually occurring with the full moon in that asterism. The vernal equinox did, 600 b.c., correspond with a full moon
in 兀 Kang, the second of the asterisms, and the fact that we must make T'ang to correspond with 角 Kioh (Spica virginis), which marks the beginning of the Chinese asterisms of the accepted system, points to a late origin for the scheme, possibly as late as 400 B.C.

More primitive in Chinese lore is however the accepted division of the zodiac into 28 sukh or lunar stations corresponding with the 28 Nakshatras or halting-places of the old Indian Astronomy. The division, as we have seen, is of great antiquity, as it is found not only amongst the Aryans of northern India but amongst the Iranians, whence it spread to the Arabs at a later period. The controversy has raged violently as to whether its introduction is to be referred to India or China, and like many other themes connected with ethnology and comparative philology it has afforded a battleground for French and German savants. The former, led by Brot, have generally asserted their Chinese origin; the latter, under the dictatorship of Weber, have as strongly supported their Indian birth. Professor Whitney, on the part of American orientalists, has been rather disposed to favour the Indianists, and in the Journal of the American Oriental Society [vol. viii, 1869] has given a review of the entire subject. Under the auspices of the same Society the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess in 1860 published a translation of the Surya-Siddhanta, the most authoritative of the Indian works on the subject of the old Indian Astronomy, and to this and Professor Whitney's résumé I am largely indebted.

It is fortunately not necessary to revive the question of the Chinese or Indian origin of the asterisms, or to excite any fresh enmity between the contending camps. Both are equally right and equally wrong. The birth of the Nakshatras was in fact prior to the dispersal of the eastern Aryas and Iranians. Indians and Chinese owe their traditions to a common source in Central Asia, possibly not far removed from the ancient
Baktria. Tradition tells us how at the early dawn of human history Aryan tribes migrated across the Himalaya and Hindoo Kush, following the valley of the great river; and settled in the fertile lands of north-western India, bringing with them their language and cult, which subsequently became paramount and in greater or lesser purity extended over the entire of the Peninsula. The traditions of the Iranians afford us a clue as to the impelling cause of the movement, which will account for many of the observed facts in the early history of the Aryans. In the Zamýad Yasht the Zend-Avesta describes the earthly paradise of Yima Kshaetra, where none of the evils ordinarily incident to mankind were to be found. It was not however to last, for Yima forgot his duties and the Azhi Dahâka chased him from his kingdom and slew him. Tradition never tires of the beauties of Airyana Vaejo; here was no cold, no heat, no old age, no death till Yima’s transgression brought all the evils in its train, and winter and its concomitant ills of cold, snow and frost came to render uninhabitable the once happy land. Nor was the change of climate the only evil that befel it; along with the cruel winter came the still more ruthless invader the tyrant Zohak, as the Shahnâmeh calls him, who after the death of Yima for a thousand years oppressed the inhabitants till in turn Feridun, a descendant of his victim, revenged his blood and locked up the tyrant in a mountain cave inDemâvend. The story amidst a setting of myth retains a genuine tradition. The ancestors of the eastern Aryans dwelt in the heart of central Asia, in a pleasant climate, happy and contented, and increased in number and the arts of civilization. From a cosmical cause, probably connected with the drying up of the old central seas, we know from other sources that the climate of the entire of central Asia has since the beginning of history, and probably for many ages before, been undergoing a gradual desiccation. Chinese tradition is here at one with Iranian and both are borne out
by the existence in the howling desert of ruins of once opulent cities. Not only did the deterioration of climate affect the districts inhabited by the Aryans, but it compelled the northern Turkish tribes, once dwellers in the vast plains north of the Altai, to break up their habitations and pour down on the Aryan settlers, pushing them east, west and south. One branch, as we have seen, crossed the Himalaya and Hindoo Kush, carrying into India the benefits of civilisation. Chinese tradition stored up in the Shi king and the pages of Mencius concerns itself with the fortunes of yet another branch. At a period of some seventeen centuries B.C. we find the ancestors of those Chow tribes, who afterwards established the first empire in China, laboriously moving east under the guidance of a leader called [Shi, III. 2. vi] Kung liu, i.e. Kere daspa, and taking up their abode in Pin, in old Chinese Fan or Van. Whence they came or why they broke up their former homes tradition tells us not. How long they remained there we know not, but the end came at last. Mencius [I, Part II. chap. xv.] tells us how the Tik, i.e. Turkish, barbarians came down on the rising settlement. The inhabitants offered them tribute of furs, but they would not desist; they gave them dogs and horses, but to no effect; they offered cornelians and jade, but in vain. Their king, 太 Tai, called his elders together and told them, "What these Tiks want in our territory; to save you I will leave." He withdrew with a large portion of the tribe, crossed the Liang shan, and took up his quarters at the foot of Mount K'î, now the T'ien shan. Other fragments enable us to identify the road taken as that subsequently traversed by Marco Polo, by Charchen and Lake Lob. At the former the Shi king [III, 1. viii.] describes a battle the remembrance of which lived long, for Tsin many hundreds of years afterward still preserved the captured drums and coats of armour. At K'î the fugitives had a temporary rest; they cut down the forests and underwood which at that time occupied the land,
opened out roads and erected dwellings by the sides of the streams \[Shi k\text{"\textit{ing}, III, 1. III.\] How long they remained we are not told, but the next we hear of them, under pressure still, they are attacking the north-west of China. The myth of T\text{"\textit{ang is repeated.} Chow sin, the last of Yin-Shang, is defeated by the brothers Chow kung and Wan wang, and the dynasty of Chow settles in Shensi, whence, like its congeners in north-western India, it was destined to spread its cult, and partly its language over what one day was to be the Empire of China. More completely, because in smaller number, the race lost its characteristics, being absorbed in the mass of aboriginal tribes; and more completely in the process of assimilation the language lost its external signs and dwindled by degrees into the modern monosyllabic speech of China. So completely did the intrusive races cut off the connection of the new settlers from their ancient compatriots that the very name they loved to call themselves by—the “Aryan men”—became in the degraded dialect of the new state 黎民 Li-min, and in the course of time, when the blood of the settlers had died out, was interpreted by the race which had absorbed them as meaning the “black-haired people.” The twenty-eight lunar stations of the Chinese are thus directly derived from the time when the ancestors of the Vedic Indians, the Chows and the Iranians, lived in close proximity to the site of the Airyano Vaejo, and from what we shall be able to discover below it will be evident that the connexion between the Chows and the Indian stem was closer than that between them and the Iranian branch. This approximation is evident in the changes of consonants and vowels. Modern Chinese, though it has cast off all inflexions, and for the most part resolved all dissyllabic words into monosyllables, preserves in many cases the halves of the divided word which it has converted into synonyms, but which in the spoken language are generally found combined to convey intelligibly the meaning to the ear. Initial
consonants, when tenues, are generally preserved unchanged, dentals, palatals, and latials being however largely confused; medise are transferred to the lower tone series, and in the majority of cases change into the corresponding explosive or rather ultra-surdi. *R* initial becomes *l* or *ng*, *r* final *ng* or *n*, or sometimes having first become *l* is dropped after lengthening the syllable. Velar sounds are preserved or change into *u*, and the sibilated gutteral *z* generally remains *k* but sometimes becomes *sh*. Final consonants in the older dialects remain, being generally represented by the tenuis of their class. Notwithstanding the extreme variation to which the language has submitted, these changes will be found to prevail with great regularity in the older dialects, Cantonese especially, which may be adopted as the key.

Weber concludes that the Chinese asterisms must be of late introduction, not earlier than the second or third century B.C., from the fact that the list as usually presented begins with Spica. The series itself however presents evident traces of an older origin, though the literature on the subject does not extend beyond the Han dynasty. The Chinese never took kindly to the solar zodiac, and most of their astronomy suffers from a grand misunderstanding: by some extraordinary error in the introduction of the zodiac they have contrived to reverse the constellations so that the constellations said to represent the months actually go backwards. Thus while 十 *yu* (*yau*) is made correctly to correspond with Taurus, its successor 步 *sū* (*sūt*) goes backward to Aries, the two series again crossing at 十 mmào in Scorpio. These discrepancies are however numerous and mark plainly how little original there is in Chinese astronomy.

As usually displayed by the Chinese then the circle of the zodiac is divided into twenty-eight parts, marking roughly the daily advance of the moon through the stars. From the nature of the case the correspondence cannot be very accurate,
but still was sufficiently close to strike the early inhabitants of mid-Asia. They also noticed that the position of the full moon amongst the stars varied from month to month and season to season; and hence before accurate observations were made of the path of the sun, the moon answered not only as a divider of months but also as an indicator of years. Such was the state of astronomy when the eastern Aryans, confining the latter term to the Indo-Iranians and their congenors, were dispossessed of their original home by the intrusive Turkish tribes from the Trans-Altai. The following table shows its connection with the Persian system:

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<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Fravardin</td>
<td>Farvardin</td>
<td>西 (Xi)</td>
<td>yau</td>
<td>Taurus</td>
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<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Ardavahist</td>
<td>Ardibihisht</td>
<td>子 (Zi)</td>
<td>sut</td>
<td>Aries</td>
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<td>May</td>
<td>Horvadam</td>
<td>Khordâd</td>
<td>丑 (Shou)</td>
<td>hai</td>
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<td>June</td>
<td>Tir</td>
<td>Tir</td>
<td>寅 (Yin)</td>
<td>tsze</td>
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<td>July</td>
<td>Amerôdad</td>
<td>Murdâd</td>
<td>卯 (Mou)</td>
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<td>August</td>
<td>Shatvairô</td>
<td>Shahrêvar</td>
<td>辰 (Chen)</td>
<td>yan</td>
<td>Sagittarius</td>
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<td>September</td>
<td>Mîtrô</td>
<td>Mihr</td>
<td>巳 (Si)</td>
<td>vow</td>
<td>Scorpio</td>
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<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Ávân</td>
<td>Abân</td>
<td>午 (Wu)</td>
<td>shan</td>
<td>Libra</td>
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<td>November</td>
<td>Átarô</td>
<td>Adar</td>
<td>未 (Wei)</td>
<td>sze</td>
<td>Virgo</td>
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<td>December</td>
<td>Dîn</td>
<td>Dâi</td>
<td>申 (Shen)</td>
<td>wi</td>
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<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Vohûman</td>
<td>Bahman</td>
<td>防 (Fang)</td>
<td>shan</td>
<td>Aquarius</td>
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<td>February</td>
<td>Spandarmad</td>
<td>Shpandarmad</td>
<td>宜 (Yi)</td>
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<td>Gemini</td>
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The Asterisms.

The new year beginning at the vernal equinox was naturally then represented, not as in later times by the Pleiades but by the stars in the forefront of Scorpio, the 防 (Fang) of the Chinese, the “Chamber” or, as we shall see later on, the Carcer, called also the Ho (Fire) or Ta ho (Grand Fire), a name transmitted from an earlier time when it referred to Antares.
As the leader of the old asterisms Fang is, according to the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, occasionally used instead of the more frequent 舍 she or 宿 suk to denote as a general term the individual asterisms. Fang being thus the representative of the meaning, as she of the sound of the Sanscrit Kshayas (a habitation, halting-place). The name 火, the fire star, more properly belonged to Antares and is a survival of the still earlier period, of which we shall find occasional traces, when the annual return of the equinoxes was marked by the full moon in conjunction with Aldebaran and Antares respectively.

Scorpio is still further connected with the calendaric branch 卯 mao, which in turn represents the Parsi Mīhr, a corruption of old Persian Mithra, the equivalent of the month of September, when the sun crossed the equator at the autumnal equinox. The Sanscrit name Anurādhā (the Completed), corrupted in the Bundahesh to Nur, points to its position as finisher of the year, and recalls the time when Antares marked the equinox. Its deity in the ancient Hindoo mythology was appropriately Mitra, the representative of the more important old Persian Mithra, who ruled the day as Varuna did the night. The Arab Manzil al Ikil (the Crown) apparently indicates the importance of the group.

The second suk, the fifth on the ordinary list, is generally known as 心 sam (the Heart), which recalls the corresponding Arab Manzil al Kalb, of like meaning. The name is probably of comparatively modern introduction and refers to the 青龍 Ts'ing Lung (the Blue Dragon) of the quadripartite division of the zodiac, of which it forms a fair centre. The more ancient name, as we have seen, was 火 Ho, or Ho-sing (the Fire Star), referring to the ruddy Antares, the chief of the group. The Indians called the asterism Jyesthā (the Eldest Born), indicating its position as the original head of the series. The Nakṣatra is represented as a pendent ear-jewel, which the three stars Alpha, Sigma and Tau Scorpionis, of which
it is composed, may be fancied to resemble. The Chinese also call it 轸 Hiah (hat), the "Linchpin," but the phonetic element is probably similar to that in the Indian name Jyesth. In the Bundayesh it is Gêl, possibly connected with the same root as Jyesta.

No. 3 (sixth in the usual roll) is 尾 Wei (the Tail). The use of the term may be explained in more modern star lore as forming the tail of the Ts'ing lung (the Azure Dragon). In the Indian system it becomes Mula (the Root), the explanation of which is difficult; Mula and Wei (in Cantonese Mi) both however mean the end, extremity, and are probably phonetically connected. It has been suggested by Bunge's (Surya Siddhanta) that the name Mula (the Root) was given from the position of the group near the southern horizon at its culmination. At B.C. 2000 the lowest point was only 28° south of the equator, so that the idea could hardly have originated south of 50° North Latitude. The asterism in India bore the alternative name of Vichritâu (the separators or spreaders, as of two branches bifurcating from a single root).

The Bundayesh calls the group Garafsa, apparently connected with gareva (womb), from root garev (to hold, take hold of). If the idea were that the year was born out of this station, it would carry the origin of the name and of the lunar zodiac to a date anterior to 4000 B.C., regarding which it is interesting to compare the notes on Chinese 燿 wei, No. 14.

No. 4 (seventh in the ordinary list) is 符 Ki (the Winnowing Tray), an asterism which has left its impress on the legends of the east from Persia to China. In the story of the extinction of Yin and the triumph of the Chows, it appears as 符子, which we may translate as "Viscount" Ki, though usually the suffix 子 tsze, like Sanscrit tur, represents the doer. Ki was in attendance at court till in the waning days of Yin the tyrant Chow-sin put him in prison; and one of the first acts of the rising house of Chow was to release him and restore his
patrimony. The myth is transparent: at the approach of the autumnal equinox B.C. 1200 the constellation of the Winnowing Tray faded away in the evening twilight. One of the first marks of the approaching solstice was its reappearance in the glow of the morning as the sun passed on through the stellar zodiac. This latter portion of the tale found another expression: Ki, according to the authorities, when he saw the extinction of Yin inevitable, fled away. When the Chows came to the throne, they sought him and found him in the land of the Saffron dawn 朝鮮 Châosien, i.e. Korea. Ki disdained to take service under another sovereign, and founded the line of Korean Kings. At the recension of the early books in the time of the Han dynasty the astronomical origin of the myth was not quite forgotten; so the commentators tell us [Legge’s Chinese Classics, III. 278] that Ki’s name was 脣餘 Sū yî, i.e. (A)Shadha, explained below.

The Winnowing Tray, Sanscrit คีรopaque in Zend ṣūfrā, was one of the instruments given by Ahura Mazda to Yima in Airyana Vaejô in token of royal sovereignty. The second Fargard of the Vendidad tells us how Yima went forth to the stars of the south. He touched the earth with the golden ćufra and pierced it with the gold tipped goad, and prayed “Extend O bounteous Armaíti, enlarge and spread O bearer of cattle and oxen and men [see Haug’s Essays on the Parsis]. So in Indian lore ṇurva-nakha (having nails like a winnowing tray) takes a prominent part in the story of the war between Râma and Râvana.

By the Hindoos the asterism corresponding to Ki included also the next, Tau, divided however into two, Pûrva (hither) and Uttara (further) “Ashādhā.” Ashādhā is said to mean unconquered, which is more than doubtful; it is more probably connected with root ɕi (to sleep), and means “a seat or place of abode.” The Hindoos accordingly represented the two asterisms as a bed, but also as two elephants’ tusks. The
Bundahesh calls the corresponding group Varant, while the Arab Manzil is an Na’āim (the pasturing cattle). The latter might have an allusion to the time when the full moon in the bow of Saggitarius marked the season for the cattle to descend from the mountains to the plains of mid-Asia. The name Varant may possibly be connected with Zend vouruváthwa (having broad herds) [Yasht, 13. 130].

No. 5, eighth on the ordinary list, is A* Tau (the Ladle), still known in Europe as the Milk Dipper. The name in Chinese is common to this group and the seven stars of Ursa Major, both approaching in form the ordinary ladle or dipper of the Chinese peasant, the stars being μ, λ, ρ, σ, τ, and ζ, in the shoulder and bow of Sagittarius. The word tau, corresponding to Greek ταῦτα, in Latin trua or trulla, is one which has spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The division of the asterism was probably not original, and hence some confusion between the titles of the station. The Arabs place their Manzil in the head of Sagittarius, and call it al Baldah (the Town), while the corresponding group in the Bundahesh is Gāu (the Ox). For some forty-five degrees in Capricornus and Aquarius the zodiac is unmarked by any conspicuous star group, and a considerable amount of uncertainty prevailed as to the position of the Mansions, and the original namers of the asterisms seem to have gone far afield for suitable objects.

Probably for these reasons the Indians adopted as their Nakshatra the distant Vega in Lyra, 2000 B.C., rather more than forty degrees north of the equator and some sixty off the ecliptic. To the constellation Lyra the Chinese gave the name of the Chih-nü (or Weaving Women), a name still familiar and associated with the legend that once a year on the seventh day of the seventh moon Altair crosses the celestial river (the Milky Way) to visit Vega. In the Shi king [III. 1. III] the myth of Wan Wang shows clear traces of its
astronomical origin, and here we find an allusion to another version of the story. The ballad tells us [verse 5]:

不 显
顯 其
光
造 舟
為 光

親 迎 子
迎 厥 祥
文 定

的 天
邦 有
之 妹

In yon wide realm a lady lies,
Of Indra's home the richest prize.
Propitious be the omens then,
As by the Wei he meets his bride!
His skiff he steers athwart the tide,
Too dazzling bright for mortal ken.

The 天船 (Celestial Ship) still waits in the Milky Way (ν & ο of Perseus) to ferry over the fair bride. The Indians gave the name of Abhijit (conquering), a name of apparently late introduction, to Vega and its companions.

No. 6, or nine in common account, is the 牛 Niu (the Ox). Although the name here is ancient, the group selected by the Chinese seems of comparatively late introduction and consists of the inconspicuous stars above the head of Capricornus. In India the Nakshatra is Çravana and is identified with the first magnitude star Altair and its companions in Aquila. In the Bundalesh the corresponding asterism is Goî, which latter in connection with the last (Gâu, the Ox) may be looked upon as a corruption of Zend Gaoya (the Ox leader). It almost certainly represents Altair, and this star or group of stars in Chinese is still known as 牵牛 K'ien-niu (the Ox leader), in Cantonese Hin-ngan. The same idea prevails in ancient Greek lore where ζετόω is the most eminent of the Centaurs, the friend of Hercules, by whom he was accidentally killed, but was subsequently by Zeus himself placed amongst the stars. But Kentaurus (the Ox leader) also in former

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1 In-tien, the visible heaven, the abode of Indra.
2 Wei here is the celestial river, the Milky Way.
times included the Eagle, and Cheiron was apparently the star known to us as Altair. Cheir-ôn and the Chinese K'ien (in older form Hîn) are both variants of the root ghar (to take, lead), and the idea is symbolised in the myth which makes Cheiron educator of the principal heroes. In ancient times, when the sun crossed the equator in the Pleiades, Altair was seen high in the firmament as the watchers looked for the vernal equinox, and was the last star to fade in the light of the rising sun. Even so late as the time of Euripides we find the chorus in Rhêsos singing:

“What watcher succeeds to my vigil?
Already the bright stars are sinking
And the seven-rayed Pleiads peep o’er the horizon;
In the Zenith aloft soars the Eagle;
Awake! Why delay? From your couches
Arise, and prepare for the vigil.”

The Indian Ćravâna or Ćroni, by which the constellation was known, is said to be derived from the root čru (to hear), and the constellation is supposed to represent an ear. More correctly it is a softened form from hri (to seize, draw), and identical in its meaning with the others. The Arab *Manzil al Bula* (the Devourer) bears no philological connexion with the others.

No. 7 (10) is by the Chinese placed in an inconspicuous cluster in the forepart of Aquarius just over the back of Capricorn. This is however not its original position, which was in the better defined group of the Dolphin. By them it was known as *♀ Nû* (the Women or the Girl), the allusion not being very clear. Schlegel suggests it was intended to mark the time when the labours of the field being over domestic work fell to the women of the family, but this would not tally with the fact that originally the full moon occurred in Nû prior to the summer solstice. The Indians called their more clearly defined station Ćravishtā or Dhanishtā, said to be irregular superlatives meaning “most famous” or “richest,”
but why they should have adopted these names is not attempted to be explained. Dhanishtha may probably be derived from dhanu-s (a bow) rather than from dhan-am (wealth). The Bundahesh at all events names the corresponding station Muru (a bird), in Zend meregha, from a root marg or varg (to hunt), to which root may possibly be referred the Chinese name of the Dolphin (_gem P'ao or 楠 Hu) with a meaning altered to Gourd. The Dolphin has always in ancient as well as modern times been associated with hunting.

No. 8 (11) in the Chinese is 虚 Ha, which may be translated as the Waste or Desert. The original meaning is to leave, relinquish, and is applied to the vacant space adjoining β Aquarius. This corresponds with the Arabic Sa’d as-Su’ud (Felicity of Felicities). The original constellation of Said (Felicity) must have included the greater part of Aquarius and Capricornus, extending from alpha Capricorni, Sa’d al Dhabih, to eta Aquarius, Sa’d al Akhbiyah. The name is curious and probably was given as the space wherein was situated the station of the full moon at the summer solstice at various periods from 2500 B.C. to the Christian era. No corresponding asterism occurs in the Indian series, but the Arab and Chinese names throw considerable light on the nearest Indian Nakshatra explained below. The Bundahesh calls the asterism in order here Bunda, with which we may compare Zend buna (ground, basis), Sanscrit budhna. The same root reappearing in Latin fundus, Greek βυθός, βυσσός, old Norse botn (bottom). About 1600 B.C. the full moon here attained the lowest portion of her course marking the summer solstice, which circumstance has evidently afforded the old Persian name, and affords a reason too for the placing here of the Chinese suk.

With that curious absence of original observation and the entire want of the faculty of verification which essentially characterises the Chinese as a race, the Hu is in the Shu king
connected with the autumnal equinox. The circuit of the heavens is divided into four, marked respectively by the stars Alphard, Antares, Sadulsund and the Pleiades. About 2850 B.C. the longitudes of these stars were respectively (approximately) 85°.30', 189°.30', 263°.30' and 0. No very close approximation, and evidently blundered from an earlier tradition when Aldebaran and the Hyades marked the equinoctial colure. The star ninety degrees from the colure was supposed to mark not only the equinoxes, which roughly it might do, but the solstices, which it certainly could not do, by crossing the meridian at those periods at sunset. Thus the Shu king [I. 6] in its mixture of old rhythm and modern gloss tells us—

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以 戎 平 寶 命
殷 仲 秋 納 和
中 秦 種 虚 仲
秋 歧 独 毛

He commanded Ho chung
To take his station on the west in the obscure valley
Reverently to make offerings to the Sun;
To pacify and arrange the entire of the west.
In the midst of the empyrean was the star Hü
By which to determine mid-autumn.
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The gloss mistaking the allusion adds, "The people rest, the birds and beasts renew their coats."

No. 9 (12) in the Chinese is 危 Wei (danger, peril). Hither circiter 2350 B.C. wandered the full moon at the summer solstice. What was the idea of danger we may see exemplified in the legend of T'ai K'ang in the Shu king quoted above [p. 46]. Chinese Wei however comes from the same primitive root as Sanscrit bhī (to fear), and this offers an explanation of the corresponding Indian Nakshatra Çatabhishaj or Çatabhishā. This is usually taken to mean the Hundred Physicians, or Remedies, from an assumed verbal root bhishaj (to heal). More
naturally the word is derived or corrupted from Çatabhîshâ (the Hundred Dangers). The "danger" referred to probably indicating that the path of the ecliptic might not return. From a comparison with the Arabic name Sa’d al Akhiyiah, (the felicity of tents), taken in connection with the fact mentioned above that the chief stars in this region all bear the name Sa’d (felicity), even to the present day the names Sadalmelik and Sadalsund for alpha and beta Aquaríi remaining on our celestial charts, we might presume an Aryan form Çatabhajat or Çatabhajinî (the hundred felicities). If so, the original appellation doubtless came from an allied root bhuj (to bend, curve), corrupted when the name ceased to have meaning as the bending place of the sun or moon's path, into bhishâ, bhîshâ, bhajat, or wei, or, translated, into Arabic Sa’d (felicity). The Bundâhesh places here the asterism Kahtsar, which possibly may represent Zend Çatazareta (the Hundred Oppressions) or Çatazarâ (Hundred Pains).

The ancient importance of the Asterism is shown by its having in Indian lore been placed under the special regency of Varuna, the old supreme deity of the Aryas. As Varuna is associated with the waters of heaven, so the mansion is in modern astronomy placed in Aquarius comprising the stars α, ν, ζ & υ.

Nos. 10 and 11 (13 and 14) in Chinese 宿 Shat and 鬟 Pik respectively, the Indian Purva and Uttara (former and latter) Bhâdrapadâ, representing the well marked quadrilateral in Pegasus. The Chinese name of the first, Shat (the house) must originally have included both asterisms, as in Indian lore did Bhadrapadâ (happy foot). Dividing the two, the second part became Pik (the wall or partition). The Bundâhesh gives for the former Vaht, possibly a corruption of the Indian name, and for the second Miyân, Zend Maidhyâna (the middle). The asterism is also known to the Indians as Proshtâpada, which we are asked to accept as "carp foot" or "ox foot,"
ANCIENT LUNAR ASTERISMS.

a rendering hardly exceeded in absurdity by the Chinese. Proshtha, we may however derive from prush (to rain or to burn) and render the word "rainy foot" or "rainy pace," and this will throw light on the Arabic Manzils al Fargh al Mukdim and al Fargh al Mukhir (the two spouts of the water jar), the full moon passing in early times the constellation during the Indian rainy reason.

Fargh and Chinese Pik, the latter formerly in the lower tone, are apparently phonetically connected, and the Indian name may be a corruption of Bhágapadá from bhaj (to divide, apportion), which gives to Bhága a secondary meaning of "good fortune." If the original idea was of dividing, we can account for the Chinese Pik of similar meaning, as well as for the Persian Miyán (the middle), but the division of the Lunar Zodiac by the full moon at the summer solstice in the constellation cannot have taken place later than about 3500 B.C.

On the whole I am disposed to look for some original form such as Bhárgavá from bhrájj (to scorch) and to connect it with the Indian myth of Brigu. The Persian (Bundahesh) Vaht, Indian Bhádrapadá, Chinese Pik and Arab Fargh have thus a common phonetic origin.

No. 12 (15) in Chinese 龄 Kwai (the stride). In the Indian system the Nakshatra is Revatí (abundant, wealthy) from root rá (to give), the full moon in the constellation marking anciently the beginning of harvest. The Chinese name is connected with the root varg (to go), whence our "walk," and the form Revatí may be connected with rinv (to go, follow). The Parsi form in the Bundahesh is Kaht, probably connected with root kāḥ, Sanscrit kas (to go), and the Arabic is Batn al Hütt (the belly of the fish), where Hütt represents the constellation Pisces (the fishes), in Greek 'ιχθύς, 'ιχθύς is not improbably connected again with 'ιχθυς (a footprint) from root víc (vik) to enter, approach, and Hütt and Kaht if not etymologically are certainly phonetically connected as well as Chinese Kwai,
We may thus follow the modern constellation of the Fishes to an older form meaning the "step" or "stride," from the conspicuous Quadrilateral of Pegasus to the well marked stars Alpha and Beta in the head of Aries forming the next stopping-place.

No. 13 (16) 廡 Lou (the stage, terrace). We have now arrived at a region of the heavens which has ever been the theme of the poet and the mythologist, and which has left an indelible mark on our fancies and our arts. The Pleiades and Hyades, the mighty hunter Orion, the two Dogs with the star Sirius, almost a sun himself as he shines in the vernal sky, the Dioscuri with their quaint legends, not to speak of the Ship Argo and the other wonders of the southern sky, have formed the foundation of much of the romantic literature of the nations of the antique world. Even to the present day in the world of art their influence survives, while our folklore is full of legends of the young vernal sun and the constellations he meets with in his passage through the zodiac. The two stars Alpha and Beta of the Ram form a not inapt portal into the fairy land, and with them astronomy, poetry and myth begin to blend. The Chinese name Lou (a raised stage) has little in its external appearance of the poetic, yet it has lent itself to one of the prettiest legends of the dawnland. We find in the Indian scheme these stars called the Açvînâu, the Twin Horsemen, the harbingers of Ushas, the dawn, "the earliest bringers of light in the morning sky, who in their chariot hasten onwards before the dawn and prepare the way for her."

When at the first beginnings of astronomy the sun was in conjunction with the Pleiades at the vernal equinox the heliacal rising of the constellation was anxiously looked for as the token of the opening year. The stars then seem, in India at all events, to have been called the Daçvins (the Peepers), from the root daç or damç (to shine). In Chinese the phonetic
The character 娄 lou almost certainly had an initial d; we see this in the corresponding phonetic 劉 (now liu) which represents also a root damō, the Greek δαμας (to tear or rend). In its form 樓 lou (a story, a stage), the word is identical with 璐 t'ai. 娄 then lou equally with the Indian word meant the Peepers, which in the earliest dawn ushered in the glad new year. When the equinox travelled backwards from Taurus to Aries, the stars lost their significance as the forerunners of the year and Daçvinâu (the Peepers) grew into Açvinâu (the horsemen or vedettes). Similarly in the Arabian calendar the stars were called ash Sharatân (the Tokens), a name which finds its signification in the fact that there also they were the token of the arrival of the glad new year.

In the Shi king, [II. 4. 11] we find under the heading of the 白駒 Pak k'â (the Yoke of White Horses) a hymn which compared with the Greek myth of Eos and Tithonos is worthy of record. The allusion is apparently to these two stars.

SPRING SONG.

Ode to the "Vedettes."

Shine on, ye glowing steeds of day,
Our meadows wide with light suffuse:
Halt in your course; your progress stay;
This morning’s dawn to close refuse.
My cherished love, all care aside,
May one long day with me abide.

Shine on, ye glowing steeds of day,
O'er our wide fields your radiance send:
Halt in your course; your progress stay;
This night beyond all nights extend,
My cherished love, oh happy bride!
May one long day with me abide.

Shine on, ye glowing steeds of morn,
While burning thoughts my bosom fill,—
What though of noblest lineage born,
In modest ease for aye be still:
For aye forget your aimless quest;
Your anxious thoughts be lulled to rest.
Shine on, ye glowing steeds of day,
O'er yon wide valley stay your light,
There in a patch with verdure gay
My loved one lies, a jewel bright;
Nor covets gems nor golden showers,
While happy hearts beguile the hours.

[Shi, II. iv. 2.]

The Parsi Padēvar we may refer to Zend Paitidaya (the Outlooker, Peeper), from the stem di (to see) equivalent of Sanscrit dī (to shine) and allied to damc, above.

No. 14 (17) 肚 Wei (the belly, stomach). In Indian lore Bharani (the bearer) i.e. the Vulva, Muliebre pudendum; the Arab al Butain (the little belly). The allusion in all three is plainly to the approaching birth in the Pleiades of the new year's sun. It may be noticed here that already the solar phenomena were superseding the lunar with regard to those asterisms from 13 (妻 Lou) onwards. We can therefore fix approximately the age of the names at about 2100-2300 B.C.

The name in the Bundahesh is Pesh Parviz (the Attendant Pleiad) from root pic (to tie, bind).

No. 15 (18) 星 Mao (to burst forth, flourish); the Pleiades. From the earliest times the Pleiades have been celebrated in mythology and folk-lore. In the book of Job [xxxviii. 31] we find the question asked "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades or loose the bands of Orion?" where Kimah or the "Seven Stars" is the name applied to the asterism. In the year 690 B.C. we have in the Ch'ün ts'iu a curious allusion to the Perseid meteors. "In summer in the 4th moon the stars fell like rain." Apparently referring to this the Shi king [I. ii. 9] sings:

"With brilliant trains the meteors fly
Orion and the Pleiads by;
They pass away with hissing sound.
Our quilts around our heads we bend
Vainly the omen to forfend."
In the Indian system the Pleiades are known as Krīttikā, from the root kart (to cut), the meaning being that they are placed at the division point of the heavens, the name having been given when the sun in Pleiades marked the beginning of the year at the vernal equinox 2350 B.C. A Greek legend makes them to have been placed in the sky at the death of their sisters the Hyades, which possibly refers to a yet older time, cir. 3000 B.C., when the equinox ceased to be marked by the latter. The Arabs, under the name of ath Thoraiyā (the Cluster), seem to have preserved a recollection of the Greek Taurus, the name of the Sign in which they were included under the subsequent solar zodiac; they also called the group au-Najm (the Constellation) from its commanding position as the head of the asterisms. The name in the Bundahesh Parviz, in modern Persian Pervin, has not been explained, but it, Greek Pleiades and Chinese Mao, are probably connected with the Sanscrit root vrīm (to increase), to which also is to be referred the Latin Vergiliae (connected with virga, a sprout), the Latin form being apparently the nearest to the original. The name evidently had its origin in the temperate zone where the bursting forth of nature at the vernal equinox is most marked, and so we can account for the loss of it in India and Arabia, where the names were derived simply from the beginning of the year.

No. 16 (in the usual notation No 19) is in Chinese 父 (Pat (Pih)) and corresponds with the Hyades. In the Shi king the asterism is called the 天 父 Tien pih, which may be translated as the Celestial Finishers (i.e. of the year) in allusion to the fact that the Hyades were the last stars to disappear in the western horizon at the approaching new year. The Shi king [II. v. 9] sings:—
which may be probably translated:—

Sinks (in the west) the T'ien pih
As the year completes its circuit.

From the shape of the asterism the Chinese explain it as the Fowler’s Net. Shi [II. vii. 2] sings again in a spring song:—

“The teal are ready to flit
The Pih is spread out as a net.”

None of the asterisms have suffered so much verbal corruption as the Hyades, and the Persian term Paha as given in the Bundahesh is the only one recalling the Chinese Pat. The Indian name is Rohint (the Ruddy), alluding to the colour of its principal star, while the Arabs have called it ad Dabarān (the Follower), i.e. of the chief asterism, the Pleiades. The Latin name is Sucule (the sow’s litter) identical with the Greek Ὑάξες, a patronymic from ἅξερ rather than a derivative from ἅω. The origin of the name in either case is however unknown, and it may be suggested that the Greek form is possibly a corruption of ἱδαπη, like the Arabic dabarān, meaning the “followers,” and the Latin name was a loan word introduced after the original meaning had been forgotten. The connection of the Hyades with rain was early believed in by the Chinese; the Shi [II. viii. 8] tells us that when the moon passes the Pih there will be heavy rain, a statement, however, difficult to reconcile with observation.

No. 17 (20) is in Chinese 鹿 Tsze (the deer’s head and antlers), lamda, phi¹ and phi² in the head of Orion. This corresponds with the Indian Nakshatra Mrigac̄iras (the deer’s head), as well as the Bundahesh Avēsar, as if Urvic̄ara (Wide-head). The Arab al Hak’ah (the Brand) has no apparent connexion with the others either in sound or meaning. In later times the constellation became itself the “Rebel” or the “Hunter.” Job [xxxviii. 31] speaks of loosing the belt of Kesil (the Rebel), and, as we have seen supra, T’ai k’ang (the
sun) in returning to the equator found the passage obstructed by I $\ddagger$, the prince of the Empyrean, who dethroned him and whose Cantonese form (Ngai) suggests a root ending in $r$, probably vor and so the equivalent of Greek Orion as if connected with $\ddagger\nu-\rho\gamma\kappa$ (a watcher, guard). I, as we have have seen, pointed his bow at the Pleiades, and so Orion forces his way into the chamber of Merope, and in consequence is condemned to lose his sight, only restored when long after the vernal equinox he is seen rising in the east to court the glare of the rising sun.

No. 18 (21) is in Chinese $\equiv T'sam$, which we may compare with $\equiv sham$ (shan) to "overflow, submerge." It consists, according to the Chinese, of Betelgeux, Rigel and the stars in the belt and shoulders of Orion. The corresponding Indian Nakshatra is Ārdrā (moist), and is said by Burgess (Śārya-Siddhānta) to represent only the star Betelgeux; the Bundahesh calls the corresponding constellation Behn, perhaps Zend Barezanh (a summit), but more likely corresponding to Bāzn, arm, i.e. Betelgeux. Practically there is no difference in right ascension between Tsze and Tsam, the latter overlapping the former both east and west, and it is very characteristic of the little progress made towards correct definition that the two stations should have continued in popular tradition in countries so far parted as Persia and China.

With a slight attempt at discriminating their fifth and sixth Mansils the Arabs have placed the latter in the feet of Gemini, and have given it the name of al Han’ah (the Pile), the application of which is not however very plain. In so doing they have encroached on the next Chinese suk.

Both Indian and Chinese names seem to have an allusion to the prevalence of the spring rains when the sun is in conjunction with Orion, as by the Romans the latter was also denominated Aquosus (watery).

No. 19 (22) is in Chinese 井 Tsing (the Well) and consists of the stars in the knees and feet of Gemini. Tsing (a well)
takes its name rather from the fact of its being dug out, as may be seen in the form 井 tsing (a pitfall), than from the welling of the water, and I should therefore be disposed to look upon the name as modern and derived from the grouping of the stars ε, ζ, λ, μ, ν, γ, ξ, Genimorum, which may have recalled the character 井. It thus in part occupies the place of the last Arabic Manzil.

The corresponding Nakshatra Punarvasū, more naturally is marked by the two conspicuous stars Castor and Pollux, to which in Greek lore have been transferred the attributes of the Aṣvināu (No. 13). The name Punarvasū (Repeated Riches) is evidently a corruption of an earlier form, perhaps Punarvarsha (Returning Rains), which may be possibly compared with the Bundahesh Rakhvad, if the latter be referred to Zend Rakhčvaidhi (Excessive Water). The corresponding Manzil adh Dhirā (the Paw) is said on the authority of IDELER to refer to the constellation of the Lion, made by the Arabs to include parts of Cancer and even Gemini.

In this asterism we distinctly recur to the older Lunar terminology, suspended in the previous six groups owing to the movements of the sun at the vernal equinox having in early times become of more importance than the lunar phenomena.

No. 20 (23) is the Chinese 鬼 Kwei, a name of ill omen applied to the manes of the departed, used generally in the Confucian books in antithesis to 神 Shen (celestial beings). Etymologically the name is connected with Sanscrit vrittas, qui vivit, hence the dead, and represent a root vart (K)wart (to turn). The name had perhaps better be written 觀 kweı (a jewel), and corresponds with the cluster called by the Greeks φάτων (the Manger) the Latin Præsepé. Possibly an older name was Vartnā (the Crib), from which the Greek and Chinese names, as if the former were for φάτων (the Returners)
with which compare note on No. 9 危 Wei. The solstitial colure passing the asterism about 900 B.C. This latter fact, as in the somewhat similar case of 危 Wei, accounts for the meaningless names applied to the Indian Nakshatra Pushya (nourishing), Tshya (auspicious) or Sidhya (prosperous). As in the last station the Arab name el Nathrah (the Nose-gap) implies a former greater extension of the constellation Leo.

The corresponding station named in the Bundahesh is Taraha, regarding the position and meaning of which I can offer no explanation.

No. 21 (24) is in Chinese 柳 Lin (the Willow) the five stars in the head of Hydra marked η, σ, δ, ε, ρ, forming a circular cluster, as a garland, whence its name 柳 liu (the willow) is but another form of 捲 lin (to bind), and agrees perfectly with the Indian name for the same group of Açleshâs (the entwinder, embracer), from the similar root plish (to embrace, join). The name of the corresponding group in the Bundahesh is Avra (the Cloud), literally the Water-bringer. The difference in longitude between this and the last group hwei hardly amounts to five degrees. About 2390 B.C. the difference in right ascension was much greater but gradually decreased, and for this reason possibly the Arabs invented a new Manzil composed of ζ Cancri and λ Leonis, which they named at Tarf (the Lion's Glance).

No. 22 (25) in Chinese 星 sing (the star) consists of Alpha Hydra and is usually grouped with the few small stars in its immediate neighbourhood. It is one of the seasonal stars mentioned in the Yao-tien [Shu, I. 4] where it is called 鳥 (the Bird. The solitary dignity of the star and its position as marking the winter solstice by its conjunction with the full moon doubtless led in Chinese to its being known simply as "the star," a similar reason influencing its Arabic name of al Fard (the Solitary), a name still retained in our celestial charts.
The corresponding Nakshatra in the Indian system is Maghâ (the Mighty), consisting of Regulus and the other stars in Leo, popularly called the Sickle. The Bundahesh calls the station Nahm, probably Zend Nāonha, the Nose (of the Lion) as in Arabic it is el Jeb’ha, the Front (i.e. of the Lion). The ancient Greeks knew Regulus as Basilikus (the Kingly), as the Arabs called him Malik (the King) from his ruling the solstitial colure.

No. 23 (26) is 弓 Chang, translated usually as “to draw, extend” (a bow). Here it probably represents the “archer.” The stars $\alpha$, $\lambda$, $\mu$, $\nu$ and $\varphi$ in the last coil of Hydra may perhaps be compared with the bow.

No. 24 (27) is 翼 Yik (the Wing, Flank), possibly in connection with the next, the Crossbar. It is composed of the principal stars in Crater.

These two asterisms have no connexion with the corresponding Indian Nakshatra, the Phalgunayas in the tail of Leo. The meaning of the name is not clear. The same stars form the Arab Manzils as Zubrah, the Mane (of the Lion) and as Sarfah (the Turning-point). The Bundahesh gives Miyân, Zend Maidhyâna (the Middle), and Avdem (unexplained) as the corresponding stations, perhaps both Parsi and Arabian names point to a reminiscence of the ancient position of the solstice twenty-three centuries before Christ.

No. 25 (28) is 车 Ch’en (the Crossbar) of the chariot of which 翼 Yik is the flank. We are now rapidly approaching the end, and this perhaps is the reason why these asterisms seemingly represent the different parts of a chariot. Ch’en comes from a root meaning “to turn, to twist,” whence apparently its application to the crossbar. The Indian name is Hasta (the hand, or the elephant’s trunk); possibly the Chinese chariot became converted in India into an elephant, a not unlikely transformation. The Arab Manzil steps aside here to the right, including the head and breast of the Virgin
of the modern zodiac; it is called al Auwâ (the Barking Dog), which accompanies the chariot, seemingly corresponding with the Parsi  Mâshâha (Zend Mashyôvanha), the domestic animal. The Greek Protrygeter (the Fore-grape-gatherer, z Virginis) refers to the solar rather than the lunar connexion, the star rising heliacally just before the time for grape gathering.

In this connection  Kîôh (the Horn) No. 26 (1) probably means the Pole of the chariot and points to an earlier use of the term Spica (the Point), afterwards, when the Virgin came to be associated with the autumnal equinox, made the “ear of wheat.” In the Bundahesh it is Spûr, Zend Çparegha (the Point), the Arrowhead spoken of in the Mihr Yasht for the protection of the chariot of Mithra along the heavenly way, the Ecliptic. The Indian Nakshatra is here simply Chitrâ (the Brilliant) while the Arab Manzil as Simak is a proper name, probably corrupted from Spica.

No. 27 (2) is  K'ang (the Neck, or more probably the Yoke, which in ancient times rested on the neck and to which were attached the breast-straps). The Celestial Chariot was now rapidly approaching the end of its annual journey and was about to reach the goal which we shall find in the next asterism described below. When with the precession of the equinoxes the lunar stations had lost these allegorical meanings, the comparatively insignificant stars of the Yoke were not thought worthy to mark the track of the sun (or moon), and the bright Arcturus was selected to mark the station in later times, called by the Indians Svåti, said to mean “a sword,” or rather “the good goer” if from su-at. Apparently however the word is connected with the Husra of the Bundahesh in Zend Huçrayanô (well goer).

The Arabs adopted substantially the same stars as the Chinese to mark the Manzil, iota, kappa and lambda of the Virgin, which they called al Ghafr, translated as “the Cover,”
a meaningless term, but evidently derived from a form which represented the Latin Jugum, Greek ξηώμα and Chinese K'ang, and pointing here as elsewhere to the nearer approach to the original of the Chinese form.

With No. 28 (3) Ti (the bottom) the long procession closes; but 彳 ti, as well as meaning "the foundation" also indicates "to reach," hence the place reached,—"the Goal." Amidst many trials and dangers and past many stations of greater or less importance the chariot of the Year has arrived at its terminus. As in the Roman games it started from 房 Fang (the Chamber), the Carcer of the circus and now has arrived at the Meta. It has crossed the equinoctial river in spite of the adverse darts of the mighty hunter Orion, and now with his arrow pointed at the terminus the archer 張 C'hang drives his chariot into the Goal.

The curious coincidences which mark the names of the stations, the resemblances now between Chinese and Indian, again between Chinese and Greek or Arab, and oftentimes between the latter and old Persian, show that neither can lay claim to have been the founders of the system. On the other hand the fact that in all, with the exception of a few Arabic names evidently not original, the roots can be traced to Aryan sources, while the descriptions answer best in the northern temperate zone, point to some spot in Central Asia between Mesopotamia and the Pamir as the original home of the inventors.

Notwithstanding the wide extension of the lunar mansions, which at one time must have been popularly received from China on the one hand to Greece on the other, the system cannot have prevailed for many centuries. The nomenclature distinctly points to a period when the equinoctial colure passed through or near the Pleiades at one intersection and at the other through the "Claws" of Scorpio, which would fix the date as near as may be to 2350 B.C. Traces indeed exist of
still earlier nomenclature of the principal groups reaching to about 3000 B.C., when Aldebaran and Antares marked the equinoctial points, but these earlier names do not seem ever to have been worked into a system and exist only sporadically.

If however the completion of the series of lunar stations, and the astronomy to which they gave rise, cannot be dated before 2350 B.C., we find that the system cannot have had more than two centuries of unchallenged existence. Evidence as strong goes to prove that when the astronomers of Chaldea adopted the solar signs, and marked the beginning of the year by the solar culmination of the constellations, the Pleiades still occupied the place of honour, marking a date not later than 2150 B.C.

To this date approximately the division of the entire of the then visible heavens into constellations has been assigned by so good an authority as the late R. A. Procter, who has moreover pointed out the curious fact that the region surrounding the south pole of the day remained unexplored till in the 18th century a new school of astronomers arose who sought to preserve the memory of themselves by dubbing every petty cluster with a name of their own choosing. Those generally accepted, such as Octans or Antlia Pneumatica, not to speak of absurdities such as the Oak of Charles II or the Sceptre of Brandenburgh, sound strangely out of place besides the grand old constellations. Even from these we may learn a lesson, and the mapping of the celestial sphere carefully studied is a record of much that is interesting and much that is valuable in the history of humanity.
About three years ago I wrote a short sketch on Chinese Chess. While gathering materials and making enquiries on that subject, my attention was drawn to the other great game of China, which she invented and which she considers far superior to Chess. This alone would be sufficient to awaken curiosity. We are so accustomed to consider Chess as unquestionably the royal game, that the simple statement that a country possesses Chess and another game, and considers the latter superior, is startling. We naturally feel drawn on to examine this unknown rival and find out for ourselves whether it deserves its claimed superiority. Before we know it, Wei-ch'i has therefore the merit of rousing our curiosity by its great reputation. Wei-ch'i is considered par excellence the game of the literary class, while Chess is the favourite diversion of military men. This fact establishes its precedence in China and has also value in our eyes, because, if the flower of the nation, which is always to be found in the civilian class, prefers Wei-ch'i, it must possess, at least for the Chinese mind, great attractions.

Even at first sight Wei-ch'i presents several striking peculiarities. The board on which it is played is very large, containing 361 places; the men are very numerous, as nearly 200 may be required on each side, and its nature is different from that of the games we are already familiar with. The
pieces cannot be moved,—once placed on a spot they remain there until the end of the game, unless surrounded and destroyed by the enemy, when they may be removed from the field of battle. The game does not consist of a series of skilful evolutions by which each player tries to manœuvre its men to the best advantage and to secure its object in the least number of moves; it is a game of position, each side tries to place the pieces in the most favourable way so as to secure by their combination a winning position. This last peculiarity lends it all its charm. We find a game totally different from those we have been accustomed to. The difference is not in detail, but in the essence of the game. It belongs to quite a different order from Chess and Draughts. Moreover, though a game of extreme difficulty, it is of the greatest simplicity. There is not a number of different pieces, each with its own peculiar move; all the men are similar, they can be placed anywhere, and they cannot move. Perhaps it is owing to this that it has altered so little in passing to other countries; while Japanese Chess is as different from Chinese as the latter is from European Chess, Wei-ch'i is played, one may say, identically in China and Japan. In the latter country it is called "Go-bang" and is in high repute. In the old feudal days the nobles vied with each other in having attached to their courts celebrated Go-bang players, just as they were proud of their bulky wrestlers; even now there are professionals who play with such care and reflection that a match-game may often take up several days. The true Japanese Go-bang, which is identical with Wei-ch'i, is quite different from the game which goes under that name among foreigners. The latter is a much easier game, which consists in getting five men in a line, no matter whether horizontal, vertical or diagonal, and is called "Go-mutche" by the Japanese.

The object of the game of Wei-ch'i may be stated very simply, though it will be found sufficiently difficult to carry it
out in practice. It is to occupy as much space as possible on the board and to prevent the adversary from doing the same. This can be done both by occupying places with one's men and forming enclosed spaces called territories, as well as by surrounding and taking the adversary's men, in which case, the space, formerly occupied by the enemies one has destroyed, becomes part of one's territory or conquered space on the board. To show how this simple principle acts in play producing a very interesting game will be the object of what follows.

*Wei-ch'i* is played by two players, on a board special to the game and with two sets of men of different colour. I shall begin by describing the board, and then pass on to the men and to the game in general.

**The Wei-ch'i Board.**

This is divided into squares like a chess-board, but into a much greater number, and without any alternation of colour, their total number on the *Wei-ch'i* board being 324, $18 \times 18$. Even this large number does not fully represent the scale of the game, because, as in Chinese Chess, the pieces are played on the intersections of the horizontal and vertical lines and not on their intervals; thus, as there are 19 lines in either direction, the total number of places on which the men can be played is $19 \times 19$ or 361. This is a very large number, and at first the game appears quite bewildering from the size of the board and the number of men employed.

The Chinese, in the books which treat of the game, divide the board into four equal parts, which they call "corners" (角 *chiao* or 隍 *yü*) and which are called by the names of the four Chinese tones:

- 平 for the lower left corner.
- 上 " upper "
- 去 " right "
- 入 " lower "
In each of these four sections a place is generally marked out at a distance of four steps along the principal diagonal counted from the outer angle. Each spot is therefore equidistant from the two external sides of the section. These four points are called 艮 (ken¹), 畿 (hsün¹), 坤 (k‘un¹) and 乾 (ch‘ien¹), and the players generally begin the game by alternately covering them, each player occupying two at opposite angles. Sometimes the centre of the board is also marked. Diagram I. will serve to show what the Wei-ch‘i board is like and how it is divided.

I think this place is the most appropriate to give an account of the notation employed by the Chinese to indicate the
different spots on the board where the men are played. As the board is so large, for convenience the notation is adapted to the division in four sections, which we have seen to exist, and there is a separate notation for each of the 平上 and 入 corners. The Chinese have adopted a system which is similar to that used in analytic geometry of two dimensions. Every point is determined by giving its perpendicular distances from two axes at right angles, that is to say, by two co-ordinates. They fix the origin of the axis of the abscissas as well as of that of the ordinates at the corner of the board, and the two sides represent the two axes. They count on each of these lines up to the middle of the side of the board from 1 to 10. It is evident that, as there are 19 lines both horizontal and vertical, by counting from each towards the middle of the side, the two sets of numbers will meet at the 10th, which will be common to both, that is to say, to the series commencing from the right and going to the left of one corner or section, and to the series commencing from the left and going to the right of the other corner or section which lies at its side. As each spot on the board is designated by two numbers, which respectively represent the length of the abscissa and ordinate, it is necessary to show in what order they are always used, that the reader may be able to understand in which direction each is counted. For this purpose, one must place one's self successively at each corner of the board and look towards the opposite corner; one will then have a series from 1 to 10 on the right side and another on the left. Let us suppose the first to represent the abscissas and the second the ordinates, then every point on the board is designated by giving first the number of the ordinate and then the number of the abscissa. This rule applied to each corner produces the puzzling result that each side of the board serves for counting the abscissas of one corner or section and the ordinates of the next corner or section.
Diagram II will facilitate the understanding of the above explanations. Let A and B represent the two players. [As will be seen later on, the position of the players is quite immaterial in this game; both could play from the same side of the board, the only important distinction being the colour of the men.] The side of the board next to A serves to count the ordinates in its right half and the abscissas in its left half; the side running up on the left serves to count the ordinates in its lower half and the abscissas in the upper half; the side
of the board next to $B$ serves for the ordinates on $B$'s right ($A$'s or the reader's left) and for the abscissas on $B$'s left ($A$'s and the reader's right). The side running down on the right serves for the ordinates in its upper half and for the abscissas in its lower half. To familiarise the reader still more with the Chinese notation, a few spots have been marked with the numbers used to designate their position. A notation which employs two series of numbers is naturally confusing,

III.

and therefore, in future, when I shall have to indicate any place on the board, I shall employ letters instead of numbers
to indicate the ordinates and keep the numbers only for the
abscissas. We shall have thus two series at our disposal, one
from $a$ to $j$ and the other from 1 to 10; this slight variation
will render the notation clearer, and we shall adhere to the
spirit of the Chinese notation. Diagram III shows how this
modified notation is applied to the board and how the
examples given in the preceding Diagram will be designated.

The men employed in Wei-ch'i are round and flat, very
much like buttons, and of two colours—black and white. Each
player has a bag or small basket full of men of one colour,
from which he draws all those he may require in the course
of play. The players place their men alternately on any of
the points of intersection of the horizontal and vertical lines
which is not already occupied by another man of the same or
adverse colour; even the points on the four margin-lines
which enclose the board can be so filled up.

The object of the game, as I have already stated, is to
occupy as much of the board as possible, victory being
decided in favour of the player who has command of most
spots. Space can be occupied in two ways—by placing men
on the different points and by forming an enclosure with one's
men, the space thus contained being reckoned as one's
territory. It is evident that the latter way is more important
than the first, which alone could not lead to any decisive
result; in fact, as the players place their men alternately on
the board, if they confined their efforts simply to occupy spots
with their men, the game would end by giving only one spot
more to the first player, who would have possession of 181
spots while his adversary would have only 180. This may be
considered the *reductio ad absurdum* of the first method of
play. We must then turn our attention to the second method
of play, which is the right one—the occupation of space by an
enclosure of men—it is this which gives the name to the game,
Wei (to surround) being its principal object.
The simplest possible enclosure that can be formed anywhere on the board, is that of four men enclosing one spot which is called an *eye* and can be seen in the lower left-hand corner of Diagram IV. The next in simplicity is that formed by six men enclosing two spots,—an example is given in the lower right-hand corner of the same diagram. In the same way larger enclosures can be formed with a greater number of men, as will be seen in the upper left-hand corner of Diagram IV.

All enclosures require a smaller number of men to form them when they are situated round a corner or angle of the board,
as then only two sides need be formed, the other two being the limits of the board itself. Thus an eye can be formed with three men only, as is seen in Diagram IV in the upper left-hand angle with the three men $a\ 2$, $b\ 2$, and $b\ 1$. Even two empty spots can be surrounded by three men in such a favourable case, as is shown in the upper right-hand corner of the same diagram. All enclosures may be formed not only round unoccupied spots, but also round unprotected men of the adversary, who forthwith are taken and their empty places become the conqueror’s territory.

From what has been explained, the game might seem very tame and uninteresting, but it must be remembered that the enclosures, which are formed for occupying as much space as possible on the board, are made by both players, each of whom, while he tries to enlarge the area of his own territory, tries at the same time to diminish that of his adversary, as also to destroy in certain cases his enclosures and appropriate their territory. The element of strife now comes in and lends interest to the game. Every part of the extensive board becomes the field of numerous engagements, as the adversaries pursue their offensive and defensive tactics. The interest of the game is not concentrated in one spot as at Chess, around the king, but is diffused all over the board, as every single spot is equally important in effecting the result of the game and counts in the grand total which represents the position of each side at the end of the struggle.

I have just mentioned that enclosures may be destroyed in certain cases. It is necessary that I should explain this important and interesting feature of the game. In the course of play, while one is forming enclosures and extending one’s territory, it often happens that one can surround completely some of the adversary’s men. These, under certain circumstances, are then considered as dead, removed from the board, and their places become part of one’s territory.
Diagram V shows the four black pieces at, c 2, d 2, e 2 and e 3, entirely surrounded by white men and therefore dead. We have another example in the three black men situated at, a 5, a 6 and a 7, on the side of the board, and which can be taken by a much smaller number of white pieces than if they were placed in the middle of the board, as it is enough to surround them only on three sides, the other side being formed by the limit of the board itself. The four black men at, d 3, e 4, d 5 and e 4 present a more complicated case; though they are surrounded on all
sides by white pieces, still they are not dead, because they contain themselves one empty space. To destroy them, it will be necessary to play another white man at \( d4 \), then the black men being blocked on all sides both externally and internally will be considered as dead. We see thus, that though not actually dead, they are in imminent danger,—they will be captured at next "move," as we should say in Chess; in such a case one may adopt a term with which Chess has made us familiar, and say they are "under check."

In the upper right-hand corner of Diagram V we have another group of black men surrounded by white ones; they are not however dead, nor can they be possibly destroyed by any manner of play. In fact, we can see that the black pieces contain within themselves two separate empty spots, \( c4 \) and \( d5 \), forming two complete eyes, which would have to be filled up to accomplish their destruction. Now this is impossible, because, as the players play alternately, as soon as White has filled up one eye, Black at his turn will take the man that White has played, because it will be situated in the midst of his men, and therefore may be considered as dead. This might go on for ever, White filling up one eye and Black taking the piece, as White to win the whole group of men would require to be able to play twice in succession.

We can now establish a fundamental rule of great importance, that, whatever group of men contains within itself two or more empty spots forming complete eyes is secure against any attack. Though surrounded it cannot be destroyed; it forms an intangible territory. It does not matter where and how far from each other these eyes are situated, provided they form part of one unbroken group of men joined together. The upper left-hand corner of Diagram V exhibits a territory which cannot be conquered by the adversary, because it contains three complete eyes at, \( a1, e4 \).
and 9, any two of which alone would be sufficient to secure its independence.

It is necessary now to explain what constitutes a complete eye and how several of these can be joined together to form one whole unconquerable territory. A complete eye is one formed by men all of which are joined together and none of which can be destroyed, as, naturally, if any could be, the eye losing a part of its components would no longer exist. In the lower left-hand corner of Diagram VI we have four examples of different kinds of complete eyes, while in the lower right-hand corner we have four examples of incomplete ones. In the eye formed by j1, j2, i2 and h1, the white man situated at h1 is not joined on to the others, and can be surrounded by Black successively playing three men at g1, h2 and i1. In the eye marked X, the piece at h4 can be taken by Black playing successively four men at g4, h3, i4, and h5, thus surrounding it. In the eye marked W, the two men at e5 and d6 can both be taken, the first by Black playing four pieces at e4, f5, e6 and d5, the second by Black playing four pieces to e6, d7, c6 and d5. In the eye marked Z, each of the four men can be captured by Black if he surrounds it. From all the above examples we see that the men only protect each other along straight lines and not along the diagonals: this is very important for the connection of several eyes, so as to form a single indestructible enclosure. We had already found that it was necessary to have at least two complete eyes to secure a territory; we have now examined what constitutes a complete eye, and in doing so have found how different men protect each other, i.e. along the horizontal and vertical lines of the board. Along these same lines must the men be placed that serve to join different eyes forming a territory. In the upper left-hand corner of Diagram VI we have an instance of how different groups of men are to be joined so as to mutually protect each other. We have, in the first place,
a territory containing two complete eyes, and therefore secure against attack, extending from the top of the board to d 6 and e 7; in its vicinity there are two other groups which can be destroyed if not joined with it. We have the three men at c 7, c 8 and d 8, which may be joined either at e 8 or c 6, and the eight men at f 3, g 3, h 3, i 3, g 4, i 4, h 5 and i 5, which can also be joined either at f 2 or e 3. White can, by playing

only two men, form an extensive territory comprehending four complete eyes, and Black cannot prevent him doing so, because in each case White has the option of two ways of joining his
men, and if Black prevents one by occupying the spot himself White can occupy the other.

The joining of men along the horizontal and vertical lines is most important, and every effort is to be made to effect it for one's self and to prevent the adversary from doing so. The position in the upper right-hand corner of Diagram VI shows how on the placing of one man may depend the question whether a territory shall belong to Black or White. Here we have a lot of black men almost surrounded by white ones and in danger of being destroyed. If it is Black's turn to play he may save them by placing one of his men at \( h \ 5 \), thus forming a second complete eye, which, as we have seen, guarantees an enclosure against all possible attack. But if instead it is White's turn to play, he will place one of his men at \( h \ 5 \), threatening to take the black piece at \( h \ 4 \), which would be surrounded on three sides and be, as we should say, under check, namely, liable to be taken at next move. Black can only save this man by joining him to the rest with another man placed at \( g \ 4 \), but then the black territory would have only one complete eye and White, at his turn filling up the empty space at \( d \ 6 \), would capture the whole lot. Black cannot save himself by abandoning his man at \( h \ 4 \), because White would first take him by placing a man at \( g \ 4 \), and then at his next turn fill up the spot \( d \ 6 \), taking the whole lot as before. Here a difficulty however might be made, and which can only be removed by explaining another rule of the game. Let us take the case it was White's turn to play and that he has placed a man at \( h \ 5 \), thus securing a winning position, which is shown in the upper right-hand corner of Diagram VII; on his next turn he plays another man at \( g \ 4 \), and takes the black piece at \( h \ 4 \); now it is Black's turn to play and he has three men at \( g \ 3, f \ 4 \) and \( g \ 5 \) surrounding the white man just played at \( g \ 4 \), which we may say is under check; if he can play a black man at \( h \ 4 \) he can take this white man, and we should thus
return to the original position from which we started, and White again could take the black man at h 4, and Black again repeat his play and so on ad infinitum, now White taking the black man at h 4, and now Black taking the white man at g 4. As this would put an end to the game, there is a rule that prevents a player from immediately taking a piece under these circumstances, i.e. when by taking it he returns to the original position, where the piece he has just played can be taken again: he must first play another piece in some other part of the board, and only after that, on his next turn, can he take that piece. This kind of position, where the rival pieces are dovetailed into each other and can each attack one piece alternately is called 打結 Tu chieh by the Chinese. This rule, which prevents a useless repetition of the same play, obliging the adversary first to place a piece in some other part of the board, reminds us that though for convenience sake we are dissecting the game and examining separate groups of men, the play goes on all over the board; everywhere territories are being formed and attacked, and if one is losing in one corner one may hope to recoup one’s self in some other corner.

This renders the beginning of the game almost incomprehensible to one who has not studied it thoroughly. The two players seem to place their men at haphazard, now in one corner of the board and now in another; it looks rather as if they were trying to form pretty figures than trying to circumvent each other. It is only after a good many men have been placed that the object of the game begins to show itself in the play, and then gradually one perceives that those men which seemed played without any offensive or defensive purpose are all useful, and that they were placed originally to act as outposts for the territories which it was foreseen would be formed around them, or as posts of observation to annoy the enemy. In fact, as the object of the game is to occupy
as much of the board as possible and to prevent the adversary from doing the same, it is necessary to have men strewn about everywhere, which may be, in the course of play, joined together in one large territory, and which may prevent the adversary from joining his men. To show the advantage which may be obtained from one of these detached men placed at the beginning of the game, it is sufficient to examine a position which may often occur when one of

the players is trying to surround his adversary on one side and the latter tries to escape by prolonging his men in a
diagonal. If both persist in prolonging their men in échelon, the attacking party must win, because as soon as the defender reaches the side of the board (which he must reach if he prolongs enough) his adversary will do the same at next turn of play, hemming him in. In the lower left-hand corner of Diagram VII we have three of Black's men at $c\,7, \, d\,7$ and $e\,6$ hemmed in on one side by White men. If Black tries to extend his men along the diagonal $d\,7, \, e\,6$ White will follow up along the diagonal $d\,8, \, e\,7$, even to the side of the board, where, when Black will have played $j\,1$, White will play $a\,9$, thus succeeding in hemming in Black on that side. It is therefore useless for Black to try such a method of play in hopes of extending his territory, but if there happens to be a black man already placed at $g\,4$, he may safely employ such a method of play, because then when he has played $f\,5$, and White follows up with $g\,5$, he has already a man in advance at $g\,4$, which gives him, so to speak, a move ahead and enables him to prolong in safety without fear of being enclosed on that side.

As during the whole game each player is trying to surround the men of his adversary and capture them, it often happens that while one's men are being played to capture those of the other colour, they are exposed themselves to counter-attacks, so that it becomes a question of time who will succeed first and thus forestall the other. In such cases one must calculate very carefully the number of moves\(^1\) required by each side to secure victory, just as in an end-game at Chess where each player has a passed pawn that can queen, and all depends on a move.

\(^{1}\) I here use the term "move" because it is so familiar to us through our game of Chess; but it must be understood that there is no such thing as a move in the game of Wei-ch'î, where the pieces always remain where they are placed, and that the word "move" is used instead of the cumbrous phrase "turn to play."
The upper left-hand corner of Diagram VIII will give a simple instance of the above kind of play. Here we have two sets of white and black men which are so situated that a portion of each is dovetailed into the other and threatened with capture unless it can forestall its fate by dealing destruction on the other. The white men are in three groups: first four at $g\,2$, $g\,3$, $g\,4$ and $g\,5$, another three at $d\,3$, $e\,4$ and $e\,5$, and then the three men at $d\,6$, $e\,6$ and $f\,6$, which are already surrounded by Black on three sides and will be inevitably taken unless White succeeds in destroying betimes a portion of the attacking forces. This
is his only resource, because he cannot hope to escape by prolonging his line of men in any direction, as Black has already overlapped him with his two men at e 7 and g 7. In fact, if he plays a man at either d 7 or f 7, Black promptly plays a man either at d 8 or f 8, thus closing all exit. Escape being impossible, let us see how White will fare if he adopts a bolder policy and attacks his adversary. Black's men are distributed in four groups: there are two men at e 3 and f 3, two at g 6 and g 7, two at e 6 and e 7, and three at d 5, e 5 and f 5, which are already surrounded by White on three sides and may be destroyed before Black can compass the destruction of White's men. This would be easy enough if there were not the two men at e 3 and f 3, because then White, having to play, would succeed in achieving the capture of the three men d 5, e 5 and f 5 before Black could capture the white men d 6, e 6 and f 6. But the position being as it is the thing is more difficult, and White can win only by accurate play. His first move must be to f 4, and Black must at once join his men by placing a man at e 4; if he does not do so, White at his next turn will play one of his men at e 4, thus rendering impossible any connexion of Black's men, which will be irretrievably lost. If Black plays e 4, the position is again difficult for White, because the now connected group of six black men again requires the placing of three white men at e 2, f 2 and d 4 to be entirely surrounded; under another form we are in the same position as before. Each player can capture a group of men, and requires three moves to do it. White has only the advantage of first move, an advantage which may be lost if he does not play correctly; as before, his only resource is in pursuing a constant attack. He must play f 2, threatening again Black's men: Black can try to escape capture by extending his men, but, as was pointed out before, the prolongation of an attacked line, unless it be
towards another friendly piece, leads to no result. In fact, if Black plays e 2, White plays d 2, always threatening Black's men with capture in two moves. It is necessary that he should always preserve such an attack, because Black in three moves can always capture the three men at d 6, e 6 and f 6, which form part of White's attacking force and which if once destroyed would break up all White's attack and secure Black's men completely. If Black extends again to e 1, White plays d 1, preserving his position of a winning attack in two moves: thus we see that Black's men are irremediably lost and White has saved his pieces, which, after the capture of the enemy, can be connected with the rest forming an impregnable enclosure. This simple elementary position is instructive, because it shows how, in play, the men of both sides can get mixed up in such a way that while an attack is being made, a portion of the attacking force may be subjected to a counter-attack which if successful destroys the whole of the original attack. In such cases it is necessary to play with great care and to calculate accurately how many moves are required for the successful completion of the attack and counter-attack.

The following position will be instructive in showing not only how important a single move may be, but also how important is the order in which some moves have to be played. In the lower left-hand corner of Diagram IX we have a group of white men situated at, c 6, c 7, c 8, c 9, d 8, b 5, b 6, b 7, a 4 and a 5 which are almost entirely surrounded by black pieces and in imminent of danger of being captured: it only requires two black men to be placed at b 4 and a 3 to accomplish this, but the order of these two moves is very important. If Black plays a 3 first he wins, because if White joins his men at b 4 Black plays b 3, taking not only the men that were under check, but also the other two men at c 3 and c 4, and if he plays something else, Black plays b 4, taking all the men
under check. But if Black, by mistake, plays first b 4, he
loses: then White plays b 3, capturing the black man just
placed at b 4, forms one complete eye, and whatever Black may
do, he will form a second eye rendering his territory intangible.
In fact, White can form a second complete eye by placing a
man at a 2, and if Black, to prevent this, does what must be
done in such circumstances, places himself a man at a 2,
White plays a 3, threatening to take a 2 by the next move
at a 1; if Black extends by playing himself a 1, White plays
b 1, capturing both men and still forms a second complete
eye. If Black, having played a 2, plays b 1, trying again to
prevent the formation of a second complete eye, White can play \( c1 \), capturing the black man at \( c2 \), and then afterwards at his next turn by playing \( a1 \) will capture both the black men at \( a2 \) and \( b1 \), and with three incomplete eyes at \( a2 \), \( b1 \) and \( c2 \) it will be very easy to form one complete one either by filling up \( c2 \) or \( b1 \).

In the centre of the same diagram (IX) we have a position which, as it is situated in the centre of the board, will be useful in showing how the notation changes according as a spot is in one corner or another. There is a group of black men at \( h6, i6, j6, f8, i7, g9, g7, i8, j8, h8, h7 \) and \( j9 \) which enclose two incomplete eyes and are almost surrounded by white men. White can capture almost all of them, but he can only do it in one way—he must play \( f9 \). He then threatens by playing, at his next turn, \( g10 \), to capture the seven men at \( h6, i6, j6, i7, i8, j8 \) and \( j9 \); if Black joins his men by playing \( j9 \), White plays \( g8 \), capturing them all the same plus the man at \( g9 \); Black has therefore no resource left. But if White omits to occupy the winning position at \( f9 \), Black can place one of his men at \( f9 \), and form two complete eyes within his territory, thus securing it against all attack.

The upper left-hand corner of Diagram X gives another winning position for White: if he plays \( a6 \) he threatens to surround and take the five men at \( a5, b5, b6, b7 \) and \( c6 \), and it will be seen that Black cannot save them, because if he tries to do so, his only resource is to play \( c5 \), thus joining them to the rest of his men; but then White will play \( h2 \), threatening the whole lot, and even if Black extends to \( h1 \), White, by playing \( i1 \), will still capture them all; by this method of play, Black not only will not save five men but will lose fifteen or sixteen more. It will be better therefore for Black, after White has played \( a6 \), to abandon the five men under check and look after the safety of the rest by playing \( h2 \), thus joining the men that are already almost surrounded
to the three men at i 2, a 10 and a 9, which are not surrounded. He thus forms a small enclosure of two open spaces at h 1 and i 1 and may hope to form another by extending from the three men which are free. The fate of this manœuvre will depend on the position his other men occupy on the board; it will succeed if he can lead up to men that are placed near and with whom it may be easy to form an eye or enclosure.

The position in the lower right-hand corner of Diagram X shows how by placing a single man in the right position one
may prevent the adversary from strengthening his position and keeping possession of an extensive territory. Here we have a large number of white men almost completely surrounded: they cannot be extended so as to join their companions at \(a8\) and \(b8\), and so prendre la clef des champs, as the French say, because Black can always play a man at \(a6\) or \(a7\), cutting off all possibility of communication; they must therefore rely entirely on themselves to secure their independence. At first sight this would seem easy, as they possess within their territory no less than four empty spaces, but on examination it will be found that the men are disunited in many places, and if Black plays correctly he can prevent them forming two complete eyes and by successive attacks capture the whole lot. This all depends on one move—Black, if it is his turn to play, must place a man at \(a3\), which is the key to the whole position; after that move White is irretrievably lost, nothing can save him whatever method of play he may adopt. He can of course take the man at \(a3\) by playing \(a2\), but this does not alter matters, because Black then plays \(a6\), threatening to take the men at \(a4\) and \(a5\); White may defend these men by joining them to the rest with another man at \(a8\), but this only makes matters worse, because Black then plays \(b1\), surrounding and taking all the seven men at \(a1\), \(a2\), \(a3\), \(a4\), \(a5\), \(b2\) and \(b3\).

We come to the same result if White does not defend his men at \(a4\) and \(a5\), because then Black plays first \(a3\), taking them, and then afterwards \(b1\) taking the rest. As soon as Black has captured this first outlying batch, he has only to play first \(d3\) and then \(f1\) to capture the other four men at \(e1\), \(d1\), \(e1\) and \(d2\), after which he has only to play \(f3\) and then \(h1\) and \(h2\) to take the remaining white men.

The same conclusion would have been reached if White had adopted a different method of play, and when Black had played his first move \(a3\), had given up his men at \(a4\), \(a5\),
and tried to join his men by playing $b\ 1$; Black would then, after taking the men at $a\ 4$ and $a\ 5$, have played $a\ 2$ and $d\ 3$, threatening to take the whole lot $a\ 1$, $b\ 1$, $b\ 2$, $b\ 3$, $c\ 1$, $d\ 1$, $d\ 2$, $e\ 1$, and if White had joined again, playing $f\ 1$, Black would have played $f\ 3$, and then filled up $h\ 1$ and $h\ 2$, taking the whole group as before. To show of what importance is the spot at $a\ 3$, it will be sufficient to point out that if White has the move and places one of his men at $a\ 3$, he renders his position impregnable, because he will have then a complete eye at $a\ 2$, he can form another by placing a man at $h\ 1$ or $h\ 2$, and he joins them in a continuous group by filling up the interruptions at $b\ 1$ and $f\ 1$.

The few examples I have given will suffice to show the general character of the game and some of the strategical resources at the disposal of the player; they will show also, I hope, that the game is very interesting and full of excitement at all periods and everywhere on the board; positions apparently most desperate may be sometimes saved by brilliant combinations. It now remains to be shown how one discovers if the object of the game, which we have already stated to be the occupation of as much space on the board as possible, has been achieved, *i.e.* how one ascertains which player has won. As space can be occupied in a twofold manner, by actual occupation with pieces and by surrounding certain areas with one's pieces, it follows that one must calculate both the number of pieces of each colour which survive on the board, as well as the empty places surrounded and contained by them. To show this practically, it will be necessary to give an example of an ending, and as it would be too long to give it on the full board, I will give it on a quarter of the board, where the positions will be more simple and the calculations more easy.

In the upper left-hand corner of Diagram XI, there is the ending of a game on a quarter of the board, 10 lines each
side. Both Black and White have secured territories and have strengthened them against any possible attack. The strife is over, and we have only to estimate its results. Before doing so, however, it will be necessary to point out that there are several empty spots about the board, which belong to neither side and which may be considered as no man's land.

\[ \text{XI.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \\
\end{array}
\]

Such are the spots \( c \ 5, \ e \ 4, \ f \ 4, \ g \ 5, \ g \ 7, \ i \ 8 \) and \( j \ 7 \). They are now unoccupied and as they are surrounded partly by black and partly by white pieces neither side can claim them. In such cases they are alternately filled up by the two players before the counting begins. We will suppose then
that Black fills up \( j 8 \), and White \( j 7 \), and so consecutively
Black, \( c 5 \), \( f 4 \) and \( g 7 \), and White \( e 4 \) and \( g 5 \), we shall
arrive at the position shown in Diagram XII. Here all is
filled up which is not surrounded and defended by pieces

XII.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
| a | b | c | d | e | f | g | h | i | j |
\end{array}
\]


and constitutes a territory. We can therefore commence our
reckoning. We shall find that Black has 36 pieces which
contain 11 empty spots, he has therefore won 47 places;
White has also 36 pieces on the board, but they surround
17 empty spots, so that White commands 53 places, 6 more
than Black, and he has won the game.
MILITANT SPIRIT OF THE BUDDHIST CLERGY IN CHINA.

BY J. J. M. DE GROOT, PH.D.

It is a well-known fact that the first of all the commandments of the Buddhist creed is "Thou shalt not kill," and this has always stood at the head of the precepts of the Buddhist code in China, ever since its introduction into the empire. Many of our readers will therefore be surprised to learn, that Chinese books contain many passages relating to Buddhist monks who freely indulged in carnage and butchery and took an active part in military expeditions of every description, thus leaving no room for doubt that warfare was an integral part of their religious life for centuries.

This interesting phenomenon, which seems to have hitherto escaped the attention of sinologists, will be made a subject of close examination in the present paper. In the first place, we propose to throw light upon it by giving, in chronological order, a series of extracts which describe such Buddhistic feats of arms, all obtained from the best historical authorities, and subsequently to endeavour to account for the same by consulting the leading code of the laws of the Church. We do not doubt that the matter will be found highly instructive as illustrative of the spirit of the Church during many centuries in the Middle Kingdom.

It is recorded in 魏書 the History of the Wei Dynasty that the emperor 孝武 Hao-wu, who ascended the throne of the northern part of the empire in the year of our Lord 532, had
in his military retinue the General Karmadana Hwui-ch'en, who carried on his back the Great Seal and in his hand a sword. Chapter 213 of the New History of the Thang Dynasty, and chapter 124 of the Older History of this house, narrate the story of Yuen-tsing, a Buddhist priest of Mount Sung in Honan, who, though an octogenarian, was at the head of a mutiny in 809 and, as such, was made a prisoner after an unsuccessful attack on the town of Loh-yang. Condemned to have his foot chopped off, he said in a tone of contempt to the executioner, who could not get his sword through the ankle-bone: "He can not cut off a leg, and yet he is called a strong fellow." Then putting the limb in a better position himself, the work was done.

The Tuh-sheng-tsah-chi relates in its first chapter: "The Yuen-thung convent of the Lu mountains is situated at the foot of the Peak of the Horse's-ear, and is a renowned Chaitya on the left bank of the Yangtsze. During the Southern Thang dynasty it was endowed by the emperor with a thousand kling of land, so that the provision made for the support of several hundreds of disciples was extremely abundant and plentiful. When the royal army crossed the stream, the monks, having formed themselves into a vanguard, advanced to prevent this; but the city of Kin-ling (Nanking) surrendering shortly afterwards, they retired. If Li Yuh had loved the people as much as he loved the monks, the people also would all have known how to make a grateful return to his dynasty."

1 See 日知錄, Jih-chi-luk chapter 29.

2 The last monarch of the Southern Thang dynasty. This dynasty was annihilated in 975, when their capital (Nanking) was captured by the first emperor of the house of Sung.

3 區山圓通寺在馬耳峯下, 江左之名刹也。南唐時賜田千頃, 遊徒數百衆養之極其豐厚。王師渡江寺僧相率為前鋒以杭未幾金陵城陷, 其衆乃遁去。使若李煜愛民如僧則其民亦皆知報國也。
It is especially in the first half of the twelfth century, when the northern part of the empire was conquered by the Kin Tartars and lost to the Sung Dynasty, that we see Buddhist monks appear as combatants. The 362nd chapter of the History of the Sung dynasty introduces us to a military priest 趙宗印 Chao Tsong-yin, appointed 節制軍馬 Commander-in-chief of the infantry and cavalry in a campaign against the Kin Tartars; collecting Buddhist monks he formed a corps known as 以僧為一軍號尊勝隊 the squadron of victorious monks. At the end of chapter 455 of the same work we read: "The monk "Chen-pao was a native of Tai-cheu and an abbot in the "Wu-tai monastery in the Shansi mountains. During the "troubles of the Tsing-khang period (A.D. 1126) he practised "military manoeuvres in the mountains with his disciples. "The emperor Khin-tsung sent for him, engaged him in "a conversation in a side-hall, and showed him special "favour by bestowing rich presents upon him. Returning "to his mountains, Chen-pao collected more troops to "assist in subduing the enemy. The district was without "a governor, the enemy advanced in countless numbers; "for days and nights he repelled them, but finally he "could make head against them no longer. Convent and "cells were reduced to ashes. The chieftain of the enemy "issued orders for Chen-pao to be caught alive. Brought "before this chief, he contradicted him bluntly showing no "signs of faint-heartedness; and still the astonished leader "could not make up his mind to put him to death. By the "intermediation of the prefect Liu Tao he tried in a hundred "ways to persuade him to espouse the cause of the rebels, "but Chen-pao turned a deaf ear to him, and said: 'Our law "forbids us to betray our trust; I have promised the emperor "of the Sung dynasty to die for him; how can I violate
“my promise?” Cheerfully he suffered death by the sword.”

In chapter 401 of the History of the Sung Dynasty we have the following episode, dating from 1160, and relating to the same struggle between the houses of Sung and Kin. “At the death of Liang, a military chieftain of the Kin dynasty, the brave men of Chung-yuen rose to a man. Keng King levied troops in Shantung, and Sin Khi-tsih advised him to firmly resolve on an expedition southwards. The Buddhist monk E-twan was fond of speaking about military matters, and Khi-tsih had associated much with him in his leisure-hours. During the latter’s stay in the army of Keng King, E-twan raised over a thousand men. One night he stole the seals and fled. Keng King, mad with rage, wanted to put Khi-tsih to death, but the latter said: ‘Allow me a delay of three days; if within that time I do not catch him, I will forthwith consent to die.’ Calculating that the monk would undoubtedly hasten to the Commander-in-chief of the Kin in order to tell him stories both false and true, he pursued him post-haste, and having overtaken him, he parted his head from his trunk, and then returned to report what he had done.”

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1 僧真寶代州人，為五代山僧正。靖康之擾與其徒習武事於山中。欽宗召對便殿，覲賜袍笏。真寶還山，益聚兵助討。州不守，眾衆大至，奮力拒之，力不敵。寺舍盡焚。酋下令生致真寶，至則抗詞無降。酋即之，不忍殺也。使郡守劉駱，誘勸百方，終不顧。且曰，吾法中有回心之義，吾既許宋皇，帝以死，豈當妄言也。怡然受戮。金主亮死中原，豪傑並起。耿京聚兵山東，辛棄疾即勸京決策南向。僧義端者，喜談兵，棄疾間與之遊，及在京軍中義端亦聚衆千餘。義端一夕竊印以逃。京大怒，欲殺棄疾，棄疾曰，匈奴三日期不獲就死未晚。棄疾必以虛實奔告金帥，急追獲之，棄疾斬其首歸報。
In chapter 455 of the History of the Sung Dynasty we read:—“Muh Kien-chi was a Buddhist monk from E-hing in "Shang-cheu. In the first year of the Teh-yin period (A.D. "1275) he raised a body of volunteers to keep the country- "people under restraint; the emperor thereupon appointed "him governor of Lih-yang. In the winter of the same year "he perished on the battle-field, and the title Grandee of "Military Merit was conferred upon him. The monks of "Man-ngan also levied troops at that time, and bore as they "marched banners with inscriptions of this tenor: ‘We "subdue the Maras,’ and ‘In times of danger we act the "part of military leaders, but when the difficulties have been "settled, we become monks again.’ In course of time they "too were defeated and killed.”

The military spirit was still in full vigour with the sons of Buddha during the Ming dynasty. "In the Kia-tsing period "(1522-1567) the dignity of general was conferred upon "Yueh-khung, a monk of Shao-lin (Honan province). When "Man Piao called warriors into the field to make head against "the Japanese in Sung-kiang, over thirty of his disciples "formed themselves into a squadron, and killed a great many "Japanese with iron clubs. They all perished on the battle- "field.” That the monks of that same Shao-lin convent have been long famous for their dexterity in the noble art of fencing, is obvious from the fact that, already prior to the seventeenth century, there existed a book entitled 少林棍譜 Fencing Manual of Shao-lin. The author was one

6 嘉定中少林僧月空受都督, 萬表檄禦倭於松 "江, 其徒三十餘人自為部伍, 持鐵棒擊殺倭甚 "衆, 皆戰死。一Jik-ohi-luk, chapter 29.
Finally, to quote chapter 292 of the History of the Ming Dynasty:—“Shi Ki-yen, a "ku-jin of the Ch'ung-chêng period (1628) was transferred "as Governor to Shen-chou (Honan province). A rebellion "broke out. Sacrificing his private means he raised troops," "and intrusted the Buddhist monks of Shao-shih with the "work of drilling them.”

So far for the bare historical facts. No doubt many more of the kind are on record, and a much larger number still, never committed to paper, are for ever buried in the dark womb of oblivion. How, now to account for the martial conduct of a monkish community, which at first sight is entirely incompatible with the spirit of their creed, the very first and most holy commandment of which strictly forbids the shedding of blood, even of the smallest animal?

It is most natural to look for a solution of this question in the books of law of the Church itself. If you visit a monastery in the empire, and ask the inmates which are the precepts on which they frame their religious conduct, in order to insure advancement on the way to salvation and final deliverance, the first answer always is that they chiefly have regard to one book of commandments only, viz. the 梵網經 Fun-mang-king or “Sutra of Brahma’s Net.” Whoever, it is said in theory, conforms himself accurately to the ten principal and the forty-eight minor commandments laid down in this little book, he shall naturally become a bodhisatwa, that is to say, a member of the class of beings which is second to Buddha alone. For according to the doctrines of the Mahâyâna school, a school that has always been preponderant in China, the bodhisatwas enjoy the highest

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8 Wylie, Notes on Chinese Literature, page 124.

9 史記言崇禎中舉人，遷知陝州，陝當賊衝，記言出私財募士，聘少室僧訓練之.
state of bliss accessible to them, a state lying on the very verge of Buddhahship.

The Fan-mang-king, or Brahma-jāla-sūtra, has always preponderated in China as the chief code of law of the Mahāyāna school. Tradition uniformly attributes its introduction into the empire to Kumārajīva. Relying, it appears, on the sole authority of 僧肇 Sang-Chao, a contemporary monk of great ability and learning, the authorities all assert also, that the great apostle drew it from a much larger Sanskrit work of the same name, containing no less than 112 chapters; the rest were never put into a Chinese garb at all, nor has the original work ever been unearthed by European Indianists. Mr. GRIMBLOT has, indeed, published a "Brahma-jāla-sūtra" amongst his "Sept Suttas Pālis" [Paris 1876]; but this work turns out, on close examination, to have nothing in common with our Chinese Mahāyāna code, except the title. We have found the Chinese version of GRIMBLOT's Pāli text in the 14th chapter of the 佛說長阿含經 Dirghāgama sūtra, under the title 梵動經 Sutra of Brahma's Movements, which would in Sanskrit be "Brahma-jāla-sūtra." ¹⁰

Turning over the pages of the Fan-mang-king we forthwith fall in with the following leading commandment, placed at the very head of the whole series of fifty-eight:—

"Buddha said: If a child of Buddha kills, or tells another "to kill, or provides another person with the means of killing, "or expresses himself in terms of praise of a murder, or feels "delight at seeing the perpetration of a murder;—further, if "he kills by means of spells, imprecations or incantations, or "is the cause or occasion, the means or instrument of a "murder (in any of these cases he is pārājīta). Anything "endowed with life, thou shalt not wilfully kill. Indeed, a

¹⁰ A complete translation of the Fan-mang-king, prepared by us, with an elaborate sketch of its influence on the church and the laity, is now going through the press, and will appear next year in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam.
"bodhisatwa should awake in himself everlasting feelings of "pity and commiseration, and, with submissive and obedient "heart, avail himself of every fit occasion to save and protect "all living beings; but if, on the other hand, he should give "freedom to himself to murder with an easy mind a being "endowed with life, it is a bodhisatwa's crime entailing "párájita." 1

Párájita means "expulsion," to wit, from the Sangha, or the communion of saints embracing all human beings who aspire to the highest holiness, with the dewas, bodhisatwas and Buddhás. Any one who violates one of the first ten commandments of the Fan-mang-king is párájita, i.e. "he is cast out beyond the limits of the sea of the Buddhás" (棄佛海邊外), he loses all prospect of ever being saved, and is reduced to one of the three lower paths of transmigration, which embrace the infernal beings, the hungry ghosts (prétas), and the animals.

Around the above highest commandment of the Church are grouped a series of others, likewise tending to prevent destruction of life. The 3rd of the minor commandments interdicts the use of all animal food; the 12th prohibits dealing in cattle; the 32nd keeping dogs or cats, as these animals are always seeking to destroy rats. Possessing or selling sharp weapons, nets, or snares is forbidden in Nos. 10 and 32. The 33rd commandment does not even allow a child of Buddha to look at armies, regiments, warriors, commanders, robbers, or rebels, and the 11th runs thus:—

"If thou art a son of Buddha, thou shalt not, for the sake "of gain or food, or out of depravity, carry messages for a

11佛言，若 佛子，若自殺，教人殺，方便殺，讒欺殺，見作隨喜，乃至呪殺，殺因，殺緣，殺法殺業，乃至一切有命者不得故殺，是菩薩應起常住慈悲心，孝順心，方便救護一切衆生，而反自恣心快意殺生者，是菩薩波羅夷罪.
state. When armies and regiments meet, and troops are
raised to fight against one another, immense numbers of
living beings are slaughtered; hence a bodhisatwa is not
even allowed to set foot in an army, neither to move to
and fro between armies—how much the more is he then
forbidden to rebel against the state. He who wilfully does
so commits a defiling sin of the lesser category” —that
is to say, a sin of a deep dye, but not entailing pārājīta.

Having thus shown that the supreme lex scripta of the
Buddhist code is as explicit in forbidding bloodshed and
warfare as it could possibly be, we have now to bring forward
evidence that there are also plenty of elements in it to prompt
the clergy at any time to occupy themselves with the bloody
work of arms. We have such an element in the very first
instance in the general spirit of devotion to all living beings
which reigns supreme in the Mahāyāna community, and is
brought to the front on every page, nay, in every line of the
Fan-mang-king; in fact, if we were to pass in review all the
passages referring to it, it would be necessary to translate the
whole 58 articles.

Though forbidding, on one hand, the bearing of arms and
the shedding of blood, that spirit of devotion culminated, on
the other hand, in peremptory commands to save all living
beings, even animals, from death, and to take all the misery,
that could befall them, upon one’s self. “If thou art a
child of Buddha,” so says the 20th commandment, “then
perform the work of liberating living beings for the
sake of commiseration. Any male person is thy father, any
female person thy mother—in fact there is nobody from
whom thou hast not received thy life in the course of the

12 若佛子不得為利養惡心故通國使命, 軍陳合
會, 奧師相伐, 殺無量衆生, 而菩薩尚不得入軍
中往來,況故作國賊,若故作者犯輕垢罪.
“successive periods of existence thou hast passed through.
“All living beings of the six paths of transmigration\textsuperscript{13} being
“thus thy parents, thou murderest thy own father and mother
“if thou killest or eatest any of them, and also thy own self of
“former times. Therefore, always perform acts of saving
“life, as receiving life through a continuous chain of existences
“is the everlasting law. Also, exhort others to save living
“beings from death; and when thou seest a person of this
“world attempt to murder an animal, then thou shalt by all
“means save and protect it, and deliver it from its misery and
“distress.”\textsuperscript{14}

This article is also important as giving an insight into the ideas underlying the Buddhist doctrine of respect for life, and affords the whole clue to the solution of the question under discussion. Bearing in mind that in the Flowery Kingdom, as amongst savage and semi-savage peoples in general, warfare has always been simply the greatest destruction of human lives imaginable, no exceptions being made for either sex or age; and considering moreover that, in times of war, no third alternative is left the people, they must either suffer death by the sword or death by starvation in a country completely laid waste, it can not surprise us to see Buddhist zealots, with the said article of their law in their recollection, unite in regular bands to check the raids of rebels and stay the shedding of blood by keeping them beyond the borders of their parish. It could not occur to them that the prohibitions against the carrying of arms were made in order to neutralize

\textsuperscript{13} Dēwas, men, asūras, infernal beings, prêtas, and animals.

\textsuperscript{14} 若佛子, 以慈心故行放生業。一切男子是我父, 一切女子是我母, 我生生無不從之受生, 故六道眾生皆是我父母, 而殺而食者皆殺我父母, 亦殺我故身。故常行放生, 生生受生常住之法。教人放生, 若見世人殺畜生時, 應方便救護, 解其苦難.
that highest commandment of the law to save life on all occasions, and by all possible means. Where thousands of innocent people could be saved from certain destruction by killing a comparatively small number of slaughtering enemies, the question how to interpret the law would not trouble their minds very long. Moreover, had not the great Indra, the highest dewa of their Church, set an example by destroying numberless hosts of maras, those sworn enemies of universal peace and order, who were continually collecting together to harass Devas, men and Buddhas in endless conflicts?

So we see, how little the Buddhist monks cared for the letter of their law, and how much stress, on the contrary, they laid on its spirit. But there were more commandments in their religious code prompting them to place their own lives at stake in order to save those of others:—"A bodhisatwa must take upon himself all outrage and injury that could befall any living being whatsoever; the evil he meets he must himself cheerfully bear, the good he must resign for the benefit of others."\(^{15}\) They may even have been stirred up many a time to the fanatical throwing away of their lives in defence of the hearths and lives of their parishioners by the following commandment (No. 16), embodying the highest ideal of self-sacrifice for the sake of others: "Even to starved tigers, wolves and lions, and to the whole host of hungry ghosts thou shalt entirely throw thy own body, flesh, hands and feet, in order to feed and nourish them."\(^{16}\)

Two virtues ever stood foremost in China amongst all ethical principles, viz. 孝 hiao and 順 shun, or implicit submission, respect and obedience to all persons in authority, from the

\(^{15}\) 菩薩應代一切眾生受加滅辱，惡事向自已，好事與他人—the seventh great commandment.

\(^{16}\) 乃至餓虎狼師子，一切鰥鬼悉應捨身肉手足而供養之.
emperor down to parents and teachers. The Fan-mang-king also lays the utmost stress upon these, preaching them with great emphasis over and over again on every page. Consequently, it is not to be wondered at that the book in the hands of the votaries of the Buddhist law should have played the part of a magnifying glass which caused the two ancient native virtues to swell into a peremptory order to support the throne of the father and mother of the realm, even at the cost of their blood and lives. No doubt we have here one of the manifold reasons why Buddhism has found very great favour in the eyes of many emperors, and why imperial donations of large tracts of land to monasteries and convents are frequently recorded in the annals of the empire. Indeed, many a statesman must have naturally considered it an act of political foresight to create all over the realm powerful settlements of loyal subjects, which, in times of danger, could be quickly turned into strongholds, garrisoned with soldiers entirely devoted to the imperial cause, and resolved at all times to sacrifice their lives on patriotic grounds. It might, of course, occur to those ecclesiastical warriors in some single instances to enlist under the banners of the opposite party; but in times of rebellion there is sure to be some diversity of opinion on the question who is the lawful heir to the throne.

A last reason for the warlike behaviour of Buddhist monks we see in an imperative order of the Fan-mang-king to all devoted Buddhists to afford protection to the Sam-Pao, or the triad embracing the Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood. No one, says the book, can ever hope for the Bodhisatwa dignity, unless he conform in every respect to this most holy duty of all Buddha's children. Now, defending the Sam-Pao is identical with protecting monasteries and sanctuaries against hordes of invaders and rebels, who, as is fully proved by the history of all periods, have never manifested one whit
more clemency for religious than for secular buildings. Indeed, when a convent is destroyed, the Buddha to whom it was dedicated comes to grief, because his worship is suddenly brought to an end; the Dharma suffers also because preaching and printing tracts come to a violent standstill; and, finally, the Sangha have a very bad time of it, owing to their being bereft of the home which not only afforded them food, raiment and shelter, but also the opportunity to work themselves up to perfection and salvation.
NOTES AND QUERIES.

Mr. E. H. Parker, in the China Review [vol. xx, pp. 1–24 and 71–100] gives what he calls a history of the Turko-Scythian tribes, translated apparently mainly from the Hou Han Shu. There was scarcely any need to introduce here a new title, and Mr. Parker, it may be remarked, throughout does injustice to his subject by introducing names for which there is no authority, as e.g. Huns for Hiung nû and Tunguses for the Chinese 東胡 or Eastern Tartars. The History of the Hiung nû, Mr. Parker is probably unaware, has already been translated for the Anthropological Society by the late Mr. Alexander Wylie, and Mr. Parker’s translation can hardly be looked upon as an improvement on that veteran rendering. Who the Huns of the European writers were we have yet no certain knowledge; it is quite possible that the Hiung nû, after their defeat by the eastern tribes, did join with allied tribes in their inroads into Europe, but there is an unfilled hiatus of a century, and certainly there is no etymological connexion between the two. The appellations by which the Chinese borderers were known, 戎 Jung or 奴 Nû, both point to an original Nûr or Niru; while the prefix K’iang, K’iüen or Hiung, taken in connexion with the form 隠戎 dark Jung, by which they were likewise known in the Tso chwan period, point to the sound kara black. It is also to be remarked that during this period there were other tribes known as White and Red Tik. Niru in modern Turkish means “strength,” and some modification of this was the term used by the people in naming themselves.

The Hou Han Shu, quoting from the Shi ki, says that under the Shen ya Maotun the Hiung nû had extended their dominion to

1 Journal Anthropological Inst., Vol. II, No. III.
its widest limits. On the north they controlled the Northern Yi tribes, and on the south contended on equal terms with China. The *Hou Han Shu* then gives the titles of the principal offices. The family name of the Shen yu (I quote *Wylie*) was 孫 Lwanti, and his national designation 撞梨孤塗 Ch’angli li kut’u Shen yü. Ch’angli in the Hiung nû language signified "Heaven," and kut’u was "Son," while Shen yü expressed "Majestic Grandeur." The whole, he adds, implied the Shen yü comparable to Heaven. This passage does not occur in the original *Shi ki*, and there is probably good reason for its later introduction. The Chinese language was during the period of the early Hans in an unsettled condition, and with the consolidation of the Empire was acquiring its modern form. The older history indeed states that the Hiung nû chief was called the 單于 Tan yü, which later we are told was to be pronounced *Shen* yü. The old form stood for Tängri or Tängri light, but as 子 *gri* seemingly became softened to yü it was looked upon as the rendering of tenuir (brightness, light).

Taking up the *Shi ki* again, the principal officers of the Court are described as below.

1°. The Left and Right Hien wang, Faithful princes, 賢王.

Regarding these we are told that in the speech of the Hiung nû Hien was 屠耆 T’u k’i. This is pure Turkish; Dogru meaning "strait; faithful, true." Hence we are told the heir to the throne was always known as the left Dogru prince.

2°. The Left and Right 谷蠡 Ku(k)li.

This word, we are told, in the later work, to call 麋蠡 Lu(k)li; I can’t suggest a reason.

3°. The Left and Right Great Generals 大將.

There is no Turkish alliteration here.

4°. The Left and Right Great 都尉 Tu wei.

Possibly Turkish Dâver (prince or judge).

5°. The Left and Right Great 當戶 Tang hu.

This is again Turkish. The word represents the Darkhans of the eastern Turkish courts. These were distinguished officers who enjoyed without question the right of entrance to and egress
from the presence of the ruling prince at all times. The office was hereditary for nine generations, and the bearers were free of assessments of all kinds.

6°. The Left and Right 骨者侯 Ku(h) tu heo.

From the Left and Right down to the Tang hu the greater were knights assessed at "ten thousand," the lesser at one thousand or more; in all there were twenty-four, all called knights of ten thousand; the greater offices were hereditary and of 平行 Hu yeu (kerûn or noble) families; then came the 閔 Lam families. [This is evidently an error, the Cheng yi stating on the authority of 颜师古 Yen Sze ku, that Hu yeu now is a clan name amongst the Sien pi [see below] and that the Hu yen and Lam are both family designations, apparently only different transliterations of the same word kerûn.] After them came the 須卜 Sû pu(k) (Sheriff or honourable) families. The Hou Han Shu adding that the Hu yeu and Sû pu families constantly intermarried with the Shen yüs. The Left officers were stationed in the eastern, the Right in the western divisions of the land.

Lying immediately east of the Hiung nû and conterminous with them were the 鮮卑 Sien pi or 烏桓 Wu hwan. Although so different in their modern form, the two names contain the same elements. Sien pi was originally Ush-var, while Wu hwan resolves itself into U-swar. The original name of the tribe then was Usuri, which still survives in that of the great river which, rising on the north-western flanks of the Ch'ang pai shan, drains the eastern part of Manchuria and debouches into the Amur. According to Gabelentz [Mandschu-Deutsches Wörterbuch] Usuri was still in the days of the present dynasty the name of a Manchu clan [Name eines Stamms der Mandschu], having thus survived the wear of some twenty centuries. In the 5th century Klaproth places in these regions the 宝韋 Shih wei, which is simply a modern transliteration of the same word.

Another nation, over whose history and connexions what we may call without disparagement the fascinating romance of Gibbon has thrown a mist, is the fair-complexioned and blue-eyed race of the
有氏. Before Anthropology was in any sense a science we do not wonder at an author so careful as Gibbon believing in the possibility of a people changing their most characteristic racial peculiarities under the influence of climate. He speaks of the Euthalites or Nephthalites, otherwise the white Huns, as a colony of the Hiung nû who established their dominion in the "fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana." "Their manners were softened and even their features were insensibly improved by the mildness of the climate and their long residence in a flourishing province." "The white Huns," he adds, "a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, soon abandoned the pastoral life of Scythia."

This is one of the chapters of History that had better never been written. The uncritical mind has a tendency always to reject the kernel of grain in the mass of chaff, and our uncritical Chinese students of the present epoch form no exception to the rule. Kiapoth [Tableaux de l'Asie] has given a series of maps which mark out fairly well the migrations of the Yueti, and the writer [Trans. of the R. A. S. of Gt. Britain and Ireland, May 1878] has gone more into details. So far from being an offshoot of the Hiung nû, the Yueti, Haithalah, Εφεσια or White Huns, for the names are identical, were their bitterest enemies, while their racial characteristics were equally unlike. The history of the Yueti begins before the foundation of the Chinese power. When Wan wang, retreating before the intruding Tiks, as we learn from the Hwang yi [Shi, III. 1. viii] arrived at Yung, he was attacked by 密 Miêh (Maddh), whom he defeated. The Tso chwan [IX, 4] gives us to understand the full name of the people was 密須 Miêh sû, Maddhal, (dal being the original form of 須, more late sû). These Maddhs or Maddhals disappear from history till the conquests of Ts'in again opened the road to intercourse. Then we find them as 月底 Yueh tî, or Viddhals, occupying Central Asia from Lungsâi in the west of Kansu to the Pamirs. Here they remained a flourishing people till 177 B.C., when they were expelled by the Hiung nû under circumstances of particular barbarity.
They crossed the passes of the upper Oxus into Bactria, where joining with the 大夏 Ta hia, or Tochars, they founded the empire of the Indo-Seyths, which continued for some centuries a powerful people. Their descendants are still to be found in the elevated table-lands between Merv and Herat.

Another fair-haired race lay west of the Hiung nû, as the latter came into historical prominence; that was the 烏孫 Wu sun, the Asii or Pasiani of the Classical writers. We hear of them first as the Issédons of Herodotus, living on the east bank of the Jaxartes. They are spoken of as distinguished for their fair hair and blue eyes. There is little doubt that they were a Gothic tribe, Issédones representing the Gothic West-Saetons and Wu sun, the Wasons or “Dwellers,” the name apparently by which they called themselves.

These facts enable us to form some judgment as to the course of events in Central Asia and throw considerable light on the migrations into Europe. The Pamir table-lands and the adjoining plains have formed not only a water parting for the great rivers of Asia, but also what I may call a folk-shed for its people. Some 18 to 13 centuries before Christ this district was inhabited by Aryan tribes; these, tradition Indian, Iranian and Chinese tells us, were attacked and routed, and the survivors dispersed. The Iranian tradition of Jamshid, and Zohâk, the Azhi Dahâka of the Avesta, the Indian of Ahi and Traitana, and the Chinese of King T'ai driven from Pin² by the encroachments and exactions of the 狄 Tiks, point to the same irruption of a semi-barbarous tribe of Dahâks or Diks, probably a branch of the great Turkish people, who coming down from the north dispersed south, west and east respectively, the ancestors of the Indian Aryans, the Iranians of Persia, and the Chow tribes of China.

This inroad was followed by many others which have left their marks in the tradition of all three people. In the second century B.C. a similar movement, headed by the Hiung nû took place. As we have seen, the Hiung nû were a Turkish tribe who had

² Mencius, I. 2. xiv.
probably since the time of the previous dispersion remained on
the flanks of the Tien shan. Impelled by a force from behind,
y they again acted like a wedge driven in amongst their marching
neighbours. Wusuns were driven west, Yueti south-west, Chinese
hemmed up on the south-east, and the Tung hu tribes forced
east. In all quarters the current of history was altered and the
foundation of the modern states of Europe as well as Asia laid.
But the Hiung nû were not alone; behind them in échelon lay
tribes of Altaic origin, Huns, Samoilicides, Tunguses, etc., the former
inhabitants of the countries watered by the affluents of the great
Siberian rivers. These, pushed forward by increasing cold, in their
turn pressed on the Hiung nû who, as much forced as forcing,
were the head front of those tribal movements which finally, by
precipitating on Europe the fugitives from their old seats in mid-
Asia, destroyed the Roman Empire.
Mr. E. H. Parker is a good Chinese scholar, and may yet,
if he put himself in training, do good service. At present he has
one great failing, which mars the usefulness of the work he
has assayed; he has unfortunately a deep-seated antagonism to
precision of either thought or language. In addition, he has little
conception of the rules of evidence, and is apt to take up seriously
the most vague and unsupported statements. His philology again
is of the ante-Bopp and Grimm period, crude and indigestible, while
he seldom or never quotes his authorities. He has, I believe, in his
new appointment ample leisure to pursue his studies, while new
surroundings will doubtless tend to soften down those asperities
which have hitherto marked his writings. May we hope to have
something better from his pen than his History of the Turk-
Scythian Tribes.

THOS. W. KINGSMILL.

On making some notes on the condition of the rural population
in China generally I was struck with the accounts of Shantung
given in vol. xii, pp. 82-89, which I found some difficulty at
the time in reconciling with other reports. A visit to the regions described seem to throw light on the subject.

The ordinary currency, of western and central Shantung at least, is the cash, but a tiao, nominally 1,000 cash, actually contains only 500. The business of the country is carried on largely in bank notes up to ten or twenty tiao, but these are exchangeable for only one-half their face value in actual cash, so that it is necessary to stipulate, in making a bargain, whether the money is to be paid in coin or in money of account.

Again the tael in common use is the Kuping, and averages 9 per cent. better than the Shanghai tael of .098 alloy.

A mow, in the districts mentioned by the Rev. C. S. Meadows, is held to consist of 720 kung, the equivalent for what is here known as a square pu, so that 2 instead of 6 mow are the equivalent of an English acre.

I found the selling price of land in Szechwan district (滬川) varying from 50 to 75 taels per mow of 720 kung.

Sheo Kwang hien (壽光) was one of the districts that suffered most from the recent famine. Though it possesses in the higher ground some fairly good agricultural land, a large portion of the district consists of irreclaimable salt-marsh.

These districts supply a large proportion of the emigrants to Manchuria, but agriculture is of a very low class, and the orchards and mulberry plantations are gradually disappearing. The hills have long been denuded of trees to the serious loss of the lower grounds.

THOS. W. KINGSMILL.

ANCIENT USE OF WHEELS FOR THE PROPULSION OF VESSELS
BY THE CHINESE.

In the 十四史通俗衍義, an abridgement of Chinese History, there is a curious passage which shows that wheels for propelling vessels were used in ancient times in China. As I am not aware that the matter has been noticed before, I append the passage with a translation. In the reign of Kao-tsung (1127–1163 A.D.) of the
Southern Sung dynasty there was a rebellion near the Tai-hu lake, headed by a certain Yang Yao. The emperor sent against him troops commanded by Yao Fei, and the historian in describing the final battle gives the following particulars: 么舟以軸激水。其行如飛。旁置轉竿。舟逢之輙碎。飛散腐木亂草於水。以礦其輪。使不得動。遂大破之。么技窮。赴水死。 The vessels of Yao striking the water with wheels, went along as if they were flying; they carried poles on the sides to strike and break up any vessels they run against. Fei scattered rotten wood and straw on the water to obstruct the wheels and so prevented them moving. He won a complete victory, and Yao, finding his dexterity of no avail, jumped into the water and died.

Z. VOLPICELLI.
PROCEEDINGS.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AT A GENERAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY, MUSEUM ROAD, SHANGHAI, ON MONDAY, 11TH MAY 1891, AT 9 P.M.

Dr. Joseph Edkins occupied the chair. There were about twenty members present.

The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Hon. Sec., Mr. Mencarini, and confirmed; and it was announced that a paper by Mr. Williams on "Hung Wu and his Capital" would shortly be read, after which the Chairman called on Dr. Macgowan to read his paper, on the "Probable Foreign Origin of the Ass, Sheep and Cat in China," which was as follows:—

Researches into the domestication of animals, as a branch of ethnological inquiry, have long engaged the attention of anthropologists, biologists and sociologists. The following is submitted as a humble contribution to what has been already given by others.

The Chinese in their numerical co-ordination of concrete and abstract nature, consisting of the score of categories in which the "Six Domestic Animals" are comprised, of the horse, ox, goat, pig, dog and fowl, which seems to indicate that when that formula was framed, neither cat, nor sheep, nor ass, had been domesticated in this country.

Observe also that, when familiar beasts were selected to denote years of the duodenary cycle, that to the "Six Domestic Animals" there was added the rat, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent and monkey, to complete the dozen, as if ass, sheep and cat were too little known to meet the object in view, which was the employment of the most familiar representations of animated nature for the duodenary nomenclature. Still more striking is the absence of the ass, sheep and cat.
from the twenty-eight zodiacal constellations, which are represented by best known animals. The "Stellar Mansions" contain the six domestic animals, and the twelve animals of the duodenary cycle, to make up the full number for the starry canopy, the badger, fox, leopard, wolf, pheasant, raven, ape, griffon, bat, swallow, porcupine, tapir, muntgak, deer and worm were added.

In the "Cat Parterre" an attempt is made to explain the absence of the cat from the constellations (the author rejecting the modern origin of that animal, was naturally led to seek an explanation) by supposing that as the fox its congener—so considered Chinese—had a place therein, the cat was considered superfluous, but as the monkey and ape, tiger and leopard, dog and wolf, etc. stand side by side in the firmament, his conjecture fails to solve the difficulty. Is not the solution to be found in the subsequent acclimatisation of the ass, sheep and cat? There is ample reason to regard the ass as being absent from the list of domestic animals because it was not an archaic beast. Inconstestibly the hybrid mule is of comparative modern origin in China, dating back only about a score of centuries. Lexigraphically considered the ass is a "black horse," a variety that was considered the most vigorous of the species; its offspring by the horse is written "affiliated horse." A miscellany of Sungaria states that "the mule was not seen during the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasty; that it was a cross between the ass and the horse from Mongolia—Hunland. It is regularly bred in the north, and is worth in the market twice as much as the horse; it is popularly reported that its bones are marrowless, which is the reason of its inability to produce its kind. Again, it is recorded in a Ming cyclopædia: "The mule is stronger than the horse, and is not a natural product of China; in the Han era it was regarded as a remarkable domestic animal." Is it in the least likely that if the ass existed during the three ancient dynasties, that there was no crossing with the horse? Indeed is it not supposable that the Hun Mongols had not themselves been long in possession of the Equus Asinus, but derived it from Mid-Asia, where the animal is found in several varieties in a wild state? I question if any reference to the ass is to be found earlier than in the After Han History, in which we
read of the Emperor Sin [168-189 A.D.] driving four asses attached to his carriage, an act that immediately caused the price of that animal to rise to that of a horse.

Sin-tsen, the famous poet of the middle of the eighth century A.D., gives a picture of a combat between an ass and a tiger in Kweichow, which shows that the two animals were strangers to each other, the ass being an alien. At the first sight of an ass, and hearing it bray, the tiger was alarmed by the novelty, and seemed to look upon the stranger as one about to devour him, but the tiger stealthily approached the donkey, who when near enough boldly kicked the fierce autocrat of the animal kingdom; the kick, however, only seemed to show that the kicker could inflict no serious damage, whereon the tiger seized the offender and made a meal of him.

The above is all that I can lay my hands on to show that China is not the original habitat of the ass; but before dismissing him I will make a few additional statements.

That the black ass which is pictured in the "Imperial Compend" is a bold animal, is shown by the following from a monograph of the Ming period on tigers:

An eunuch possessed a black donkey which he presented to the Emperor; it was able to travel three hundred and more miles a day, and to fight tigers. His Majesty ordered its courage and strength to be tested. A single kick killed the tiger that was set against him; and by three kicks he killed another, when a lion was mercilessly at once pitted against the brave conqueror, whose spine was broken by the lion. Its speed is repeatedly alluded to, confirming what Xenophon in his Anabasis says of the wild ass, as swifter of foot than the horse. Take the following anecdote: An owner of an ass in Shensi lent it to his son-in-law. The animal flew, and in a few hours galloped a hundred li (33 miles). "Why did you return so soon?" asked the old gentleman. The mendacious young man answered that the beast was of no account and returned after making about three miles. Discovering the uselessness of the animal, he ordered it to be killed; on hearing which the son-in-law hastened to explain that he was only jesting; but the ass was already killed, to
the young man's great chagrin, for it was found to have six kidneys, which showed its capacity for travelling a thousand li a day.

[Among references to wild asses, two species are monaceros, which is corroborative of numerous authentic accounts of unicorns, which I have collected.]

THE SHEEP.

The ancient mode of writing the character for *yang* (goat) was ideographic, four strokes on the top to represent horns, two horizontal strokes representing legs, and a perpendicular one to represent body and tail. The modern form gives an additional parallel stroke like the word for horse; it is a simple, not a compound character, and when sheep came to be known, instead of making a new character, sheep was denominated the Hu-yang ("Hun-goat"), indicating its origin and affinity. *Yang* (goat) is often translated sheep, the earliest instance being found in one of the *Odes*, wherein the Court habiliments of Wen-wang are named lambskins and sheepskins,—circa 1160 B.C. But were those robes certainly the skins of sheep? Not certainly, for the skins of goats were used then as now for clothes. Let that be borne in mind, and also the fact that "Hun" goats are not so named before the period of the Tang dynasty,—say the seventh century A.D. * Let it be further noted that the goat was one of the sacrificial animals, as at present; the goat was at the first selected for sacrifice when sheep were unknown. Admitting that in the *Odes* sheep are meant, it merely refers their introduction further up the stream of time.

THE CAT.

[Simultaneously with the commencement of Dr. Macgowan's paper on the cat, a loud caterwauling was heard outside the building, which moved the auditors to a general expression of merriment, even the grave President's visage relaxing at the amusing coincidence. The speaker felicitated himself on the interruption, and remarked that it

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*A visulcous wild goat described as existing on the mountains of the North-West, which some intrepid successor of Prejvalsky is destined to describe, was simply denominated "Hun goat," indicating its origin*.
was not often a lecturer was favoured with such an apt and an opportune illustration of his theme. Subsequently one of the audience suggested that the phenomenon was pre-arranged, as if some hoarse, strident coolie had been engaged for diversion to relieve the meeting of natural ennui; but another knowing the doctor to be innocent of facetiousness, ascribed the noise to a cat spirit protesting against sheep and donkeys having had precedence while it was dragged into the fag end of the lecture.]

Ignorant as I am of the details of the recent discussion on what has been denominated as the “Great Cat Question” it is not unlikely that sinological lore has already been laid under contribution, and therefore I may have been anticipated to some extent in my researches; the outcome of which, however, is negative, only leading to the conclusion that the original habitat of the domestic cat was almost certainly west of Eastern Asia. The Chinese name for cat is, as they say, an imitation of the voice of the animal, an instance of onomatopoe in the same way as the ancient Egyptian word. Inquire of a Chinaman (say in the Chekiang province) why it is the custom to suspend dead cats from tree branches, and he will generally reply that it is to facilitate the departure of the spirit of defunct grimalkin to its distant native country. Consult the “Erh-ya Dictionary,” latest edition, and you will find a citation from a standard work which discloses the fact that: Yeün-chuang, the pilgrim monk who, in the seventh century A.D. returned after sixteen years’ wandering in India, brought cats with him to protect his collection of Sanscrit Buddhist books from rat-gnawing. That account, however, is somewhat invalidated by the following anecdote of Confucius: Tseng Shen and Min Tzü, canonised disciples of the Sage, were listening outside to the Master’s music, who, as was his wont, was soothing himself by thrumming the lute that he loved so well, when suddenly the strain was changed. On entering and inquiring what the change meant they were told by Confucius, that he had seen a cat making for a rat, and that he struck up another tune to stimulate the cat in its attack on the rodent.

These conflicting statements are from authoritative sources, and it is impossible to offer a satisfactory explanation. Possibly the
cat of Confucian times was only a partially domesticated wild cat. [Cases are recorded when the young foxes and wild cats were kept for a time as raters.] Or the animal might have been a marmot or loris which the *Felix domestica* supplanted, taking its name. Regarded lexicographically the cat, as the character implies, attacks animals destructive of shoots, as if its sphere was fields rather than houses. There must have been some ground for the statement of the cat having been brought from India; it is hardly likely that in all the long periods of Chinese history it should be named but twice, as a domestic animal once (in the Chou dynasty and once in the Suy dynasty), if it had been the household creature that is so often named in after times. However, I am willing to concede that tabby was a family pet even chilis ago, while I hold that, nevertheless, it was originally brought to Eastern Asia from the West.

**Chinese Cat Lore.**

Folk-loreists and cat-fanciers, if no other class of readers, will thank me for selecting from numerous anecdotes from supplementary notes on the "house or family fox," as tabby is denominated by the Chinese Metempsychosis, the part he plays in feline stories.

A monk who was moribund and in debt to his superior, stated that after death he would make recompense in whatever form of life he happened to find himself. One night the abbot saw in a dream an apparition of the departed monk. On waking he found that a large kitten had just been born, weighing over a dozen pounds, which ever after guarded the monastery, intuitively detecting evil-disposed visitors, whom it attacked and bit, doing duty as a fierce and intelligent mastiff,—it was the impecunious brother who, having been born a cat, came faithfully to fulfill the vow he had made as a man.

The Empress Tze [648 A.D.] caused the death of a concubine, who when moribund declared her intention to be a cat in her next birth, whereupon all cats were banished the palace.

Many effects are given of the voice of the cat on rats; for example, a work of the Ming era says that in 1460 A.D. a cat that
was sent as tribute from a foreign state of the West, attracted much attention while passing through Shensi. The bearers of the tribute were questioned concerning the animal; in answer, they said an experiment will explain. The iron cage containing the cat was placed in a room, and on the next morning more than ten rats were found dead before the cage. The keeper then said, wherever this cat is taken rats for more than a mile round will all come to die before it. It is the king of cats.

About 40 years ago there was a cat in Hunan, which, like the cat from the West, had an attractive force which drew rats to die before it. A house where rats were never seen previously was undergoing repairs, when the nest of a cat was exposed, and hundreds of dead rats were found there, who had come to die in the presence of the cat sovereign.

Combats between cats and rats are not uncommon. A work published about 150 years ago gives an interesting account of a cat that displayed remarkable intelligence in a battle-royal with a large fierce rat, which was as large as the cat itself. It killed the best of cats that the country could produce; it infested the palace, and any number of the natural food of the rodent was of course procurable. Finally a cat, white as snow, was sent as tribute from a foreign kingdom, which was shut up in a room where the rat was expected to appear. Courtiers, observing from the outside, saw the rat emerge from its hole. The cat was sitting; the sight of her enraged the rat. He rushed towards her; she jumped on a table; the rat immediately clambered up after her, whereupon she jumped to the floor; he followed; she ascended again, and so led him a dance. The courtiers thought the cat was frightened, but it was merely her tactics. After the rat had got up and down about a hundred times he got thoroughly exhausted. Observing the condition to which she had brought her prey, the cat seized him and gnawed his head, both animals making a great noise. The courtiers now entered and found the rat had been gnawed to death.

A work of the reign of Chien Lung [1723-35] contains a graphic account of a conflict between a colossal rat and a champion cat. A granary contained a great rat that had killed all the cats that had
been bought for its destruction, until a trader from the west of China offered to sell, for Tls. 50, a cat which he guaranteed would destroy the rat. On being placed in the granary the cat concealed herself in the grain; the head only being exposed. She was unperceived by the rat, which she allowed to exhaust itself by exercise, then she seized it, and held her grip during the whole day, till her victim died, but she also died. The rat was found to weigh 30 catties (about 40 lbs.)

Cats are sometimes credited with great attachment. A work of the Sung dynasty gives an account of an occurrence at Nanking as an illustration. A man and his wife who were reduced to abject poverty, and involved in debt, determined to commit suicide, first taking their last meal together; but when the viands and liquors were before them, they had no appetite, so strangled themselves fasting. Their cat did nothing but cry, refusing to touch the food, and starved itself. Another recent work tells of an analogous case in the same city. An aged concubine, in a family of note, made pets of cats, having no less than thirteen of them, whom she treated as children; each had its name and would come when called. In 1776 she died in her 70th year. Her thirteen cats cried by the side of her coffin. They refused their favourite fare, and on the third day all were found dead.

In like manner the cat of Mr. Cheng, of Taiwo, refused to leave his coffin and died seven days after her kind master's death.

Instances are recorded of cats and rats fraternising. In 774 A.D. there was found in the house of a soldier a cat and rat occupying the same place together, living in harmony. His general put the happy family in a cage, and presented them to the Emperor, whereupon a minister congratulated the Emperor on the auspicious event. But another Minister contended that it was unnatural and ominous of evil. A common proverb says:—"Venal officials consort with thieves."

A Tang author refers to a similar case in Honan in 661 A.D. He likened the cats to mandarins who made no attempt to arrest offenders. In 1195 A.D. a cat was observed in Kiangsi followed by ten rats, for whom she procured food. Some one killed the cat,
when the rats lapped her blood. Perhaps the most interesting, psychologically at least, was the information this author communicated on the subject of "cat delusions" prevailing epidemically. At the commencement of the Sui Dynasty [A.D. 581] the cat spirit inspired greater terror than the fox did subsequently. The hallucinations of cat spirit mania prevailed, forming a remarkable episode in Chinese history, only to be likened to the fanatical delusion of witchcraft that frenzied Europe a thousand years later. It was believed that the spirit possessed the power of conjuring away property from one person to another—from an irreverent unbeliever to a pious devotee—inflicting through incantations bodily harm. Such was the universal opinion. By a concurrence of several striking cases and exaggerations, the popular belief was intensified and spread like an epidemic, until every disastrous affair that took place was ascribed to cat spirit agency set in motion by some mischievous enemy. Accusations were lodged against suspected persons, and, the slightest evidence sufficing for conviction, the malicious were encouraged to trump up charges against the innocent, until the country became a very pandemonium. No one was safe, from the imperial family down to the humble clodhopper. Even a magnate of the reigning house, who enjoyed the titular distinction of Prince or King of Sze-chuan, was executed for nefariously employing the agency of cat spirits. In this manner several thousands were immolated before the delusion was dispelled. Happily the period appears to have been of brief duration; incentives such as kept up the witch mania for centuries were wanting in China. Coming down to our own times, we find a cat-craft delusion prevailed over a great portion of Chekiang. "In the summer and autumn of 1847 frightful wraiths appeared throughout the departments of Hangchow, Shao-hsing, Ningpo, and Taichow. They were demons and three-leagued cats. On the approach of night a fetid odour was perceptible in the air, when dwellings were entered by something by which people were bewitched, causing alarm everywhere. On detecting the effluvium in the air, householders commenced gong-beating, and the sprites, frightened by the sonorous noise, quickly retreated. This lasted for several months, when the weird phenomena ceased,"
Well did he remember, said Dr. Macgowan, the commotion that prevailed in Ningpo throughout those months of terror. Every gong that could be procured or manufactured for the occasion was subject to vigorous thumping through the livelong night, maintained with vociferations by relays of zealous beaters. This deafening din was but a recrudescence of what had occurred a few generations before—a panic which was only exceeded by that which subsequently prevailed over the entire empire.

Dr. Macgowan omitted, for want of time, numerous anecdotes on superstitions respecting cats, they being, like the fox, subject to transformation; their use as food; their use in the materia medica; their use as chronometers; their attachment to places rather than persons; retribution for cruelty to cats; various breeds of cats; deformities of cats; etc., etc.

The Chairman said:—The subject introduced by Dr. Macgowan in the paper which he has now read takes us into the history of three domesticated animals. They belong to the history of man because they have lived with man, and while under his protection they have ministered to his comfort. This subject becomes specially interesting because it belongs to the past of Asia and may be illustrated from a geological point of view. Asia is the highest and oldest of the continents. The course of opinion in regard to the Atlantic Ocean has decided that the bottom of that sea has never been raised. Asia is therefore presented to us by tradition and science as the first home of the human race and of the animals which take a place in the domestic life of man. Dr. Macgowan's view would cut off the sheep, the ass and the cat from ancient China. Now China being just on the border of the immensely wide grassy plateau of Tartary might be expected to have in a domesticated state all those animals which like the horse and sheep naturally seem to belong to the land of grass as their first home. The swift running animals such as the horse, ass and camel would seem to run swiftly on those high, grassy plains, and all grass-eating animals like the sheep and cow also seem to belong to those same plains as their first home, because there is no part of the world where there is so much grass. Yet it is a fact that the ass and camel appear thoroughly well known to
the Chinese only from the Han dynasty. The ass is mentioned in
the Shan-hai King [n.c. 300] and in the Erh-ya, which belongs to
about n.c. 800. It may not be in the Classics, because Chinese
writers use a style marked by brevity and cut short their narrative
far too much. But it is as Dr. Macgowan stated. We can only
certainly say that it was common in China in and after the time of
Christ.

A word as to the sheep. Dr. Macgowan has decided to differ
from all translators in rendering the word yang by "goat" in the
Classics. The French and English, the Jesuits, and more modern
translators all agree in rendering "sheep" for yang. In North China
this seems quite suitable, for there sheep are found in every market,
and sheepskins are commonly worn by the people in the long
winter months. The translators can scarcely be wrong.

These matters evidently need to be made a subject of study. All
will agree, after the interesting account we have heard from
Dr. Macgowan, that the Asiatic Society may well devote attention
to the elucidation of doubtful points in the natural history of the
domestic animals.

Gen. Mirr said:—My experience of the cat in Kueichow, and
especially at Kueiyang Fu, is that the animal had to be very
carefully kept, as beggars were in the habit of prowling around the
streets catching cats, which they killed, when caught, ate the flesh
and sold the skins to furriers, who cured them and made fur
garments of them, such garments being worn by well-to-do people.
For that reason cats were rather scarce at Kueiyang Fu. But the
cat was generally known and domesticated throughout the whole of
Kueichow province. Some people made it a business to rear cats
for sale; this was especially the case in Kuangsi and Kuangtung
provinces; in the latter province cats' flesh was a regular article of
food, but I am unaware since what date or how long it has been so.

As to the origin of the ass, I do not know it, but it is my
opinion that the ass has been known to the Chinese much longer
than what Dr. Macgowan supposed, as it was very common in
Honan, Shantung, and Chihli provinces. In Shantung a kind of
medicinal glue called Ochiaq was made of ass skin and sinews, ages
ago, and is still so made and used. The flesh of the ass is also an article of food, especially at Huaiching Fu, Honan province, where it was corned, and sold as food like corned beef in Europe, and fetched a higher price than beef.

As to the term Yang jou, in Kueichow it means goat’s flesh, the goat in that province being called Yang—sheep being distinguished by the name Miencyang—whilst the term Shanyang, generally used to denote the goat in some parts of China, was used in Kueichow to denote a small kind of deer, which abounded generally speaking all over Kueichow. The Shanyang or deer is regularly hunted for in winter throughout that province, as its flesh affords excellent venison.

The Chairman: — The word yung seems to vary its meaning according to locality. In North China, where sheepskins are commonly worn, yang p’i means a sheepskin. Sheep are imported from Mongolia in thousands to feed and clothe the people. In mountainous districts like Kueichow the goat is yang, because the goat is more common there. The word yang is “sheep” on the plains and “goat” in the mountains.

Mr. A. J. Little observed that in Chungking cats are so much appreciated that they are kept tied up, for fear of their being stolen.

Dr. E. Faber said he had not much to say on the subject. The horse was certainly known and domesticated in China at an earlier period than the ass. The cat was late everywhere. Both ass and cat were designated with Chinese compound characters, not with the most ancient elementary forms (see Prehistoric China, in vol. xxiv.) Sheep and goat were both included in the name 羊 yang. Two names for cat occur in the Shi king, 猫 and 狸. The latter is often confounded with 狐 fox. In the Erh-ya 耳 is used for cat. The classifier 153 貓 may have the same meaning. Dr. Edkins’ reference to geology was not conclusive; no fossil remnants of ass or cat had been found in China. If the geological formation in China was favourable to these animals it must be shown why it was not so in other countries. Philology could have given better help. The most popular name for cat (mau) is onomatopoetic. The other names mentioned have not yet been scientifically examined.
Cats are eaten in China because their flesh is regarded as of medicinal value, especially in lung diseases. Its effects are said to be similar to cod-liver oil. Cats' meat is regularly sold in restaurants at Canton. Black cats are preferred.

Natural history points to Central Asia as the original home of ass and sheep. The cat may be of China.

The Chairman:—The word mau (cat) certainly seems imitative, and would be an original Chinese word rather than an imported foreign name. This is in favour of Dr. Faber's view, that the cat was always known to the Chinese, and against the view of Dr. Macgowan, unless it can be shown that mau belongs to a contiguous language.

In replying to remarks that the paper elicited, Dr. Macgowan alluded to the remark of the President (Dr. Edkins), that let one delve however deeply into sinological lore, one would find in presenting it at a meeting of this Society that he had failed to exhaust the subject,—the erudite President would be sure to add something that had escaped attention from others, notwithstanding doubts still existing touching the foreign origin of sheep and cat in China.

Dr. Macgowan held to the position of his thesis, to which he himself had not done full justice that evening.

The Chairman:—In regard to the Chinese word for ass (lû) it certainly seems to mean the grinding animal, on account of its being used to grind corn and oil, and to have been named on that account.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the author of the paper, moved by Mr. Fraser and seconded by Gen. Mesny.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held in the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Monday, 22nd June 1890, at 9 p.m.

Dr. Joseph Edkins occupied the Chair. There was a good attendance.

The Honorary Secretary (Mr. J. Mencarini) read the minutes of the last meeting, which were confirmed.

The Chairman:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am happy to be able to announce that Mr. N. J. Hannen, of Tokio, whom we expect
soon to arrive here as Consul-General and Judge, will become a
member of our Society, and also Mr. J Scheveleff, of Vladivostock.
These are the only two new members that have joined the Society
during the last month. I will now call upon the Secretary to read
the Council's report for the last year. This is the annual meeting.

The Council's report for the year 1890-91 was then read by the
Honorary Secretary.

The Chairman:—Has anyone any business to propose? Perhaps I
may just myself mention that the Congress of Orientalists is to meet
on September 1st, and the Council having appointed Mr. P. J. Hughes
as the representative of our Society, he will proceed to discharge
this duty in the Autumn; and I may also mention that all who
are prepared to write papers to be read before this Congress of
Orientalists, should do so at once. The Treasurer's report, I am
told by the Hon. Secretary, is to be taken as read. I think it would
be interesting to hear the report, but we are rather short of time to-
night,—the magic-lantern will take a considerable time to exhibit,—
and therefore if the Society does not object we will take the
Treasurer's report as read. The next business now is to elect a
Council for the ensuing year.

Mr. Donovan proposed that the Council for 1891-92 be Messrs.
N. J. Hanner, President; P. G. von Möllendorff and J. Edkins,
D.D., Vice Presidents; T. Brown, Hon. Treasurer; M. F. A. Fraser,
Librarian; D. C. Jansen, Hon. Curator of the Museum; J. Menciarni,
Hon. Secretary; R. E. Bredon, J. Ritter von Haas, R. A. Jamieson,

Rev. H. C. Hodges seconded the motion, which, when put to the
meeting subsequently, was passed unanimously.

Mr. T. W. Kingsmill proposed the adoption of the Council's
Report; General Mesny seconded, and the motion was carried.

Rev. Mr. Williams was then called upon to read his paper on
"Hung-wu and his Capital" and proceeded:—

The reign of Hung-wu represents the golden age of Nanking.
This city has many times been the capital of either a part or the
whole of the empire. During the period of the "Three Kingdoms"
[A.D. 221-262] it was the capital of Wu. The Emperors of the
Eastern Tsin dynasty [A.D. 317] also made Nanking their home, and the palace stood on Drum Tower Hill. During the reign of the House of Ts‘i [479 A.D.] and again during the Liang dynasty [502-556 A.D.] it was the Imperial residence. But it was not until it fell into the hands of the "Beggar King" that it attained the vast proportions and great magnificence for which it afterwards became celebrated. The period is one well worthy of careful study, and deserves to be better known to the western world. But it is of especial interest to all who are interested in Nanking, because Nanking owes whatever of architectural beauty she has had in the past, and no small share of her prosperity and influence, to the taste, the wisdom and the energy of Hung-wu. China, the oldest Empire in the world, is poorest of all in ancient monuments. Her architecture is not of an enduring kind. Nanking, however, is exceptionally fortunate in possessing so many remains, ruins though they be, of this, the most glorious period in her history.

The literary sources of information regarding this period are plentiful enough. It is true in China, as it was in Israel in the days of Solomon, that "of making many books there is no end." I regret very much that circumstances have compelled me to prepare this paper before completing an examination of the accessible histories. The sketch, such as it is, is based upon information gathered from a condensed history of the Ming dynasty found in the Rh-shih-sz Shi T‘ung-suh (Yeu-i), from a romantic history of the same period, known as the Ying-lieh, written after the downfall of the Mings by a Fukien man named Tsü Wei, from the official history of the Kiangsu province, and from that of the two Nanking hien districts.

That a beggar should rise from poverty and obscurity to the throne of the Celestial Empire, and receive the allegiance and the worship of so haughty a people as the Chinese, is a fact as remarkable as it is unique in human history. In order to understand how such an occurrence could take place, we must glance for a moment at the condition of China during the closing years of the Yuen dynasty. China did not escape, any more than her neighbours, from the invasions of the nomadic races of Tartary which laid waste
the fairest portions of Asia and eastern Europe. During the Han, Tsin and T'ang dynasties the Chinese were called upon at various times to resist the aggression of these restless tribes. And again, at the close of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, under the leadership of Genghis Khan, they ravaged Asia from east to west, pillaging some of the richest and most populous portions of China, India and Persia, and in 1215 the city of Peking was taken, and the five northern provinces submitted to the invader. But it was left for the grandson, Kublai, to complete the conquest of the empire, and he established the Yuen dynasty in 1260 A.D. and reigned for thirty-five years with great wisdom and glory, encouraging literature, undertaking some noble public works, among them the Grand Canal, and extending his conquests among the native tribes south-west and west. Yet the empire established thus auspiciously lasted but a century. Genghis began his career with the declaration that there is but one God and one Grand Khan, though allowing the largest toleration to all forms of religion. His successors, however, were not so wise. They became slavish adherents of Buddhism, and the place was filled with a crowd of lazy monks who flattered the vanity of the monarchs and ministered to their caprices. Gradually the government became disorganized. Crafty priests and treacherous eunuchs usurped every place of power and profit. Corrupt officials, with no care for anything but their own enrichment, oppressed the people and drove them to begging or crime. Multitudes perished from famine. Sedition, robbery, murder and every disorder afflicted the state. Yet the pampered monarch, living in luxury and idleness, cared for none of these things, but gave himself up to every form of vicious indulgence. Such was the condition of affairs during the reign of Shun-ti, the last emperor of this dynasty, who ascended the throne in 1333 A.D. It was a period of disturbance in Europe as well as Asia, of wars and rumours of wars throughout the world. Edward III of England, young and ambitious, was engaged in laying burdensome and unjust taxes upon his subjects and wasting the money, thus obtained, in fruitless efforts to place Baliol on the throne of Scotland and to wrest from Philip VI of France the crown of that kingdom for him-
self. Clement V had removed the papal throne to Avignon and left the fickle populace of degenerate Rome to occupy themselves with the quarrels of the Orsini and Colonna, while Rienzi, already rising to influence, was preparing to attempt the deliverance of his unhappy country. The warring strength of the Greek Empire was exhausted in civil wars between Andronicus the Younger and his grandfather, while the Turks seized every opportunity to reduce the borders of this impoverished state. In such troublous times, a little more than a century after Genghis Khan had started upon his career of conquest, his descendants both in the East and West were surrendering their power and territory into more worthy hands. The last scion of the house on the throne of Persia sought in vain to stem the tide of Turkish aggression while his abandoned relative reigning at Peking was preparing by a life of shame for that cowardly flight before his exasperated subjects which ended the reign of the Tartar dynasty in China. Shun-ti was but a puppet in the hands of his ministers; a weak prince, without resolution or fixed principles, responding to the suggestions now of this one and then of that, according as circumstances placed him under the influence of the one or the other. Had he been surrounded by wise and patriotic ministers, he might easily have avoided the doom which threatened his house, and the "Bright" dynasty might never have been born. As it was, with apparently but one exception, all his councillors sought simply to advance their own interests without any regard to the welfare of the state, and were careful to secure their places by catering with all assiduity to the vices of their lord. One of these ministers, with the significant name of Sa-tun advised the young man to get as much pleasure as he could out of life, repeating a proverb of the day which ran:

Spring (time) flowers, autumn moon-light!
Miss not thou their joys, O man!
Rosy cheeks and raven tresses,
Faded once, come not again.

The verses remind one of Herrick's lines:

"Gather the rose-buds while you may,
Old time is still a-flying;
And this same flower that smiles to-day
To-morrow will be dying."
Such advice the monarch was only too ready to follow. There was but one man who dared to tell the foolish young Emperor the truth and warn him plainly of the sure results of such reckless living. This minister's name was T'o-t'o. Shun-ti listened to him with all reverence and seemed fully determined to mend his ways, but, chameleon-like, feelings and conduct changed with his surroundings. He desired to please everybody, and T'o-t'o, standing alone for virtue and good government, was out of mind as soon as out of sight. Many of the charges against the Emperor were no doubt false. Rumour exaggerated all his follies, and, once it was certain he was a mere pleasure-seeker, every charge, however extravagant, found ready credence. Native writers enter into minute details respecting his manner of life, drawing largely, no doubt, upon their own prurient imaginations. But "where there is much smoke there must be some flame," and we are justified in believing that vast sums of money were squandered on his pleasures. The Empress one day gave a banquet and, while Shun-ti and the guests feasted and drank, the hall was filled with the soft music of harp, flute and viol and a chorus of girls sang and danced before them.

That night after the Emperor had fallen asleep he was visited, we are told, by a portentous dream. The palace seemed filled with swarming ants and bees, and, though the ministers tried, they failed to sweep them out. Suddenly a man from the south, clothed in red raiment, bearing the sun on his left shoulder and the moon on his right, with a broom in his hand, entered and cleared the palace in a moment of the infesting insects. "Who are you?" asked the astonished Emperor. This strange visitor made no reply but drew a sword and, driving the frightened monarch from the palace, shut the door in his face. He called aloud for help and was awakened by his own cries. Trembling in every limb and bathed in cold perspiration, he summoned an attendant and inquired the hour. "Three points after third watch," said the attendant. The Empress being aroused asked what was the matter, and hearing the dream related, said: "We do not know whether it bodes good or ill; to-morrow we will call an interpreter." Scarcely had she spoken when a frightful noise was heard "like the sound of thunder in the
early spring or that of a falling mountain in an earthquake." An officer was at once sent to inquire the cause, and returned saying that a corner of one of the palace halls had fallen, exposing a great hole in the earth. After court hours next morning the Emperor summoned an old councillor, named Chi-ch‘ung, and told him the dream. He interpreted it as an evil omen, saying that the red dress indicated the stranger’s name to be either Chu or Chi, and the fact that he carried the sun and moon on his shoulders meant that he should attain to imperial power. He therefore urged the Emperor to reform his habits and to correct the evils of the government. The Emperor very naturally did not enjoy the interpretation, but he proceeded to describe the catastrophe which had happened at the “Hall of Pure Virtue.” The old man led the way to examine. They found an opening (in the ground) ten feet long and five feet wide, from which a black vapour arose, obscuring the sky. T‘o-t‘o recommended that a prisoner already condemned to death should be sent for and lowered into the pit to seek the cause of this phenomenon. Such a prisoner was found and, on being promised full pardon, consented to descend into the opening. After some time he was drawn up and brought with him a tablet bearing twenty-four characters forming an ominous sentence to this effect:—

"Calm Heaven above is free from care,
The wide-wide world is filled with war;
Behold in South and East afar
I see the flashing sword and spear.

Yuen, alas, must pass away,
The sun and moon with wedded ray
Shall usher in the brighter day
When Peace the East and South shall sway."

But with characteristic Chinese reasoning the Emperor, as though the word "Yuen" were to blame for all the ill luck, said: "Well, if the style 'Yuen' must be changed there is no help for it; we will establish a new style; 'all under heaven' will then be protected, and what further trouble can there be!"

His minister mildly suggested that the character of the monarch needed to be changed rather than the Imperial style, but agreed that the style could be changed if he so desired.
This is a very good illustration of ordinary Chinamen's conception of sin and repentance. It is difficult for a Chinaman to get beyond externals. Sin is the neglect of some form or other. This neglect brings ill luck, and the way to avoid the ill luck is to observe certain other forms. While the conversation proceeded the opening in the earth suddenly closed of itself, filling the beholders with awe. The convict was pardoned and released; the tablet was hidden and the company dispersed. The next day the Emperor ordered the style of his reign to be changed to Chi-chung, as though by changing the name he could avoid the doom pronounced upon his house.

The significance of the dream and the omen are of course very easily understood. The ants and bees that swarmed in the palace represented the rebels and robbers that everywhere infested the empire. The feeble efforts on the part of the officials to suppress these disorders were all in vain. But there would come a red-robed man, that is, a man named Chu (which was Hung-wu's family name), who would sweep them all out, it was promised, and drive the monarch from his throne. The bearing of the sun on the left shoulder and the moon on the right was meant to be a prophecy of the Ming dynasty, the characters for sun and moon written side by side in this position forming the character "Ming," or bright. It is true that Shun-ti did change the style of his reign in the fifth year to Chi-chung. The fiction of the dream is a very clever prophecy of the rise of the Mings, invented of course after the event. The figure of swarming ants and bees not inapiently represented the condition of the country, which was filled with bands of robbers and rebels, while the officials who plundered the people in the name of the state were worse than the bandits. The people in many places were compelled to organise themselves in self-defence.

As a matter of course we have a multitude of marvellous stories of unusual phenomena, strange omens sent by Heaven to prepare men for impending calamities and a change of dynasty; for such a change must be heralded by at least a report of supernatural occurrences, else the common people will be unwilling to transfer their allegiance from the old to the new. Hence we are told that about this time at Peking chickens were changed to dogs and sheep into
cattle; at Nanking brass and iron of themselves emitted sound; at Kaifung Fu variegated flowers appeared upon the surface of the river, as if painted there, and remained three days, when they disappeared; at Hangchau globes of fire appeared upon the river; in Shautung it rained white hair; in the west were earthquakes, lasting a hundred days, and at Canton the walls of a yamên fell down revealing five hundred crossbows, each nine or ten feet in length, which no one was able to bend. In the heavens, too, were frightful portents; long-tailed comets, and falling stars, which when they struck the earth were changed to stone images of dogs' heads. Letters came to the capital like snowflakes in number, but wicked ministers destroyed them, and the pleasure-loving monarch lived on in utter ignorance of the volcano slumbering beneath his throne.

One of the most successful of these rebellious risings had its origin in the village of White Deer, situated on the Hwai river in Ying Chen, North-western Anhwei. It is said to have been a beautiful spot, diversified by picturesque hills and quiet dales, green fields and shady groves; the clear shallow river murmured over its pebbles, and the white deer herded in the coverts. It happened one day that an insolent official passed that way and was charmed with the beauty of the place, exclaiming: "This is certainly a retreat fit for gods, men and genii." He at once sent his followers to demand a certain piece of ground, where he might build for himself a country residence and pleasure-garden. But this place belonged to a young giant named Liu Fu-t'ung, who stood in no fear of officialdom and who, as soon as he heard of the outrageous demand, seized a spear and rushed upon the underlings, who were glad to escape with their lives and were barely able to rescue their lord himself from the hands of the infuriated peasant. The said official strutted and fumed over his loss of dignity and vowed vengeance upon the whole village. "Am I not Kia-lu?" he said. "Where is the place to which my fame has not penetrated? And am I to put up with this treatment from such a fellow? I will wipe this place out of existence." On his return to Peking he represented to the Emperor that the Yellow River was silted up and needed opening, and requested permission to undertake the work. I judge from this
account that formerly, perhaps a great many years previous to these occurrences, the Yellow River must have flowed to the sea through the channel of the Hwai, but that it had afterwards broken through its banks and taken a new course, probably that which it kept up to some thirty-five years ago, and that Kia-lu proposed to restore it to its old channel, that is, the bed of the Hwai. You will notice on the map that the head-waters to the Hwai reach nearly to Kai-fung Fu where two years ago the Yellow River broke through its banks to flow south-east. At any rate there was a proverb current at the time which said:—

"A stone man with one eye—
Open the Yellow River and the Empire will rise in rebellion."

When Kia-lu asked permission to open the river, he knew of this saying, but forestalled any quotation of it against himself by perverting it in his favour saying: The people say: "A stone man with one eye, if you don't open the Yellow River, the empire will rise in rebellion."

"But," said the Emperor, "yesterday, when I proposed to my ministers to open the channel of the river they all said it could not be done because the people say: 'A stone man with one eye; open the Yellow River and the empire will rise in rebellion.'" Kia-lu, however, was a man of ready tongue and replied: "Don't listen to such speeches; if river and canal are not navigable there can be no rice transported to Peking, and if the people have no rice, will they not rise in rebellion?" This seemed reasonable. Orders were given to commence the work at once and to behead the first man that opposed. Kia-lu thus equipped went to White Deer and ordered the channel to be cut right through the property of Liu Fu-t'ung, and turned this fiery young giant with his family out into the street.

In the same village was a man named Han Shan-tung, falsely said to be a Buddha, who with Liu Fu-t'ung organised a secret society whose members wore red caps and white girdles. These two men greatly imposed upon the people by the practice of pretended magic, and when Liu Fu-t'ung was driven from his home they raised the standard of rebellion and gathered quite a multitude
of followers. In order to increase their number they bade the sceptical dig in the river and find proof of the righteousness of their action.

They set to work and, before digging a foot, unearthed a stone image of a man with one eye, bearing the inscription: "Open the Yellow River and the empire will rise in rebellion." This was argument enough for those who needed any, and the rebellion soon assumed formidable proportions. Raw recruits, however, are no match for professional soldiers, and in the first fight with the imperial troops the rebels were defeated and Han Shan-tung was killed. Liu Fu-t'ung then took his friend's son and proclaimed him king. Two other prominent rebels were Chi Maw-li in northwestern Kiangsu at Tsui Chen and Chang Sz-ch'ung at Ta'i Chen near Yangchau. The latter was afterwards bought off by the Emperor and returned to his allegiance. The careless monarch at last began to realise the condition of affairs, and despatched troops to suppress the disorders, but his officers came back wounded and beaten. Assembling his councillors he then asked them what they had to propose. "The ancients," he said, "had a saying 'The poor man seeks a thrifty housewife, and the disordered kingdom needs an honest and a capable minister.'" T'o-t'o offered his services and was accepted. In a short time he had defeated both Chi Maw-li and Liu Fu-t'ung, but his enemies (at Court) jealous of his influence, destroyed his despatches, represented him as wasting time and money in idleness, and succeeded in having him banished, upon which, according to one report, he committed suicide, and according to another was poisoned by the orders of one of his rivals. Chi Maw-li and Liu Fu-t'ung at once recovered their lost territory and prestige on the death of T'o-t'o, and these two rebel forces coming into conflict with one another, Chi Maw-li was defeated and his followers or most of them deserted to the camp of the more successful leader Liu Fu-t'ung, who now ruled through Han-ling, a large portion of Kiangsu, Shantung, Anhwei and Honan. Among his officers at this time was a man named Kwoh Kwan-ching, a maternal uncle of Chu Hung-wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty. We must turn back now for a few moments to the year 1328 A.D.,
four years before the last Yuen emperor ascended the throne. This is the date of Hung-wu's birth. His parents were wretchedly poor and were stopping at the time of his birth in a little village just outside the gates of Fung Yang Hsien, a city then known as Hao Cheu. The present city of Fung Yang Fu was not then in existence, having been built by Hung-wu. The Hsien city, which is situated half-a-mile or more to the west of the Fu city, has still a very good wall and an old pagoda, but the interior is in a very dilapidated condition, the houses being chiefly mud huts, thatched with straw. All the trade of the place has departed to the more prosperous Fu city, which is a well-built place of about a hundred thousand inhabitants. The house in which Hung-wu was born has long since perished, but a temple is erected on its site which is just outside the East Gate of Fung-yang Fu, and at the time of his birth was occupied by a little hamlet known as Chung-li Tung, said to have anciently been the home of a wizard, Chung Li. Great marvel accompanied the birth of the future Emperor, we are told. One remarkable tale tells us that at the close of the year preceding his entrance into this world, when all the kitchen-gods were assembled in the halls of the Yu Hwang, this Emperor of all the gods addressed them and said:—"All under heaven is now in confusion; we must send down another son of heaven for Emperor." The reports of the kitchen-gods were then heard, and it was discovered that the family of Hung-wu's father, Chu She-chun, was the most virtuous of all, and had been storing up merit through many generations. It was therefore decided that the future Emperor should be born in this family, but when volunteers were called for from among the stars, no one was willing to go. The Yu Hwang thereupon grew angry and read them a lecture that caused the two fan-bearers behind his throne (the "Golden Youth" and the "Gem Maiden") to titter aloud and let their fans accidentally fall together. The "Golden Youth" stood on the left, and his fan bore the character for sun, while the Maiden stood on the right with a fan that had the character for moon, so that when they fell together they made the character Ming. The attention of the Yu Hwang being thus directed to them, he said: "I will send
you two, one to be Emperor and the other Empress." Thus we have the assurance of a Chinese historian that the marriage of Hung-wu was one of those matches of which we have heard that they are made in Heaven.

The family of Hung-wu came from Kū-yung, a village some ninety li south-east of Nanking. His father, however, was born in Nanking and removed on account of the troubled condition of the times to Chu-yang, north of the river, the present Chin-cheu. Here one night his house and all his possessions were consumed by fire, and he wandered with his wife toward Fung-yang, then known as Hao-cheu, intending to seek a home with his son-in-law who lived some distance beyond. One evening as it was growing dark he arrived at the gate of the Huan-hsioh-sz, a monastery just outside the gates of Fung-yang Hien, at a hamlet known as Chung-li Si, but a short distance west of Chung-li Tung, mentioned above. Being very weary he and his wife lay down at the gate of the monastery to rest, and were discovered there by the abbot, who inquired their name and circumstances, and very kindly found a lodging for them at Chung-li Tung. The monk further, a few days later, secured employment in the neighbourhood for the unfortunate man, so that he decided to make his home there, and sent for his three sons whom he had left at Chin-cheu. In this little village, in the ninth moon of the year 1828 A.D. the "Golden Youth" appeared in the family of Chu She-chun, and was given the name of Chu Yuen-lung. He cried for three days after his birth, we are told, to the great annoyance of the neighbours, and was quieted only by some strange words spoken by a Taoist monk who appeared from no one knows where. When he was eleven years of age, his parents being very poor, he was hired by a man named Sin Ta-sin for a herdsman, and sent into the fields to watch his cattle, but he played such pranks that he was soon dismissed. When he was seventeen his father, mother and eldest brother all died, and the family being unable to provide coffins, the future emperor with his two remaining brothers made a wrapping of straw and buried them. Their graves may still be seen some six miles south-west of Fung-yang Fu. After this sad misfortune the brothers scattered and Chu Yuen-lung, not
having any trade, was urged by his father’s friends to enter the monastery of Hwan-kioh, which he did, as a servant. It is said that he afterwards became a monk, but this is uncertain, and, as he remained but a short time, is altogether unlikely. This monastery still exists under the name of Sung-shing Sz, just outside the north gate of Fung-yang Fu. The ruins of the old monastery lie scattered all around, showing that it was once a large inclosure. The present buildings are less pretentious but in good repair and contain some relics of the more prosperous days of the monastery. Among them are four large caldrons of bronze, six feet in diameter and six feet deep, the metal being three or four inches thick. There is also a fifth of the same size made of iron. These kettles are now unused, but formerly served for cooking food for the monks. A bell-tower in one corner of the garden contains a large bell cast in the fourth year of Ch’ung-hwa [1469 A.D.]. In the reception-room is a portrait of Hung-wu in his later years. He remained in the monastery but a short time. The old abbot who was his friend having died, and the other monks not having any liking for the young scapegrace, he left Fung-yang and went to Ch’u-yang, or Ch’u Chen as we call it now, to the home of a maternal uncle Kwoh Kwan-ch’ing, and became tutor to his uncle’s children, though what he was able to teach them does not appear. Certainly he was more of a servant than a tutor. He ate considerable bitterness while with his uncle, but was very kindly treated by a young slave-girl in the household named Ma, for whom he formed a very strong attachment. It was at this time that he went to Nanking with a wheel-barrow load of plums. A pestilence was raging in this city and the plums were in demand as a remedy. His uncle having accompanied him as far as Ho Chen, got into a quarrel there and killed a man, and was compelled to flee for his life. Yuen-lung (or Hung-wu, as we call him), continued his journey alone and sold the plums for a good sum of money. He did not at once return to Ch’u Chen, and, when he did, he was surprised to find his uncle living in great elegance and unusual luxury. He inquired the cause and learned that, on fleeing from Ho Chen, his uncle had gone to Fung-yang and falling in with Liu Fu-t’ung, had taken service under him and
shown such military skill that he was entrusted with an army for
the capture of Chu Chen which was very easily effected. "But,"
said the nephew, "why wear the red cap of Liu Fu-t'ung? Why
not yourself be a king?" This idea greatly pleased Kwoh Kwan-
ch'ing, who thenceforth proclaimed himself the Ch'u-yang Wang
or King of Ch'u-yang. To Liu Fu-t'ung, who protested, he sent
word, saying: "The whole country is in confusion and each district
has its king; my right is as good as yours. You rule your territory
and I'll rule mine, and in case of attack we will help one another."
The newly-made king then appointed his nephew commander-in-
chief of the army, who at once proceeded to strengthen it by
gathering from far and near the most notable and skilful soldiers
to serve as its officers. One of these was Li Shang-chang who
afterwards became Chief Minister of the Left, and another was a
distinguished gentleman of Yangch'uan named Ts'u Tah who became
in after years Chief Minister of the Right. The latter proved one of
the most successful generals of the period. There is a fine portrait
of him at Moh-tsen Hu outside the Shui Si Mung at Nanking.
He is represented as a large, handsome man, with a rather intel-
lectual countenance and a very gentle expression. His grave may
may be seen outside the T'ai-ping Gate, a mile or more on the
Chinkiang highway. It is a large mound. An immense tablet, on
the back of a tortoise, records his virtues, and the avenue is guarded
by several pairs of stone images of horses and other animals.

The inscription on the tablet was written by the Emperor
Hung-wu himself, in praise of his faithful and most excellent
minister. As soon as the army was in good shape an attack was
made on Sz Chuen, which by the treachery of the commander was
surrendered without a battle, the traitor being rewarded with a post
in the army of the Ch'u-yang king. Being now in a condition to
marry, Yuen-lung, with the consent of his uncle, took the slave-girl,
for whom he had lost none of his affection, and made her his wife;
and a most wise and excellent woman she proved to be, in every
way worthy the lofty estate for which fortune had destined her.
Shortly after this Kwoh Kwan-ch'ing, the Ch'u-yang king, died,
and his nephew was proclaimed king in his stead. He possessed
himself of Ting-yuen and Fung-yang, and having strengthened himself in that region he became anxious to attack Nanking, but had no way of transporting his army across the Yangtze River. Luckily at this time a number of boatmen had organised a fleet for self-protection against numerous bands of pirates that infested the creeks and lakes in the district about Wuhu. These boatmen placed their fleet at the service of the new king who, delighted with the gift, ordered it to assemble on Lake Ch‘ao and, there embarking his army, crossed the river, reduced several minor places and captured T‘ai-ping Fu. Thence he marched to Nanking. The officer in charge, Ch‘ung Yen-san, surrendered and gave in his allegiance to the conqueror, but afterwards rebelled and was beheaded. His son was captured a little later, but took the oath of allegiance to the successful young general, who now changed his title of Ch‘u-yang King for the more modest one of Duke of Wu. After entering Nanking he gathered the elders of the city together and said: “I have come because the nation is in confusion; the old rulers are worthless and must go.” The people, it is said, greatly rejoiced in the protection promised. But a large part of the population either then or later must have been very disloyal or untrustworthy, for he removed several thousand families to Yunnan and brought twenty thousand other families from Chekiang and Fung-yang to Nanking to take their places. This will explain a rather remarkable occurrence, related to me by Mr. Leaman, that some years ago a missionary from Burmah came to Nanking, who had studied Chinese in Burmah with a teacher from Yunnan. He preached while in Nanking and spoke Chinese with as pure a Nankingese accent as those who had learned the language in that city at the time of its capture by Hung-wu. Nanking was known, however, by the name of Kien-kang. The Duke of Wu was then thirty-four years of age; it was the year 1362 A.D.

Sending an army to Chinkiang, he secured the allegiance of that place and captured several other cities in that region. Another army was sent to Ning-kwoh Fu, the Yuen general (Chu Ziang-tau) in command of which place surrendered and entered the service of the Duke of Wu. Afterwards he rebelled, but a second time
surrendered, and the Duke forgave him his treachery and a second time employed him. He ever acted on this principle, treating his captives with the greatest consideration, and by his kindness sought to win the affection even of those who were opposed to him. Thus he gathered to his side some of the ablest men among his adversaries, in this way not only diminishing the strength of the Yuen force but adding to his own at the same time.

Numbers of places north and south of the river soon fell into his hands, and, in order to relieve the people of the past burdens laid upon them by the support of a large army, he directed that the soldiers when not engaged in active service should be employed in agriculture and thus raise their own subsistence. Having established his authority at Nanking, he made Ts‘u Tah commander of the forces in the north, and sent him to subdue the Yuen armies still lingering there as well as various rebel forces in that region. Ts‘u Tah defeated the Yuen generals in Nganhwaie, Shantung and Honan and drove their demoralized armies beyond the Yellow River. While he was at Teh Chen the inhabitants of Peking heard of his approach and began to tremble for their safety. The capital was held but by a small force and no preparations had been made for defence. The Emperor Shun-ti, filled with fear, proposed to fly to the north, but his ministers urged him to stay in Peking. This he was too great a coward to do, and after giving certain directions for defence, as though he would remain, fled secretly in the night through the Kien-teh Whong, going by way of Kii-kan Kwan to Sha-mo. Thus ignominiously ended an inglorious reign of thirty-six years. The Chinese reckon to the Yuen dynasty thirteen emperors and a period of one hundred and sixty-two years. But from the final overthrow of the Sung dynasty and the settlement of the kingdom by Kublai Khan to the flight of Shun-ti there was but nine emperors and a period of only eighty-nine years.

The victorious army of Ts‘u Tah entered the late capital, beheaded the generals in command and seized all the treasure. The fugitive Emperor did not remain long at Sha-mo, but left the imperial household there and continued his flight towards the sea-coast. Two years later Sha-mo was captured by the Ming army.
and the seals, a great deal of treasure, and the women and children of the imperial family fell into their hands. A grandson of the late emperor was taken under the protection of Hung-wu and was afterwards appointed to office. Previous, however, to the fall of Peking a rebellion broke out in Nganhwui, under the leadership of Ch‘ung Yiu-liang, who captured T’ai-p‘ing, proclaimed himself emperor, and pushed on towards Nanking. The people of this city were filled with terror by the approach of his army, but the ever-victorious Duke of Wu was energetic in his preparations and completely routed the invaders, whose leader fled to Wu-ch‘ang. Upon this the Yuan general, commanding the garrison at Nan-ch‘ang Fu, the capital of Kiangsi, offered to surrender to our Duke, provided he should be allowed to retain command where he was. This was finally agreed upon and ere the matter was well settled Ch‘ung Yiu-liang, who had recruited his forces at Wu-ch‘ang and gathered a large fleet besides, moved down upon Nan-ch‘ang and laid siege to that city. The Duke, receiving word to this effect, detached as many soldiers as he could spare, and seizing all the boats that could be found, hastened to relieve the garrison, which was very small. But Ch‘ung Yiu-liang was on the lookout to prevent the junction of these armies, and by swift marches intercepted the progress of the Duke and attacked his forces upon the Po-yang Lake. But the army of the Duke was inferior to that of his antagonist, who was withal a man of no ordinary ability. The battle raged for several days with no decisive result, when, a favourable wind springing up, the Duke set fire to several of his own boats and burned a large part of Yiu-liang’s fleet. Many officers, too, were burned to death. Next day the battle was renewed and continued three days. Yiu-liang, hard-pressed, sought to escape but was shot through the eye and killed. His body, however, was carried off by his son and several officers and taken to Wu-ch‘ang, where the son was proclaimed Emperor. About this time (1364 A.D.) the Duke proclaimed himself king with the title Wu Wang. As soon as possible he followed Yiu-liang’s son to Wu-ch‘ang and laid siege to the place, compelling it in a short time to capitulate. He very generously pardoned the son of his late
rival and liberated all his relatives who had been imprisoned. The young man was persuaded later to accept office under his conqueror.

The only formidable rival now remaining was Chang Sz-ch'ung, whose capital was at Su-chau. This man was originally a salt-trader at T'ai Chen, a shrewd merchant, a rather unsociable man, a man of few words and one who rarely or never laughed, careless of money and fond of charity, but a man cordially disliked by his neighbours. He was moreover a man of great strength. One day, becoming engaged in a quarrel, he killed a bow-man, and as the whole country was infested with gangs of cut-throats and robbers, he and his confederates determined, in order to escape punishment for the murder, to organise a band themselves, which they did, and with which they captured T'ai Chen. Encouraged by his success, Sz-ch'ung proceeded to bolder measures and soon made himself master of a large territory, proclaiming himself the Ch'ung Wang. After he had captured Yangchau and Sz-chen the Emperor sent T'o-t'o to bring him to terms, but T'o-t'o, after defeating him, had been recalled, as usual, and Sz-ch'ung soon regained his lost territory, after which he was brought over by the Emperor and made king over a large part of Kiangsu and Chekiang with his capital at Su-chau. Here he reigned as a tributary prince for four years, gradually growing careless and turning over the administration to other hands. While things were in this condition and his army divided, part being at Hu-chen and a part at Hangchow, the king of Wu, having kept his preparations a secret, attacked and defeated these two forces in quick succession, and marching on Su-chau, captured it. Chang Sz-ch'ung committed suicide, on hearing which the King of Wu professed great regret, as he had hoped after defeating him to attach a man of such great abilities to his own service.

The Emperor having been already driven from his throne, as related above, and the greater part of the empire being now under the rule of the King of Wu, in 1368 he proclaimed himself Emperor with the style Hung-wu, and called his dynasty the Ming. He was then forty years of age. He immediately raised four generations of ancestors to imperial honours, which, seeing they were
all dead, it is to be hoped they duly appreciated. Fukien, Kwan-
tung, and Kwangsi were reduced in rapid succession by various
skilful commanders. Ts‘u Tah extended his conquests to Shansi,
Shensi and Kansu, and “all under heaven,” to use a Chinese expres-
sion, was now submissive to his will, save Sz-chwan and Yunnan.
“Montani semper liberi” is an old Latin saying (Mountaineers
are harder to quell than people of the plains), and it was not until
the fifth year of his reign that Sz-chwan was subdued, while Yun-
nan held out until the fourteenth. But without waiting for these
conquests Hung-wu proceeded at once to set the government in
order and give security and prosperity to the people. The whole
empire was divided into nine states, each of which was placed under
the rule of one of his sons, who were called kings.

He organized the Six Boards, published the calendar, determined
the ritual for the worship of Heaven and Earth and that also for
the worship of ancestors. He fixed the strength of the garrisons
and corrected the manual for the drilling of the troops. He sought
out all those who had fled into hiding during the troublous times
which preceded his subjugation of the empire and encouraged them
to return to their homes. He paid particular honour to men of letters,
and was an earnest and liberal patron of education. He invited the
most distinguished scholars to take office under him and ordered the
hien to open one free school in each hien district, while at the capital
he established a higher school or university for the investigation
of important branches of learning and the production and preserva-
tion of books. The Hantin students were set to work writing, but
were cautioned against wasting time on mere refinement of language,
mere rhetorical display. He forbade the use of the four-character
and six-character vessels and sought to encourage prose rather than
poetical composition, as was natural in one of his practical character.
He gave titles to the descendants of Confucius and made one of
them a Chihien. He sent out officers to hold court and adjudicate
important cases. He settled the rules to be observed in the exam-
inations, and fixed upon a costume for the people, particularly the
graduates. If the drawings in Chinese books correctly represent
this costume we must praise the taste of the peasant emperor, for it
was far more becoming than that now worn. It would appear to have been something like the present Japanese costume and was modelled on that of the Tang dynasty with slight changes. It is said that he sought for able men as a thirsty man seeks water. Certain it is that he succeeded in gathering about him a large number of remarkably brilliant men. He encouraged agriculture and the silk manufacture, and among the strange things recorded of him as good works, he forbade pearl-fishing and gold-mining. He released the provinces in turn from taxation, and in unusually disastrous years he remitted all the taxes of the empire. He forbade the eunuchs to interfere in affairs of state, a custom that had led to such scandals in the preceding dynasty. He even forbade their learning to read and prohibited their entrance into the army. Another remarkable rule was to prohibit Buddhist and Taoist monks travelling at will about the country. He would not suffer them to cross the borders of their own provinces without a passport. He allowed but one monastery, too, to each kien, and required that it should be inspected once a month. And until the age of forty years was reached he would not allow any man or woman to enter either of these orders. Many of these provisions were excellent, but how many of them were really carried into execution and how many were but dead-letters we cannot tell. Chinamen have always been better at legislation than at the execution of the laws—as is true indeed of all other nations.

When Hung-wu first came to Nanking he occupied the Fu yamen of the Sung dynasty near the South Gate. All that remains of it now is the former gateway of the place, at present called the Kiu Wang Fu, and found opening a narrow dirty street near the Examination Hall. It is a favorite resort of opium-smoking beggars. The city of Kien-k'ang, or Nanking, at that time formed very nearly a perfect square. The North Gate stood at th present Peh-mung K'iao, the name itself being a relic and witness of those early days. The creek over which this North Gate Bridge is built formed a part of the city moat, which may be traced up the valley with two or three windings to Han-si Mung. This was the line of the old city wall. From Han-si Mung it followed the line of
the present wall by Shui-si Mung to the South Gate and thence to the angle east of the South Gate. From this corner it ran in a straight line north, instead of bending east again as it does now at the T'ung-tsi Mung, and the canal which now runs north and south on the west of the Tartar city was the moat outside the east wall. The East Gate stood not far from T'ung-tsi Mung, but opening of course to the east and not to the south as the T'ung-tsi Mung does. When at a point due east of Peh-mung K'iao the wall turned at a right angle towards the west, and following the line of the present canal, joined the North Gate and so completed the circuit. At the time the city had but five gates—the North, South, East, West, and the Lung-kuan Mung, identical with the present Shin-si Mung. The Imperial City of Hung-wu, and the "Forbidden City" inclosed within it, were built, therefore, wholly outside the old city wall, just adjoining it on the east. This city, including the Imperial Palace, he began to build in the second year of his reign as Emperor and in the eighth moon. In four years it was all completed. The date of the palace, therefore, is 1374. It has been so thoroughly destroyed that it is difficult to tell what it was like, but a diagram of it is published in the history of the two Nanking kiens, which shows it to have formed an extensive pile of buildings. It was roofed with yellow dragon-tiles, some of which can still be obtained. There was evidently a fine garden, as there are remains of an artificial cave and rockery, said to have been a favourite resort of the Empress. Some of the old stone stairways, leading into the various halls, are still visible, with their beautiful carvings. The only building remaining now is the Ping-lung Tong, as it is popularly called, in which tradition says the Emperor was wont to imprison his refractory wives. I do not know the authority for this statement. The building is now used as a powder magazine. It is anything but Chinese in appearance; the walls are solid, made of brick, the form of the building rectangular. Well proportioned windows are set at regular distances in the sides; the roof is gabled but not carved, and there is but little cornice. If removed to England or America it would pass at once for an old-fashioned country meeting-house. A temple on the site of the palace contains
a tablet to the memory of Fung Hiao-su, the faithful secretary of
of Kien-wang, who refused to acknowledge Yung-loh as Emperor
and dared to call him "usurper" to his face, for which temerity he
was slain upon the palace steps hard by. In giving directions for
the building of the palace, Hung-wu ordered that all extravagant
decoration should be avoided; that everything should be simple and
plain. He further directed that a record of the deeds of ancient
worthies should be carved on the walls of one of the halls and the
text of the Ta Hioh. The five bridges at the front of the palace,
just inside the gates of the "Forbidden City," were beautifully
executed and remain in pretty good condition to this day. The
front gateway of this "Forbidden City" must have been especially
imposing. There are five gates, opposite the five dragon bridges
just mentioned. Three of these open out into a plaza before the
gates, while the remaining two, one on each side, open into two
flanking walls which extend along two sides of the plaza at right
angles to the main wall, and these two passages turning within the
walls open on to the same plaza from the sides. These two were
doubtless the gates in constant use, as they were easily defended and
would afford no view of the interior to curious passers-by. The two
protecting or flanking walls, one at each side of the gateway are
158 feet long. On the top of these walls, which are forty feet high,
are still visible the bases of the pillars which once supported the
lofty gatehouse and watch-tower that extended around the three
inclosed sides of the plaza just described.

As you come out of the "Forbidden City" towards the Hung-wu
Gate, you will see on your right two or three ancient p'ai-lou or
portals, and other ruins. This was the imperial execution-ground,
used for state criminals. An old stone standing in the centre of
a square, whose outline with four gateways is still visible, is
pointed out as the execution-block. The road from the palace
gate to the Hung-wu Mung, or as it was called in those days
the Chung-yang Mung, is straight as an arrow, and is known as
the Yü Lu, or Imperial Way, and is paved with large slabs of
stone, a variety of marble, making a road of about ten feet in
width.
The Hung-wu Gate led into what must have been an imperial park containing the altars to Heaven and Earth, the Ming tombs and other important buildings. Just outside the Hung-wu Gate, across the moat and about three hundred yards distant, are the ruins of an immense circular pavilion some two hundred feet in diameter. The stone bases of the pillars are still standing in two circles, one within the other. In numbers of places in this vicinity are ruins of old buildings which were roofed with green dragon tiles. About three quarters of a mile down the main road to the left of the Hung-wu Gate are the remains of the altars to Heaven and Earth, known now as the “Ta” and “Siao” Tien. The smaller adjoins the larger, which is a vast mound covered with broken bits of green tile and other débris. On the east can be outlined the terraces by which the ascent was made. The mound has been cut in two by a deep trench dug during the T’ai-p’ing Rebellion. In this trench were found several large stone bases, one of which measured some six feet square by four-and-a-half deep. This was without doubt the chief place of worship during the reign of Hung-wu. Here, as the great High Priest of his people, he offered sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. The present temple to Heaven at Peking, or the building commonly so called, has blue tiles. But this colour (Williams says) dates only from the reign of Hien Fung, of the present dynasty. Formerly the tiles there were of three colours—yellow, green and blue. Here, however, there are no remains of any but the green. Before reaching the Altar to Heaven the road divides, the branch to the left leading in the direction of the Ming tombs. In company with a friend I followed it up one day, feeling sure that this must have been the main road to the tombs, as it would not be at all in keeping with the imperial dignity to carry any member of the family to his last resting-place through the side-gate, and the Ch’ao-yang Mung is nothing else. We walked some distance beyond the parting of the ways, when we found the old road suddenly stopped by a dike of earth. A trench lay on the other side, doubtless a relic of T’ai-p’ing times. We could very easily trace the road beyond the trench, however, as the pavement is still visible for some distance, though overgrown
with grass, and when the pavement disappears the general configuration of the ground indicates the direction the road must have taken. We continued in this direction and finally struck the Chinkiang highway just beyond a lofty portal whose inscription requests officials to dismount. Several tablets are erected here at the side of the road, one of which, dating from the last emperor of the Mings, directs the officer in charge of the tombs to see that everything is kept in proper order, and warns all persons to avoid injuring the shrubbery, not to graze their cattle there or otherwise to damage the park, under penalty of capital punishment. This proves beyond a question that this was the main entrance to the inclosure of the tombs, and confirms the opinion expressed by Dr. Edkins on his visit there. The funeral processions must have passed out of the front gate of the Forbidden City down the Yü-lu through the Hung-wu Gate and thence along the road which we traced to this portal, which marks the entrance proper to the cemetery. The road turned to the west to pass through this portal and continued in this direction to the summit of the hill overlooking the city, when it again changed its course turning toward the north, leading to a great pile of masonry, pierced by three well-turned arches. This massive structure is built of brick, except the base, which is faced with polished stone, a variety of marble, worked into an ornamental dado. The inner edges of the arches also were originally faced with stone. The pile is 84 ft. long, 26 ft. wide and is 26 ft. high. The gargoyles projecting from the corners indicate that it once had a handsome roof. Passing through these arches the road continues a short distance towards the north, when it enters a still larger structure some 83 ft. square and 40 ft. in height. The walls are drawn in slightly as they rise, giving a still more substantial appearance. Four lofty arches, one on each side, give entrance to the interior of the pile, which is now open to the sky, the roof having long since fallen into decay. This inner chamber is 37 ft. square and contains in the centre a large tortoise 15½ ft. long by 8 ft. wide and rising nearly 6 ft. above its base, and together with its base forms one solid piece. A tablet stands upon its back which is 20 ft. in height and contains an account of the life of Hung-wu
with a list of his battles. Passing out of the west gate the road crossed a deep gully by a bridge which has entirely disappeared, save one abutment. From this point on nearly to the tomb the "dragon-way" winds between two lines of mammoth images of animals and men, thirty-two in number, two pairs of each variety, one pair in a sitting posture and one pair standing, except in the case of the men, who are all standing. The animals are lions, camels, elephants, the "Ch'i-ling," horses and one other nondescript having the body of a tiger with the hoof of a cow. The elephants are cut from solid blocks of stone, the largest measuring $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in length by $6\frac{1}{4}$ ft wide and 12 ft. high. The human images are two pairs of warriors clad in mail with war clubs in their hands, and two pairs of civil officials in their robes and bearing the mace of office. A stone portal of five gateways, beautifully executed, but now in ruins, closed the silent files, beyond which by winding curves the way approached the outer moat, which is spanned by three stone bridges, and entered the inclosure of the tomb. Within the entrance by a flight of stone steps we ascend a terrace on which formerly there stood some sort of hall. Several tablets are found there, among them one erected by K'ang-hi on his visit to Nanking. Other tablets have been destroyed. Descending and crossing a court we reach the site of the sacrificial hall, which has been entirely demolished. Beyond this we pass through a gate into another inclosure and cross the inner moat by what was once a handsome bridge with an ornamental balustrade of carved stone which is partially destroyed. Beyond this moat rises the p'ai lou, a massive structure of hewn stone about 130 ft. long, 60 ft. wide and 60 feet high. It is a solid mass penetrated by a tunnel which, starting from the middle of the front at the base, rises gradually on an inclined plane toward the rear. An inclined way continues from the rear around both ends to the summit, on which stands a large hall whose roof has fallen in. Here formerly no doubt was placed the tablet bearing the posthumous title of the Emperor, but it has entirely disappeared. The grave is in an immense circular mound, partly natural, partly artificial, about half-a-mile in circumference, which stands behind the p'ai lou. Tradition
says this mound is built of earth brought from each of the eighteen
provinces. The tomb was begun to be built by Hung-wu in the first
year of his reign but must have required many years for completion.
Two members of his family died while he occupied the throne—his
eldest son and his wife. Both were buried in this mound. There
were formerly three mounds, but early in the present dynasty, when
the place was put in order, these three were built into one as we see
it now. The tomb, according to Dr. Edkins, is similar to those at
Peking and, if built on the same plan, each mound contains in the
centre a large circular vault, capable of holding several hundred per-
sons. The entrance to the chief one, Hung-wu's, which is the middle
one, is by a tunnelled passage closed by the stone wall just behind
the p'ai lou. When the body of a dead Emperor is laid away, I have
been told, a lamp is placed in the vault, fed by a large k'ang of oil
and called the "wan-nien-t'eng" or "lamp of ten thousand years,"
and the entrance is sealed up never to be opened again. My teacher
says he can remember visiting the place before the T'ai-p'ing Re-
bellion, when he was a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, and
paying an entrance fee of four cash. At that time, he says, there
were in the sacrificial hall a large table for the sacrifices and two
great chairs, said to be one for the Emperor and the other for his
Empress. The hills were covered with beautiful trees and the
"stone avenue" was bordered by rows of them. Since that time the
whole place has been laid waste by the T'ai-p'ings. Adjoining the
imperial burial-ground was another famous resort, the "Ling-seuh
Sz," with its remarkable rafterless hall, the "Wu-liang Tien" built
by the assistance of Hung-wu. The monastery dates from the Liang
dynasty and was founded by Pao Chi, a celebrated monk of that age,
who is credited with having invented the theory that the tortures of
the damned may be relieved by the tolling of a bell, which furnished
the Buddhist priests with a new occupation. He was a favourite
counsellor of the Liang Wu-ti and by his aid established his mon-
astery on the hill now occupied by the sepulchre of Hung-wu. In
order to obtain this hill for himself, Hung-wu gave the monks the
beautiful spirit vale and erected for them the great pile of buildings,
ruins of which are still seen scattered through the grove. A finely
drawn portrait of the founder, Pao Chi, is preserved there on a stone tablet. The artist was Wu Tao-ts'z, one of the most famous painters of China, who lived in the T'ang dynasty, and is worshipped, Dr. Edkins tells me, by the Japanese, as the god of painting. A few verses are cut beside the drawing which are ascribed to Li T'ai-p'eh, a noted poet, also of the T'ang dynasty. The verses give a brief sketch of the founder's history, who was, we are told, found, when an infant, in an eagle's nest and brought up by a poor farmer, though his embroidered robes indicated that he really belonged to some wealthy family. But the most interesting object at Ling-kuh Sz is the "Wu-liang Tien," mentioned above. The building is about 140 feet long and 75 feet wide. It is built entirely of brick and stone, no wood at all being used. The structure consists of a nave and two aisles, and the roof is one splendid arch whose ends rest upon the smaller arches which cover the aisles. The walls are from 10 to 12 feet in thickness. The only light admitted, save through the doors, comes from two windows fixed high up in the ends of the nave. To what use the building was put, is difficult to say. Dr. Edkins expressed the opinion that it was the picture gallery of the monastery, as the history of the place speaks of a building devoted to this purpose, but the want of light would seem to be a serious objection to this theory. The Drum Tower, which still stands in a very good state of preservation, was built on the summit of the first hill outside the old North Gate. It dates from the third year of his reign. A bell tower formerly stood near by on the west, but has been destroyed. The place, however, is still known as the "Chung-ku Lou" (the bell-drum tower) and is located about half-way between the South Gate and the Z-fung Mung, which is the gate nearest the river-landing, so that a local saying in common use is "Shang tsih, sha pah" (Seven up and eight down,) i.e. seven li from South Gate to the Drum Tower and eight from there to Hia-kwan. A large tablet is erected here in memory of the visit of K'ang-hi, and preserves an exhortation delivered by him to the Nankingese, reproving them for pride and extravagance and recommending economy. The structure which covers it, used as a Buddhist temple, has been built since the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion. Another
interesting relic of the period is a large bell cast in the twenty-first year of Hung-wu, which is now suspended in a temple not far from the Drum Tower. It is 18 ft. long and 7 ft. across the mouth. The metal is from 3 to 4 in. in thickness. Whether it was ever used before or not is doubtful, as it contains a serious flaw in the upper part which greatly injures its tone, and until two years ago it lay half-buried in an open field, furnishing a home for beggars. The natives were wont to tell marvellous stories about it: how it fell down from heaven, and how the T'ai-p'ing rebels tried to lift it up but failed. A strange prophecy was circulated that the bell could never be raised until Nanking should enter on a new era of prosperity. It is significant, or might be to those who trusted in the prophecy, that it was at last raised by the aid of foreign machinery and suspended in a tower whose frame-work is of hollow iron castings. And when it was raised, lo! this legend greeted those who had told of its fall from heaven: “Hung-wu 'rh-shih-yih nien, kiu yueh, kih 'rh chu.” A more romantic story tells us that when Hung-wu ordered the bell to be cast, he directed that a certain amount of the precious metals should be put in the melting furnace, but that they would not unite, and after various founders had exhausted their skill, a noted artisan was summoned and commanded to furnish the bell in a certain number of days or lose his head. In vain did he labour; the refractory metals would not fuse and the master naturally betrayed some anxiety. His eldest daughter noticing her father's careworn look persuaded him to tell her the cause. She fell asleep that night, weeping over the doom that threatened their home, and in her sleep dreamed that the blood of a virgin alone would cause the metals to unite. Awakening she arose and dressed herself, and while doing so aroused her two younger sisters, who inquired her purpose. After refusing some time to tell, she yielded to their entreaties, and they, in spite of her remonstrances, insisted on accompanying her. So the three sisters made their way to the furnace and leaped into the molten sea. At once three great bells sprang aloft into the air. One fell in the Yangtsze, a second in the Imperial City and the third is this which alone remains. Images of the three maidens are set up in the temple where it hangs, and
the ashes of the incense burned on their altar is said to be a sure
cure for all manner of ills. The shrine is a very popular one with
women.

The present city wall was not finished until the twenty-third
year of Hung-wu. It then contained thirteen gates: east of the
palace the Ch'ao-yang Ming, south of the palace the Chung-yang
Ming, now known as the Hung-wu Ming, next in regular order the
T'ung-tai, the Nan Ming (at that time called the Taü Pao), the
San-shan, the present Shui-si Mung, the Shih-ch'ung, or, as we call
it, the Han-si Mung, the Tsing-liang Mung, now closed, the Ting
Hwai, also closed, the I-fung, the Siao-tung Mung or Little East
Gate (sometimes called the Chung-feu Mung), now closed, the King-
chuang, also closed, the Shung-tsei and the T'ai-p'ing. Besides
these there is another closed gate on the north, unknown to the
maps, and formerly there was a little gate west of the T'ai-p'ing
Gate, known as the Hei-hu Siao Mung, the Back-lake Little Gate.
The wall is ninety-six li in length (about thirty-two miles) and
with three men to each embrasure will require an army of fifty-two
thousand men to defend the battlement. The wall was built so as
to furnish two hundred and forty-seven projections for batteries,
which would require twelve hundred cannoneers. It was the desire
of Hung-wu to include Purple Mountain in the city, lest at some
time it should fall into the hands of an enemy (an event which
happened in the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion), and put the city at the mercy
of their cannon, but this would make the inclosure too vast for
effective defence, and he contented himself with forming a chain of
outposts encircling the city. There were eighteen of these posts
commanding the chief approaches to the capital, and each one called
a gate.

These names (with two exceptions) still remain to remind us of
his plan of defence: Yao-fang, Sien-ho, Ts'ang-po, Ch'i-hing,
Kao-k'iao, Shwang-k'iao, Ta-ang-teh, Siao-ang-teh, Shih-ch'ung-
kwăn, Kiang-tung, Wai-king-chwan, Fu-hing, Shang-yuen, Kwan-
ying, Shang-fang, Kiah-kan, Fung-t'ai and Swing-siang. While
speaking of the wall it may be interesting to note that the first
wall built about the city was by the Prime Minister of Yueh Kwoh,
named Fang Li. This state existed from 537 to 334 B.C., the capital being in Chekiang. This wall was but two li and eighty paces in length, and inclosed the town of Ma-ling Hsien, which was situated just outside the present South Gate, where the arsenal now stands. It is not identical with the present Ma-ling. The oldest part of Nanking therefore lies outside the South Gate, and from four or five hundred years before Christ down to the present time there has been a walled city on the site of this ancient capital. One of the most useful works of Hung-wu was the construction of the great highway from Nanking to Peking by way of Fung-yang Fu. I have had the privilege of travelling over it as far as Fung-yang, and have been astonished by the skill shown and the expense lavished upon it. Even as it is now, in ruins, a carriage could be driven with very little difficulty the whole way. The roadway throughout its entire length, except where broken at a few places, is from twenty-five to thirty feet in width, is well graded, and drained by ditches at either side. The bed of the road is built up in some places from twelve to fifteen feet above the fields. Whether it was originally paved throughout its whole length or not, is difficult to say. I am inclined to think that it was, as there are remains of the pavement scattered all along. The bridges are models of architecture, built of stone with many well-turned arches. The three largest have five, seven and twelve arches respectively, spanning three large rivers, which are crossed. The road is still the chief thoroughfare for travel to and from the north-west, and long caravans are daily seen moving over its course. It is a great pity that the road has been allowed to fall into neglect, and a great shame that a little of the vast sums of money annually wrung from the people should not be used in making similar roads in other parts of the Empire. Hung-wu was on the throne thirty-one years, and died at the age of seventy-one. Judging from the portraits published of him, he was not a handsome man. That in the monastery at Fung-yang Fu shows him to have been a spare man, with thin face, high cheek-bones, a long, hooked nose, and a strong mouth firmly closed by a heavy, projecting under jaw, indicating a powerful will. The tablet at
the tomb represents him as wearing long whiskers, but he has a clean face in the picture just mentioned. He was apparently a man of generous mind, of quick, active temperament, a man of strong passions, and in his later years very irritable, but like many such men easily turned from his wrath and ready to forgive. He was a man of profound wisdom and a keen judge of men. He was emphatically a soldier, but in all his operations he seems to have consulted the welfare of the people. At the siege of Ho-yang his officers carried off a number of the women, but Hung-wu, as soon as he heard of it, restored them to their homes. He was no lover of luxury, as was perhaps natural in one who had spent the greater part of his life in camp. On one occasion an officer came to him with gifts of gold and precious stones, hoping to win his favor. Hung-wu refused the gifts saying:—"I have no use for these things; I want men, good, able men or useful articles such as grain or cotton." He left an axiom to his officers that the best soldiers of other lands would doubtless approve. He said:—"A General should make his operations like a sweeping fire, but he should not love slaughter. That is not to the interest of the kingdom, but on the contrary destroys its happiness."

To his wife, Maw Heu, must be ascribed a great deal of the leniency which he exhibited in his treatment of his captives and others. She is reported to have said:—"We do not know for whom Heaven has destined the throne, but we do know that the hearts of the people will turn to him who does not love to kill." The elevation of the little slave-girl of Ch‘u-chen to the lofty seat of an Empress is a strange event, yet not so remarkable when we reflect that her rise was due alone to the success of her husband; but that she should worthily fill this position and prove a helpmeet for her husband, is most extraordinary and shows that Chinese women are no less capable when opportunity offers than their sisters of other lands. "The hand that rocks the cradle" may "rule the world" in all continents. This woman had a remarkable influence over her husband from her first acquaintance with him, when she served in his uncle's house,
down to the day of her death. This seems to have been one of those rare cases in China of marriage with love; and the Chinese who have little that is good to say of woman in their literature, do great honour to themselves in the appreciation they show of the Empress in their histories of this period.

The Chinese historian says of her:—“Her disposition was reverential, economical, charitable and virtuous. She ever exhorted her husband to lay up merit and not wantonly to shed blood. The Emperor loved her, and after her death chose no other Empress.”

When this noble woman was taken from him he seemed to become an entirely changed man—peevish, harsh and violent. He forgot many of the fine maxims he had adopted at the beginning of his reign. Though he had passed such stringent laws against the Buddhist, she gathered quite a number of monks into the palace, and one of these, a clever man whom he sent to his son Yung-loh at Peking, was the adviser of that son in his rebellion a few years later against Kien Wun. He grew suspicious too, and descended to the most cowardly and unworthy means to discover accusations against him, employing spies to go about among the people and listen to their conversation. If one was heard breathing a word against his Majesty, he and his household were immediately exterminated. One old woman was executed for speaking of him as “Lao-t’eu-tsz.” Thousands of people are said to have been slain in these freaks of temper. He was very cruel in his punishments too. He is said to have flayed people alive, and one of his Ministers who was accused of plotting treason was torn to pieces little by little. It is said very few of his Ministers died a natural death.

All this seems out of harmony with his earlier character, and much of it must no doubt be ascribed to the loneliness and childishness of a widowed old age. Much as we must deplore these faults, we can overlook them for the sake of the many virtues which he displayed. Judging him fairly and impartially we must admit that he was a most remarkable man. The verdict of the Chinese historian does not seem extravagant: “From the most ancient times there has been no emperor like him.” He was the Napoleon of
China, and, making all due allowance for the differences between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries and between Europe and China, there are many striking resemblances in the lives and fortunes of the two men. Each seems to have been born for a particular crisis in the history of his native land. Both were brought into prominence by revolutionary struggles. Both rose by the power of the sword from a plebeian poverty to the possession of imperial honours. Both were skillful soldiers, and the genius of the Corsican corporal, his keenness to detect the weak point in his adversary's position, his celerity of movement and power of combination, his coolness, and, when necessary, his recklessness and daring, had their counterparts in his predecessor of the Celestial Empire. Napoleon was the greater soldier, but he was not so wise an emperor. He won a throne, but lost it by his folly. Hung-wu, on the contrary, established a dynasty that lasted for three hundred years, and one that has indelibly impressed itself upon the history of China.

A short discussion followed Mr. Williams paper, in which the Chairman and several members took part, and the proceedings terminated with a cordial vote of thanks to the learned lecturer.

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1890-91.

The Council of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society beg to present their report for the year ending the 30th of April 1891.
1. Council.—At the annual meeting, held on the 19th May 1890, the following members were elected office-bearers of the Society:

P. J. Hughes, M.A.,
P. G. von Möllendorff, Esq.,
Joseph Edkins, D.D.,
Wm. Bright, Esq.,
Thos. Brown, Esq.,
Rev. Ernst Faber, D.D.,
Carl Bock, Esq.,
J. Ritter von Haas,
R. A. Jamieson, M.A., M.D.,
D. C. Jansen, Esq.,
G. M. H. Playfair, Esq.,
Rev. A. Williamson, D.D.,

President.
Vice-Presidents.
Honorary Secretary.
Honorary Treasurer.
Honorary Librarian.
Hon. Curator of Museum.

Of these, our late honoured President, Mr. P. J. Hughes and the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Wm. Bright, resigned, at their departure from Shanghai; whilst in the case of the much lamented Rev. Dr. A. Williamson, his unexpected end has deprived the Society of one of its ablest supporters. At the request of the Council, Dr. Edkins has acted as President, and Mr. J. Mencarini was appointed to the post of Honorary Secretary.

2. Members.—Fourteen new members joined the Society during 1890-91; eight retired, and one ordinary member was elected honorary member. The roll on the 30th April last stood thus:—1 Honorary Protector, 8 Honorary Members, 23 Correspondent Members, 228 Ordinary Members (8 of whom are Life Members).

3. Meetings.—The following three papers have been read at general meetings of the Society:—"The Fish-skin Tartars, their Sable and Seal Hunting and Bear Feasts," by Mr. M. F. A. Fraser; "Yunnan: Its Routes and Treasures," by General W. Mesny; and "The Probable Foreign Origin of the Ass, the Cat and the Sheep in China," by Dr. D. J. Macgowan. At the annual meeting a very interesting paper on "Hung-wu and His Capital," by Rev. E. T. Williams, of Nanking, will be read.

4. Journal.—Some of the above-named papers will be printed in due time in the Society's Journal. The printers have now in
hand a most valuable work of Dr. Bretschneider on the "Botany of the Chinese Classics," the publication of which on account of its length and technical difficulties has been much delayed. Indeed, some time must yet elapse before it can be presented to the members, as the volume for 1891. Dr. Faber has kindly undertaken the difficult task of correcting the printers' proofs and adding many notes, which will render the work the most comprehensive and useful book which has yet appeared on Chinese Botany. Many answers have been kindly sent in response to the Council's circular requesting information on "Inland Communications," but still much more information is wanted to make a complete repertoire on this most interesting subject.

5. Officers' Reports.—The Honorary Treasurer's, Librarian's, and Curator's reports are herewith published. The Honorary Treasurer reports that he has been able to collect a considerable sum of subscriptions in arrears. The Society's financial position, as will be seen by the accounts, is in a most satisfactory state, thanks to the energy of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Thos. Brown. The Honorary Librarian's report shows how much the Society is indebted to Dr. E. Faber for his untiring work. Under his experienced care the Society can now boast of having a most carefully classified Library. As will be seen by the Honorary Curator's report, the Society's Museum has been enriched by several of the most rare and unique specimens of Chinese butterflies from Captain Yankowsky's renowned collection. These were selected and purchased at auction by the Honorary Curator, Mr. Carl Bock.

On Mr. P. J. Hughes, late Consul-General for Great Britain, retiring from the Presidency of the Society, the Council, to mark their high appreciation of the very valuable services rendered by him to the Society, nominated him an Honorary Member. This distinction was unanimously voted at a general meeting held on the 20th of April last.

For the Council,

J. Mencarini.

Hon. Secretary.
Hon. Treasurer's Report.

In presenting my accounts I have nothing special to remark beyond the fact that the period covered is for 16 months, viz. from January 1st, 1890, to April 30th, 1891. This has been done in order to bring the fiscal year down to the same date as the Secretary's report.

Thomas Brown,
Hon. Treasurer.

June 19th, 1891.
THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM.

Dr.

For the period ended April 30th, 1891.

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| Taels               | 1,220| 64   |

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, 30th April 1891.

Compared with Vouchers and found correct,

A. W. Danforth.

Henry Schiotz.

SHANGHAI, 19th June 1891.

THOMAS BROWN,
Hon. Treasurer.
THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

For the period ended April 30th, 1891.

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E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, April 30th, 1891.

Compared with Vouchers and found correct.

A. W. DANFORTH.

HENRY SCHIOTZ.

Shanghai, 19th June 1891.

THOMAS BROWN,

Hon. Treasurer.
CURATOR'S REPORT.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. H. B. Endicott for presenting to the Museum a fine specimen of a rare New Zealand bird, the *kiwi kiwi*, or *Aptenyx Mantelli*. It is the only family still in existence of the giant Moa birds of New Zealand, and is yearly approaching extinction. Also a beautiful specimen of an African lion has been presented by Mr. Frame, of the Chinese Zoological Gardens. The Society has bought part of the fine collection of butterflies made by Captain Yankowsky, but unfortunately they have not been named and classified yet, as Captain Yankowsky's catalogue has not been found. It is hoped that the work of naming and classification will be done at some future time, when types of comparison and the literature, necessary for the determination of species, will be found.

CARL BOOK,

_Hon. Curator of the Museum._
The library is gradually coming into a satisfactory condition. 269 volumes have been bound during the year. The library room was kept open seven hours a day. Mr. Wang spends much time there and assists the visitors to find the books they wish to see. Some visitors spend hours in reading and making notes. There can be no doubt that the library will become more useful to scholars every year. In order to increase its usefulness efforts should be made towards a complete collection of books on China and the Far East. The literature on other parts of Asia might also be better represented. Members and friends of the Society could assist us by donations of books. Especially authors should consider it a privilege to present a copy of their publications for exhibition in our library. Some duplicates may be had in exchange.

E. Faber,

Hon. Librarian.

Shanghai, May 1891.
Minutes of Proceedings at a General Meeting held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Monday, 9th November 1891, at 9 p.m.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the chair. There was a small attendance.

At the opening of the proceedings the Chairman said:—As he presented himself before the Society that evening for the first time as President, he felt it incumbent upon him to thank them for the honour they had done him. They had a new President, a new Secretary, and they were then meeting in a new room, and he hoped the President and Secretary would prove as good as the room was, and that they might all get on and do as much for the Society as the room in its present state was likely to do for it. He was afraid he would be able to help them very little in scientific attainments or knowledge of China. He had been so long absent from this country that his knowledge of it was derived from the old days, but he would promise to take a cordial interest in the proceedings of the Society; he hoped to be able to attend to it, and he knew the members would accord to him the assistance and support they had always given their Presidents.

The Secretary (Mr. Volpicielli) then read a list of the new members, and the minutes of the last meeting having been taken as read,

Mr. Kingsmill then read his paper entitled "A Comparative Table of the Ancient Lunar Asterisms" which is printed in extenso pp. 44-79 of this volume.

Astronomical history, the writer said, may be said to have had its beginning about the year 2150 B.C., when the astronomers of Chaldea substituted solar for lunar observations, and marked out the Zodiac into the twelve signs, which, with little change, still survive. Prior to this date the moon had kept guard over the calendar, and the seasons of the year were connected with the position of the moon amongst the stars bordering the ecliptic. As,
however, the anomalous month was not commensurate with any even number of solar days, a difficulty was always experienced in the accurate division of the groups, which, however, were pretty regularly divided into twenty-seven or twenty-eight, the latter number finally for the most part prevailing. There is evidence of a former very wide extension of the Asterisms from China to Greece, and even to Italy; and Chinese, Indians, ancient Persians and Arabians have preserved the knowledge of the entire, while a considerable number are preserved in old Grecian lore. In Arabia they have come down as the twenty-eight manazils; and the mazzaroth of the Books of Job and II Chronicles have by competent authorities been interpreted to indicate their extension into ancient Chaldea and Palestine. The change from the lunar to the solar calendar did not take place without opposition, and mythology preserves some tales which can only be referred to the strife between the two: as when in Europe at the reform of the calendar, as late as the sixteenth century, the ignorant crowd demanded back the ten days which they alleged had been stolen from them.

In the early lore of China these myths are frequent; thus the Shu-king tells of T'ai k'ang, that he went wandering across the Ho; attempting to return, his passage was obstructed by the great hunter I, who dethroned him and occupied the government for twenty-seven years, the tale plainly alluding to the crossing of the zodiac by the sun, and its return at the vernal equinox, when the great hunter Orion was found shooting his arrow (now his belt) at the Pleiades, which then marked the equinoctial point. So Wushun, the especial solar hero of the Chinese, had to undergo his trial of twenty-eight years, i.e. passed through the entire zodiac, before his confirmation.

Sundry attempts, founded evidently on astronomical formulas, have been made in China to establish a chronology. The most popular makes the state to have began with ten dynasties and the united number of whose reigns mounts up to 216, evidently related to the number of minutes (21,600) in the great circle of the zodiac. The ten dynasties must be referred to the same source as the ten antediluvian kings of Berosus, whose united reigns amounted to 120 sin of 3,600 years, or 420,000 years in all, where the same numbers
are repeated, or the ten antediluvian patriarchs of Genesis, whose united years, deducting the times lived before the birth of the successor, the overlap of constellations apparently amounts to just 7,200 (short by a year), and is still divisible by the ideal number 3,600 (so also in Persia) history is made to begin with the ten sovereigns of the Paishadian dynasty (an artificial number adopted to suit some ancient tradition). In China no trace is to be found of these pretended legends till after the time of the Emperor Wu, whose ambassadors opened communication with the West, and it was from the knowledge there acquired that in 105 B.C. that monarch ventured on introducing the present Chinese calendar, calling the year by the appropriate name of T'ai-ch'io (grand beginning). Previously the calendar had been permitted to fall into hopeless confusion, so that none had any clue to the course of time; in Siang Wang's time (625 B.C.) the Shi ki tells us three intercalary moons had to be added, and as no written record of any sort goes much beyond the year 721 B.C., Sze-ma Tien, in his history, makes no attempt to found an earlier chronology.

The so-called dynastic records of early China begin in myth, and repeat themselves closely, even those of the earlier Chows are little more than fairy tales. The handsome Muh and his eight horses, his visit to the realms of Si-wang-mu (Samern), and his feasting at the K'wen-lun, i.e. with the Gandharvas, are a fit sequel to the myth of the dawn brothers, Tan and Fat, and the battle of Makyoe, with which the record opens. The previous dynasty of the Shang-yin, with its twenty-eight sovereigns compounded of the calendric stems, is even more purely astronomical, and, as in the story of T'ai k'ang, told above, we find P'an K'ang, the equivalent of Wei, the 16th Lunar Mansion, crossing again the Ho (the equinox), the autumnal equinox B.C. 1600 actually being marked by the full moon in that asterism.

The whole myth of the dynasty refers indeed to the passage of the sun through the zodiac every year, and is as little historical as the twelve "Labours" of Hercules, which were a generation ago still taught to school-boys as genuine history. It is possible to trace the myth to the land whence sprung those Aryan tribes to
which Indians, Iranians, Chinese and Greeks owe so many common traditions. Iranian legends tell us of the happy land of Yima Kshaetra, the Airyana Vaejo, where was no cold, no heat, no old age, nor death. But it was not always to remain so, the climate became cold and wintry, and with the snows came the hordes of plundering Turcomans, who compelled the settled inhabitants to quit their once happy homes, dispersing them south, west, and east, to India, Iran, and even to the distant T'ien-shan. At this latter point, in K'ii, we find the ancestors of the Chows settled some twelve centuries B.C., but they were not yet to escape the persecution of the Turkish tribes, so under King Wan and his two sons, the Chinese Dioscuri Wu Wang and Chow Kung, they poured into Northern China, assuming the government of the pastoral tribes and impressing on them their cult, and even in great measure their language. Here they called themselves Li-min, i.e. Aryan men, a name curiously twisted, when their blood had degenerated through admixture with the aborigines, to mean the "black-haired race," an utterly impossible derivation.

The paper proceeded to give a general description of the Mansions as found from China to Arabia. The Chinese system must originally have commenced with the stars in the forefront of Scorpio, the Fang (Fang or Chamber) of the Chinese, literally the Cancer from which the chariot of the sun rushed when he was about to commence his annual journey. Some of the stations are of more than ordinary interest, being connected with widespread legends, that of Ki seventh on the ordinary list is thus connected with the myth of Kitsze who fled from the Court of the hated Chow of Yin to appear again in the land of the saffron dawn Ch'oun-sien, by the enhemerists said to be Korea. The legend of Ki (the winnowing tray) goes further, for we find the p'ufra one of instruments given by Ahura-Mazdu to Yima himself in the golden paradise of Airyano Vaejo. More interesting still, from the light it throws on old legend, is the sixteenth, the Low of the Chinese Alpha and Beta Arietis; the writer showed that etymologically the name is connected with the Aqvinau (or twin horsemen) of the Indians, whose name was originally Daqvinau (the vedettes), whose
peeping over the horizon, 2200 B.C. announced the coming vernal equinox. With the precession of the equinoxes the twin horsemen were placed in Gemini, the two conspicuous stars, Castor and Pollux taking the place of the older but displaced vedettes. The Shi-king contains [II. 4. II.] a hymn referring to these stars, which the author translated and pointed out the resemblance to the Greek myth of Eos and Tithonus.

The closing groups of the system evidently relate to the celestial chariot, with its archer Chang (No. 26) rushing towards the goal, the Pi (now No. 3). We have here in succession the flank crossbar and pole headed by the yoke K'ang (2), which is on the very point of reaching the goal, the Meta of the Roman circus.

The writer referred to the curious fact that for so many centuries the celestial map had remained unchanged, and that the constellations when carefully studied afford a record of much that is interesting and much that is valuable in the history of humanity.

Discussion on the paper was then invited by the Chairman.

In the course of a few brief remarks Dr. Edkins called attention to the fact that the visitor to Peking always gets the impression that it is the capital of a country which cultivates astronomy, and probably it is the only city in the world in which this idea is brought before the traveller. There is something very creditable in the way in which the Chinese forward the claims of astronomy, and it is a mark of the ancient and very high civilisation of China.

Dr. Faber pointed out that the care the Chinese devoted to the science of astronomy was, primarily, for the mere purpose of arranging the calendar.

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Minutes of Proceedings at a General Meeting held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Tuesday, 24th November 1891, at 9 p.m.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the chair. There was a good attendance.
The President, after a brief introduction, called upon Professor Hitchcock to deliver his lecture on "The Ancient Tombs and Burial Mounds of Japan."

Prof. Hitchcock began by observing that we are accustomed to regard all ancient religious worship as mere superstitious observances of ignorant peoples. But the burial customs of prehistoric nations and tribes have preserved to us many precious relics of primitive culture, and tell us in unmistakable language that the belief in a future life is one of the oldest among the many, far less rational, upheld at the present day. While the form and structure of the Japanese mounds were now known, thanks to the as yet unpublished researches of his companion in many journeys in Japan, Mr. W. Gowland, their early origin was yet to be traced. It was surmised that a few at least of the Japanese burial customs were derived from China. In the course of his own travels in the north he had failed to discover any indications of the existence of mounds like those in Japan; but he still expected to hear of them from some experienced traveller in the interior of this vast empire. Referring to the origin of the tombs, the lecturer said the first Emperor, who lived in the 7th century B.C., is supposed to be buried in Yamato, and the tombs of his successors are pointed out by the Imperial Household Department. The identity of the sepulchres may be questioned, but it is a fact that we can distinguish consecutive modifications of form apparently corresponding to successive periods of time. Several distinct methods of interment have prevailed at different periods in Japan. They may be conveniently distinguished as follows: (1) burial in artificial rock caves, (2) in simple earth-mounds with or without coffins, (3) in rock chambers or dolmens, (4) in double, or Imperial mounds. The lecturer then proceeded to illustrate the appearance of these different kinds of mounds by the aid of photograph slides thrown on to a screen. He showed that the double mounds were invariably protected by a wide and deep moat, sometimes by two, and consisted of two distinct mounds with a depression between them. One of these double mounds at Nintoku Tenno, near Sakai, according to Japanese reckoning, dates from about the fourth century. The height is
about 100 feet and the circuit of the base 1,526 yards. The Emperor Kei Tai, who is reported to have lived in the 6th century, was one of the last Emperors known to have been buried in a double mound. Some mounds have terraced sides, and this form is said to date from about the 7th century. Large quantities of clay cylinders were used for the purpose of preserving the terraces against the effects of the weather. When the covering of earth is removed it is found that the stone chamber beneath, which contained the coffin, opens through passages often 40 feet and sometimes 60 feet long. The earth has in many cases been washed away from the mounds, exposing the rocks which were piled over the central chamber. According to a Japanese authority, in all the sepulchres the first order of performing the burials was the piling up of the earthen mound, leaving an underground tunnel leading from the outside to the very centre of the mound. This mound completed, the coffin, usually carved and made of stone, in which the corpse was placed, and sealed, was then introduced through the tunnel and placed in the centre of the mound, and the tunnel was then filled up with stones. The lecturer, however, said the coffins were not always introduced through the galleries, and the tunnels were certainly not filled up with stones, although their ends were probably closed with stones. He inferred from his own observations that the chambers were frequently if not usually built round the coffins. Stone and clay coffins had been found together in one cave, showing them to have been contemporaneous. After showing a number of photographs of the pottery discovered in the mounds, the lecturer drew attention to a number of small clay figures representing human beings. He said it was a very ancient custom in Japan to bury the retainers of a Prince standing upright around his grave. Like many other customs this also came from China. In the time of the Japanese Emperor Guinin [97-80 n.c.] his younger brother died, and they buried all who had been in his immediate service, around his tomb alive. "For many days they died not, but wept and cried aloud. At last they died. Dogs and crows assembled and ate them. The Emperor's compassion was aroused, and he desired to change the custom. When the empress Hibatsu-hime-no-Mikoto
died, the Mikado inquired of his officers, saying: 'We know that the practice of following the dead is not good. What shall be done?' Nomi-no-Sukune then said: 'It is not good to bury living men standing, at the sepulchre of a prince, and this cannot be handed down to posterity.' He then proposed to make clay figures of men and horses and to bury them as substitutes. The Mikado was well pleased with the plan, and ordered that henceforth the old custom should not be followed, but that clay images should be set up round the sepulchre instead.' Even as late as the year 646 an edict was published forbidding the burial of living persons and also the burial of "gold, silver brocade, diaper or any kind of variegated thing." From this it might be inferred that the old custom of living burial was kept up to some extent even to the 7th century. The edict reads: "Let there be complete cessation of all such ancient practices as strangling one's self to follow the dead, or strangling others to make them follow the dead, or of killing the dead man's horse, or burying treasures in the tomb for the dead man's sake, or cutting the hair, or stabbing the thigh, or wailing for the dead man's sake." The figures of clay thus introduced as substitutes for human sacrifices, and also to take the place of horses, are known as tsuchi ningyo. Specimens of them are now very rare, and this fact leads to the supposition that the figures were not buried but left exposed on the surface of the ground.

The Chairman, on behalf of the Society, thanked Prof. Hitchcock for his very interesting lecture, and M. Vosy-Bourbon for his kindness in manipulating the lantern.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Edkins pointed out the resemblance which existed between the stone relics found in Japan and China and in Europe, as indicating the existence of communication between distant lands in those days. It was also very interesting to note that, in the very earliest ages, men had been possessed with the idea of a future life for the soul.

Dr. Henry observed that the investigation of burial mounds was a field of antiquarian research in which scarcely anything had been done; and he urged that the attention of members should be directed to this subject.
Mr. T. W. Kingsmill pointed out the existence of a series of 
mounds stretching from Wongdoo to Tachanchow which might 
repay research. With regard to the custom of burying alive a 
number of retainers with a departed monarch, there was a descrip-
tion of such an event in one of the old Chinese books.

The President closed the meeting by thanking the gentlemen 
who had contributed to the evening's entertainment in the discus-
sion.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AT A GENERAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S 
LIBRARY, MUSEUM ROAD, SHANGHAI, ON FRIDAY, 29TH JANUARY 
1892, AT 9 P.M.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the chair. There were 
about 20 members and their friends present.

At the opening of the proceedings the Chairman announced that 
no new members had joined since the last meeting, and there was 
no preliminary business to transact. He therefore called upon 
Dr. Edkins to read the paper translated from the Russian by 
Mr. M. F. A. Fraser, entitled "A Journey to the Upper 
Waters of the Orkhon and the Ruins of Karakorum," by 
M. N. Yadruntseff.

Dr. Edkins, after indicating on the map the position of 
Karakorum, the ancient capital of the Mongols, then proceeded as 
follows:—

The object of the expedition was the exploration of the Orkhon 
Valley not only geographically and ethnographically, but also archaeo-
logically. I chose this part of Mongolia for my journey because it 
presents a peculiar interest for historical geography. It was visited by 
Marco Polo, Plano Carpini [in 1246] and Rubruquis [in 1252], but it 
has been hardly touched by contemporary travellers, as it is now a 
desert and has lost its early historical significance. The Russian 
explorers of Mongolia—N. M. Prjevalsky, G. N. Potanin, 
M. N. Pevtsoff—have done much to make it known, but still many
localities in it have never been explored in detail. One of these spots is the valley of the Orkhon, concerning the upper waters of which river there have been many misunderstandings, contradictions and inaccuracies published. It suffices to mention that the Tola, a river well known to the Chinese as an affluent of the Orkhon, has been put down on many of the most recent maps as falling into the Khora-gol. The course of the upper Orkhon has been marked as vaguely and variously. The river Khadosyn has been put for the Kharukha; the Narin as an affluent of the Ugei-Nor, though in reality it flows out of Lake Ugei-Nor. For a long time it was not known that there are two Orkhons as far as to the Lake Ugei and not one. The upper course of the Orkhon deserved more accurate investigation, in view of its historic-geographical significance. There, according to all indications, was the very centre of the Mongol Empire; here were the first capitals of the Chinggisides, and on the Orkhon was founded the renowned capital Karakorum by Chinggis Khan himself, their great ancestor.

Enjoying the support of the East Siberian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and the protection of H. E. Count A. P. Ignatieff, we engaged in our Mongolian expedition in the summer of 1889. The personnel of the expedition was not numerous. The Buriat taisha S. A. Piroskhoff (educated in a Russian gymnase), performed the rôle of interpreter or translator; Lieut. Symlofski carried on the topographical work and took marching surveys; a baptised Mongol coolie, taken on at Kiakhta, and a Mongol guide who had been on the Tamir and the Tola; with myself, five in all. The E. S. Branch could allow us 400 roubles. It is hardly necessary to say we could not have gone with such funds; therefore S. A. Piroskhoff added 200 roubles, like a gentleman of means, and the remaining expenses, over 400 roubles, I took upon myself. We were fitted out with stores, and our preparations made cheaply by the Kiakhta merchant I. D. Simtsyn; with such small funds it was difficult to do much.

Among the other ends in view we had it in contemplation to ascertain the nature and extent of the advance of Chinese colonisation towards our boundaries on the Orkhon, and to observe the
nomad life of the Mongols, comparing it in our day with what we know from extant descriptions as it was in ancient times. Our route was the following: Kiakhta, along the Orkhan to the River Khoragol, up the latter to the temples of Dortkhe, over the mountains to the River Tola, along the River Kharakha to Khadasyn on the highway from Uliassutai to Urga to Lake Ugei-Nor, and then along the left bank of the Orkhan to the Valley of the Dadalkhyn-Tola, where are the ruins of Khora-balghassun, and an ancient town (450 verst from Kiakhta). Then an expedition to Isasan-Nor and Mount Khotond, along the River Djermanta to the Upper Orkhan, return to Khora-balghassun, and then an excursion to the Mongol monastery Erdeni-Tszo, cross to Kokshin-Orkhan, halt on the right side of it on Lake Tsaidam near the tombs, and return to Lake Ugei-Nor; thence along the high road to Urga and back to Kiakhta. We kept to this route as a new one, avoiding falling into the route followed before by M. Potanin, and keeping well away from the Urga post-road. The whole expedition from Kiakhta and back occupied 50 days, in which we rode 1,500 verst. To cover such a journey with an expedition fitted out so economically would have been impossible with comrades less untiring and energetic than mine showed themselves to be. The result of the expedition was the acquisition of new matter for a map of the upper Orkhon country; detailed surveys between Ugei-Nor, the Djermanta and the sources of the Orkhan; plans of ruined towns; and the discovery of the remains of three royal residences on the Tola and Orkhan. The Kereksurs and tombs were located on the map, examined and classified according to types. The antiquities of Erdeni-Tszo were investigated. Vestiges of ancient inscriptions were discovered there, and important Runic inscriptions on tombs on the Orkhan, with magnificent monuments of marble and granite. These discoveries came as a surprise to us, as not a single traveller had mentioned such things. It goes without saying that the means and strength at our disposal were quite inadequate to deal effectively with finds of such weighty import. We had to make our surveys of forts and ruins by eye on a 5-verst scale. It was often impossible for us to roll over stones adorned with inscriptions as we desired, as among
these stones were many that must have weighed from 400 to 500 pounds [a poud is 40 Russian pounds, or a little over 36 pounds av.]. What we effected was therefore more a reconnaissance than an exploration, the fruits of which will be for the next expedition. At least we came away convinced that the Valley of the Orkhon is no mere desert, but preserves precious relics and monuments for history and geography alike. Learned geographers hold various opinions on the general character of the part of Northern Mongolia lying northward from Khangai. What European traveller has omitted to record the depression which its aspect caused him? But looking at the map of the places traversed by us, and taking into account the geographical, ethnological and historical associations of the spot, we at least found it impossible to say that the only way in which we were affected by it was "a profound depression."

North of the desert lies the elevated tract of Khangai, from which flow several considerable rivers; the Onon and Kerulen to the east, the Selenga with its numerous tributaries, and the Orkhon to the west. The Valley of the Kerulen, from whence first came the great conqueror Chinggis, and that of the Orkhon where he established himself in the seat of the earlier Naiman-Keraits, played for centuries a prominent rôle in the history of the peoples of Central Mongolia.

"Reading the history of the Tartars," says Abel-Rémusat, "one sees that the country east of the Altai Mountains and south of Lake Baikal was always the very centre of the might of the Turk and Mongol race. In all probability in this region are united all those qualities with which nature or chance endows those lands of high destiny, which are to become the rallying ground of surrounding nations." To quote a Chinese historian (Sheng Yu-tze): "Khorin, north of the vast Shamo, south of the Khansai Mountains, northwest of the River Orkhon, was the ancient dwelling of the Huihe (Uigurs). Here was also the chief abode or the Northern Hiung-nu. Here everything seems to have conspired to form an Imperial centre in Hanghai."

Such is the opinion of some but not of all. The celebrated Richthofen, without doubt the best informed writer on the topography
of Asia, considers this region a steppe useless for cultivation, deprived of water-springs. Amazed at Ogotai choosing such a site for a capital, the noted geologist exclaims "Never did caprice of a prince lead to the selection of a less fitting spot. With the disappearance of population all traces of culture were bound to disappear as they have done." Neither of these conflicting views is without foundation.

It is true that the plateau of Mongolia, elevated between 2,000 and 4,000 feet above the sea, with ranges of hills destitute of forests and with bare, treeless plains, feebly watered by scanty rivers and streams constantly growing less, appears to a civilised European unfavourable. This I can confirm from my personal impressions during my travels on the Orkhon. The further we left our own frontier behind us, the more sharply accentuated became the character of higher Mongolia. The woods which we had seen before on northern slopes of hills, disappeared. The part between Khara-Gol and the Tola, which we took nine days to traverse, presented a high-lying desert with streams dried up, a desert waterless to such a degree that sometimes our horses on long marches had fresh grass to eat, but nothing to drink. Only the Mongol who is prepared for what lies before him can cross this land. Hogs imposing ranges, like the Zamar, were bare and unwatered by a single rill. Only on the Tola and at the mouth of the Orkhon appeared a few willows, to be at once succeeded by the bare desert. Lake Ugei-Nor had no vegetation round it but rushes; the lakes scattered here and there are called Tsuliong-Nors, from their white colour and their great saltiness. Only near the sources of the Orkhon appeared woods on the slopes; the sources themselves are in an Alpine country abounding in trees and bushes. But a country so depressing and miserable to our eyes was quite otherwise for the nomads, who found, and still find here, the free life of the steppes and wide pastures. Especially attractive to the nomad is a country like the Valley of the Orkhon, 80 versts south of the Ugei-Nor, widening there to 30 or 40 versts and forming a steppe. Here the Mongol monarchy, which liked the steppes and enjoyed their unfettered life, chose its place of residence. From the tops of the Khotond range, 4,000 to
5,000 feet high, we admired the panorama of the Valley of Khora-balghassun. Here was the abode of Temir Khan. Here equally clearly stood out the towers of the ruins of Khora-balghassun, the palace of the Mongol Khans; the broad panorama was closed north and south by distant mountains, from one side rising over Lake Ugei, from the other over the monastery of Erdeni-Tszo, 70 or 80 versets away. This extensive prospect was doubtless sweet to the Mongol rulers, whose spirit loved to rule the steppes and whose eyes loved to range over such distant views. Here were developed their ambitious plans of ruling the world. On the other hand the villages of Khangai and the treeless mountain slopes were to the taste of the nomads and in accordance with their habits of life. They were comparatively rich and luxuriant after the true desert, Gobi, where the nomad had earlier struggled for his existence. The Orkhon and Tola valleys seemed inhabitable to the nomad and even to the Chinese. The descendants of Chinggis Khan cultivated the land, and the Chinese military colonies followed up what they had begun. Chang Chun tells us that before the time of Chinggis there were cultivated fields and stores of grain on the Orkhon. We found a Chinese inscription of the Ministry of Agriculture. On the Djermanta River are still traces of irrigation works. Manzu Yamadzi says that on this river was a colony of men of the Green Banner, and that before the Kuan Taitsu the plough cut here as on the Orkhon and the Kokshin Orkhon. Of all the valleys that of Dolalkha-Talagrin was evidently the most flourishing. Chinese colonists are still moving along the Orkhon. We found their houses at the mouth of the Khora-Gol, at Tro, Shiro, and on the road from Urga to Kiakhta. Here they are contented to earn a scanty living from patches of land at which a Russian peasant would look with disdain. The first European travellers who set out in quest of Karakoram were two parties of Dominican and Franciscan friars, sent thither in 1245 by Pope Innocent IV, after the Council of Lyons. Their object was to learn all they could about the growing Tartar power and also about countries hitherto unknown to Europeans, and they expected to find Karakoram, their destination, close to Lake Baikal. The first of these two missions, the Dominicans,
went as far as Syria by sea; through Mesopotamia and Syria they arrived at Kharasan, where the Mongol colonel Batchu met them; they returned without any one of them having reached Karakoram, but Andrew Lanjamel or Lungumel.

The second mission, the Franciscans, were ordeaced to make their way across Europe to Batu Khan, prince of the Kiptchaks. From Germany they proceeded along the Dnieper to the frontier of this Tartar Khanate, and arrived at the headquarters of Batu Khan, who gave them a guide for Karakoram. East of the Ural River they traversed the Khirgis Steppes, and went through the town of Oniel (founded by the Kara Khitans) east of Lake Balkosh on the River Emel. Thence to Lake Ulningar, where at that time lived a horde of Nomans, and at the end of July they reached the residence of Khakan, heir-apparent of Ogatai, South of Karakorum. One of the members of this mission was Plano de Carpini; he wrote a description of the manners and customs of the Tartars, which is supplemented by some observations by his companion traveller, Benedict of Polshki. Gaston, King of Armenia also journeyed to Central Asia about that time; in 1254 he reached Karakorum, where he remained six weeks. Gaston Garison, a third son of the same royal house, travelled to the same capital likewise and has left a description of what he saw. The most important of all these missions, however, was that of the Franciscan, William Rubruquis, who left most detailed and circumstantial accounts of his route. The crusade organised by St. Louis in 1248 was what led to the sending of this mission. In 1254 the French king determined to send two missions to Asia, one through Armenia, Persia and Turan, the other across the Russian and Khirgis Steppes. The first was conducted by the monk Andrew; no account of it is extant; the second by Rubruquis and Kermon. Rubrik, or Rubruquis, was in the Crimea when there were still Goths there. He passed close to the Sea of Azoff, visited the country of the Nomans, the residence of Tortak, proceeded to the Volga and visited the camp of Batu Khan. His accounts of all these place are of great value. Finally he came to the Ural Mountains, north of which lies the country of the Poskater (Bashkirs). This nation spoke the same language as the Hun-
garians. Further on he went through the Khirgis Steppes and down the Valley of the Talos. On this side of the Talos was the kingdom of Manga Khan. He also visited the town of Ekivius, near the modern Takmak, went along the Valley of the Ili, dotted with the ruins of the towns overwhelmed by the Mongols, ascended to the upper waters of the Irkys, and went up the Gobkhon River to Mongolia. Here he found the great Mongol high-road and station. The mission came on the tents of Manga Khan, pitched in a vast plain like a sea. There were European prisoners among the Mongols; a woman from Metz married to a Russian, and a Frenchman, Guillaume Bancher, a goldsmith. The mission went on to the upper waters of the Orkhon and to Karakorum. They found in that city twelve heathen temples, two mosques and a Christian church. The inhabitants were Tartars, Saracens and Chinese. Not much farther on, in a town surrounded by an earthen wall, were the palace and court of the Khan. With the French flag unfurled the mission entered the Mongol town after its long and painful journey. The Nestorian community came solemnly out to meet them and escorted them to a Christian church, where a mass was performed. Rubruquis has left very curious details of his stay with Manga Khan, of Karakorum and the magnificence of the Court of the Khan. Roads with regular resting-places—Norin-yang—were constructed to this capital, Karakorum, the Ho-lín of Chinese writers. Marco Polo says its circumference was three miles, the Chinese that it was five li. Rubruquis compares it with Saint Denys. There were two streets, several bazaars and residences of State secretaries and of the princes. The town was surrounded by settlements of artificers, gold weavers and landed proprietors. It lasted up to the Mongol times. Originally founded by the Uïgurs in the eighth century, it was subsequently ruled by the Khokas destroyed by the Kitans; and Anaki, the founder of the latter power, erected here a monument on which was engraved the story of his exploits. The Chinese Manza Yu-madzi mentions that in Karakorum was set up a monument to the Tukinez Khan. Ho-lín played a part in history long after the fall of the Mongols and the Chinese made more than one campaign against it. Timur Khan, when driven out of China, raised a new
city in the valley of the Orkhon and restored ancient Karakorum. On the position of this city there exists an entire literature. Five different places are assigned as its site. Thus Abulgazi locates it in the sources of the Yenissei and Selenga Rivers; Fischer, south of the Orkhon not far from the Rivers Tola and Kerulen; Poter, Gobel and d’Anville fix it in 44° 21' north latitude and 103° 40' 30'' east longitude. D’Anville opines that it lay somewhere near Laka Karakhak—Ulen-nor—and De Guignes also adheres to this view. Abel-Rémusat, however, brought to bear such a mass of geographical and historical data from ancient Chinese sources, that the position of Karakorum between the Orkhon and the Tamir, north of Khangai and South of Lake Ugei-Nor, was quite evident. Abel-Rémusat fixes it in the longitude and latitude of Khorabalghassun. Father Hyacinth and Klaproth also place it on the Orkhon.

The researches of Abel-Rémusat were confirmed by the routes and journals of the Chinese Chan-ch’un and Chan Dak-Le, which were made public later on. The latter gives most exhaustive data for the determination of the true site, and M. Paderin, who started from Urga, treading in the steps of this Chinese traveller, and discovered the ruins of Khorabalghassun, thought that the journal of his predecessor was written with great veracity and accuracy. Unfortunately M. Paderin had not maps and could not take the bearings of these ruins as he wished to do. He locates them six or eight versts from the Orkhon. Manifestly he did not reach that river, but was only conducted from the road halting-station as far as the ruins. But he described the Dalalkha-Talagain valley very truly, and there is no doubt that he went there. Schmidt, the commentator of Rubruquis and Colonel Yule, who knew so well the literature of Karakorum, acknowledged the importance of Paderin’s discovery. The question, however, has been lately raised again. Professor A. M. Pozdnéef has discovered from Mongol annals that the Mongol monastery Erdeni-Tazo, was founded on the site of the capital of the Ogotai, where Timur Khan founded a new capital, and Abotai Khan this monastery in the new town. This new view contravenes the opinion of M. Paderin, but it has at the same time
given a fresh incentive to the collection of accurate information about the position of the ruins in the Valley of the Orkhon.

The first ruins that we ourselves found were on the River Tola. Here was the beautiful palace of Irkhe-Mergen-Sain-Kundauze, son of Abotai Khan, in the 16th century. A monument and a stone with an inscription in Mongol and Thibetan testify to this. We were unfortunately without means of photographing it, and could not copy it; but I begged the Consul at Urga to try and get it copied by some learned lama. We found the ruins of a monastery on the Kharakha, and some more ruins south of Ugei-nor. Five versts beyond that lake, and south of an affluent of the Khol, rises the hillock called Tashin-chil, which appears to be the remains of a large building with granite foundations. Fifty versts south of the Lake Ugei-nor and a verst-and-a-half from the Orkhon, we found the ruins of Khora-balghassun and the remains of a palace surrounded by a clay wall. This city was three versts long and two-and-a-half wide. Near the palace was discovered a dilapidated granite monument, with sculptured dragons and inscriptions in that enigmatical language written in which we find inscriptions on stones and rocks in the Minasinsk district, and in southern Siberia. Similar inscriptions were discovered not so long ago in caves in Tarbagatai, on some silver vases and vessels in the Biat-skoi district, and at the Minasinsk “pai-tze,” which Klaproth tried to read. Chinese inscriptions also occurred with those others. We copied both kinds and we obtained two fragments of stones with these carved characters, which we afterwards handed to the Imperial Archaeological Committee. While engaged with topographical work at Khora-balghassun, we ascertained by enquiring of Natives that at a distance of some versts away, at Lake Tsagan-Nor, in a picturesque locality, are to be found the remains of the palace of the Princess Toiten, whom tradition makes the wife of Timur Khan. Our guide next led us to the Khotond Mountains where also we met with old monuments and an octagonal tower of Temir Khan. At this point a fine panorama of the Dalalkha-Talagain valley spread itself before us. In this valley at the foot of Erdeni-Olo, we saw the ruins of a village six versts from those of Khora-balghassun, and the principal.
Returning to Khora-balghassun, we ascended the River Djermanta, crossed the Uling-Deba Pass and entered the Alpine region of Khangai; on the third day we were at the foot of the Sobur-Khoirkhon, a mountain with patches of snow upon it, from which were visible the sources of the Orkhon, forming a lake cupped on the slope of a hill. After observing this country we left the Alpine region close to the Tsitserlik, a tributary of the Tamir. Following up along the Djermanta, we saw also ancient remains of buildings and a multitude of tombs and Kereksurs, and where the river meets the Khara-Khudadir we came upon remains of irrigation and stone *bulo* for threshing and grinding corn. South-west 35 versts from the Djermanta we found the hot iron-water springs mentioned in old Chinese maps, where was a temple and ten baths, near which we admired some conduits hewn in granite, which once adorned a tank or cistern. Here probably were the Khan’s baths. The adobe walls of some buildings around the hot springs were still standing. High up the Djermanta River at Tsogansuma and Kak-suma we again found traces of buildings. Evidently there was once a population there. Nearer to the Monastery of Erdeni-Tszo and Kokshin-Orkhon we found also vestiges of ramparts and ruins of houses, which once formed a town, now called Khounzyu-khoto. In the monastery itself were a great number of antiquities with inscriptions in Chinese, Arabic and Mongol characters; these have been disfigured by the lamas, who have drawn over them pictures of their Buddhist legends or have used them for foundation stones in building temples. This wealth of antique relics was unexpected by us, and only showed that we were in a valley once thickly populated almost up to 80 versts from the Ugei-Nor. This is confirmed both by Chinese annalists and by Mongol history. Chon Chon saw ruins of towns in the Valley of the Orkhon. At the time of Chinggis Khan there were on the Orkhon River a military colony and a small town, called Djin-khoi-chen, under the command of Djin-khoi, who had under him 300 houses of goldcloth-weavers from western regions and 300 of wool-weavers from China. Artificers were brought hither from Turkestan after Chinggis Khan’s campaign in that country. Another traveller, Djin-Do-Khai, mentions Chinese ruins on the
Tola, and the hamlets Bibe-ke-du, where lived makers of bows for shooting. Ogotai Khan in 1234 (the 7th year of his reign) threw walls round the Karakorum built by the Uigurs, and built there the palace of universal peace. In 1236 he removed to another palace—King Kiang-tissa, 70 li north of Ho-lin, where was the town of Fu-lin. The following year was laid the plan of a palace 30 li from Ho-lin, and here the local government was located, but it was afterwards shifted to Ho-lin.

There are several mentions of residences of princesses, wives of Khans, by travellers and annalists. In view of all these reasons for the valley of the Orkhon becoming a centre of population, the numerous traces of habitations having existed there need no surprise. Karakorum, or Kholin, was in Mongol times 100 li S.W. of Lake Ugei-Nor between the Tamir and the Orkhon; this I have already stated is evident from the historical data, and just here we found extensive ruins. The name Khola has also been preserved here; some rivers falling into the Orkhon bear the ancient appellation of Norin. Lake Tsetsk-Nor (lake of flowers) by which the Khans hunted, is near the Djermanta, and another lake, Tsagan-Nor, also still retains its ancient name.

Finally, history tells of a mountain, Ku-li-ta-ha, or Kut-tagh. Raschid Eddin and Chinese authors both mention it. It lay near another mountain, Ute-ken, Tah-wei-kiong, or as Abel-Rémusat conjectures, Tu-hing. The names of these mountains survived from the time of the rule of the Tuküe and Khoi-Kho of the Uigurs. These were "mountains of happiness," as the welfare of the kingdom depended on them, and when the Chinese by stratagem took from the Uigurs those pledges of heavenly protection, Uini-lun, 13th king of the Uigurs, died, and his people were scattered. The same legend of mountains, with which the happiness of the state is bound up, is still told in the Dalalkha-Talgain Valley of the mountain Erdeni Olo, which is near Khora-balghassun, and Karakorum lay at the foot of this mountain.

Thus geographical testimony and ancient tradition alike point to Karakorum having been just hereabouts. Perhaps the inscriptions discovered will further go to clear up this point. Fifteen versts

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from Khora-balghassun we came upon sumptuously built tombs adorned with statues and with stone tablets. On these tablets were as many as 40 lines of Runic characters, along with Chinese, which will perhaps yield information of weighty import. Finally, as Colonel M. V. Péotsoff’s survey showed Lake Ugei-Nor to lie in $47^\circ 47' 23''$ N. Lat. and $102^\circ 45' 25''$ E. Long., we conceive Karakorum to lie at a point of which the geographical co-ordinates would be $47^\circ 15' 15''$ N. Lat. and $102^\circ 20' 15''$ Long. east of Greenwich.

Passing from the Mongolia of the past to the Mongolia of the present we would say a few words on our relations with that country. We are brought into relations with it perforce as a considerable portion of it is conterminous with southern Siberia. Through Mongolia goes our road to China; at Urga, Uliassutai and Kobdo there are already Chinese merchants; through Urga the tea of China is brought to Kiakhta. Mongolia can no longer threaten Europe or us with the invasion of her hordes,—the Mongol is now slave of China; under the influence of Buddhism which reached her through Thibet, the moral, spiritual and economical aspirations of Mongolia have undergone a great change. Everywhere on mountain and plain, side by side with the yourts of the Nomads, are found lama monasteries or kurens, which form centres for settled life to group itself around, and spread their influence over the entire surrounding population. Chinese influence is seen in Mongolia both in the administrative sphere and in the economical or tradal. Chinese fashions have impressed their stamp on Mongol existence; the Mongols wear Chinese textures, use Chinese industrial productions, and Chinese traders settle under the walls of Mongol monasteries. In Urga, that prime centre of Buddhism in north-east Mongolia, numbering 10,000 monks within its walls, two conflicting civilisations are seen together striving for the mastery. Lamaite purism and pietism with Chinese rationalism, practicability and animal epicureanism. The Chinese is more cultured than the Mongol, but he exercises no intellectual or moral influence over him; in those domains the Thibetan monk occupies the first place. The grafting of Buddhism on Mongol life showed an awakening of
moral and spiritual aspirations in that people. Buddhism among
the Mongols must be considered a step onwards in civilisation; a
greater step lies before the Mongols when they become subjected, as
they must soon, to the influence of European civilisation instead of
Thibetan and Chinese. Whence is this influence to come? Evidently
from the Russian outposts of civilisation near Mongolia's
frontiers; such centres as the towns of Kiakhta, where were
concluded our treaties with China, and the Russian factories in
Chinese towns, as for example in Urga. It is a pity that
notwithstanding relations of long date and several treaties concluded
during the last century, the influence of our civilisation on our
neighbour Mongolia has been so insignificant. Time, however, is
doing its work, Russian productions are finding their way in greater
and greater quantities into Mongolia. We found there Russian
axes, Russian nails and Russian woollen cloth. The Mongol
shares in the Kiakhta trade both as a middleman and as a carrier.
On the borders relations have been placed on a solid basis. Urga
has a Russian Consulate-General, established for the support of our
countrymen and their commerce. Between the Chinese Maimatchin
and the lama temples of Urga have arisen Russian buildings, the
residence of a consul, and a Russian church. It is proposed to
institute there a school for interpreters. Russian bridges are being
built over Mongolian rivers, and it is hoped that soon regular
Russian stations will be established between Urga and Kiakhta.
There are Russian shops in Urga, and there can be seen specimens
of our products. These will no doubt acquire a more extensive
sale in Mongolia in proportion with the increase of manufacturing
activity in Siberia. But although in the purely economic sphere we
have not yet gained many triumphs, we have a power to help us, the
power of enlightenment and real civilisation, which will yet be
triumphant over the lamaism and Buddhistic influence which yet
hold the field. In this coming conflict we have useful allies in our
native fellow-subjects east of Lake Baikal, the Buriats, who now
present an interesting example of a growing civilisation yet in a
transition stage between nomadism and settled agricultural and
commercial life. These Buriats, who have something of the Mongol
and something of the Russian, form a connecting link between the two peoples, and through their intermediation Mongolia is constantly gaining a better knowledge of what Russian nationality and Russian culture mean.

Of late unnecessary alarm has been expressed about the spread of Buddhism and lamaism in the Za-Baikal territory, or Transbaikal, the region lying east of that immense lake. These apprehensions are founded on false conceptions of the situation. Although Buddhism may have gained ground there in the very remote past, there is nothing to fear from it in the future. From our own ethnographical observations of the life of the Buriats and other natives of Za-Baikal, we are convinced that lamaism there is not to be compared as a force with lamaism in Mongolia. There it is lord and master of the land, here only a tolerated guest and stranger in the land. The leaven of lamaism was laid in Mongolia by learned and saintly Thibetan monks. The influence of Thibet in our Siberian territories was never powerful and the propagandists of lamaism among our Buriats were and are Mongols, the most simple and ignorant of men. The peaceful contest between lamaistic Buddhism and Christian civilisation will on that account alone be waged with far greater advantages for the latter in Transbaikal than farther south, and her triumph will be far easier. The lamas at work among our Buriat fellow-subjects are distinguished by absence of fanaticism. Those whom we met in the district of Gusino Ozero showed a remarkable spirit of loyalty, hospitality and courtesy to us and other Russian travellers and guests. They are not only obedient to our officials, but they are displaying of late a more marked desire to gain a clearer knowledge of our civilisation. They learn to read our books; Russian photographers are allowed free access to their monasteries, as is proved by the mass of photographs taken by M. Charushin. The Transbaikal Kombo Lama, D. G. Gombojeff, supplied the museum of the E. S. Branch of the Geographical Society with a quantity of objects pertaining to the Buddhist cult, and thanks to this liberality, last winter, the Branch held a great exhibition at Irkutsk comprising 600 objects, original or copies. Ten lamas are enrolled as members of the Society.
On such studies the Christians and the Buddhists are on common ground, and as the eyes and ears of the Buddhists are not here closed by fanaticism, there is every hope that the spirit of Christian patience, gentleness and love will in the end prevail. Believing in the life-giving power of the higher Christian civilisation, in its humanising influence, in its indestructible might, we are convinced that the Mongol world will, by the help of the friends of enlightenment, come to feel that influence, and the history of Mongolia, as savage Mongolia, will come to an end for ever.

At the conclusion of the paper Mr. Kingsmill said the portion of Mongolia referred to must always remain a country of wonderful interest to all enquirers into the history of the ancient tribes of the world. It was in this country that the changes from which modern civilisation and history have been evolved, commenced. There was nothing extraordinary in the Russian travellers finding Runic monuments in this region, because there in the dawn of history dwelt a people of Teutonic or Scandinavian connections. In fact it was probably from these regions that our own ancestors, the Saxons, came. It was there that Alexander the Great stopped in his conquest of Central Asia, and the last chief with whom he had a contest was a man who bore a singularly Teutonic name. The Chinese described the people who dwelt in Mongolia as a fair race with blue eyes. These people were subsequently dispersed by a Turkish tribe, who, in the ancient ages of the world, began to emerge from this part of Asia. Traces have been found in Mongolia of some very old Turkish tribes, who in the second and third centuries attacked the eastern flanks of the Roman Empire. In those days Mongolia was well wooded and watered, but the early Chinese settlers who came into the country cut down the trees, made roads, drained the marshes, and generally cleared the land for the purposes of settlement. Afterwards the face of the country assumed the aspect it now presents, that of an arid desert with scarcely a tree or a stream of water. Mr. Kingsmill concluded by saying that Mr. Fraser deserved the most sincere thanks of the Society for translating the very interesting paper of the Russian traveller, and he would like the Society's appreciation of the trans-
labor to be recorded upon the minutes. It was a fortunate thing for the Society that they had a member capable of translating information from the Russian.

General Massy remarked that he noticed several Turkish names in the very instructive paper read by Dr. Edkins, though to judge by it the people to whom it referred were not Turks but Mongols. There are plenty of people, however, in Mongolia possessing blue eyes and light complexions, resembling generally the people of modern Europe in appearance, and still they all speak a dialect of Turkish.

Dr. Macgowan said he must felicitate the Society upon having a member conversant with the Russian language. This was the second or third paper Mr. Fraser had translated, and a good deal of valuable information is to be derived from Russian sources, a fact of which Mr. Fraser is evidently very well aware. Especially the modern researches published are of great interest to us, and fortunately in Mr. Fraser they had a person capable of giving them to the Society, and he seconded Mr. Kingsmill's motion with great pleasure. He referred to the Buriats and Uigurs named by Mr. Yadrunzeff. He met Russianised Buriats in Transbaikalia, and heard much respecting these who are still Buddhists. These Mongols are interesting and are the most promising of the Asiatic peoples who go to make up the heterogenous Russian Empire. Concerning the Uigur Turks an interesting discovery has just been made showing that the Turks had effected their way to the sea-coast. Just as Dr. Macgowan was leaving Vladivostock there came into the possession of Mr. Sheveleff a stone slab bearing an inscription apparently in Uigur. The doctor printed a photograph of a portion of the inscription, which he has now presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. A complete copy was to be sent to Petersburgh, where no doubt it will be correctly deciphered.

The Chairman said he was quite confident the proposition made would be accepted by the Society with the greatest cordiality. Personally he thought it was as interesting a paper as he had heard for a long while, and it had called forth as interesting commentary in the remarks of Mr. Kingsmill and Dr. Macgowan as he had heard,
They must all be most grateful to Mr. Fraser for having translated the paper and to Dr. Edkins for having read it, and he need hardly say the vote of thanks would be fully recorded on the minutes.

The proceedings then terminated.

Minutes of a General Meeting of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held in the Society's Library, on Monday, 15th February, at 9 p.m.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the chair.

The Chairman, after briefly opening the proceedings, called upon Mr. Z. Volpicielli (Hon. Secretary) to read his paper, entitled “Wei-Ch'i.”

Mr. Volpicielli then read his paper, which is printed in extenso pp. 80-107 of this volume, illustrating his observations by frequent demonstrations on a large diagram attached to a blackboard. He said that wei-ch'i is the great game of China. It is considered by the natives of this country to be far superior to their chess (which is but slightly different from ours) and to be the special game of the literary class, while the military men amuse themselves with hsiang-ch'i or chess. These facts naturally arouse our curiosity, because we are so much accustomed to regard chess as incontestably the royal game, that we wish to examine the merits of the unknown rival which destroys all our preconceived notions about the precedence of games. We find on examination that wei-ch'i does possess interesting features and requires great skill in playing. It has for us the merit of absolute novelty, because it differs essentially from all the games we may have learnt. Unlike chess or draughts, the men are never taken but remain where they are played. The game is not a series of skillful evolutions but a successive occupation of points which, joined together, give a final winning position. Though the game is on a very extensive scale, the board containing 361 places (while our chess-board has only 64), and the men employed being nearly 200 a side, still it is very simple
in principle, all the men having the same value and the same powers. The elements of wei-ch'i can be learnt easily, and one can very soon play without infringing the rules—much sooner than one can with chess. This simplicity, however, does not deprive the game of that charm which is found in the exercise of skill. To achieve the object of the game on such an extensive board requires great foresight and profound calculation. The object in playing wei-ch'i is to occupy as much space on the board as possible. He who at the end of the game commands most places has won. This object can be carried out in a twofold manner: by enclosing empty spaces on the board with a certain member of one's men, and by surrounding and capturing the enemy's men. The name wei-ch'i comes from wei, meaning "to surround." Though it is so easy to state in general terms the object the wei-ch'i player has in view, it requires great skill to effect it, if he is matched with a good adversary. While he is trying to surround the enemy's men, his are being surrounded by the adversary's, and this often occurs in the same part of the board, so that the men get interlocked and the position of one additional man may turn the scale of victory. As there is no piece of vital importance like the king at chess, and as the object of the game is of a general arithmetical character—to secure most places—one need not get discouraged if one loses in one part of the board. The places lost there may be compensated by surrounding the enemy in another quarter; so that wei-ch'i instead of concentrating the attention of the player in one spot as in chess, on the king, diffuses it all over the board. Very nice calculation is, however, always necessary, so that one may balance the losses here with the gains there. Wei-ch'i, which originated in China, has been carried to all those countries that have been influenced by Chinese civilisation. It is played in Corea and Japan. Owing to its simplicity it has changed little in its migrations and is played almost identically in China and Japan, while Japanese chess differs from Chinese as much as from European. In Japan the game is called go-bang (not, however, what is called "go-bang" by foreigners) and has been always in high favour. In the feudal days the great nobles had celebrated players attached to their households and were
as proud of them as of their bulky wrestlers. It is to be hoped
that this interesting game may be appreciated in Europe, where,
if we are correctly informed, some steps have already been taken
to introduce it, its practice having already been begun in Germany.
The Chairman observed that just in the same way as it was said
of wei-ch’i that the interest was not confined to one particular corner
of the board, so it might be said with regard to chess, in which not
only does the player attack the enemy’s king, but other places as
well. Wei-ch’i reminded him of a game called “reversis,” in
which the men are not captured, and in which much the same spirit
of contrivance and foresight is required. It was very much more
than he could do to understand the game fully from hearing it once
described, but they would all feel the greatest interest in reading the
paper when it was printed in full.
Mr. T. W. Kingsmill remarked that wei-ch’i has very much in
common with the schoolboy game of “fox and geese.”
Dr. Edkins said the game was first mentioned in Chinese writings
about B.C. 625. At that time it was played, among other places,
in Honan. The number of the squares showed it was likely to be
a favourite recreation of mathematical pupils, and that it was pro-
bably derived from the Babylonian astronomers, who were at that
time the teachers of the East. Chinese emperors have been very
fond of this game, though it subjects them to the necessity of
forgetting their rank, and those who play with the Emperor sit in
his presence. It is recorded of Chi-kao, an Emperor of the 4th
century, that on one occasion he made a move irregularly. The
courtier who was playing with him held the monarch’s finger, and
the Emperor was not offended. This was thought important enough
to be mentioned in history.
The President having announced that a vote of thanks would be
recorded in favour of Mr. Volpicelli, the meeting terminated.
Minutes of Proceedings at a General Meeting held in the Society's Library, Museum Road, on Wednesday, 30th March 1892, at 9 p.m.

Mr. N. J. Hansen (President) occupied the chair.

Dr. Edkins read a paper by Dr. de Groot, late of Amoy, on "The Militant Spirit of the Buddhist Clergy in China," which is printed in extenso pp. 108-120 of this volume.

Dr. de Groot's interesting paper contained a very exhaustive account of the different instances recorded in Chinese history in which the Buddhistic clergy engaged in actual warfare. Many of the clergy distinguished themselves so much in this new capacity, that they were even put in command of large forces. They engaged sometimes in defence of the throne against rebels, and in other instances they sided with the insurgents, while in other cases they took up arms simply to put down local disturbances, or to repulse the attacks of the Japanese. They showed great fidelity and indomitable fortitude. The monk Chenpao [A.D. 1126] after struggling gallantly against rebels, was captured, but though every inducement was offered him to take up the cause of the rebels, he answered: "Our law forbids us to betray our trust. I have promised the Emperor of the Sung dynasty to die for him; how can I violate my promise?" and he cheerfully suffered death by the sword. Another Buddhist priest, the octogenarian Yuen-tsung, being made prisoner, was condemned to have his foot chopped off. Not only did he show no fear, but when the executioner failed in his stroke, he taunted him for his want of strength, and put his limb in a better position, so that the work might be done properly.

Besides engaging in warfare the monks have often practised warlike arts in times of peace. The convent of Shao-lin was famous for its cultivation of fencing, and a manual on that art was published by one of its inmates prior to the seventeenth century. In the Ch'ung-cheng period (1628) when a rebellion broke out in Honan, the Governor entrusted the drilling of a body of troops he had raised to the monks of Shao-shih.
After quoting these instances Dr. de Groot showed how contrary they are to the spirit of the whole of the Buddhist teaching, which not only forbids killing and the encouragement of killing, but looking on at murder, visiting all these crimes with the parajita (expulsion), i.e. the individual guilty of such sins loses all prospect of ever being saved. Besides forbidding such crimes the Buddhist doctrine forbids even the frequenting of armies or the carrying of messages between hostile forces. The respect for life is extended to all living things, and this principle is pushed to such an extreme that it is enjoined even to sacrifice one's life for the sake of other beings and to give one's body to hungry tigers. It is this principle, according to Dr. de Groot, which accounts for the occasional engaging in warfare of the Buddhistic clergy. Wars in China have always been carried on in the most merciless manner, whole regions have been devastated and the inhabitants destroyed without regard to sex or age. To prevent such reckless carnage, the monks have momentarily relinquished their rigid adherence to their rules forbidding all strife and even the possession and use of weapons. To this must be added the spirit of devotion to all authority, from the father to the Emperor, which is the basis of Chinese society and has been cordially accepted by the Buddhists in China, who, therefore, would in obedience to such a sentiment consent to take up arms to defend the sovereign, and in certain cases when rival claims were dubious, even to defend a usurper whom they might consider as the rightful authority.

The Chairman remarked that the interesting paper just read, showed that Buddhism, like all other religions, had not always been able to adhere strictly to its principles. All religions were founded upon universal benevolence and forbade bloodshed, but in many cases circumstances were such that men to defend all that they held most dear had to employ force and shed blood to put down lawless violence.

Dr. Edkins said that Dr. de Groot had referred to the circumstance that writers on Chinese Buddhism had not mentioned the militant spirit of the Buddhist clergy. In fact they are now peaceable and indisposed to fight. The Chinese government does
not look to them to furnish recruits to the army. Confucianism regards them as bookworms or white ants which waste the wealth of the state without in any way adding to it. This is seen in the Sacred Edict where the Buddhists are as a community condemned on this ground. Dr. de Groot had in his paper unearthed many passages which show that formerly the Buddhists have actually taken a share in the military defence of the state, but this has, if fairly considered, been only accidental, and on the whole the Buddhist priests must be viewed as belonging to the non-fighting portion of the community, and they are far from being regarded as the natural defenders of the public tranquillity.

Mr. Volpi delli said that Dr. de Groot's paper showed up Buddhism in a new light, and took away somewhat from the exaggerated claims of its supporters. Many supposed that Buddhism was an exceptional religion which had never violated its stringent rules. On his voyage homeward he had had frequent conversation with an enthusiastic Cingalese Buddhist—Mr. Dammapala. This gentleman, comparing Buddhism with Christianity, claimed for the former an undoubted superiority as the only religion which had never wavered in its principles and had always forbidden war and bloodshed, and pointed out triumphantly the many religious wars in Europe. The facts now brought forward by Dr. de Groot showed that Buddhism also had sometimes favoured warfare, if such action might be justified, in some cases as the inevitable choice of the lesser evil: the slaughter of the lawless few to save the multitude of peace-loving inhabitants. In other cases quoted by Dr. de Groot the recourse to arms had been adopted from selfish motives to save their temples and possessions. The action of religious bodies in times of strife depended more upon the character of the people than upon the principles they professed.

Dr. Faber added that the European admirers of Buddhism considered it in an ideal light and refused to take account of the features which might lower it in general estimation. Chinese history contained many more instances where Buddhism not only had engaged in strife but had even provoked it.
A speaker referred to an instance in Japanese history when the Buddhist monks engaged in regular forays like feudal freebooters.

Mr. Lyall enquired from Dr. Edkins if he could throw any light upon the fact mentioned by Dr. de Groot that a regular school of fencing existed in the convent of Shaolín.

Dr. Edkins replied that many riotous men joined the monkish community to avoid hard work. Food and clothing with nothing to do was a temptation to such men. They break the Buddhist rules occasionally and are expelled. If robbers should attack a monastery in a mountain spot and an exposed situation, such riotous monks would be the readiest to meet the robbers with a blow for a blow. Fencing would suit the monasteries in these circumstances and would be found most useful as a means of self-defence. It is a duty to protect, as Dr. de Groot said, the images, the books and the priesthood.

The Chairman closed the meeting by proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. de Groot for his interesting paper.

Minutes of Proceedings at a General Meeting held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Wednesday, 1st June 1892, at 8.45 p.m.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the chair. There were about 20 members and friends present.

The minutes of the last meeting being taken as read, the Chairman called on Dr. Edkins to proceed with the reading of his lecture on "The Growth of Language."

The lecturer began with laying down three rules of procedure in comparing families of language with each other:—(1) The sphere of ethnology is distinct from that of language because conquered races and absorbed nationalities learn the language of the conquerors. (2) The indestructibility of words. There is no limit in time to the lifetime of words. They may last for many thousand years, only they must have a clear significance and be marked by intensity of feeling or constancy of repetition. (3) Physiological control over all later changes is to be taken as a fixed law. These
three things premised we may proceed to compare the languages of
the Continent of Asia with each other.

The families of language in Asia are nine: 1 Chinese, 2 Japanese
and Corean with Ainu, 3 Manchu, Mongol and Turkish, 4 Tibetan
and Burmese, 5 Annamese and Siamese, 6 Indo-European, 7
Semitic, 8 Dravidian, and 9 Malay.

The Chinese is the most primitive among these. We see in Shang-
hai among the natives about two thousand imperfect speakers of
English. They pronounce it most of them wretchedly because they
have not a command of a large number of separate sounds. On the
other hand Europeans speaking Chinese pronounce fairly well be-
cause they find the sounds not difficult to imitate. This shows that
Chinese is primitive in type and old, while European are the most
competent and perfect languages existing in any part of the world.

Yet China has made great achievements in language, as her large
collections of words show. Her vocabulary in agriculture, politics
and social questions, in medicine and the arts, is very voluminous.
But she did not get beyond the monosyllable. The polysyllabic
growth of language is due to the nomad races. The process was
probably of this sort. Agricultural vocabularies are spoken with
local accent. But if the speakers become nomad they move to new
markets at a distance and all local accent is then useless; then
they repeat a word or use a synonym to make the bargainer under-
stand. This is a movement in the direction of polysyllabism. We
see the same thing among the Chinese themselves who are heard
repeating words when they explain the Confucian books in modern
colloquial. Two words take the place of one. This then is the
origin of polysyllabic speech. It is caused by the removal of
speakers from agricultural life to nomad life. Agricultural life
supplies words. Nomad life supplies forms.

Then the Indo-European languages were shown to be based on
the Tartar. The Tartar languages were developed when North
Asia had a warm climate and metallurgy and agriculture flourished
in the basins of the Caspian and of the now Frozen Ocean. The
Accadians were one with them at that time, and this appears to
have been one of the early civilisations of the world. With the
stimulus then acquired the Accadians were able to do what they afterwards achieved in Mesopotamia. The fact that the Tartars and Accadians alike have the pronouns *me* and *mine* and the connected substantial verb *to be* shows this.

The lines of migration were then traced by the help of the names of the domestic animals, especially the dog, horse, and cow, and the words for cheese, butter and milk. By this means it was shown that there were about four latitudinal lines of migration from Asia to Europe, and that for example the Tibetan word for cheese being the same as that of the Greeks, a part of the Greeks might go from near Tibet westward through Persia to Europe. Certainly the many names of animals which are the same in Tartary and Europe show that there is ground for the view that the vocabulary of Europe and Tartary is identical; e.g. *Ogoli* (owl, in Mongol) is *Oglo* in Swedish.

The reason that the Tartar languages were able to attain this position of prominence in the development of European speech is found in an early civilisation in Siberia and the Caspian basin when the climate was warmer than it is now.

If words are really the same in the older system of language and in the newer, the etymology of words ought to be sought in Eastern Asia, where systems of human speech still exist of very antique type.

At the close of the lecture, the Chairman spoke of it in a highly commendatory manner. But in regard to the Japanese name for *dog*, which it had been stated was the same word with the English *dog*, he remarked that he entirely failed to see any resemblance. But in regard to this the attention of the Chairman was drawn to the circumstance that *g* is dropped, that *n* is really the source of *d*, and that *i* is prefixed just as the Japanese prefix *u* to the Chinese *ma* to make their name for the horse.
COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1892.

1. Council.—At the Annual Meeting held on the 22nd June 1892, the following members were elected office-bearers of the Society:

N. J. HANNEN, Esq., President.
P. G. von MÖLLENDORFF, Vice-Presidents.
JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D.,
J. MENCARINI, Esq., Hon. Secretary.
THOS. BROWN, Esq., " Treasurer.
M. F. A. FRASER, Esq., " Librarian.
D. C. JANSEN, Esq., " Curator.
R. E. BREDON, Esq.,
J. Ritter von HAAS
R. A. JAMIESON, M.A., Councillors.
T. W. KINGSMILL, Esq.,
G. M. H. PLAYFAIR, Esq.,

In the course of the year some changes had unavoidably to be made in the Council; Mr. Frasen’s departure from Shanghai rendered necessary the appointment of someone in his place, and the Society was fortunate enough in securing Mr. von Haas’ services as Hon. Librarian. We had also the misfortune of losing the Hon. Secretary Mr. Mencarini, transferred to Foochow towards the end of 1891; his post was taken up by Mr. Z. Volpicelli. Dr. Jamieson, owing to pressure of other work, felt obliged to tender his resignation, and persisted in his resolution, to the universal regret of the Society. Dr. Faber was called to fill up the vacancy in the Council.

2. Members.—A considerable number of new members had been elected during the year and only a few resignations had taken place.
3. Meetings.—In the course of the year five Public Meetings were held, at which the following papers were read:—

"A Comparative Table of the Ancient Lunar Asterisms," by T. W. Kingsmill, Esq.


"A Journey to the Upper Waters of the Orkhon and the Ruins of Karakorum [from the Russian]," by M. F. A. Fraser, Esq.

"Wei-ch'i," by Z. Volpicelli, Esq.


4. Journal.—This consisted exclusively of one communication, from Dr. Bretschneider, the "Botany of the Chinese Classics," which had been considered of such interest and importance as to deserve to be printed by itself as a separate volume. This departure from our usual custom of issuing several fascicules during the year had been rendered necessary by the extent and unity of the work, which did not admit of its being published in parts.

5. Officers' Reports.—The Hon. Treasurer's report is herewith published, and it will be seen that the finances of the Society are, as usual, in excellent condition. The Hon. Librarian adds to his report a list of publications we receive in exchange for the Journal. The Hon. Curator informs us that he has nothing of moment to report about the Museum. On this last point it may be of interest to many to know that the Society is going to enter into negotiations for securing an able scientific man to undertake the duties of paid Curator of the Museum.

Z. Volpicelli,
Hon. Secretary.
HON. TREASURER'S REPORT.

GENTLEMEN,

In presenting my audited accounts for the year ending April 30th, 1892, it will be seen that the ordinary Income and Expenditure very nearly balance. The large item for "Repairs to the Building" has considerably reduced the balance brought forward from last account, but I consider our financial position to be very satisfactory, as there are still a number of subscriptions to come in, in addition to the proceeds of sales of the Journals made by the London agents.

THOMAS BROWN,
Hon. Treasurer.

Shanghai, May 10th, 1892.
THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM.

Dr.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr.</th>
<th>Cr.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1st, 1891, to April 30th, 1892.</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Income.</th>
<th>Tls.</th>
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<tr>
<td>To Balance from 1890-91</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Donation, from French Municipal Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; English</td>
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<td>00</td>
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<th>Expenditure.</th>
<th>Tls.</th>
<th>cts.</th>
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<td>By Wages of Taxidermist</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Interest on Loan from Recreation Fund</td>
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<td>00</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Insurance</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Rent paid to the C. B. R. A. S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Balance</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>82</td>
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</table>

Tls. 1,112 57

E. & O. E.

Shanghai, April 30th, 1892.

Compared with Vouchers and found correct,

H. Beck.

A. W. Danforth.
**The Hon. Treasurer in Account with the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.**

*Dr.*

*May 1st, 1891, to April 30th, 1892.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Income</strong></th>
<th><strong>Tls.</strong></th>
<th><strong>cts.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Expenditure</strong></th>
<th><strong>Tls.</strong></th>
<th><strong>cts.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>To Balance from 1890-91</td>
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<td>By printing and binding Journals</td>
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<td>&quot; Subscriptions</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>&quot; Postages</td>
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<td>&quot; Rent from S. L. &amp; D. S., etc.</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>&quot; Stationery</td>
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<td>&quot; Interest allowed by Bank</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>&quot; Advertising</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>92</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Account sales of Journals</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>&quot; Municipal Taxes, etc.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>&quot; Rent received from the Museum</td>
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<td>00</td>
<td>&quot; Repairs to Building</td>
<td>383</td>
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<td><strong>Tls. 1,470</strong></td>
<td><strong>84</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tls. 1,470</strong></td>
<td><strong>84</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*E. & O. E.*

*Shanghai, April 30th, 1892.*

_Compared with Vouchers and found correct,_

_H. Beck._

_A. W. Danforth._
Hon. Curator's Report.

The Hon. Curator said he had no occasion to make a detailed Report, but stated it was absolutely necessary a paid Curator should be obtained to look after the Museum; for this purpose the Council intended to enter into negotiations with a Naturalist in South Australia.
HON. LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

GENTLEMEN,

It is only since the latter part of the year under report that I have taken over charge of the Library of our Society, my predecessor, Mr. M. F. A. Fraser, having then been transferred to Foochow.

I beg to append a list of the contributions the Society received during 1891. Though many of these publications are for us of a less general use, the fact that we receive from different parts of the world donations shows, however, how much the working of our Society is there appreciated, as the donators always anticipate an exchange with our Journal.

Among the prominent contributors to our Library, I have much pleasure to mention the Administration of the Imperial Maritime Customs, and our Society may feel deeply grateful to this Authority for supplying us in the most liberal manner with a rich and valuable material.

We keep a regular and fair exchange with our sister (Asiatic) Societies in Japan, Cochin China, Java, India, Ceylon, England, France and Germany. Geographical, anthropological and zoological Societies, on the other hand, are those who take in our publications a great interest.

The list of private donations is unfortunately a short one. Few authors on Chinese subjects think of our Society, though we possess a Library which may be considered as one of the richest in the East. Its easy access renders often to those authors valuable information. Yet a great many books were published in 1891 of which we do not possess a copy. Our funds are too small to afford their purchase. Yet on the other hand the author must feel some satisfaction in knowing that his work is also represented in this Library. May these remarks be considered as an appeal to the different members of our Society who are writing on Chinese subjects that they furnish
their share in the enlargement of the Library. I think one reason for this is that our Journal does not give a review or critique of recent publications. Perhaps the incoming Council may consider it worth while to deal with this suggestion.

I am now working with the catalogising of our whole Library, whereby I keep strictly the arrangement made by Rev. Dr. FABER, one of our former Librarians. It is solely due to the hard work of this gentleman that the Library has been hitherto kept in such excellent order. The publication of a new catalogue will have to be taken into consideration during this year.

The Rules for the issue of books from the "Library" require a revision; a proposition to that effect will be submitted to the new Council. A strict adherence to these Rules is a conditio sine qua non if our stock of works has to be maintained.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

J. VON HAAS,

Hon. Librarian.
List of Works added to the Society's Library during the Year 1891.

---

ASIA.

CHINA.

Shanghai:

Imperial Maritime Customs, Statistical Department:
Customs Gazette, No. lxxxix, January-March 1891.
" xcv, April-June "
" xci, July-September "

Returns of Trade and Trade Reports for the year 1890. Part II.
Reports and Statistics for each Port. With the Reports and
Statistics for Corea. 32nd/26th Issue.

Do. do. In Chinese.

Medical Reports, for the Half-year ended 31st March 1889.
(37th Issue) Special Series, No. 2.

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Vol. xxii, Nos. 5-12, May-December 1891.

Mémoires concernant l'Histoire Naturelle de l'Empire Chinois.

Par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus:

Tome I. Premier cahier avec 12 planches, 1880.
Second " 10 " 1882.
Troisième " 10 " 1885.

Tome II. Premier " 21 " 1888.
" I. Quatrième et dernier cahier, (Planches xxxiii—
xliii) 1890.

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1890 No. 192, August.
" 193, September.
" 194, October.
" 195, November.
" 196, December.
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Saigon:
Bulletin de la Société des Études Indo-Chinoises de Saigon:
Année 1890, 1er semestre, 3 fasc. Saigon, 1891.
" 2e " 1 " 
" 2e " 2 " 

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Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:
Nos. 1–6, January–June 1891.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:
Vol. lix, part I, Nos. 3–4, 5, 1890.
" lix, II, 2, Supplement, 1890.
" lx, I–II, 1, 1890.
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Vol. xxiv, parts 1–3, 1891.
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No. 58, Vol. xviii, Bombay, 1891.

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Vol. x, No. 37.

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kunde Ostasiens:
Vol. v, fasc. 46, 1891.
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The Japan Herald Mail Summary. Files.

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Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuur-Vergaderingen van het
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Part viii, 1765–1775.
,, ix, Nieuwe Statuten van Batavia. Batavia, 1891.
Dagh-Register, gehouden int Castul Batavia:

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Vol. xxxii, 1890.
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Vol. xxi, fasc. 1–3, 1891.
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Vol. cxix-cxxi, 1889-1890.
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Vol. xix, fasc. 1–4, 1891.

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_Havre:_
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January-February, May-August, 1891.

_PARIS:
Revue Mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie :
Première Année, Nos. 1–3, 9–10. January-March,
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Le Muséum National de Rio de Janeiro et son Influence sur
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Paris, 1889.
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Vol. xxvi, Nos. 2–3, 1891.
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1890. Sitzung vom 15 November–20 December.
,, Sitzung vom 17 January.
,, extra ,, 14 February.
,, ,, 21
,, ,, 21 March.
,, 18 April.
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Deutsche Geographische Blätter, herausgegeben von der Geo-
graphischen Gesellschaft in Bremen:
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Die Sprachwissenschaft, ihre Aufgaben, methoden und Bisherigen
Ergebnisse. Von George von der Gabelentz, 1891.
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1888, Vol. xviii, fasc. 3
1889, " xix, " 1-3.
1890, " xx, " 1-4.
Die grossen Monarchien oder die Weltreiche in der Geschichte von Ferdinand Gregorovius, 1890.
Rerum cognosere causas. 1890.
Gedachtnisrede. 1889.

Stuttgart:
Das Ausland Wochenschrift für Erd-und Volkerkunde Herausgeben von Karl von den Steinen:
No. 8, 1891.

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Dublin:
The Scientific Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society:
Vol. vi, part 10, December 1890.
" vii, " 1-2, January-February 1891.
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Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh:
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LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1892-93.

President: N. J. HANNEN.

Vice-Presidents: \{ P. G. von MOLLENDORFF.
\quad \{ Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D.

Hon. Secretary: Z. VOLPICELLI.

Hon. Treasurer: THOMAS BROWN.

Hon. Librarian: J. RITTER VON HAAS.

Hon. Curator of Museum: D. C. JANSEN.

Councillors: \{ OTTO FRANKE, Ph.D.
\quad \{ JOHN MACGREGOR.
\quad \{ T. W. KINGSMILL.
\quad \{ JAMES SCOTT.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

(Corrected to October 31st, 1898.)

Members are particularly requested to notify the Hon. Secretary of any change of address or other necessary correction to be made in this List.

† Indicates a Member who has contributed to the Society’s Journal.
§ " Life Member of the Society.

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Year of Election</th>
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<td>Hart, Sir Robert, Bart., LL.D.</td>
<td>Inspectorate - General of Customs, Peking</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hughes, P. J., M.A.</td>
<td>C/o Hongkong &amp; Shanghai Banking Corporation, London</td>
<td>1868</td>
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<td>Legge, Prof, James, D.D.</td>
<td>University of Oxford</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<td>Richthofen, Freiherr F. von</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>1880</td>
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<td>Wade, Sir Thomas F., G.C.B., M.A.</td>
<td>5, Salisbury Villas, Cambridge</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<td>Zottoli, Père Angelo</td>
<td>Jesuit Mission, Sicawei, Shanghai</td>
<td>1895</td>
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Honorary Protector.

His Majesty LEOPOLD II, King of the Belgians.

Honorary Members.
### LIST OF MEMBERS.

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<td>Ethnological Museum, Berlin</td>
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<td>Moika, 64, St. Petersburg</td>
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<td>Cordier, Henri</td>
<td>3, Place Vintimille, Paris</td>
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<td>Edkins, Rev. Joseph, D.D.</td>
<td>Custom House, Shanghai</td>
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<td>C/o Russian Legation, Peking</td>
<td>1877</td>
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<td>†Fryer, John</td>
<td>Kiangnan Arsenal, Shanghai</td>
<td>1863</td>
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<td>Berlin</td>
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<td>†Giles, Herbert A.</td>
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<td>Lockhart, Wm., F.R.C.S.</td>
<td>67, Granville Park, Blackheath, London, S.E.</td>
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<td>C/o T'ung-wên Kuan, Peking</td>
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<td>†McCartee, D. B., M.D.</td>
<td>C/o Dr. Ellinwood, 23, Centre Street, New York, U.S.A.</td>
<td>1865</td>
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<td>Hangchow</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<td>†Muirhead, Rev. W.</td>
<td>London Mission, Shanghai</td>
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**Ordinary Members.**

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<td>Acheson, James</td>
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<td>†Allen, H. J.</td>
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<td>1872</td>
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<td>C/o Mr. W. Rosenthal, Unterstrasse, 86, Eisenach, Germany</td>
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2.—EARLY PORTUGUESE COMMERCE AND SETTLEMENTS IN CHINA ... 33
THE SALT ADMINISTRATION OF SSŬCH’UAN.

By ARTHUR VON ROSTHORN.

A great deal has been written on the subject of Salt in China, and in this part of the Empire more especially travellers have not tired of studying and describing the manner of boring the salt-wells, of evaporating the brine, etc. etc., so that little that is new could now be added to our knowledge.

The system of distribution, on the other hand, and the administration of the gabelle, are not so well understood, and where figures have been given, these seem to have been little more than guesses. It is therefore with a view to supplying more accurate information on these points that the following pages are submitted. They are based almost exclusively on the Ssŭch’uan Yen-fa-chih (四川鹽法志), a voluminous government publication, compiled under the auspices of that distinguished Viceroy Ting Pao-chên (丁寶楨), which received the Imperial imprimatur in 1882. I know of no statistical work in this country so handsomely got up, so well illustrated, and at the same time so exhaustive, and it affords me pleasure to transmit a copy of it for the library of the Society. It will furnish abundant material to anyone wishing to go more fully into the subject, and will also, I hope, do away with the necessity of entering into many details in the present sketch.
In a paper on the Early History of the Salt Monopoly of China, contributed to this Journal in 1887, Dr. Hirth has collected the earlier references to our subject, and shown that, in other parts of the Empire, the taxation of salt commenced as early as the 7th century B.C. It was different in Szech'uan. This country continued in primitive savagery until long afterwards. It was covered with forest and jungle, haunted by the bear and the tiger, the wild ox and the rhinoceros, and inhabited by savage tribes which were then, as many of their descendants are even now, ignorant of the luxury of a salted meal. And it was not until the Ch'un-ch'iu period, when the rising state of Ch'in (秦) had annexed Pa (巴) and Shu (蜀)—embracing the Northern half of our province—that the territory was gradually peopled by Chinese settlers who brought with them their civilising influence. The first mention of salt as an indigenous product, contained in the Hua-yang-kuo-chih (華陽國志), refers to the reign of Hsiao Wen-wang (孝文王, B.C. 249), and ascribes the opening of a salt-well in the Kuang-tu (廣都, South of the present Ch'eng-tu) district to Li Ping (李冰), governor of Shu, who seems to have done more than anyone else to develop the resources of the province, and is to this day worshipped as its special patron saint (川主).

During the Han dynasty the industry made rapid progress, and we read of an early law forbidding the clandestine manufacture of salt under the penalty of confiscating the implements, besides cutting off the left big toe of every offender. It appears that the government made a monopoly of the evaporating pans and ovens, and the people who made use of these
paid in return a certain proportion of the yield. This is the origin and earliest form of the well-tax.

During the reign of Wu-ti (武帝, B.C. 140 to 86) a fierce war took place in council over the taxation of salt, in which the famous Kung-sun Hung (公孫宏, Mayers, 287) took a leading part. The party advocating continued taxation finally carried the day, but the collection of the tax during that and the following dynasties remained irregular and spasmodic.

In the Tʻang dynasty the monopoly of pans and ovens was given up,—manufacturers provided these for themselves; but a well-tax (井課) was levied instead, which was regulated by the annual output. The wells numbered 641, and the manufactured article was allowed free circulation. The revenue was under the control of the three hsün-yuan-kuan (巡院官)—corresponding to the present fén-hsün-tao (分巡道)—who were responsible for it to the Tu-chih-shih (度支使) or minister of finance.

Early in the Sung dynasty a special high officer styled Chʻa-yen chih-chih shih (茶鹽制置使) was created for the administration of the tea and salt trades, and in 1001 the province was first divided into the four circuits (路) of I-chou (益州, Chʻeng-tu), Szʻü-chou (梓州, Tʻung-chʻuan), Li-chou (利州, Pao-ning) and Kʻui-chou (夔州)—each under a Chuan-yun-shih (轉運使) or superintendent of trade—which, being collectively known as the Ssü-chʻuan-tu (四川路), gave the province its present name.

We now meet for the first time with the term yin (引), meaning a permit or pass, so conspicuous in all subsequent codes of regulations. In 992 [Shun-hua, 3], the country being engaged in war on the Northern frontier, and money being scarce, supplies to the army were paid for by orders (yin) for surplus salt from the great salt districts in the Eastern provinces. This irregular procedure soon became the approved system of taxation, and as such it was introduced in
Ssūch’uan in 1132 [Shao-hsing, 2]. On payment of the salt duty (鹽稅) merchants received permits for the quantities they required, and with these proceeded to the salt districts to make their purchases. The manufacture took place under the supervision of officers called chien (監), and a well-tax (井課) was levied as before. Here then we have two distinct taxes (課稅) on the same article, one collected from the producer, the other from the trade; but there was as yet no other restriction to the movements of the produce.

This system continued with but little alteration through the Yuan dynasty. In 1230 however the yin was fixed at 400 catties, and henceforward we have fairly accurate statistics. In 1285 the production is given at 10,451 yin or peculs 41,804; in 1380 it had increased to 28,910 yin or peculs 115,640.

During the Ming dynasty the control became much stricter, and a complicated official apparatus was created for the purpose. At first a hsün-yen yü-shih (巡鹽御史) was deputed to every salt-producing province, and in 1672 a superintendent-general of the tea and salt trades (茶鹽都轉運使) was appointed to Ssūch’uan with head-quarters at Ch'êng-tu. During Hung-wu [1368 to 1399] permits were issued to the extent of peculs 101,274 per annum, while the well-tax was calculated on an outturn of peculs 160,599. During Hung-chih [1488 to 1506] the permits had increased to peculs 201,760. In 1558 finally, the well-tax was regulated according to the number of yin issued, and the figures of the two departments thus harmonised. The production for the same year was returned at 89,263 yin or peculs 357,052.

Since the accession of the Manchu dynasty [1644] the supreme control of the gabelle has been vested in the Governor-General. Until 1748, the provinces of Shânhsi and Ssūch’uan had one Governor-General between them. In that year, however, a viceregal post was created in Ssūch’uan, and with
it the office of Governor (巡撫), as well as the supreme control of the salt administration, were united (兼鹽政). In 1674 a Grain Intendant (督糧道) had been appointed to the province, who had charge of the Salt-tax Department under the Governor-General, but the post was again abolished in 1686, and has not been revived since. The duties connected with the salt administration were then transferred to the provincial Judge (臬司), who had also control of the government mail service; but he was again relieved of these extra functions by the creation in 1779 of an additional intendency (驛鹽道). In 1779 finally a special Commissioner for the tea and salt administration (茶鹽道) was appointed, the duties connected with the government mail service reverting to the Chief Judge, and this arrangement has continued ever since.

The state of anarchy and rebellion into which the West of China was thrown towards the end of the last, and in the beginning of the present dynasty, the butcheries and devastation caused first by Chang Hsien-chung (張獻宗) and his army of freebooters, and subsequently by Wu San-kui (吳三桂) and his followers, and no less by the reconquest and merciless suppression at the hands of the Imperialist forces, had left this province in a state of utter exhaustion and ruin. The salt industry and trade had come to a complete standstill, and many years were required ere the country was repopled by immigration from the East, industrial enterprises were revived and trade routes reopened. It was not until the reign of Yung-chêng that the attempt was made to resuscitate the salt revenue, and when it was made, it was met by a most determined opposition. The tax, though amounting to TaelS 42,997 only, was repudiated on the plea that, owing to depopulation, there was no market for the produce, and the protest was supported by the body of officials who drew great profit from the unsettled state of
the administration. A new census was therefore ordered to be made, and it was proposed that the supply of salt should be calculated on the basis of a daily consumption of 5 mace weight per head. After much delay the local resistance was finally overcome by the threat of adopting the last census of the Ming dynasty, and by the year 1732 the government was at last enabled to introduce the new system, which has since been described as Kuan-tu shang-hsiao (官督商銷) and which is briefly as follows:

Of the 135 districts into which the province was divided, 40 were salt producing, 99 consuming only. The salt-wells numbered 6,116, and the annual production was returned at peculs 922,778. The yin had been fixed in 1651 in such a manner that a distinction was made between River permits (水引) for salt shipped by river, and Land permits (陸引) for salt carried overland. The former covered 50 packages, the latter 4. The package was nominally 1 pecul net, but 15 per cent. were allowed for loss in transit. Deducting this allowance from the gross production, there remained a net supply of peculs 802,416, which was taxed at the rate of Taels 0.0681, per pecul, making the revenue thereon Taels 54,644. For this amount permits were henceforth issued by the Board of Revenue, and the Governor-General became personally responsible for its collection. The permits were distributed among the districts according to fixed allotment (額引) based on the census, and the magistrate of each district, while inviting merchants to undertake the conveyance and sale of the salt, was directly charged with the supervision of the trade and the collection of the salt-tax.

Provision having been made for increasing the supply of any district when needed, the revenue improved considerably during the period of Ch'ien-lung, but received several checks during the present century. At first the system described worked fairly well, but its shortcomings were evolved in due
course of time (法久弊生). Heavy guarantees being taken from merchants engaging in the salt trade, and the price of salt being determined by official authority, substantial firms were not invariably found willing to deal with an article so closely controlled. In salt-producing districts more especially the trade was threatened with loss on account of the competition created by the private sale of so-called surplus salt (餘鹽), that is, salt produced in excess of the fixed supply, and which was therefore not covered by permit, but was allowed to be retailed in small quantities. In other places again, where the sale was more lucrative, there was indeed no lack of applicants, but the privilege, once obtained, was transmitted from generation to generation, the permits loaned to irresponsible speculators who, aided and abetted by corrupt officials, requisitioned the supplies from the cheapest sources and conveyed them to the best markets without discrimination or regard to their proper destinations. In other words, though the fiction of doling out in paternal fashion this necessary of life was kept up, the trade, like a river propelled by its own gravity, sought out its own natural channel. The result was in every case the same—an accumulation of unclaimed permits and a consequent deficit in the revenue. The territorial officials of the districts concerned, being held personally responsible for the amounts outstanding, had only one remedy to fall back upon. The salt-tax was added to, and collected simultaneously with, the poll-tax (歸丁), the permits being withheld, and the salt supply made dependent on the surplus production of the nearest salt districts. In 1850 the districts supplied in this manner numbered 31, and were subsequently added to to the number of 42.

We now come to the last important change in the salt administration of Ssūch‘uan. The system hitherto in force was completely disorganised when, during Hsien-fêng, Hupei and Hunan, ordinarily supplied with Huai salt, were cut off from
the maritime provinces by the "T'ai-p'ing" rebellion. Various proposals were made by the governments of Hu-kuang and Ssu-ch'uan for arranging a modus operandi for the temporary supply of the saltless provinces, but each scheme proposed fell through in turn. In the meantime salt had reached famine prices in Hu-kuang, and it became impossible to prevent an illegitimate trade springing up and rapidly assuming alarming dimensions. Salt works were pushed, manufacture was hastened, and the salt shipped down river as fast as it could be turned out. Rules and regulations were forgotten or ignored, and whole fleets of salt-junks dropped down the gorges, manned and armed as if for piratical expeditions or the encounter of an enemy. In 1854 therefore a likin office was established at Ich'ang, where a duty of 1½ lî or 2½ cash was levied per catty. In the following year a second office, branch of the last, was opened at Sha-shih, where the salt was mostly disposed of, and a duty of 4½ cash per catty levied from the purchaser. 70,000 to 80,000 strings of cash were collected every month. In 1861 the duty at Sha-shih was increased by 2 cash, and at Ich'ang by 1 cash, but at the latter place, where payment was nominally in silver, 5 cash were actually charged instead of 3½ per catty. In 1864, river communication having been restored, the Huai provinces reasserted their right to the supply of Hu-kuang. With a view therefore to repressing the importation of salt from Ssu-ch'uan, the salt-tax was further augmented by 3 cash at Sha-shih, and by 2 cash at Ich'ang, half the proceeds being surrendered to the Hupei treasury, half given up to the Chiang-nan government. 1 cash being also taken at Ich'ang, and ½ cash at Sha-shih for barrier expenses, the import duty amounted in all to 18 cash per catty. In spite of this heavy taxation the Ssu-ch'uan produce could not for many years be driven out of the market, owing, it is said, to its very superior quality. When the duty had reached its highest level, it was found that Sha-shih
was largely evaded by consignments not actually destined for consumption there, and in 1867 the two offices were therefore amalgamated, duty being charged at Ich'ang at the rate of 18 cash per catty, and the salt allowed free circulation after the one payment. A check barrier was also established at Pa-tung Hsien (巴東縣) and examination barriers at P'ing-shan-pa (平善壩), and, during high water, at T'ün-chia-t'o (屯甲沱), all above Ich'ang. The receipts amounted to about 2 million strings per annum, and the 1½ cash paid for barrier expenses alone realised some 200,000 strings, barely half of which could be expended.

Efforts had been made in the meantime on the Ssüch'üan side also to either suppress a traffic which threatened to drain off a prime source of revenue, or to share in its profits. In 1854, therefore, the price of salt ruling very high, the exporters of salt were prevailed upon to agree to a tax, payable at place of production, of 1 li per catty or Tael 8 per river permit, Tael 2.75 of which were borne by the producer, and Tael 5.25 by the merchant. Exempt from this tax were the districts in which the salt-tax was absorbed in the poll-tax, and one or two other districts. Special offices were established in the most important manufacturing centres, and deputies or local officials entrusted with the superintendence in others. In the following year the duty on surplus salt exported was raised to 4 cash a catty, while salt covered by permits continued to pay at the old rate.

In 1855 the Salt Office of K'ui-chou-fu was established, and duty was here charged on surplus salt exported to Hupei at the rate of Tael 0.13 per pecul. In order to bring the salt of Ta-ning-hsien (below K'ui-fu) within the radius of taxation, a second office was opened at K'ung-wang-t'o (空望沱) in the Wu-shan district. The collection of the two stations during the first years of their existence was about Tael 120,000 per annum.
In 1860 the Salt Office of Chungking was opened, and barriers were established at Hsiang-kuo-ssü (香國寺) on the tributary, 10 li above Chungking, and at T'ang-chia-t'ō (唐家沱) on the main river, 25 li below the city. The tariff was the same as at present [see below].

The three offices together collected about Taels 1,100,000 in the year, 5 per cent. being retained by each office for local expenditure. This handsome revenue, however, did not last long, and when the river communication with the Eastern provinces was restored, it dwindled away, the explanation given being that exports of salt to Hu-kuang had diminished or ceased. Yet, seeing that the Ich'ang office continued flourishing till long afterwards, we must seek the true solution once more in the trite Chinese saying 法久弊生.

It was high time for a reform to be made. While the exportation to Hu-kuang was so profitable a business that the heavy taxation by which it was sought to check it, had but little effect, the permits for home consumption remained unapplied for or were misappropriated. Nor was Ssūch'üan spared the internal troubles which shook the very foundations of the Empire during the 5th decade. Refugees of the “T'ai-p'ing” rebellion overran the South of the province under Shih Ta-k'ai (石達開), gangs of disband ed opium smugglers plundered Central Ssūch'üan under Li Tuan-ta-ta (李短搭搭) and others, and a general rising of the Miaotzŭ disturbed the peace of Yūnnan and Kui-chou. Nowhere indeed was the administration so completely disorganised as in the last two provinces, for which over 80,000 permits remained on hand, and duties amounting to over a million were outstanding. A thorough reform was at last undertaken in 1877 by the then Viceroy Ting Pao-chên, conjointly with the expectant Taot'ài T'āng Chūn (唐 爛), a very able official, afterwards fu-t'ai of Yūnnan, who lost his high reputation, as many another was won, undeservedly, during the last French war, and who,
after years of disgrace, was finally appointed to the administration of government mines in Yünnan, where he still officiates.

The system inaugurated in 1877 is called the government transport system (kuan-yün 官運, or more fully kuan-yün shang-hsiao 官運官銷). The principle on which it is based is this: while leaving both the production and ultimate sale to private enterprise, the government, in order to insure the distribution in every direction, undertakes the conveyance. It purchases the salt at the wells, transports it to destination, or to central depôts from which the districts supplied by them can be conveniently reached, and there sells it to the trade at a figure which includes all charges for prime cost, transport, duty, etc. Permission was first granted to give the system a trial in Kui-chou, and, on its being found entirely successful, it was extended to Yünnan, to the 8 districts of Hupei drawing salt from Ssūch'uan, and to 33 districts of the province itself.

We see that there are actually three different systems working side by side in this province. The first, kuan-tu shang-hsiao, which may be described as the allotment system, has been tried for a century and a-half, and has failed to give satisfaction. The second system, the incorporation of the salt-tax in the poll-tax (kui-ting), the general adoption of which has at one time been warmly advocated, has dangers too obvious to detail. It would mean simply the increase of a general tax for the benefit of one particular trade, which benefit would tend to stimulate exportation at the expense of the local supply. The third system, that of government transport (kuan-yün shang-hsiao) is a compromise, and, if honestly carried out, is beyond doubt the one which satisfies best the requirements of both the revenue and the public. It is also, if I am not mistaken, the one which is destined eventually to supersede every other. Although it resembles somewhat and approaches to a certain extent our idea of a state monopoly,
I may now say that to speak of "the Salt Monopoly of China" without qualification is, so far as this part of the Empire is concerned, somewhat misleading, since the government occupies itself in nowise with either the manufacture or the ultimate sale of the product. Among the various schemes proposed at different times we find indeed one called kuan-yün kuan-hsiao (官運官銷) which would entirely realise our definition of a state monopoly, but it was thrown out on the very ground that it deprived an important branch of trade of its legitimate interest (奪商利).

Statistics.

Production.—At present (1882) there are 40 districts in Ssūch’üan producing salt in greater or less quantity. The salt-wells number 8,830; the "fire-wells" 10; the ovens 1,484; the evaporating pans 5,527; and the "hot-water pans" 238.

The principal manufacturing centres are known as:—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Fu-hsing-ch'ang</th>
<th>Hsi-ch'ung</th>
<th>49</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Nan-pu</td>
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<td>Hua-ch'ih-ch'ang</td>
<td>Shê-hung</td>
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<td>P'êng-ch'i</td>
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<td>Fu-yi-ch'ang</td>
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<td>Jung</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yü-nan-ch'ang</td>
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<td>Ta-ning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yung-t'ung-ch'ang</td>
<td>Ch'ien-wei</td>
<td>1,195</td>
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<td>Lo-shan</td>
<td>438</td>
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</tbody>
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The regular supply, for which permits are issued, and the distribution of which is regulated by definite rules, is nominally peculs 2,061,816, actually peculs 2,871,088 and more. This is called yín yen (引鹽) in contradistinction to the yú yen (餘鹽) or surplus salt, which is subject only to likin charges
en route to destination. The latter, being the variable factor in the annual production, cannot be ascertained with certainty.

Regular Supply.—Permits.—For the regular supply the permits are annually issued by the Board of Revenue, and transmitted to the Governor-General as the responsible head of the Salt Administration. The permits are distinguished as regular permits (額 引) and reserve permits (餘 引). The latter, to the number of 5,000, are retained by the Governor-General as a reserve stock, to be drawn on in the event of any district applying for an increased allotment. The regular permits are divided into River permits (水 引), for shipment by junk, and Land permits (陸 引), for overland carriage. The former cover 50 packages, the latter 4 packages each. The package (包) is nominally 1 pecul net, to which an allowance of 15 per cent. is added for loss in transit. The number of permits is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{River permits} & \quad 30,178 \text{ @ peculs} 50 = \text{peculs} 1,508,900 \\
\text{Land} & \quad 138,229 \quad 4 = \quad 552,916 \\
\quad & \quad 2,061,816 \\
\quad & \quad 309,272 \\
\text{Peculs} & \quad 2,371,088
\end{align*}
\]

[In reality a somewhat larger allowance is made for waste. Cake salt (巴 鹽) generally weighs peculs 1.60, granular salt (花 鹽) peculs 2 per pao, inclusive of 20 catties tare. As it is not ascertained in what proportion either variety stands to the total production, the exact figures for the latter are beyond computation.]

The regular permits, impressed with the Governor-General's seal, are divided between the Salt Commissioner (鹽 茶 道) and the Government Transport Office (官 運 總 局) as follows:
The Salt Administration of Ssüch’uan.

Salt Commissioner.

River permits 10,528 = peculs 526,400 ;
Land 82,183 = 328,732 peculs 855,132

Government Transport Office.

River permits 19,650 = peculs 982,500 ;
Land 56,046 = 224,184 peculs 1,206,684

Peculs 2,061,816

Distribution.—Ssüch’uan supplies actually itself with 12 fu, 6 chihli-t’ing, 8 chihli-chou, and 137 hsien; 8 districts of Hupei, viz. Ho-fêng, Ch’ang-lo, Én-shih, Hsüan-ên, Li-ch’uan, Chien-shih, Hsien-fêng, and Lai-fêng; 13 fu, 3 t’ing, and 1 chou, of Kui-chou, i.e. all Kui-chou with the exception of Li-p’ing-fu supplied from the Liang-kuang provinces; and 2 fu and 1 chou of Yünnan, viz. Tung-ch’uan, Chao-t’ung and Chên-hsiung. The regular supply of these provinces is as follows:

Ssüch’uan.

River permits 18,294 = peculs 914,700 ;
Land 108,221 = 432,884 peculs 1,347,584

Hupei.

River permits 1,199 = peculs 59,950 ;
Land 4,715 = 18,860 78,810

Kui-chou.

River permits 10,685 = peculs 534,250 ;
Land 139 = 556 534,806

Yünnan.

Land permits 25,154 =

Peculs 2,061,816
The permits for Ssüch'üan and Hupeii are called *chi-yin* (計引); those for Kui-chou and Yünnan are known as *pien-yin* (邊引).

Administration.—Salt Commissioner.—104 out of the 137 districts of Ssüch'üan are under the control, for salt-tax purposes, of the Salt Commissioner. The system of administration is mainly the same as inaugurated in 1782. In 42 districts, however, mostly in the North of the province, the salt-tax is collected simultaneously with the poll-tax (歸丁), now amalgamated with the land tax (地丁). The permits are retained by the Salt Commissioner, and the districts concerned depend for their supply on the surplus salt purchasable in small quantities at the nearest salt-wells. In the remaining 62 districts the permits are handed to the territorial officials according to fixed allotment, and these act as collectors (經徵) of the salt-tax. They again distribute them among a number of resident firms (坐商), who have obtained the privilege against heavy guarantees. And in their turn these merchants invite other companies (行商) to contract for the conveyance of the produce to destination. On arrival there a statement of original cost, transport expenses, etc. is submitted to the magistrate, who proceeds to collect the charges due and, adding 4 cash per catty for the merchants’ profit, fixes the price of salt accordingly by proclamation. At the end of the year the permits, together with the dues collected, are surrendered to the Salt Commissioner, who forwards them to the provincial capital with his return. The permits are eventually returned to Peking, and the revenue is either remitted or otherwise accounted for.

Government Transport Office.—The head office of the Government Salt Transport is at Lu-chou, and is under the direction of a general manager (總辦) of the rank of
hou-pu tao. The kuan-yün chü supplies all Yünnan and Kui-chou, within the limits indicated—33 districts of Ssu-ch'uan, chiefly riverine districts and districts bordering on the Southern provinces (近邊), and the 8 districts of Western Hupei.

The government purchases the salt at the wells, and branch offices are established for that purpose in the principal manufacturing centres. These are called ch'ang-chü (廠局) and are six in number, viz.:

(a) Ch'ien-ch'ang fên-chü at Wut'ung-ch'iao, Ch'ien-wei.
(b) Fu-ch'ang fên-chü at Tzŭ-lin-ching, Fu-shun.
(c) Shê-ch'ang fên-chü at Yang-t'ao-ch'i, Shê-hung.
(d) Yün-ch'ang fên-chü at Yü-nan-ch'ang, Yün-yang.
(e) Ning-ch'ang fên-chü at Ta-ning-ch'ang, Ta-ning.
(f) Yu-ch'ang fên-chü at Yu-shan-chên, P'êng-shui.

Here the salt is stored pending shipment. An additional dépôt (裕濟倉) at Lu-chou is stored with surplus salt, to prevent a sudden rise of prices. From the ch'ang-chü the salt is transported by river to the various dépôts at destination, called an-chü (岸局). Here it is disposed of to the trade at a price which includes prime cost, transport and all dues and duties leviable. The permits which have accompanied the produce thus far, are returned to the head office, and hu-chao issued instead to protect the goods to their ultimate places of consumption.

For Yün-nan, which is entirely supplied from Ch'ien-wei, the an-chü are 2, viz.:

(a) Ip'in an-chü, at Hsü-chou-fu, for conveyance up river to Lao-ya-t'an, and thence to Chao-t'ung and Tung-ch'uan.

(b) Nan-kuang an-chü, at Nan-kuang-chên, 20 li below Hsü-chou-fu and on the main river, for conveyance to Chên-hsiung via Ch'îng-fu and Kao-hsien.
For Kui-chou, which is supplied from Ch'ien-wei, Fu-shun and Jung-hsien, the an-chü are 4, viz.:—

(a) Yung-an fên-chü, at Hsü-yung-t'ing, 450 li from Na-ch'i-hsien on the river.
(b) Jên-an fên-chü, at Jên-huai-t'ing, 150 li from Ho-chiang-hsien on the river.
(c) Chi-an fên-chü, at Chi-chiang-hsien, 140 li from Chiang-chin-hsien on the river.
(d) Fu-an fên-chü, at Fu-chou, on the river, 330 li below Chungking.

All four depôts can be reached by junks.

The 8 privileged districts of Hupei, which are supplied by Ch'ien-wei, Yün-yang, Ta-ning and P'eng-shui, are controlled by the Wan-hsien fên-chü, with landing stations at Yün-yang and Wu-shan.

Beside the above there are yet other receiving depôts for the supply of home districts, and there is a well organised system of examination jetties and check barriers, too numerous to detail.

Surplus Production.—The surplus production of those salt districts which contribute to the regular supply, as well as the production of districts having but a few and barren wells, being subject to constant fluctuations, cannot be accurately determined. Such produce is taxed by the several P'iao-li-chü (票局局) established in the principal well districts, or by the officials entrusted with the supervision in the less important. The ch'ien-lo and fu-jung offices are responsible to the kuan-yăn tsung-chü the remaining offices, notably those at T'ung-ch'üan, Chien-chou, Ching-yen, Tz'ü-chou, Yün-yang Ta-ning, etc., to the yen-ch'ü-tso. After being freed in the place of production, the salt may be conveyed to any market, but remains subject to likin charges at every barrier en route,
and no applicant is granted a pass (票) for more than 80 catties at one time.

**Taxation.—Fixed Annual Assessment.**—

(a) *Well Tax* (課).—After a new well has been worked for three years, it is reported to the Board and classed according to its productivity as 1st, 2nd or 3rd class. Similarly with evaporating pans and ovens, which in some districts are taxed instead of the salt-wells. There is no fixed scale of taxation, but once assessed the tax remains the same year after year. The collection from this source is Taels 14,961 per annum.

(b) *Regular Salt Tax* (引稅).—This is calculated on the old basis of Taels 0.0631 per pecul, or Taels 3.405 per River permit and Taels 0.2724 per Land permit. The total collection is Taels 140,409 per annum.

(c) *Remittance Tax* (紙礱力).—This tax provides for the expenditure connected with the printing of the permits and their remittance every year from and to the Board of Revenue. 3 mace are charged per 100 permits for cost of printing (紙礱) and 4 li per permit for cost of remittance (腳力). The annual charge under this head is only Taels 129.

(d) *Examination Fee* (敲角).—Originally intended for barrier expenses. It amounts to 6 mace per River, and 48 li per Land permit, if for Ssûch'uan or Hupei, and to 1 tael per River, and 80 li per Land permit, if for Yûnنان or Kui-chou. The annual collection is Taels 29,725.

(e) *Overcharge* (溢) for cost of administration. This is collected both on the well-tax and on the salt-tax
THE SALT ADMINISTRATION OF SSÜCH’UAN.

proper. It varies in different districts but remains the same from year to year. The well-tax over-charge (井課案) is Taels 3,762, the salt-tax over-charge (引稅案) Taels 26,074, total Taels 29,836 per annum.

(a) to (c) represent the original Salt revenue due to the central government; (d) and (e) were formerly illegal charges, the amounts of which varied in different places, but have since been submitted to the Board and approved of. All have now become fixed assessments, (a) to (c) being annually remitted to Peking, (d) and (e) retained in the province, but reported and accounted for. The fixed assessments amount to Taels 315,064 per annum.

Likin.—

(a) Yin-li (引厘) or ch‘ang-li (殿厘), a tax levied at place of production on the regular supply covered by permit. Originated in 1854. Before 1877 the tax was Taels 19.50 for pa-yen, and Taels 25 for hua-yen per permit of 50 pao. The latter charge has since been reduced to Taels 18 at the fu-jung, to Taels 17.50 at the ch‘ien-lo, and to Taels 7,555 at the shé-hung office (peculs 100 being allowed to the permit). The tax is collected by the kuan-yin-chü (官引局) in the great salt centres, and the receipts are about Taels 300,000 per annum [1882].

(b)—P‘iao-li (票厘), or tax levied at place of production on surplus salt not covered by permit. Originated in 1765, during the Chin-ch‘uan expedition, abolished in 1771, and revived as a sort of poor rate in 1778. Since 1862 the sale of surplus salt and the collection of the tax took place in special warehouses, which were again done
away with in 1877, and the p’iao-li-chü (票厘局) created instead. One person can apply for no more than 80 catties at a time, and the duty is 4 cash for pa-yen, and 3 cash for hua-yen per catty. The receipts are over Taels 200,000 a year [1882].

(o)—Yü-li (渝厘), or likin collected on salt at Chung-king. The office at this port was established in 1860. It taxes both the regular supply and surplus salt exported on the following scale:—

Salt exported to Hupei: if covered by permit, 1,250 cash for hua-yen, 650 cash for pa-yen per pao; if surplus salt, then indiscriminately 1,500 cash per pao.

Salt destined for home districts: Taels 2 per yin.

The collection is about Taels 300,000 per annum [1882].

The k’ui-li (夔厘), or k’ui-shui (夔税) collected at K’ui-chou-fu since 1853 on surplus salt going into Hupei, was abolished when in 1877 the kuan-yün-chü were created.

Likin on Ssüch’uan salt going into Yünnan was done away with when the kuan-yün system was extended to that province.

But in Kui-chou taxation continued, even after the introduction in 1877 of the new system, and proved most vexatious, until eventually the kuan-yün administration undertook to collect the provincial charges at a fixed rate of Taels 10 for duty and Taels 4 for likin per yin, and agreed to surrender to Kui-chou the collection thus obtained, amounting to about Taels 180,000 per annum. After that salt became a free article throughout that province,
Revenue.—Previous to the introduction of the kuan-yün system the salt-tax revenue of Ssūch'uan, collected from all sources, amounted to about Taels 900,000 per annum. After the first year of its successful working throughout its present area, in 1879, the figures were reported as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Taels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kuan-yün-chü</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>476,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu-jung kuan-yin-chü</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>503,389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ien-lo kuan-yin-chü</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>91,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu-jung p'iao-li-chü</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>126,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ien-lo p'iao-li-chü</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>61,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yü-ch'eng yen-li-chü</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>364,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,624,201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this must be added the revenue for which the Salt Commissioner is responsible, the exact figures of which I am unable to give. But if we estimate the salt-tax for the whole province in round numbers at two million Taels and more, we cannot be far wrong. It is, with the exception of the united land and poll tax, the principal item in the provincial balance sheet. Apart from remittances to Peking it is chiefly appropriated for the maintenance of the military establishment, for subsidies to the administrations of Yün'nan and Kui-chou, which are not yet self-supporting, and in latter years also for contributions to the coast defence.

It must be remembered, however, that, from the nature of native returns, all estimates and valuations given in this paper represent minimum values. The burden on the country may be much heavier than these figures would lead one to infer, but the revenue as here given is what the central government reckons with, though it is not and cannot be drawn on to its full margin.
APPENDIX.

The following is a list of River Stages with distances in 里, and branch routes to Yünnan and Kuichou in the margin. It is compiled from the *Yen-fa-chih*, is thought generally reliable, and may therefore be not without interest. A sketch map extracted from the same source is appended.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Place</th>
<th>Distance,</th>
<th>Branch Routes, etc.</th>
<th>Distance,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Li</td>
<td></td>
<td>Li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chia-t'ing-fu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Lo-shan-hsien 樂山縣</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niu-hua-ch’i</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lao-mu-k’ung</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-kên-t’an</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T’ie-shê-pa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-tzü-ch’ang</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzü-yün-t’ing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-pan-ch’i</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’a-yü-tzü-t’an</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’ien-wei-hsien</td>
<td>10·125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao-ku-t’o</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>or Hsiu-ch’i-k’oun 沐溪口</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-p’o</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Chien-pan-ho R. 箭板河</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo-tzü-ch’ang</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-ch’i</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan-pe-shu</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan-chiu-shih</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-mao-t’o</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kao-chia-ch’ang</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niu-shih-pien</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hung-ai-ssü</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Place</td>
<td>Distance, Li.</td>
<td>Branch Routes, etc.</td>
<td>Distance, Li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lei-p’i-shih</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Liu-pei-ch‘ih</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsü-chou-fu</td>
<td>10.285</td>
<td>I-p’in-hsien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>宜賓縣</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chin-sha-chiang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>金沙江</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or Chin-ho R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>金河</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yünnan Route—1.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascends the Chin-ho to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An-pien-ch‘ang</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>安邊場</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ping-shan-hsien</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>屏山縣</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu-kuan-ts’un</td>
<td>90.300</td>
<td>副官村</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And continues overland to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yung-shan-hsien</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>永善縣</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chao-t’ung-fu</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>昭通府</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yünnan Route—2.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branches off at An-pien-ch‘ang, and ascends the Hēng-chiang to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La-ya-t’an</td>
<td>370.460</td>
<td>老鴿灘</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And continues overland to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-kuan-t’ing</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>大關鎮</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chao-t’ung-fu</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>昭通府</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung-ch‘uan-fu</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>東川府</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuo-kung-t’o</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>國公沱</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan-kuang</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>南廣</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yünnan Route—3.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascends the Nan-kuang-shui to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch‘ing-fu-hsien</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>慶符縣</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kao-hsien</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>高 縣</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-hsing-tu</td>
<td>150.340</td>
<td>羅星渡</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Place</td>
<td>Distance, Li</td>
<td>Branch Routes, etc.</td>
<td>Distance, Li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li-chuang</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>And continues overland to:</td>
<td>.270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-sun-t'ou</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Chên-hsiung-chou 鐵雄州</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan-ch'i-hsien</td>
<td>25.120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ung-ku-tzü</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiao-nü-chi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-t'ou-hao</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-kuo-pien</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo-p'ân-t'an</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiang-lu-t'an</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang-an-hsien</td>
<td>10.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-kuo-shih</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Yung-ning-ho R. 永甯河</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ing-ch'i</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na-ch'i-hsien</td>
<td>20.100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kuichou Route—1.**

Ascends the Yung-ning-ho to:

Yung-ning-hsien 永甯縣 .450

And continues overland to:

Pi-chie-hsien 毕節縣 .320

Shui-ch'êng-t'ing 水城廳 .290

P'iu-an-t'ing 普安廳 .290

Or from Pi-chie-hsien to:

Wei-ning-chou 威甯州 .320

Or from Yung-ning-hsien to:

Ta-t'ing-fu 大定府 .250

Lang-tai-t'ing 郎岱廳 .340

Chên-fêng-chou 貞豐州 .180
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Place</th>
<th>Distance. Li.</th>
<th>Branch Routes, etc.</th>
<th>Distance. Li.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chü-liang-tzü</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Or to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu-chou</td>
<td>30·38</td>
<td>Ping-yuan-chou</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lei-k'ou</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>An-shun-fu</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuan-k'ou</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kui-hua-t'ing</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tou-k' an-tzü</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Or from An-shun-fu to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi-t' o-yen</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Chên-ning-chou</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiu-hu-chou</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Yung-ning-chou</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niu-lao-i</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Chung-shui L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho-chiang-hsien</td>
<td>30·210</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chih-shui-ho R. 赤水河

Kuichou Route—2.

Ascends the Chih-shui-ho to:

Jên-huai-t'ing 仁懷廳 150
Mao-t'ai-ts'un 茅台村 490·640

And continues overland to:

Kui-yang-fu 貴陽府 530

Or to:

Ch'ien-hsi-chou 黔西州 380
Ch'ing-chên-hsien 清鎮縣 140

Or to:

Ping-yuan-chou 平遠州 440

Or to:

An-p'ing-hsien 安平縣 420
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Place,</th>
<th>Distance, ( Li. )</th>
<th>Branch Routes, etc.</th>
<th>Distance, ( Li. )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wan-chia-ch’ang</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Also written</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang-shih-p’an</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Chi’-tui-ho L.</td>
<td>車對河</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-pa-t’o</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>十八沱</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-yung-ch’i</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu-chia-t’o</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-mên</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe-sha</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu-ch’i-k’ou</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lung-mên-t’an</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang-chin-hsien</td>
<td>40-300</td>
<td>Pu-ch’i or</td>
<td>穰江溪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang-k’ou</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ch’i-chiang-ho R.</td>
<td>穰江河</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kuichou Route—3.

Ascends the Pu-ch’i to:

Ch’i-chiang-hsien 穰江縣 140
Hsin-chan 新 棧 360-500

And continues overland to:

Hsü-yang-hsien 綏陽縣 •210
Tsun-i-hsien 遵義縣 •70
Yung-an-hsien 瓊安縣 •220
P’ing-yüe-chou 平越州 •110
Tu-chün-fu 都 勻府 •130

Or to:

T‘ung-tz‘ü-hsien 桐梓縣 •80
Tsun-i-hsien 遵義縣 •200
Kui-yang-fu 貴陽府 •290
Ting-fan-chou 定番州 •90
P’ing-yüe-chou 平越州 •120
Tu-chün-fu 都 勻府 •80
Tu-shan-chou 獨山州 •60
### APPENDIX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Place</th>
<th>Distance. Li.</th>
<th>Branch Routes, etc.</th>
<th>Distance. Li.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T'ung-kuan-i</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Or from Tsun-i-hsien to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu-tung-ch'ii</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Kuang-shun-ch'ou 廣順州</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu-t'u-kuan</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Ch'ang-chai-t'ing 長寨廳</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ung-ch'ing-fu</td>
<td>20.180</td>
<td>Lo-hu-chou 羅斛州</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang-pei-t'ing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>overland to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuan-yin-p'ei</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ch'eng-an-chou 正安州</td>
<td>380</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tung-lo-hsia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mei-t'ien-hsien 湄潭縣</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye-lo-tzü</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Yung-an-hsien 壬安縣</td>
<td>220</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ming-yüe-hsia</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Li-po-hsien 琵波縣</td>
<td>590</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mu-tung</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Pa-hsien 巴 縣</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-chi</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Chia-ling-chiang L. 嘉陵江</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan-pei-t'o</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Fu-ling-chiang or 淵陵江</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ang-shou-hsien</td>
<td>30.210</td>
<td>Fu-chiang R. 潮 江</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huang-ts'ao-hsia</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Fu-chou 漳州</td>
<td>15.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li-shih</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li-tu</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huo-feng-t'an</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Please note that the text is presented here as an excerpt from a larger document for the purpose of demonstration.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Place.</th>
<th>Distance, Li.</th>
<th>Branch Routes, etc.</th>
<th>Distance, Li.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kuichou Route—4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ascends the Fu-chiang to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P'eng-shui-hsien 彭水縣</td>
<td>450</td>
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<td>Kung-t' an 龔灘</td>
<td>190</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Hsin-t' an 新灘</td>
<td>370.1010</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Continues overland to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ch' ao-ti-ch' ang 潮底場</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And again by river to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ssü-nan-fu 恩南府</td>
<td>60.130</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shih-ch' ien-fu 石阡府</td>
<td>280</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And thence overland to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ssü-chou-fu 恩州府</td>
<td>210</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whence by river to:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chên-yuan-fu 鎮遠府</td>
<td>330</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Or from Fu-chou overland to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P'eng-shui-hsien 彭水縣</td>
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<td>Hsiu-shan-hsien 秀山縣</td>
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<td>Sung-t' ao-t' ing 松桃廳</td>
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<td>T'ung-jên-fu 銅仁府</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Or from P'eng-shui-hsien to:</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Chêng-an-chou 正安州</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Or to:</td>
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<td>Wu-ch' uan-hsien 婺川縣</td>
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<th>Name of Place.</th>
<th>Distance, Li.</th>
<th>Branch Routes, etc.</th>
<th>Distance, Li.</th>
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<td>Ch' uin-chu-t' an 羣豬灘</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tou-ai</td>
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<td>Kai-ch' ien-t' an 皆牽灘</td>
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<td>Chiao-ai</td>
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<tr>
<td>Li-shih-chên 利市鎮</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nan-t' o-pei-p' ei 南沱北配合</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fêng-tu-hsien 邨都縣</td>
<td>30.140</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name of Place</td>
<td>Distance, Li.</td>
<td>Branch Routes, etc.</td>
<td>Distance, Li.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Luan-chu-peî</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hu-hsü-tzü</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fêng-huang-tzü</td>
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<td>Yang-tu-ch'i</td>
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<td>Yü-tung-tzü</td>
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<td>Pe-ma-tzü</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung-chou</td>
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<td>Huang-hua-chou</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tsê-wei-tzü</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ts'ao-ch'i-p'ân</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shih-ku-hsia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu-ling-chi</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-tu</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-hu-t'ân</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wan-hsien</td>
<td>30·190</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Hupei Route—1.**

By river to:
- Ta-ch'i-k'ou 大溪口 .60

And overland to:
- Li-ch'uan-hsien 利川縣 .270
- Hsien-fêng-hsien咸豐縣 .270

Or from Li-ch'uan hsien to:
- Lai-fêng-hsien 來鳳縣 .370

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Distance, Li.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-mei-chi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ih-sha-chi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou-tzü-shih</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiao-chiang-k'ou</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yün-yang-hsien</td>
<td>60·150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pao-tzü-t'a</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung-yang-tzü</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miao-chi-tzü</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Place</td>
<td>Distance, Li.</td>
<td>Branch Routes, etc.</td>
<td>Distance, Li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tz‘ü-chuang-tzü</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-k‘uai-shih</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe-ai</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>K‘ui-chou-fu</td>
<td>30-130</td>
<td>Feng-chie-hsien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Fu-ch’ien</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hupei Route—2.**

By river to:
- Ta-ch‘i-k‘ou 大溪口 30

And overland to:
- Chien-shih-hsien 建始縣 180
- Shih-nan-fu 施南府 120
- Hsüan-ên-hsien 宣恩縣 90
- Lai-feng-hsien 來鳳縣 180

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Distance, Li.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yen-yü-tui 延浦堆</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan-nü-k‘ung 男女孔</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shih-pan-hsia 石板峽</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hei-shih-t‘an 黑石灘</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tai-ch‘i 戴 溪</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiao-ch‘ing-t‘an 小青灘</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lung-pao-tzü 龍寶子</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiao-t‘an 焦 灘</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-lan-tzü 三纜子</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tung-kan-tsui 東竿嘴</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiao-mo-t‘an 蝦蟆灘</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hung-shih-liang 紅石梁</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wu-shan-hsien 巫山縣</td>
<td>5-100</td>
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**Hupei Route—3.**

By river to:
- Shang-yang-p‘ing 上洋平 110

And overland to:
- Shih-nan-fu 施南府 330
- Hsüan-ên-hsien 宣恩縣 90
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Place</th>
<th>Distance, Li.</th>
<th>Branch Routes, etc.</th>
<th>Distance, Li.</th>
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<td>K'ung-wang-t'ō</td>
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<td>Or to:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lao-shu-ts'ō</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chien-shih-hsien 建始縣</td>
<td>160</td>
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<tr>
<td>Huang-ts'ao-p'ō</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Or to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa-wang-ch'ou</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ho-fêng-chou 鹿州</td>
<td>360</td>
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<tr>
<td>P'u-p'e-tzū</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>Hsiao-mu-jang</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Mei-jên-fêng</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuan-ch'ai-hsia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pei-shih</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wan-liu-i</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chin-pien-tan-t'an</td>
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<td>Cho-niu-t'an</td>
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<td>San-sung-tzū-t'an</td>
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<td>Kuan-tu-k'ou</td>
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<td>Wan-hu-t'ō</td>
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<td>Pa-tung-hsien</td>
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<td>Hsin-t'an</td>
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<td>T'ung-ling</td>
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<td>Ping-shan-pa</td>
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<td>I-ch'ang-fu</td>
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<td>Tung-hu-hsien 東湖縣</td>
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\{ First place in Hupei, 2,703 \} \{ li from Chia-ting-fu \} 1,655 li from Ch'ung-ch'ing-fu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Place</th>
<th>Distance (Li)</th>
<th>Branch Routes, etc.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ku-lou-pei</td>
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<tr>
<td>I-tu-hsien</td>
<td>60-120</td>
<td>90 li by river, and 180 li overland to: Ch'ang-lo-hsien 長樂縣</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CIRCULAR
ON
CURRENCY, WEIGHTS & MEASURES
IN CHINA.

The Council of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, considering that sufficient time has now elapsed since the publication of the preliminary paper on this subject [Journal, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, issued May 1890], are desirous of collecting further information regarding the Currency, Weights and Measures in use in all parts of China, and request the favour of a paper from you embodying brief answers to the questions asked below. Reference to the preliminary paper [Journal, Vol. XXIV, No. 1] will greatly facilitate your work, as giving you the order in which it will be most convenient to arrange the information desired. If from any cause you are unable to write the paper asked for, the Council beg you will be good enough to hand this Circular to a neighbour.

The points on which information is sought are as follows:—

CURRENCY.

1.—What are the kinds of Tael (兩) of Silver known in your district? Please give names in full (thus 行平化寶銀), together with the colloquial name.
2.—What is the actual weight in grains or grammes of the Tael of each weight (両)?

15.4325 grains = 1 grammes.
437.5 „ = 1 oz. avoirdupois.
480. „ = 1 „ troy or apothecary.
416. „ = 1 Mexican dollar (clean).*

3.—What is the touch or fineness of each of the several kinds of Silver (pure silver being 1,000)?

4.—How many Taels of each of the Currencies are considered to be the equivalent locally of 100 Kuping or Treasury Taels of pure Silver (庫平足兩銀)? How many equal 100 Haikuan or Customs Taels?

5.—What relation do Dollars bear to the local Tael? (100 Taels = ? Dollars). What kind of Dollars?

6.—What kinds of Copper Cash are used in your district? What is a tiao (吊) and what its value? How many tiao or cash to a Tael or Dollar?

7.—What information can you supply regarding the circulation of paper money and notes of foreign banks?

**Weights.**

8.—What kinds of Catty (斤) are known in your district? What are their names and use? Give the equivalent in ounces avoirdupois or in grammes (1 oz. av. = 28.35 grammes). Which is the catty generally used?

9.—Is any one of the Taels mentioned by you the exact sixteenth of any of the above Catties?

10.—Please give a list of commodities of which more or less than 100 catties go to the picul (石 or 擔) with the number

* It is advisable in stating the local weight of the Tael that the means by which this weight is arrived at be stated: (1) whether by actual weighing, and, if so, stating the counterpoise against which weighed and any tests for correctness—or (2) by account.
of catties of each kind [see Journal, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 94, note by Rev. Père Gain]. Is the character 石 used in your district to designate a measure of capacity as well as of weight.

CAPACITY.

11.—What is the weight in lbs. or kilos of dry rice contained in the Tou or Peck (斗) known in your district? Please give dimensions, or capacity in English cubic inches or in cubic centimetres.

LENGTH.

12.—Please state which is the fundamental unit for land measure in your district: is it the 尺 or 步? and give the length of it in English inches and decimals or millimetres.

13.—How many 步 are reckoned to a 里.

AREA.

14.—What is the area of the Mow (畝) known in your district? Please give the equivalent in English square feet or in square metres. On what length of Pace (步 or 么) is this based?

GENERAL.

15.—Please give any other information at your disposal on the Metrology of China.

It would be a favour to editors and to printer if communications were written on one side only of the paper; and replies should be sent in before the end of the year to the Hon. Secretary, China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.

1st May 1894.
THE COMMITTEE OF THE CHINA BRANCH OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY has decided in connection with the SHANGHAI MUSEUM to form a collection of objects bearing on Chinese technology.

All former attempts in this direction have been made by individuals from peculiar points of view, or by foreign officials, and the collections made have been subsequently removed from China.

The Committee considers that it would be interesting as well as useful to economists and ethnologists to find on the spot a public centre, where information illustrated by an exhibition of the articles and the processes of manufacture could be obtained.

The programme proposed would be far in excess of the present resources of the institution were not a hearty support from all classes of residents in China to be given to the project.

Specimens of the raw and manufactured articles below enumerated, and models, sketches, drawings and photographs of the various processes and machines used in their manufacture with, if practicable, measures and descriptions are earnestly solicited.

It is not intended that this comparatively new departure, which was however planned in 1881 by Mr. D. C. Jansen, should interfere with the existing
Zoological, Botanical and Geological collections which are being rearranged, and it is hoped extended.

Shanghai being the chief emporium of foreign trade in central and northern China, and having extensive and rapid means of communication with the principal centres of trade, is considered the most suitable position for such a collection.

Private collections deposited for a time for exhibition would be specially cared for.

It is proposed to divide the exhibit into the following classes, in any of which specimens would be gratefully received.

*Food-stuffs; their production and preparations.*

- Cereals, seeds, fruits, vegetables, farinaceous substances, etc.
- Liquors, distilled or otherwise, condiments, oils used for food, etc.
- Sugar, spices, sweetmeats, preserves, etc.
- Narcotics, opium, tobacco, bang, etc. Pipes or other appliances used in connection with the above.
- Descriptions of the processes used in the manufacture of any of the above, accompanied if possible by models and figured drawings or photographs.

*Clothing.*

- Dresses, embroideries, hats and caps, articles of personal adornment, etc.
- Textile fabrics; silk, cotton, wool, hemp, China-grass, etc.
- Felts and other substances used in clothing.
- Furs, leather, feathers, hair, etc.

*Raw materials.*—Cotton of various kinds, silk, wild and cultivated; wools and hairs, hemp, China-grass, hides and peltry.
Models and descriptions of looms, frames, etc., and tools used in preparation of clothes.
Processes of tanning and materials used; preservation and preparation of furs; processes of felting, etc.

**Habitations and Family Life.**
Models and drawings of houses, arrangement of dwellings with reference to separation of families and sexes, furniture, household utensils, fuel, heating, lighting, etc.

**Tools and weapons in ordinary use.**
Hand-mills, household tools, weapons for self-defence or used in hunting or fishing, pots and pans, cooking and its accessories, etc.

**Recreation.**
Games, toys, musical instruments, etc.

**Transportation by land or water.**
Carts, sizes and description, barrows, chairs and litters, etc.
Boats, different descriptions or sizes, and names of each.
Models or photographs of the above.

**Industries.**
Woodware, paper, glass, stoneware, earthenware, porcelain, lacquer, copper and brass wares, ornamental and artistic work generally.

**Agriculture.**
Implements and tools, or models and photographs when too large for exhibition.
Products not included in preceding categories.

**Mineral products; being articles of trade.**
Alkalies, alum, arsenic, asbestos, borax, cinnabar, coal, copperas, graphite, gypsum, kaolin, nephrite, orpiment, petroleum, pipe-clay, prehnite, pyrites, realgar, steatite, sulphur, vermillion, etc.
Miscellaneous products.

Oil, fats, waxes, gums, resins, varnishes, glues, cements, dyes, pigments, etc., raw and refined.

Medicines.
Scents, perfumes, essences, etc.
Chemicals.

Education.

Books, paper, writing materials, wood engravings, types, blocks, maps, charts, etc.
SKETCH MAP
OF
RIVER STAGES
IN
KUICHOU AND SSUCH'UAN.
(From the "Yen-ho-chih.")

["THE SALT ADMINISTRATION OF SSUCH'UAN"]
EARLY PORTUGUESE COMMERCE AND SETTLEMENTS IN CHINA.

By Z. Volpicelli.

E então se verá quão incertas são as cousas da China, de que nesta terra se trata com tanta curiosidade, & de ê alguns enganados fazem tâta conta, porque cada hora estão arriscadas a muitos desastres & desaventuras.

Chap. LXVI FERNAO MENDEZ PINTO.

First Settlements in China.

The early Portuguese Settlements in China form an interesting study, as they mark the furthest advance of that European nation which led the way in the continuous movement of colonial and commercial expansion which has been going on for the last four hundred years, and which forms such an important factor in the modern history of the world. The cause of Portuguese expansion lies, I think, in her geographical position, in the West of Europe on the shores of the Atlantic; in fact all the other nations of Europe which have formed or attempted to form colonial empires—England, Spain, Holland and France—are all similarly situated. Great historical events which cover a long period of time must have an underlying cause of permanent nature, and none is more so than geographical position. The causes of Portuguese precocity in colonial growth are principally historical: her people severely trained, like the other races of the Iberian Peninsula, by secular struggles with the Moors, early acquired a secure independence which afforded leisure and resources for maritime enterprise. While Portugal had driven out the
infidel, the struggle was still going on in the rest of the Peninsula and it was long of such uncertain result that none of the Spanish kingdoms could dare weaken itself by wasting its strength in wars with Portugal. At the same time a series of prudent sovereigns refrained from meddling with Spanish affairs. So that Portugal not being either attacked by her continental neighbours, nor attacking them, enjoyed a tranquillity and peace which could be found nowhere else in Europe towards the end of the Middle Ages. This rest and security were well employed by Portugal in devising and carrying out a vast plan of commercial expansion.

Here we see at once the difference in the origin of the Portuguese Colonial Empire compared to that of other nations. The rest, even when most successful, as in the case of England, have expanded unconsciously, either seizing opportunities which presented themselves or driven to conquest by circumstances: they have never carried out a plan elaborated for years or persevered in against every discouragement and difficulty, though with the certainty that immense wealth would be the reward of success. In fact Spanish expansion was due to the casual acceptance of the services of a foreign navigator who had offered them before to Portugal and was going to offer them to other nations. France and England, more out of spirit of imitation than deliberate policy, followed in the wake of Spain, and were glad to pick up the lands discarded by the Spaniards, who in their thirst for gold could see no other wealth, and called them of little account.\(^1\) Holland made her first expeditions more to annoy Spain than to develop her trade, though she succeeded very rapidly in achieving the latter purpose.

Portugal, on the contrary, started with a clear plan though fraught with many difficulties—the discovery of a new trade-

\(^1\) Tierras de poco conto.
route, which she saw must give her for a long time the monopoly of eastern commerce. This was a new departure in history; hitherto all the products of further Asia had been brought to the European markets through the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, and the wealth and prosperity of the Italian maritime cities during the Middle Ages, was owing to their monopoly of the carrying trade of those products in the Mediterranean. The genius of Prince Henry the Navigator inspired him with the bold plan of reaching India by a direct sea-route round Africa, thus securing for Portugal not only the monopoly enjoyed by the Italians in the Mediterranean but also that of the Arabs and Indians in the Indian Ocean.  

To this purpose nearly a century of unceasing exertion was sacrificed. Prince Henry, the originator of the enterprise, died without seeing it fulfilled with success. Four kings—John the Great, King Edward, Alfonso V. and John II—passed away in succession. Still the Portuguese did not grow tired of what seemed a hopeless task. Slowly but unceasingly they crept along the African coast, discovering islands and doubling capes, until at last the end of the long continent was reached, and in 1486 Bartolomeu Diaz doubled the last terrible Capo Tormentoso (Stormy Cape), which his sovereign, to encourage mariners, styled of Good Hope.  

It would be too long and foreign to my subject to deal in detail with the successive expeditions which led to this final brilliant result, but I cannot refrain from noticing one which from its strangeness will show us how fertile in resources were the Portuguese, and how tempted they must have been at times to abandon their continual and fruitless navigations and try some other plan. In the course of

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2 These are not merely historical reflections a posteriori but were the ideas which inspired the Portuguese throughout their conquest, as may be seen in the speech of the great Dalboquerque before the final attack on Malacca.
their discoveries on the western coast of Africa, they heard from the natives that right across the land there was a Christian kingdom. As this agreed with what was stated in a chapter of Marco Polo, it was thought sufficient basis for another plan by Prince Henry—to try a land-route across the continent parallel to that pursued by the Arabian caravans, and reaching to the Christian state, which would then protect one end of the line while the Portuguese occupied the other. Alfonso de Paiva and Pietro Covillan were sent to explore this kingdom, and their voyages, though they never returned themselves to Portugal, led to the discovery of Abyssinia, which for over a century remained under the political and religious influence of Portugal. This strange alliance between two peoples so distant from each other, and which never either before or after had anything in common, forms such a curious historical episode that I have thought it might prove interesting to notice it. In fact it can only be explained by the daring spirit of enterprise which then characterised the Portuguese nation, and is a brilliant instance of their fine qualities. The continuance of their relations with Abyssinia, the military expeditions and the missionaries they sent there, even after the sea-route to India had been found and proved to be practicable and profitable, show the broad political sagacity of the Portuguese Viceroyds in India, who saw the strategical importance of Abyssinia in a war against the Mahomedans to destroy the old trade-route through the Red Sea. Now that, after four centuries, commerce has gone back to her old route, this fragment of history has acquired fresh interest, and I drew attention to it in a series of articles in the Italian papers about three years ago.

If Portuguese enterprise and perseverance were so conspicuous during a century of discouraging attempts, it is no wonder they shone brilliantly when the whole commercial wealth of Asia lay open to them. Vasco de Gama reached
India in his first voyage only in 1497, and yet the Portuguese had reached Malacca in 1509, and proceeded to explore the island of Sumatra; in 1516 Duarte Coelho navigated along the coast of Cochinchina and Siam. This rapid expansion was only a further development of the old plan of Prince Henry. They had doubled the Cape of Good Hope in order to trade direct with India, and gather themselves all the gains hitherto distributed among Arab and Venetian middlemen along the old commercial route; on reaching India, they found that a large part of the trade there was also a transit one which enriched other middlemen along further trade routes, and the Portuguese, consistent in their commercial principles, determined to explore the Spice Islands and carry on the trade direct. Of course this commercial revolution ruined many and it was not carried out without much opposition, which showed itself sometimes by violence and at other times by the more dangerous arts of fraud and treachery. Arabs, Indians and Malays were all against these bold intruders that upset the commercial traditions of centuries.

The Portuguese, however, were too flushed by success to care for casual losses incurred by local hostility, and too well trained by their trials of a century to fear any enemy they might meet in Asia, and they continued their explorations and mercantile adventures. Their possession of Malacca, which was thoroughly conquered by Alfonso Dalboquerque in 1511, at once opened up relations with China, both private and public. Malacca was then a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants of every country in the Far East besides those from India, and while the Portuguese were preparing for the final assault, they received proffers of assistance from six Chinese junks which were at that time in the port. This unexpected friendship arose from two causes: the Chinese had been spared by the Portuguese when they burnt the ships of the Guzarates in the harbour, and they had been vexed
and annoyed by the King of Malacca who had detained them for the purpose of using them in another military expedition. The arrival of the Portuguese fleet and the dangers which menaced the King entirely drove out of his mind all thought about the Chinese, and they with characteristic coolness understood the situation, and quietly one by one slipped on board their junks and went to offer their services to Dalboquerque. His answer shows how the genius of that great man was able to reconcile the noblest principles with the furtherance of the interests of his king and country. He declined their assistance, because if his enterprise did not succeed as well as he trusted in God it would, the Chinese would be persecuted by the King of Malacca for the part they had taken in the attack. The Chinese then asked permission to go back to their own country, promising to treat the Portuguese well wherever they met them, in consideration of the kindness they had received. At the same time they informed Dalboquerque of the difficulties he must encounter in his projected attack as the Javanese, Persians and Guzerates had assembled a large army and numerous artillery in the place, and they did not think he could win. He thanked them for their advice and asked them to wait a few more days so that they might see the valour of the Portuguese and report it to the King of China on their return. After a few days the Chinese asked again permission to leave as their monsoon had arrived and any delay would be injurious to their navigation. Dalboquerque this time consented because the first attack had already been made, and the valour and skill shown by the Portuguese must have convinced them that final success was no longer doubtful. He only asked them to touch at Siam (Sião) on their way and leave there Duarte Fernandez, whom he intended to send as messenger to the king. This request was very willingly granted.
The sagacity of Dalboquerque had thus arranged matters in such a way that the first reports about the Portuguese in China should be of the most favourable description; they had shown great valour against their powerful enemies and a generosity towards weak strangers which must have seemed extraordinary to the Chinese accustomed to the violence and brutality of the Malays. Events that followed soon proved the wisdom of Dalboquerque's conduct. When the Portuguese took Malacca, the king fled to the kingdom of Pào, and sent an ambassador to the court of Peking, asking for succour from China on account of the ancient friendship between the two countries.  

The fall of Malacca, then the great commercial port of the East, had caused an immense sensation throughout all the neighbouring states, so that when the ambassador reached Peking, after a long voyage over land from Canton, he was subjected to long questionings about the Portuguese, their great Viceroy, and their mode of fighting. He was able to give a full account of the whole war, as he had been an eye-witness; but all his eloquence in describing the affronts his master had received from the Captain of the King of Portugal was insufficient to obtain an army and fleet to reinstate his sovereign. The Emperor of China was determined to keep on good terms with the Portuguese, because they had treated kindly his merchants, and intended to allow them to trade in Malacca.  

After they had securely established their power in Malacca by building a fortress, the Portuguese were not long in profiting of the advantages for trade of their new position. They had simply to continue the traditions of the place, which was the emporium of the Far East where merchants flocked from all parts of the Indian archipelago, from Cochin china

3 An ancestor of the king had visited Peking in 1411, and done homage as vassal.
and the southern parts of China. In 1516 Rafael Perestello made the first voyage from Malacca to China in a junk, and he brought back such good information and the profits of his mercantile venture were so great that a large expedition was fitted out the next year. Fernão Peres de Andrade sailed with four Portuguese ships and four Malay vessels and was accompanied by George Mascarenhas in another ship. The appearance of such large vessels filled with strange-looking men in the Gulf of China (as the China Sea was called by the Portuguese) caused great consternation among the natives; but Fernão Peres de Andrade, who had served under the great Dalboquerque at the taking of Malacca, took care to follow the wise conduct of his former chief. He did not forget his mission of pioneer of new extensive commercial relations of his country, and determined that the first impressions (always so important and lasting) of his countrymen on the inhabitants of the strange unknown land should be of the most favourable kind. He kept his men well in hand and distributed presents so liberally that the Chinese, struck with the mild behaviour of men possessed of such powerful ships and arms, consented that he should be allowed to trade at Tamao in the island of San-shan, where later S. Francis Xavier died and was buried. The location of the grave of the great Catholic Apostle of the East in the small island which was the first trading station of the Portuguese, is symbolical of their future action in China, which was as energetic in the diffusion of religion as in the promotion of commercial interests. It is probable that Tamao was not a special place assigned to the Portuguese, but a port already frequented by Malay-Indian merchants, where they met the Chinese merchants and exchanged commodities until the end of the monsoon, when all business was settled up and the island abandoned until next season. Throughout all their commercial enterprises the Portuguese seldom
founded new places but preferred occupying those which were already renowned as marts. It was sufficient for them to connect the great commercial centres of Asia to the sea-route they had discovered.

The permission to trade at Tamao satisfied the enterprising Portuguese only as a first step towards the establishment of commercial relations with the great empire of Eastern Asia. They at once began to extend their explorations and negotiations. George Mascarenhas took advantage of the presence at Tamao of some ships from the Liu-kiu Islands, to follow them in their homeward voyage. He was thus able to explore the southern part of the eastern coast of China with a rapidity and security that would have been impossible had he travelled alone. He probably touched at places on the coast of Fokien and Chekiang, and led the way in the trade which afterwards centred in Chinc Hew and Liampoo. Fernão Peres de Andrade, on the other hand, was allowed to go to Canton with two vessels, and there negotiated so successfully with the local government that he obtained permission to trade with China and Canton. His stay at Canton was very short, as he had to go back to Tamao to assist his other six vessels, which were threatened by an attack of pirates. Fernão Peres de Andrade continued to show the greatest justice and probity in all his transactions, and before leaving Tamao, proclaimed that he was ready to redress any grievance and make up any loss that had been incurred by or through any misconduct of his men.

Up to this time the intercourse between the Portuguese and Chinese had been of the most friendly nature, and an extensive secure trade, besides many other advantages, would have been derived from it, at once, if the inconsiderate action of men of unruly passions had not destroyed all the good effects of the wise, benignant policy of Alfonso Dalboquerque
and Fernão Peres de Andrade. In 1518 Simão de Andrade arrived at Tamao with a ship and three junks. His conduct was entirely opposite to that of his brother: he began to treat the Chinese with oppression, and disregarded all considerations of international law. Without permission he built a fort at Tamao, and exercised sovereign authority, ignoring the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. He is also accused of committing acts of piracy, of enslaving the Chinese and kidnapping girls on the coast. Under such a commander it was natural that the men should commit the worst excesses. At last the abuses became so intolerable that the Portuguese were blockaded by a Chinese fleet which would have starved them into submission if a gale had not luckily enabled three of their vessels to successfully run the blockade in 1521.

The bad conduct of Simão de Andrade not only stopped Portuguese trade at Tamao, but it led to even worse consequences, ruining negotiations which if carried on in the spirit of Dalboquerque might have obtained official sanction from the Emperor to trade between China and Portugal. When Fernão Peres de Andrade arrived in 1517 he brought with him Thomé Pires, an intelligent man of prepossessing appearance, who had been appointed by the Governor of Portuguese India to go as envoy to the Emperor of China and propose friendship and free trade between the two countries. De Andrade mentioned this fact to the high authorities in Canton when he went there, and before leaving he landed the envoy and his retinue. It was a long time however before Thomé Pires could even get permission to start for Peking. The ambassador who had been sent by the dethroned King of Malacca, though

4 Lopo Soares de Albergaria.
5 Thomé Pires was not a man of very high distinction, as he was an apothecary who had been employed in choosing drugs in India, but his natural qualities rendered him the most suitable, as he was pleasant in manner and most inquisitive in finding out things, and had a quick intellect for business (see João de Barros).
he had been unable to obtain armed assistance to reinstate his master, had been successful in rousing suspicions against the Portuguese at the Court of Peking, and the first answer the Portuguese mission received was that they must evacuate Malacca. At last, in 1520, on the 15th January, Thomé Pires was allowed to go to Peking to explain matters and defend his country against the slanders of its enemies. He started in three vessels gaily bedecked with flags and silk awning and bearing the arms of his country. He did not reach Peking till the 11th January of 1521. His departure increased the malevolence of the inveterate enemies the Mahometans of Canton, who there as everywhere feared that the advent of the Portuguese meant the collapse of their secular monopoly in trade. They spread the report that the Portuguese wanted to ruin all shipping, so that they might remain the sole carriers of the trade of the whole world. Unfortunately at that time the overbearing piratical conduct of Simão de Andrade bore out their statements, and the former mild behaviour of his brother and the friendly embassy of Thomé Pires, in the light of later events, seemed only the deceitful advances of treachery. The mandarins of Canton reported that the Portuguese, pretending to be merchants, really came to spy the country that they might afterwards conquer it. In consequence of all these representations the diplomatic character of Thomé Pires' mission was not recognised, and the new Emperor Chia-ching sent him and his retinue back to Canton to be kept in prison as spies.

These untoward events took away all chance of success from a second official commercial expedition which about that time reached China. In 1521, in the fleet which left Lisbon for the newly-discovered Indies, among the other bold adventurous Portuguese there was Martim Affonso de Mello, who was entrusted by King D. Manuel with an important mission for China. He was to go to Tamao and make friend-
ship with the king of China, and then establish, either there or in any other place found most suitable, a fortress where the Portuguese might carry on their trade in a settled way. He was to be the captain of this fortress. He was also informed that the business was much facilitated on account of another mission having been already sent to the King of China by Fernão Peres de Andrade. Martim Affonso de Mello started with six vessels from Malacca to carry out his instructions on the 10th July 1522 and he arrived at Tamao in August. A great deception awaited him: the ambassador Thomé Pires, who was to have smoothed the way for his negotiations, was then in prison, and the rich presents he had brought for the Emperor of China had been stolen by the official underlings. Simão de Andrade with his Portuguese had been driven out of Tamao the year before. The Chinese, emboldened by this military success against the formidable strangers, and by the humiliation inflicted on the embassy, were prepared to attack the Portuguese with a large squadron and destroy them as pirates. Martim Affonso tried to parley, and sent boats to the admiral of the squadron, but as they did not return he saw that things were in a hopeless state of hostility and that it would be folly to risk himself in the harbour. As he was sailing away the Chinese attacked him in great force. The Portuguese, heavily outnumbered, defended themselves with the bravery which rendered them famous at that time throughout Asia, but unfortunately one vessel was destroyed by the explosion of the powder magazine, and another was taken by the Chinese, though after such a strenuous resistance that Martim Affonso was able to escape with the rest. He reached Malacca in October whence he sailed back to India with the monsoon.

This was the last attempt in the 16th century to establish trade between the two countries on an international basis. Its failure however did not prevent merchants continuing to
trade privately either with the connivance of the mandarins or by a certain display of force. It was a business full of risk and danger, because the Portuguese had to fight not only against the Chinese authorities, when they were hostile, but also against their commercial rivals the Mahometans, especially their deadly enemies the Guzerates and against the pirates of every nationality that then swarmed along the coasts of Asia. The profits of a successful commercial voyage were then so great, that it paid the risk of a total loss through piracy or typhoons. It must also be held in mind that piracy cut both ways, and though it might entail loss of ships and cargo, it might also bring the capture of a rich prize of the enemy.

The bad conduct of Simão de Andrade at Tamao and the sea-fights which ensued did not prevent Portuguese vessels from frequenting it at a later date. In 1554, Lampacan, an island close to Macao, was fixed as a place of foreign trade, and three years later this was transferred to Macao. Before these dates the Portuguese traded, and are said to have established even what we should call settlements, at Chincheu and Ningpo. They were impelled to do this not only from the desire to open new channels of trade, but also to remove at such a distance from Tamao that they should not be affected by the reports of the past misconduct of some of their countrymen. On examination we shall find that the principal trading stations at that early period were three—in the South successively Tamao, Lampacan, Macao; in the North, Liampo (Ningpo) and about half-way between them Chincheu. They correspond very nearly to the first treaty-ports, which is not wonderful, as the choice of trading-stations is dependent on causes of a

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In the attack on Malacca under Dalboquerque, the Commentaries mention that the Guzerates, on account of commercial jealousy, were the worst enemies of the Portuguese, exciting the king against them with falsehood and calumny.
permanent nature, such as geographical position and proximity to regions of production; therefore the Portuguese only followed in the routes pursued for centuries by Mahometan traders, and the English at first did the same. This identity of location now leads us to consider whether there may not be points of resemblance between the life of these early settlers and that of the residents in the Far East, during this century. It will be the object of the remainder of this paper to describe life as it was then in China, and to show that, though more than three centuries have passed yet many things have remained unchanged.

We have several accounts of European life and enterprise in China in the 16th century, but the fullest and most picturesque is that which we find in the Peregrinação of Fernão Mendez Pinto. Unfortunately this author has had a very bad reputation: they have punned upon his name and called him mendacious Pinto, and Congreve has perpetuated this opinion by his famous line "Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude." Modern criticism which has revised so many judgements of the past, is more indulgent towards him and admits that his book contains a true account of his adventures though embellished by his fervid imagination. I am afraid I cannot agree with this favourable view. I have carefully read several times all the parts of his work which refer to the present subject, and whenever it was possible I have checked his dates and facts: the result has been to find him generally inaccurate, and I do not think his work is of any historical value. I shall give later on the several instances of inaccuracy I have detected. I have been tempted, when I was exasperated at the discovery of some incongruity or palpable exaggeration, to discard him altogether, but I reflected that even works of fiction are often of some historical value, as they show the current of thought of the times and derive their colouring from the bias of men's
minds. At the same time I was struck by finding occasionally either descriptions of places which corresponded to existing facts, or notices of national character and customs which agree with all that our later experience of China has taught us. I think then, that the Peregrinação of Fernão Mendez Pinto may give us much useful information if we extract it with the following restrictions: never to rely upon him exclusively for the proof of any important historical event; to accept his accounts of people and customs only when they agree with what we know of them from later knowledge, in which case the agreement is strong evidence that he must have seen what he describes correctly; lastly, we may rely on him exclusively to give us a general view of the life of the roving Portuguese adventurers of that time in the Far East. On such a point his inaccuracy is of little moment, nay, perhaps advantageous, it would lead him to give a fuller picture of those strange times. If he describes exploits which never happened to him, he must have invented them of such a nature as to correspond with the real experience of his fellow adventurers, so that they might seem probable and be pleasant to read. His work then, instead of being an account of the adventures of one man, would be of those of his nation at that epoch in the Far East.

I shall now give a brief account of the causes which brought our author to the coast of China and what he saw and did there.

Fernão Mendez Pinto, after many other misfortunes, was attacked on the coast of Siam in a ship belonging to some Portuguese of Patane by the pirate Coja Acem, a Guzerat Moor, who had vowed deadly enmity to the Portuguese nation. With the greatest difficulty our author and two others escaped with their lives, and after many hardships were able to return to Patane and report the loss of their ship and rich cargo. Amongst the losers by this transaction, there was a certain Antonio de Faria, who had sent by the ill-fated vessel a cargo
of merchandise from the sale of which he hoped to pay 12,000 crusados he owed to merchants in Malacca. He now found himself penniless and indebted. He dared not go back to Malacca and face his creditors, so he swore on the Gospels to go in search of the corsair and be revenged of his loss. He succeeded so well in enlisting public sympathy for this project by describing the loss of Christian lives there had been, and the danger to commerce in allowing such a pirate to rove with impunity, that all the Portuguese in Patane assisted him in fitting out his expedition; the rich ones subscribed money to provide a ship and arms, the poor ones offered their services as soldiers. Amongst the latter there was F. M. Pinto, who, as he pithily puts it, had only been able to save from the disaster his poor person with three dart-wounds and a stone-cut on the head, which had endangered his life three or four times, and had compelled him to have a bone taken out before leaving Patane.

In 18 days Antonio de Faria was able to gather 55 fighting men, and he started for the island of Alinão, where it was reported Coja Acem was to be found, on Saturday 9th May 1540. It was a long time before he could come up with his enemy and carry out his vow, but he did not lose his time, as he was able to scour the whole coast up to Liampo (Ningpo) and destroy many other pirates. F. M. Pinto, in his usual pious style says: God, who draws good from evil, allowed Coja Acem to commit his piracy that Antonio de Faria might form the resolution to go in search of him and so

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7 This is the first inaccuracy of F. M. Pinto, which I will point out: the 9th May 1540 was not a Saturday but a Sunday. Not only is F. M. Pinto incorrect but he is not even consistent, because later on in Chapter LXXI he says that the 14th May 1542 was a Monday, while to agree with his former statement it should be a Saturday (the 14th May 1542 was really a Sunday). These mistakes are trifling, and natural in a man who could have kept no notes in the midst of so many shipwrecks and adventures, but his pretension to minute accuracy in dates when he could not possess the means of doing so, shows a looseness of statement that shakes our faith in him. Later on we shall find more important instances of this nature.
destroy many other robbers who deserved such punishment at the hands of the Portuguese nation. It will give an idea of the dangers of maritime commerce in these seas at that time, to know that in less than 18 months from the coast of Cochinchina up to Ningpo, Antonio de Faria destroyed six famous pirates besides others which are not mentioned. Most of them had taken several vessels and killed many Portuguese. Generally a short history of the previous career of each pirate is given as soon as he has been defeated and killed. Some of these pirates had lived with the Portuguese, had been baptised, married to half-caste daughters of respectable Portuguese, and had assumed, either at conversion or from bravado after a piratical victory, some famous foreign name. The sea-fights are described very minutely and are mostly alike: after a general discharge of artillery the vessels grapple each other, and at close quarters keep up a constant fire of musketry and discharge of darts, until at a favourable moment the stronger or more daring side throws powder-canisters\(^8\) on the enemy’s deck and sends its boarders to complete the victory; severe hand-to-hand fighting with swords and battle-axes then ensues until the losers are all killed or have jumped overboard. Sometimes a few prisoners are taken, but it is only for the purpose of putting them to the torture and getting some information; if they refuse to or cannot give it they are tortured to death. The most ruthless cruelty does not prevent the actors indulging in frequent invocations to God and the Saints, and the

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\(^8\)“Mas como he costume de Deos nosso Senhor de grandes males tirar grandes bêes, permitio pela inteirua de sua divina justiça, que do roubo que Coja Aecem nos fez na barra de Lugor, como átras fica dito, naceste a Antonio de Faria determinar-se em Patane de o yr buscar, para castigo de outros ladrões que tivo merecido o tinham a nação Portuguesa.” In all the Portuguese writings of the time we find this vein of religious thought inspiring their commercial and warlike expeditions: they considered that God had sent them on a special mission to Asia, and that he was always furthering their schemes and averting dangers. Such an ever present consciousness of Divine assistance must have been a great source of strength to the nation.

\(^9\)This method of attack was preserved by the Chinese pirates up till quite lately.
most common measure of time for a short desperate struggle is the time required to recite some prayer: thus F. M. Pinto, describing the final rush of some pirates discovered in their hiding-place in a captured vessel, says, "they attacked us in a muck and the fight was so desperate that in less than three credos, which it took us to finish them, they had killed 2 Portuguese and 7 others besides wounding 20 more."

It is very curious to notice how Antonio de Faria was slowly and insensibly drawn on from his original purpose of simply revenging his wrongs, to become a chastiser of piracy, then little better than a corsair himself, and finally to grow so bold as to attack and burn a town. His first engagement was forced upon him, as the pirate took him to be a merchant and tried to surprise him by night. Other pirates he attacked because he thought they were Coja Acem, and thus getting gradually accustomed to bloodshed and lawless violence he came at last to carry off a poor bride that was going by sea to her husband, and on the coast of Ainão he went so far as to levy a kind of maritime black-mail. The Chinese merchants who had watched one of his successful fights from their junks, were so frightened that they sent a deputation offering him 20,000 taels of silver if he would protect them as king of the sea. Antonio de Faria consented to this, and issued regular passes for their protection. F. M. Pinto gives the text of these curious documents and adds that there was such a rush for them, that one of Faria's men who had been appointed to write them, and received 5 taels for each junk and 2 for every smaller vessel, made more than 4,000 taels in 13 days, besides rich presents from the merchants who were in a hurry to get their passes first.

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10 Seguro debaixo de minha verdade ao Necodá, foão, para que possa navegar livremente por toda a costa da China, sem ser agravado de nenhum dos meus céu tanto que onde vir Portugueses os trate como irmãos & asinavase ao pé Antonio de Faria.
The successful cruise of over seven months in the Gulf of Cochinchina (Gulf of Tonking) had powerfully increased A. de Faria’s armament. He had kept the best of the captured vessels and armed them with Portuguese prisoners he had liberated or with piratical sailors he had pressed into his service. He now had four ships and over 600 men under his command. His successes, however, did not drive from his mind the original purpose for which he started, and he was always bent on finding Coja Acem. His men did not share these sentiments, they were tired of the long navigation, and as an immense booty had been accumulated they were clamorous for a division of spoils so that they might go to India or where they listed to enjoy the wealth they had won. They were on the point of carrying out this plan, and were only waiting for the monsoon to go back, when a dreadful storm, which all their skill could not weather, drove them ashore on an island (called Robber’s Island) near which they were anchored. All the vessels, booty, arms were lost and most of the crews were drowned.  

A. de Faria, who had been saved with about 50 of his men, kept up their spirits, and by his fertility of resources succeeded in escaping from the desert island, though in an unscrupulous way. Having observed the arrival of a Chinese fishing vessel, he hid his men, and by stealthily getting between the Chinese and their boat, he managed to capture the latter by a bold rush, and went out to sea, leaving the unfortunate Chinese to take his place on the island. This was but the first of several similar enterprises. As he was sailing towards Liampoo, the nearest port where he hoped to find Portuguese, he took out eight sailors from a fishing boat, as his men were too weak to work his vessel. Later on,

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11 Here is another instance of chronological confusion. F. M. Pinto says the shipwreck occurred in October i.e. at most 6 months after the departure from Patane, and yet some time before they had been sailing for over 7 months in the Gulf of Tonking!
while he was at a place called Xamoy, he reflected that his vessel was not fit to take him as far as Liampoo, so he attacked in the night a small junk which was anchored in a solitary place, and cutting its cables went out to sea. By this succession of bold piratical acts, from utter destitution on a desert island he had succeeded in providing himself with a good sea-worthy vessel and native crew.

Antonio de Faria was continuing his voyage to Liampoo in his newly-acquired ship when he met a large junk which at once bore down to attack him, firing 15 pieces of artillery. He encouraged his men as well as he could to fight bravely against such terrific odds; but before they came to close quarters they saw on the high bows of the junks a lot of men with red caps. As these were always worn then by the Portuguese in their naval expeditions, Faria’s men began to have a ray of hope, thinking they might be fellow countrymen travelling from Liampoo to Malacca, and showing themselves as much as they could on the deck, they were overwhelmed with joy by hearing a friendly shout from the junk—a boat was then lowered and among its crew came two Portuguese. These were very well received by A. de Faria, and they informed him that the captain of the junk, a Chinese corsair, Quiay Panjão, had 30 Portuguese on board, and that he was a great friend of their nation. This report served to establish cordial relations between the two pirates, and they agreed to travel together, Quiay Panjão offering to assist A. de Faria in all his enterprises with a hundred men and fifteen pieces of artillery, provided he got a third part of the booty. A. de Faria consented, and according to his pious custom swore on the Gospels to keep this compact.

This Chinese pirate, Quiay Panjão, is a curious figure, and shows us another aspect of the life of that period. The details of the long cruise of A. de Faria are a proof that the Portuguese of the 16th century in the East, like the English
of this century, were only a small governing body. They used natives of the different countries not only to work the ships but also as auxiliaries in fighting, and reserved themselves for intelligent direction or for action at times of great emergency. In fact when A. de Faria, before his shipwreck, commanded over 600 men, he had only about 50 Portuguese among them. The presence of Portuguese on board a Chinese piratical junk shows that they consented also to be employed as a kind of mercenaries by friendly natives who had recognised their high military qualities. We shall see later on that Quiay Panjão was of great use, by his acquaintance with the people of the coast, in procuring for the Portuguese all that they required for their ships. His conduct will make us understand how the Portuguese were able at that time to carry on their commercial expeditions notwithstanding that all official attempts to obtain free trade for them had failed.

His new Chinese friend advised A. de Faria to go at once to Chincheo, where he would meet other Portuguese, and where they might learn something about Liampoo. There was a rumour then about the country that the King of China had fitted out a fleet of 400 junkts with 100,000 men on board, and had sent it to Liampoo to drive out the Portuguese and burn their ships and houses, because he did not wish to have them any longer in his country, as they were not faithful, quiet people as he had formerly been told. I mention in full this report because we shall find it elsewhere and because it refers to one important historical event on which I shall have much to say. When A. de Faria reached Chincheo, he found five Portuguese vessels there, and was received with great joy and festivity. Nothing was known about Liampoo except that the Chinese said there were many Portuguese wintering there, besides others newly arrived from Malacca, Çunda, Siao and Patane, and that they were
transacting their business very quietly. The large fleet had not gone there and was probably at the Goto Islands to support an ally of the King of China.

Having found out what they wanted they prosecuted their voyage to Liampoo, with a reinforcement of 35 soldiers they had picked up from the five Portuguese vessels they had found at anchor at Chincheo. After sailing for five days against head winds they caught sight of a small fishing vessel manned by eight Portuguese, most of them wounded. These, on being taken on board, gave a sad account of their misfortunes. They were the sole survivors of a ship that had left Liampoo for Malacca and India seventeen days before, and had been attacked and taken by a Guzerate pirate called Coja Acem. After a brave resistance they had been overpowered by the enemy, who was 500 strong and had seven vessels; eighty-two of them were killed, among which eighteen Portuguese, and nearly as many taken. A. de Faria listened to their story with great interest, cross-examined them, and enquired what had been the probable loss of the pirate himself, and whether the damages sustained by his vessels would not compel him to remain some time in the river where they had left him. As soon as he had elicited all the information he required, A. de Faria took off his cap and knelt on the deck and made a long prayer aloud, begging God to give him strength and victory against this cruel slayer of the Portuguese, whom he intended to seek as he had sought him heretofore, to punish him for the evil he had committed for so long. All his crew approved him shouting, "A elles! a elles! co nome de Christo" (At them! at them! in the name of Christ).12

Before engaging in such serious business as a death struggle with a formidable pirate like Coja Acem, it was

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12 This cry corresponds to the "A lor! a lor!" of the Italian sailors in the middle ages during the internecine wars of Genoa and Venice,
necessary to make full preparations, and A. de Faria put back to Lailoo, a port eight leagues astern. Here the assistance of Quiay Panjão was invaluable. He had many relations in the place and he obtained permission from the Mandarin to buy all they wanted. F. M. Pinto at this point is enthusiastic about China, and says that of all countries in the world it is the most abundantly supplied with all that one may want.\textsuperscript{13} Judging from the list of purchases made by A. de Faria certainly its resources, in a small place of 300 or 400 people, were taxed to the utmost. He sold the two small vessels he had, and bought two large high junks and two rowing vessels; he engaged 160 sailors and provided himself with cables, chains, ropes, anchors, naval stores, provisions, cord, sulphur, bullets, darts and other kinds of warlike material. The armament when complete was very formidable. There were more than 500 men, both sailors and soldiers, among which 95 Portuguese, all brave determined fellows; they had 40 pieces of artillery and 160 muskets; 900 canisters, 400 of gunpowder and the rest of quicklime, as used by the Chinese, and 4,000 darts. Where the money came from to buy all these things is not very clear. A. de Faria had lost all the treasures he had won, in the shipwreck, and the common funds must have been furnished by Quiay Panjão, who thus showed great confidence in the future victories of his friend.

The little fleet sailed for the river where Coja Acem had been busy refitting his vessels, and an experienced Portuguese dressed as a Chinaman was sent to explore the position of the enemy. He returned reporting that the pirate was at anchor with a large portion of his forces on shore, and that it would be easy to destroy him. Sailing up the river

\textsuperscript{13} Porque esta excelência tem a terra da China sobre todas as outras, ser mais abastada de tudo o que se pode desejar, que todas quantas há no mundo.
with wind and tide they reached the enemy about dawn. He kept such good watch that as soon as they appeared a bell was rung and the pirates on board and on shore began to rush to arms. A. de Faria, seeing that a surprise had failed, shouted to his men to attack at once in the name of Christ and Santiago. A general discharge of musketry and artillery cleared the enemy’s decks. F. M. Pinto grows quite eloquent in his description of the wild scene which followed. The enemy could not repair the disadvantage of having their forces divided, and this gave the Portuguese an easy victory. As soon as the pirates on shore tried to join their comrades, their boats were sunk by the well-aimed artillery of the Portuguese. A last effort was made by Coja Acem himself, who shouting “Lah hilah hilah lah Mubamed roçol halah!” encouraged his men by all the promises of Mahomet’s Paradise to destroy the hated Christians, but A. de Faria, after making a similar religious exhortation to his men, with an allusion to Christ put on the Cross for them whom he would not abandon, sinners as they were, to the heathen dogs, rushed at Coja Acem with a two-handed sword and knocked him down with a blow on his cap of mail and then severed both his legs with a second blow. This was the sign for a desperate mêlée, because all the Mahometans rushed on A. de Faria and the Portuguese rushed to his rescue, and, as F. M. Pinto puts it, in less than two credos 48 of the enemy and 14 of his men, amongst which five Portuguese, were killed over the body of Coja Acem.

14 A briga se travou entre todos de maneyra, que realmente confesso não me atrevo a particularizar o que nella passou, inda que me achny presente, porque ainda neste tempo a menham nao era bem clara, & a revolta dos inimigos & nossa era tamaunha, juntamente co estrondo dos tóbores, bacias, & sinos, & com as gritas & brados de hús & dos outros, acompanhados de muitos pilouros de artilharia, & de areabusaria, & na terra o retombar dos ecos pelas concavidades dos valles, & outeyros, que as carnes tremiño de medo.

15 This romanisation of an Arabic sentence is very good and shows that F. M. Pinto must have had a good ear for languages, because it is probable he did not know Arabic.
The victory was most complete: all the enemy were either killed or drowned and their vessels, loaded with wealth, became the prize of the victors. A. de Faria behaved very liberally to his people: he gave to the Portuguese from Liampoo all that they had lost in their ship, and he ordered that all slaves should be liberated. He committed, however, an act of such barbarity that even F. M. Pinto, who by this time must have been accustomed to atrocities of every kind, was shocked. After landing he proceeded a short way into the country, and came upon a temple which was full of sick and wounded men that had been left there by Coja Acem. As soon as these poor wretches saw A. de Faria they gave a great cry, beseeching for mercy, but he refused to grant it, saying that it was not proper to give life to those who had killed so many Christians. He ordered the building should be set on fire in six or seven places, and as it was of tarred timber covered with dried palm-leaves it burned rapidly, and the scene was dreadful and heartrending on account of the horrible shrieks which the miserable creatures uttered when the flames spread everywhere. Some tried to escape by jumping from the windows, but they were spitted on the points of lances by Faria’s men who were waiting for them below.

A. de Faria remained on the spot where he had destroyed his great enemy nearly a month, to enable the sick and wounded to recover, and then he resumed his course for Liampoo loaded with all the wealth of Coja Acem. His misfortunes were not yet over, because a dreadful storm destroyed two junks and a lorch, and he lost more than a hundred men, amongst which 11 Portuguese and 200,000 crusados worth of goods. F. M. Pinto makes some sad remarks about the

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10 E estas pancadas tais tem esta costa da China mais que todas as das outras terras, pelo que ninguem pôde navegar seguro nella hú só anno que lhe não aconteção desastres, se com as conjunções das luas cheyas se não meter nas calheitas dos portos que tem muytos & muito ñus, onde sem nenhum receyo se pode entrar, porqu toda he limpa, tirando somente Lamanu Sumbor, que tem húis baixos obra de meya legoa das barras da parte do Sul.
dreadful storms to which navigators of the China coast are exposed to, and which it must have been very difficult to weather with the small vessels and imperfect knowledge of the period. During the storm some of the shipwrecked Portuguese had been thrown ashore and there they had been seized and carried off as prisoners to a neighbouring town called Nonday. A. de Faria, in his endeavours to get back these men, was by a curious series of circumstances forced into another piratical adventure of much greater importance than any of his former ones.

The negotiations for the release of the prisoners between the Mandarin of Nonday and A. de Faria are very amusing, and furnish us probably with only a slightly coloured picture of what official transactions were at that time. As soon as it was found that the shipwrecked sailors were in prison at Nonday, A. de Faria was advised by the Chinese to write a petition to the Mandarin asking for them, and promising to pay a ransom if necessary; a present also was sent. The mistake of writing a petition as if he were a Chinaman, and of sending a present, were at once put down to their true cause—his anxiety to get back his men—and this feeling was played upon until he could stand it no longer, and a rupture took place. The answer of the Mandarin came scrawled in the margin of the petition, and according to F. M. Pinto was to this effect: Let your mouth come before my feet, and after being heard I shall show you if you will get justice. A. de Faria was very angry at this ill-mannered answer, as he saw it would be difficult to liberate the prisoners. After some consultation he sent what should have been sent the first time, a letter between equals, with none of the ceremonies of the Gentiles, and not in form of a petition. The request for the prisoners was repeated, 2,000 taels was offered for them, and it was added he would not leave the coast until the men were given back. He hoped in this way to frighten the Mandarin, F. M,
Pinto says that two grave mistakes were made in the compilation of this letter, which ruined the whole business: first, to say that A. de Faria was a respectable merchant of Liampoo, who traded peacefully there and always had paid his duties; second, to say that, as the King of Portugal was brother to the King of China, the Portuguese came there to trade just as the Chinese were allowed to trade at Malacca. These two points displeased the Mandarin. He did not like any official reference to the trade clandestinely carried on at Ningpo, and the assumption of equality between the kings of the two countries upset all his preconceived notions and made him furious. His answer came on a broken piece of paper, and began by calling A. de Faria the bad egg of a flesh-fly engendered in a filthy dung-hill; then he said that at first, touched by his humble petition, he was disposed to favour, and had pity on him, but now after his insolence in daring to meddle with the Emperor and other Heavenly things far above his meanness he deserved no mercy and was ordered to leave the coast at once, at once without delay. When A. de Faria heard the contents of the letter from the tansue (as they called the interpreter), he was very angry, and after consulting his men it was decided to attack the place and free their captives by force.

They sailed up the river and anchored close to the city. After another fruitless attempt to come to a pacific solution they marched to attack the city. They were 300 strong including 70 Portuguese, and they had 160 muskets, besides lances and other weapons; their vessels were also disposed so that they could be supported by artillery. F. M. Pinto remarks on the great display of flags and shouting on the walls, and says it was of people who trusted more in words and external

17 This is probably the rendering of t'ung-shih, and would show that F. M. Pinto must have picked up a few words of Chinese otherwise he could not have remembered this one when he was writing his book.
show than in actions. Over a thousand men came out to meet the Portuguese and began to skirmish in a wild way, though at a safe distance, and he says it looked as if they were thrashing corn on a thrashing-floor, they wheeled about in such confusion. When they saw that the Portuguese were not frightened by all these warlike demonstrations they gathered together in some disorder. A. de Faria ordered a general discharge of musketry, and charged the enemy with such vigour that they fled wildly to the city and were slaughtered helplessly as they crowded on the bridge over the city moat to get through the gate as fast as they could. This butchery over, the Portuguese, still pursuing the remaining fugitives, came to the gate, where they found the Mandarin himself with a picked body of 600 soldiers. These fought very well, so that it took four or five credos before the Portuguese could secure victory, and this was owing more to chance, as a lucky shot killed the Mandarin, which so disheartened his soldiers that they fled right through the city and out again at the opposite gate, the Portuguese all the time pursuing and driving them before them like a herd of cattle. A. de Faria only allowed half-an-hour to his men to carry off what they liked from the city, as he was afraid the enemy might come back with reinforcements from the country. After an hour and a-half, as his men would not desist from plundering, A. de Faria set fire to the town in ten or twelve places, and as it was built of pinewood, F. M. Pinto says that in a quarter of an hour it burnt like a thing of hell.\footnote{Que parecia couoa do inferno.}

In the above passages of F. M. Pinto there is nothing that is improbable and much that resembles what we know of China both before and after that period; there may be some exaggeration, and the adventures are perhaps too many for the experience of one man, but this does not affect the use we are
making of his book, i.e. to get a vivid picture of the life of the Portuguese adventurers in China. We learn from him that piracy was then rampant on the coast, but so has it ever been up to the introduction of steam, and sporadic cases have happened even since. We find that Portuguese merchants frequented Chincheo and Liampoo, and this is highly probable because Mahomedan merchants had done the same for centuries, and the Portuguese simply supplanted them everywhere. The negotiations with the Mandarin at Nonda bring out one or two points which the later history of China has made us familiar with—the refusal of the Mandarins to recognise officially clandestine trade which they knew existed and could not or would not prevent, and the assumption that the Emperor of China is superior to all other monarchs of the world. Such facts must have been picked up by F. M. Pinto in China, and he must have witnessed similar negotiations whether at Nonda or elsewhere. Before following our author in a subject of much greater importance, where he treats of facts of a strange nature, i.e. the extensive settlement of the Portuguese at Liampoo and its complete and sudden destruction by the Chinese—facts which require the strongest corroboration before we can accept them from an author given to exaggeration and loose statements—let us see what we can glean from another writer of the period.

Gaspar da Cruz,¹⁰ a Dominican friar, in his Tractado da China, gives us incidentally some account of the Portuguese traders of that time. He says that after 1554 commerce was carried on very quietly and no ship was lost except in unusually bad storms, while before that date, as there was constant fighting between the Chinese and the Portuguese, the latter had often to run out to sea to avoid the enemy’s fleet

¹⁰ He came to China as a missionary on a Chinese junk, and must have had a certain knowledge of the language. His remarks on all subjects are very sensible.
and thus exposed themselves to storms in ill-sheltered places. In the above-mentioned year Leonel da Sousa (capitam moor) agreed with the Chinese to pay duty if they allowed him to trade, and after that Canton was opened to the Portuguese with great profit and satisfaction to both sides. He says that the disturbance caused by Fernam Perez Andrade had raised such hatred against the Portuguese that they were called "fancui," which means "men of the devil," while after the pacification of 1554, though they were not called Portuguese, yet they were styled "fangim" which means "men of other coasts." Father da Cruz then goes on to explain that the Chinese cannot leave their country, and if they do so they are obliged to remain abroad to avoid punishment, and this accounts for the presence of so many Chinese in Malacca and elsewhere. This class of Chinese outlaws furnishes the Portuguese with all the assistance and information necessary for navigating and trading on the coast of China: they have relations and friends ashore from whom they can get provisions and with whom they can arrange business, and when it comes to paying the Customs duties they ask a Portuguese friend to lend them his name, for which they pay him a consideration. These foreign-residing Chinese, after the conduct of Andrade had stopped trade at Tamao, encouraged the Portuguese to go to Liampoo, as in that part of the coast there were not many cities, but large villages of poor people who were only too glad to sell provisions to the strangers. These Chinese used to act as middlemen between the Portuguese and native merchants in all their transactions, and used to give bribes to the Mandarins that they might wink at the trade. We

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20 He mistakes him for his brother. As may be seen, this author spells the name differently from F. M. Pinto.

21 According to this account Simão de Andrade would be the prototype for which the term "fankwai" was coined, a term which has been so liberally applied since to all foreigners, however weak and harmless they might be.

22 This is still practised in China, and shows how little influence three centuries have had in changing character and customs.
recognise in them the ancestors of our old friends the com-
pradores. This clandestine commerce went on for a long while
without coming to the knowledge of the Emperor and great
provincial authorities, so that the Portuguese, growing bold,
began to trade also at Chincheo and the islands near Canton.
Matters progressed so favourably that the Portuguese went so
far as to remain all the winter at the islands of Liampoo and to
settle permanently, and with such freedom that the only thing
wanting was that they should have a pillory and gallows. But
as the Chinese who were with the Portuguese, and some
of the latter, began to overstep all bounds and to rob and to
kill, the whole business came to the knowledge of the great
provincial authorities and of the Emperor. He ordered at
once that a large squadron should be fitted out in Fokien, to
drive all the robbers off the coast, especially those of Liampoo.
The merchants, both Chinese and Portuguese, were reckoned
among the robbers. The fleet set sail, and as the winds were
not favourable, instead of going to Liampoo they steered for
Chincheo, and wherever they met Portuguese vessels they
fought with them. The Portuguese continued fighting for
many days in the hope that they might find some opportunity
of selling their goods, but as none offered itself they decided
to depart. The captains of the Chinese squadron on hearing
of this sent a messenger secretly one night, saying that if they
would give them something they might go on trading. The
Portuguese, delighted at this message, sent a rich present, after
which there was no difficulty in selling and buying goods.

This happened in 1548; the following year the vigilance of
the squadron was more strict. With all their care however

23 By this the author means territorial jurisdiction, the right which the
Chinese always contested with the Portuguese.

24 This clandestine trading of the Portuguese is very similar to what
happened in this century before the Treaties were concluded, when the opium
traffic was carried on secretly by armed vessels called gun-brigs, which used
to land their cargoes among the islands of the southern coast where their
native accomplices were ready to receive them. Namoa Island, I believe,
was a favourite spot for such rendezvous,
they could not prevent, among the chain of islands that line the coast of China, some merchandise from being smuggled on board the Portuguese vessels. It was not sufficient however to load the ships for their return voyage, nor had all the cargo they had brought been sold, so it was agreed two vessels with 30 Portuguese should remain to dispose of the unsold goods. The Chinese, by a clever stratagem, succeeded in seizing these ships; they provoked the Portuguese until they came on shore to fight, and the fleet that was hidden behind a headland then swooped down on the defenceless vessels. The Portuguese on land, deprived of their means of escape, were made prisoners. The Mandarin who had commanded this attack, proud of his victory, determined to get all the glory he could out of it, and devised a still more brilliant scheme. He dressed up four of the Portuguese with long gowns, night-shirts and caps, and declared they were Kings of Malacca. Four large flags with their names were carried in front of them, and whenever he entered a village or town there was a great noise and flourish of trumpets, and criers proclaimed the great victory of the Mandarin over four Kings of Malacca. This farce was kept up a long time, but, as to keep the truth secret he had to kill all the Chinese who accompanied the Portuguese, the relations of the murdered men made such a clamour that a special enquiry was made. After much difficulty, because the Portuguese could not understand, nor be understood by the enquiring officials, and the only interpreter for a long time was bribed to falsify their statements by the guilty Mandarin, the fraud was discovered and the greater part of the Portuguese regained their liberty. Those who had not been made to represent the part of Kings of Malacca had been dragged about in hen-coops (cages) with only their heads out, and were obliged even to eat and drink in that uncomfortable position.25

25 Even in this century foreigners have been carried about and exposed to the public gaze in cages.
AND SETTLEMENTS IN CHINA.

The above account from da Cruz shows us that the Portuguese in the first half of the 16th century carried on their trade in much the same way as other foreigners did in the same portion of the present century. It seems to indicate also that the Portuguese had established near Ningpo something like what we should call a settlement.

F. M. Pinto goes much farther and describes Portuguese Liampoo in glowing terms. He says there were 3,000 people in it, among which 1,200 Portuguese; that 300 were married to Portuguese and half-caste wives; that there were more than 1,000 houses, some of which cost 3,000 or 4,000 crusados,²⁶ seven or eight churches, and two hospitals on which they spent every year 30,000 crusados. Japan had only been discovered two years, and Liampoo monopolised the trade with that country, which was so profitable that money employed in it was doubled three or four times. He estimates the trade of the place at three millions of gold.²⁷ A regular administration was established, and he gives the titles of a lot of officials. The Portuguese were so independent that F. M. Pinto is astonished and remarks that the public scriveners in their acts used to write “and I so and so, public notary in this city of Liampoo, in the name of the King our Lord,” just as if they were living between Santarem and Lisbon. If F. M. Pinto’s description is correct, Liampoo must have been the Shanghai of the 16th century. In fact, he says it was considered a more noble and wealthy place than any in India or all Asia. Now all this, according to him, was wiped out by the Chinese in five hours. Before discussing this subject let us see how he got his personal knowledge of the place.

After the burning of Nonday, A. de Faria and his Chinese ally Quiay Panjão arrived at two islands which were then

²⁶ F. M. Pinto makes the crusado equal to two-thirds of the tael.
²⁷ He means of crusados, as appears from other places,—and would be equal to 2 million taels.
called the Gates of Liampoo. They did not wish to go direct to the Portuguese settlement, because if their piratical attack on Monday was generally known, their presence there might compromise the safety of their countrymen. He describes the islands as well-wooded, distant from each other two musket-shots, with a depth of water of twenty to twenty-five fathoms and good anchorages between them; they were three leagues from the Portuguese settlement. This description corresponds very well to the islands forming Blackwall Channel, and we might take the settlement to have been at Chinhai. Later on F. M. Pinto says that the Chinese town (probably Ningpo) was seven leagues from the settlement. To make this agree with Chinhai we should have to make the leagues shorter than what we have assumed them for the distance from Blackwall Channel, but probably the Portuguese knew the distance from Ningpo very imperfectly. A. de Faria sent at once the two merchants from Liampoo who had been robbed by Coja Acem, to report his arrival to their fellow-citizens, and declare that he would go and winter elsewhere if his presence should injure them. The merchants of Liampoo were touched at this considerateness, and being very grateful to A. de Faria for all he had done in clearing the sea of so many of their piratical enemies, they prepared for him a magnificent reception. As for his alarm about the Monday affair, they told him not to trouble himself about such a small matter, as China was then in such a confusion that even the burning of a large place like Canton would attract little notice. F. M. Pinto then describes the intestine troubles of China on account of the death of the Emperor.

The reception of A. de Faria in Liampoo was most gorgeous,—crowds of boats with musical instruments came to

28 A Portuguese resident has told me that one can still see the arms of Portugal on a gate of Chinhai.
29 This is another error; Chia-ching did not die in 1541 but in 1567.
meet him, and the shipping in port (twenty-six ships, eighty junks and many more smaller vessels) was all decked out with green branches and festive arches. When he landed they made him a speech praising his heroic deeds and declaring he was greater than Alexander, Hannibal and Julius Caesar. On his way to the Church they erected a wooden tower with lifelike figures to represent the heroic action by which Faria's ancestors had won their armorial bearings. In church the whole sermon also ran on his exploits, and when the preacher was told that he exaggerated things a little he said: I speak true, because A. de Faria has saved me 7,000 crusados which that dog of Coja Acem had robbed from the vessel which we sent to India.

The narration of all this splendid reception is prefaced by the remark that the author had witnessed the destruction of the whole settlement, and he adds the sad sentence on the uncertainty of things in China which I have chosen as the motto of this paper. It is strange that though he says he was an eye-witness of the disastrous end of this flourishing place, and he describes minutely so many other of his personal adventures, he gives us no particulars of what he was doing on that occasion. After five months residence in Liampoo he accompanies A. de Faria in another wild expedition to plunder seventeen tombs of the Kings of China in the island of Calêpluy, which Similau, a Chinese pirate, had said were full of gold which could be easily carried off in their ships. They leave on the 14th May 1542, and after many disasters and shipwrecks, after F. M. Pinto has been in captivity near the Great Wall and has been over to Japan, he returns again to Liampoo and leaves it without saying anything about its destruction. It is only more than fifteen years after that time, at the end of his book, while he is describing the flourishing state of Macao, that he reverts to the subject as a moral lesson to those who might feel too confident in their
new settlement at Macao. Then he says again that he was an
eye-witness to the total destruction of the place, and he says it
happened in 1542. Now this is impossible for many reasons.
In the beginning of 1542 he was enjoying himself at Liampoowith bull-fights and hunting, and the rest of the year, at least,
must have been taken up by his long voyage north as far as
49° latitude, by his captivity, and by his voyages to Japan.
Besides, by the passages of Father Da Cruz it seems that the
Portuguese were still at Liampoow as late as 1548. As the
foundation of the whole story is doubtful, I think it needless
to give the circumstantial account of the causes that led to
the disaster; for the same reason I say nothing about the
destruction of the Portuguese at Chincheo.

Though we cannot believe that F. M. Pinto was present at
the burning of the Portuguese settlement at Liampoow, nor
accept his version of it, yet it looks likely that there may be
some kernel of truth in it. Da Cruz says that a fleet was
sent in 1548 to drive away the Portuguese, and probably
later on they achieved their purpose. It was quite sufficient to
stop trade to render the place an undesirable residence to the
merchants, and we may believe that though there was some
bloodshed no such carnage took place as Pinto wishes us to
believe. As we know that the Mandarins aged to concentrate
foreign trade in 1554 at Lampacao and in 1557 at Macao, it is
probable that the Portuguese were driven away from Liampoow
and Chincheo some time before these dates. Such events
would cause sensation among the traders and adventurers of
the Far East, and F. M. Pinto felt probably that he must be
present at such an important event, and therefore assigns it to
the year 1542, when he was so long at Liampoow. It would
not do for him to miss such an adventure, and he worked up a
dramatical description of the catastrophe.

The adventures of F. M. Pinto, marvellous as some of them
are, must be considered to have generally a small substratum
of truth and to be based, if not on what he saw or did, on what he heard others had seen or done. Taken in such a light he gives us a picturesque view of the life of those times, and if we reflect we shall find that in most cases we can find a modern parallel to all he describes. Even the last mad enterprise of A. de Faria, which cost him his life—his expedition to rifle the tombs of the Emperors of China—has something to match it in our times, for not many years ago here in Shanghai, at the instigation of pious missionaries, with the assistance of princely hongs, Oppert fitted out his expedition to rob the tombs of the Kings of Corea.
Applications for Membership, stating the Name (in full), Nationality, Profession and Address of Applicants, should be forwarded to "The Honorary Secretary, China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai." There is no qualification for Membership other than acceptance of an applicant's name by the Council. Remittances of Subscription for Membership ($5 per annum, which entitles the Member to a complete annual set of the Journal for the year in which payment is made) should be addressed to "The Honorary Treasurer, China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai." A Member may acquire "Life Membership" by payment of a composition fee of $50.

It has been decided by the Council that the Society's publications shall not for the future be issued to any Member whose subscription is one year in arrear.

It is requested that Subscriptions be sent to the Treasurer at the beginning of each year.

For information in connexion with the publishing department, Messrs. Kelly & Walsh, Limited, Shanghai, should be addressed.
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THE COINAGE OF COREA.

By C. T. GARDNER,
H.B.M. Consular Service.

There is no native work on Corean numismatics, and the Chinese books on coins only contain a very meagre notice of ancient Corean money, and do not give any account at all of modern Corean money.

The 泉吏 [chapter 14, pp. 1, 2 and 3] says:—The Coreans only began to mint coins in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

Between A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1290 circa seven different kinds of coins were issued; the following are drawings of them, copied from Chinese books.

No. 1

No. 2

No. 3

The inscriptions they bear are as follow:—

No. 1.—“East of the sea universal currency.”

No. 2.—“East of the sea valuable currency.”

No. 3.—“East of the Sea universal currency” [in the Chinese Seal Character].

10
At the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century Corea had considerable intercourse with China, and the Corean Court modelled itself on that of China. At this time the Sung dynasty was reigning in the Celestial Kingdom, and it was the habit of that dynasty to issue three coins simultaneously, one with "universal," one with "valuable" currency inscribed on it in modern character, and some in ancient character, which was then going out of use. The three coins above depicted are said to have been issued when Hwei tsung [徽宗] sat on the Chinese throne, during the Period Ts‘ung ning (崇宁) id est A.D. 1102 to A.D. 1107.

No. 4

The character 韓 is the old designation of Corea. In the 9th and 10th centuries of our era Corea was divided into three states:—

(1).—Ko rai [高麗], or Corea in the north, which included in its territory the two provinces of modern Korea now called Pyeng an do (平安道) and Ham kyeng do (咸鏡道) and portions of the Manchurian provinces of Shêng king and Kirin.
(2).—Pe tsi [百濟] or Hia ksia in the west, which probably included in its territories the three provinces of modern Corea now known as King ki do (京畿道), Hoang hai do (黃海道) and Tsiong tsieng do (忠清道).

(3).—Shin ra or Sin la [新羅] in the east and south, which probably included in its territories the three provinces of modern Corea now known as Chuen lo do (全羅道), Kang ouen do (江原道) and Kieng san do (慶尙道).

In the end of the 11th century Ouang, king of Korai, with the aid of the Sung dynasty of China, while the Liao and Kin dynasties were struggling for supremacy in Manchuria, conquered the two other states of Hia ksia and Shin ra, annexed their territory and founded the kingdom and dynasty of Kao li.

It must therefore have been subsequent to this annexation that the coin “Universal currency of the three Chau” was minted.

The State of Shin ra had always been closely connected with Japan.

N. 5  No. 6  No. 7
Coins Nos. 5, 6 and 7 seem to have been issued at the same time. They were probably minted sufficiently long after the unification of Corea as to render the king of the Kao li dynasty secure on his throne. The assumption of the title "Kwo" (kingdom) would seem to indicate that the coins were issued at the end of the Sung dynasty, at a time when the Chinese sovereigns were not in a position to effectively resent their previous protegés assuming the rank of a sovereign state.

In the 13th century the Mongols overran Asia and conquered Manchuria and China. The King of Corea [still of the Kao li dynasty] hastened to offer his submission to Kublai Khan, and retained his kingdom as a vassal of the Mongols. As a sign of the country’s subjection, Corea ceased issuing money, and for some time used bullion or Mongolian coins as its currency.

In A.D. 1368 the Yuan or Mongol dynasty was driven from the throne of China by the Mings, and shortly afterwards [A.D. 1392] a Corean, named by the Chinese Li Tau, aided by the Emperor Hung Wu (洪 武), rebelled against the Kao li dynasty, drove it from the throne, and established himself as the king of Corea. He chose for the title of his dynasty the words Ch'ao hsien (朝 鮮), "morning calm," pronounced by the Coreans cho sen. This is now the official name both for Corea and for the reigning dynasty, which derives its title from Li Tau. He also moved the capital from Song do to Sōul.

Coins Nos. 8 and 9 were issued by Li Tau and his successors for about 200 years—A.D. 1392 to circa A.D. 1590—when the Coreans were defeated by the Japanese.
The friendship between China and Corea lasted throughout the epoch of the Ming dynasty [A.D. 1390 to A.D. 1632], the smaller kingdom sharing the fate and fortunes of the larger. While China was prosperous Corea flourished. She took large slices of territory from Japan, among which were the islands of Tchushima and Goto. During the reign of king Siong of Corea [A.D. 1506 to 1544] the Japanese endeavoured in vain to throw off the Corean yoke. The Coreans punished the revolt by a frightful massacre of the Japanese,—a massacre for which Japan enacted a fearful vengeance some 50 years afterwards. At the end of the 16th century, when the Ming dynasty in China was falling and the imperial throne was occupied by Wan li (萬歴), Japan rose against the Coreans, reconquered Tchushima and Goto, and sent a naval expedition to the peninsula under the famous Taiko Sama Hide Yoshi, who made a slaughter of the Coreans, and would, had he lived, have annexed Corea to Japan. In A.D. 1615 the family of the Taiko Sama fell from power, and the Japanese, with a want of persistency which frequently occurs in their history, made peace with Corea. The terms of the peace were exceedingly
humiliating to the Coreans, but the only material advantage Japan gained was the possession of the Japanese settlement at Fusun, which she still retains. By the terms of the peace the king of Corea acknowledged the sovereignty of Japan, and paid tribute to Japan for nearly 100 years, that is, till A.D. 1790. Shortly after the peace with Japan, Corea adopted a new name for the country named Chang p'ing 常平 (Lasting Peace). This title appears on the face of all Corean modern coins.

No sooner had Corea made peace with Japan than other troubles beset her. It was evident that there was to be a struggle between the Chinese and Manchus for supremacy. The king of Corea not unnaturally took the side of the Chinese. Corea was devastated in A.D. 1636 by a Manchu army, which took Sŏul and forced the king to erect a temple—the temple outside the South Gate of Sŏul—in honour of the victorious Manchu general.* Corea acknowledged the Manchu emperors as their suzerains and paid them tribute, as she was doing to Japan. But while the tribute to Japan ceased to be paid in A.D. 1790, that to China continues to be paid to the present day. Further, the kings of Corea and the heir-apparants are on each accession invested with the insignia of their authority by an envoy specially sent from China. One of the terms of peace imposed on Corea by the victorious Manchus in A.D. 1632 was that Corea was to cease issuing coins.

About the end of the 18th century, at the time when Corea was throwing off her subjection to Japan, she again issued coins. I cannot find that her engagement with the Manchus to refrain from doing so was ever formally rescinded, but China has acquiesced in her issuing coins since about A.D. 1790. Each province of Corea has since that date had its own

* Some say this temple was erected to celebrate a victory of the Coreans over the Japanese in A.D. 1592. But the armour now to be seen in the temple is said to be old Chinese and not old Corean armour.
mints, and as it is difficult to fix the dates of coins, I have arranged those I possess according to the provinces. As the coins I possess were mostly obtained from the province of King ki do, in which the capital Söul is situated, I have a larger proportion of coins of that province than of others. It is also to be remarked that the province of King ki do has issued more coins than any other province; not only have various towns in the province been allowed to coin money, but various generals and officials in Söul have also been given permission to do so.
No. 10 is probably the coin issued about 1790. The dies only coin a few coins. As new dies are required they are numbered; thus No. 10 has on it various numbers,—I have in my possession Nos. 1 to 11, excepting 8. In No. 11 we have a second issue,—I have in my possession Nos. 1 to 7. In No. 12 we have a later issue.

In Nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16 the characters 天, 日 and 生 are used as numerals, according to the order in which they stand in the Thousand Character Classic (千字文).
Thus 天 stands for one
"日" "nine.
"生" "forty-two.

There must accordingly have been at least 42 issues of coins Nos. 13 to 16; the number of dies used in each issue vary, but they must have been at least seven in coin No. 13, twelve in No. 14, eight in No. 15 and thirteen in No. 16.

These small coins are still being minted in the Pyeongan Province.

In about A.D. 1830 a large cash (Nos. 17 to 19) was issued, of the nominal value of two small cash; it continued to be issued till about 1877. This large cash is made of good light-coloured Corean copper.
No. 17 calls for no comment. In No. 18 九 stands for three and in No. 19 十 for five, being the order of the characters in the Thousand Character Classic: there must accordingly have been at least five issues of the coins of which Nos. 18 and 19 are specimens.

In the year A.D. 1877 a still larger cash was issued, of the nominal value of five small cash. These coins are made of bad brass. The people refuse to receive these coins at their face value, and though in the nomenclature they are called five cash, with them are mixed up a large quantity of small cash and a sprinkling of value two cash, and all are either counted so many nips (葉)—pieces—or, more generally, are all called five: thus, speaking of 1,000 cash, only 200 nip cash are meant, and speaking of Riang (兩), which should be $\frac{1}{10}$ of a Chinese Tael, or 100 good Corean coins, only 20 cash is meant.

The character 十 is the No. of the die that minted the coin. There must accordingly have been at least ten dies made.
HAM KYENG DO PROVINCE.

No. 21

Obverse  Reverse

Of No. 21 I have specimens from only two dies—Die No. 1 and Die No. 2.

Of the two-cash pieces issued A.D. 1830 to 1877 I have the following:

No. 22

Obverse  Reverse

No. 23
Reverse

No. 24
Reverse

No. 25
Reverse
地 is the 2nd, 玄 is the 3rd, 洪 is the 7th, 荒 is the 8th, 日 is the 9th, 月 is the 10th, 盈 is the 11th, 列 is the 15th, and 張 is the 16th character in the Thousand Character Classic. Of these coins there must consequently have been at least 16 issues.

HOANG HAI DO Province.

Two-Cash Pieces, issued about A.D. 1830.

No. 32

Obverse

Reverse
KANG OUEN DO PROVINCE.

Coins, face value five small cash, minted at the town of Chyon sun 春川.

No. 35 was minted between A.D. 1877 and A.D. 1883. The metal is inferior brass. The No. 八 is the No. of the die. There were at least eight dies used for this issue.

No. 36 was minted from 1883 to 1893 by machinery bought in Japan. The metal is fine gun-metal. The figure 乙 (12) is the No. of the die. Consequently there must have been at least twelve dies employed.
KING KI DO PROVINCE.

General Provincial Mint.

A.D. 1790 to 1830 circa.

No. 37
Obverse

No. 38
Reverse

No. 39
Reverse

No. 40
Reverse

No. 41
Reverse

Two-Cash Pieces.

A.D. 1830 to 1877 circa.

No. 42
Reverse

No. 43
Reverse
These coins, Nos. 37 to 43, are somewhat rare. The character 彌 is a short way of writing 彌, the second character of King "ki" do. Probably there was a series of issues with the character 章* on them, but I have not seen any such coins.

The character 〇, at the bottom of Nos. 37 and 38, is an index of the No. of the issue. The first issues were probably without a No. at the bottom. The second issue would have No. 1 at the bottom, and so on. The Nos. at the sides represent the No. of the die used in minting the coin of the issue.

In Nos. 39, 40 and 41 天 stands for one, being the first character in the Thousand Character Classic. The Nos. at the sides represent the number of the die used.

Soul.—Poor Board.

Various officers of State in Soul have been permitted to mint money. The following are coins issued by the President of the Board for the Relief of the Poor.

No. 44
Reverse

No. 44 was issued between 1790 and 1830. The No. 〇 is the No. of the die used.

* Query: 京?-[Ed.]
Two-Cash pieces—A.D. 1830 circa.

Nos. 45 to 48—are made of good Corean light copper.

Board of Works.

A.D. 1830 circa.
Board of War.

No. 50
Reverse

Board of Revenue.

Of the Board of Revenue there are several Departments. The heads of the following Departments of the Revenue Board at Söul have at sundry times been authorized to mint money: the 戸 or Treasury Department, the 均 or Land Tax Department, the 向 or Revenue Department, and the 宣惠府 or the Treasury Department for rice and clothing.

Board of Revenue: 戸 Department.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.

No. 51
No. 52
No. 53
Subsequent to the above there were issued coins using the characters of the Thousand Character Classic as numerals.
The numerals on Nos. 51 to 79 are the Nos. of the dies used. I have coins of other dies, but I have depicted in each issue the highest-numbered coin:—

In No. 51 the Nos. run from... ... 1-16
" 52 " " " " ... 1-11
Nos. 53, 54, 55, & 57 run from ... ... 1-10
No. 59 the Nos. run from ... ... 1- 5
" 60 " " " " ... 1- 3
" 61 " " " " ... 1- 8

In Nos. 63 to 79 the numerals invariably stop at 10. It would therefore appear that after using up ten dies, a variety of issue was minted. The coins depicted bear on them the first 20 characters (with the exception of the 8th, 10th, 11th, 14th, 16th and 18th) of the Thousand Character Classic. At the right hand of No. 72 appears the character 丁. This is the year of the cycle and might be A.D. 1797, 1807 or 1817. (I imagine it was probably issued in 1807).

Of the following twelve issues of coins in my possession, I have not yet grasped the significance of the inscription; as in the coins Nos. 63-79, ten dies seem to have been used for each issue.
Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.
No. 116

The characters at the base of coins Nos. 93 to 116 are the first 28 characters (excepting the 1st, 16th, 23rd and 25th) of the Thousand Character Classic.

_Five-Cash Pieces._

_Reverse. A.D. 1877 to 1894._

No. 117

No. 118

Of No. 117 I have coins minted from each of the eleven dies.

Of No. 118 I have coins minted from each of the ten dies.
One-Hundred Cash Piece—issued 1883.

No. 119
Reverse

This coin is well minted and is made of good gun-metal. It was minted by the present king's father (Tai Wen Kun).

Board of Revenue: 東 Department.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1790 to 1830.
No. 120

I have coins issued by all the dies of this coin, except by the first.
Five-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1877 to 1894.
No. 121

I have coins issued by each of the ten dies for this coin.

Board of Revenue: 向 Department.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1830 to 1877.
No. 122
Board of Revenue: Office of Rice and Clothing.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
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<td>124</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
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</table>

I have coins from the 27 dies of these coins, with the exception of Nos. 8 and 9 of No. 125.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The characters at the base of these coins are the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 19th, 21st and 26th characters in the Thousand Character Classic.

The following are coins issued by Generals in command of the quarters into which Sŏul has at various times been divided. These quarters have been named 武, 禁, 松 or 總, 訓, and 統.

General of the 武 Division.

In the old 武 Division of Sŏul was situated the old palace—the present Summer Palace. This quarter was done away with in 1794 and re-established in A.D. 1814, it was again done away with in 1877.
One-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1814-1830.
No. 137

I have coins from nearly all the dies numbered 1 to 20.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1830 to 1877.
No. 138

General of 禁 Division.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.
No. 139
No. 140
No. 141
Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1530 to 1877.
The characters at the base of Nos. 145 to 159 are the first 17 characters (except the 3rd and 10th) in the Thousand Character Classic.

**General of 松 Division.**

**One-Cash Pieces.**

**Reverses. A.D. 1700 to 1830.**

No. 100

No. 161

No. 162
Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1820 to 1877.
The Division ceased to exist in 1883. The characters at the base of coins Nos. 167 to 181 are the first 20 characters (except the 6th, 9th, 12th, 15th and 19th) of the Thousand Character Classic.
General of the Division.
This Division ceased to exist in 1883.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.
Of No. 182 I have coins numbering 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6. As to coins Nos. 183 to 202 I have not ascertained the significance of the character at the base. As I have coins issued by nearly all the dies, I infer that for the moonless coins the character at the base was changed after using up ten dies, and for the moon coins after using up five dies,
Two-Cash Pieces:

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.
<table>
<thead>
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<td><img src="image11" alt="Symbol" /></td>
<td><img src="image12" alt="Symbol" /></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The following are possible dates for above coins.

203 ... 1830  215 ... 1842  227 ... 1857  
204 ... 1831  216 ... 1844  228 ... 1858  
205 ... 1835  217 ... 1845  229 ... 1859  
206 ... 1839  218 ... 1846  230 ... 1860  
207 ... 1840  219 ... 1847  231 ... 1861  
208 ... 1841  220 ... 1848  232 ... 1863  
209 ... 1843  221 ... 1849  234 ... 1864  
210 ... 1844  222 ... 1850  235 ... 1866  
211 ... 1830  223 ... 1851  236 ... 1867  
212 ... 1838  224 ... 1854  238 ... 1867  
213 ... 1840  225 ... 1855  
214 ... 1841  226 ... 1856

The characters at the base of Nos. 217 to 235 are the first 20 characters (except the 16th) of the Thousand Character Classic. The characters at the base of Nos. 236 to 238 are the first three characters of the same book.
General of the 順 Division.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.
No. 239 has on it the 4th character of the Thousand Character Classic and Nos. 240 to 254 have the first 20 characters of the Thousand Character Classic except the 1st, 15th, 16th, 17th and 19th. They also contain in addition the 4th of Fuhi's diagrams.

Nos. 255-258 have on them the cyclical character 壬 and Nos. 259 to 262 the cyclical character 癸. These are probably dates: 壬 stands for 1832, 1842, 1852, 1862, etc., 癸 stands for 1833, 1843, 1853, etc.

*Five-Cash Pieces.*

*Reverse. A.D. 1877 to 1894.*

No. 263

There have been at least 18 dies used for minting this coin. I have specimens from almost all the dies.
Sundry Coins of Sŏul.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1839 to 1877.

No. 264

Five-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1877 to 1894.

No. 265
No. 266 is made of good gun-metal and minted by machinery bought in Japan.

OTHER TOWNS OF KING KI DO PROVINCE.

Town Song do 開城.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses, A.D. 1770 to 1877.

No. 267  No. 268  No. 269

No. 270  No. 271  No. 272
No. 277 was issued by the Treasury Office, Song do. The numbers on these coins represent the dies used.

**Two-Cash Pieces.**

*Reverse.* A.D. 1830 to 1877.
Nos. 280 to 290 have at the base characters from the Thousand Character Classic.
Town Ri ch'yan 利川

Reverse. A.D. 1790 to 1839.

No. 241

Town Kang hoa 江華

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 292
Town Sin yang 沁陽.

Five-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1877 to 1894.

No. 293

No. 294

No. 295

No. 296

The figures below are the numbers of the dies used. Of the Tsiong tsieng do province I have no coins.
CHUEN LO DO or SUI LO DO PROVINCE.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

<table>
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No. 306  No. 307  No. 308

The characters at the base of Nos. 298 to 310 are characters from the Thousand Character Classic.

KYENG SAN DO PROVINCE.

Town T'ong yeny 続營.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1700 to 1830.

No. 311  No. 312  No. 313
The numbers at the base represent the numbers of the dies used.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.
The characters at the base of Nos. 323 to 333 are characters from the Thousand Character Classic.
The characters at the base are from the Thousand Character Classic. We now come to a new series.

The 五行 or 5 Element series. According to the Three Character Classic there are five elements—水 water, 火 fire, 木 wood, 金 metal, 土 earth.

水 Series.
THE COINAGE OF COREA.

火 Series.

木 Series.
金 Series.

No. 357  No. 353  No. 359

No. 360  No. 361  No. 362
§ Series.

No. 363

No. 364

No. 365

No. 366

No. 367

No. 368

No. 369

No. 370
For Provincial Use.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 371  No. 372  No. 373

No. 374  No. 375  No. 376

Modern Coins minted but not put in circulation.

In A.D. 1883, silver coins of three denominations were minted. On the face of these coins appeared a new title for Korea, namely 大東, or the Great Eastern Kingdom, and on the obverse the one character 戶 (Treasury).
In the centre of each coin is a circle of blue enamel; there is no hole through the coin. It was found that the cost of putting on the blue enamel was so great that the minting of the coins would entail a loss instead of conferring a profit on the Treasury.

In 1893 a series of silver and copper coins were struck by machinery partly bought in Germany and partly in Japan.
No. 380
One Dollar
(Silver)

No. 381
Twenty Cents
(Silver)

No. 382
Five Cents
(Nickel)
No. 383
Two Cents
(Copper)

No. 384
One Cash ($\frac{2}{3}$ cent).
(Brass)

The issue of these coins was not proceeded with and it is difficult now to obtain them.
THE FAMILY LAW OF THE CHINESE.

By P. G. VON MÖLLENDOEFF.

PREFACE.

In 1878 I read an essay on the Family Law of the Chinese before the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at Shanghai, which appeared in the Society's Journal [N.S. vol. XIII (1879) p. 99-121]. I had been largely indebted to Mr. E. H. Parker, H.B.M.'s Consul, for valuable notes relating to my subject, and in a lengthy review of my essay in the China Review [vol. VIII (1879) p. 67-107] that gentleman again added a number of suggestions and observations. These together with new investigations of my own have made it desirable to republish the old essay, with the necessary alterations and additions.

Of the legal literature of China I have principally consulted the Statute Law and the Ordinances of the present dynasty 大清律例 (Ta-ch'ing-lü-li), of which the laws relating to the present subject have been translated by Mr. G. Jamieson in the China Review [vol. X (1881) p. 77-99].
In the arrangement of the subject before me I have taken as a basis the Roman law, which, owing to its logical structure and general completeness, has become a typical system, and has formed the foundation of the jurisprudence of all European nations. I have chiefly consulted the works of Puchta, Mackeldy, Dernburg [Privatrecht, 2nd ed., vol. III, 1881] and others, for the Canon law Walter's Kirchenrecht.

For the Jewish law the interesting work [in German] of S. Mayer on the Laws of the Jews, Athenians and Romans, furnished comparisons, ideas and suggestions. Since the first edition of my essay, the Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud [by Dr. Hamburger, 2 vols. and 3 Supplements (1870–1892)] has become a standard work, to which I am much indebted.

Some sentences have been quoted from Maine's Ancient Law, 6th ed. 1876, and from J. F. McLennan's Studies in Ancient History, 1876, specially chapter II, p. 13 ss. I have also made use of C. N. Starcke, The Primitive Family in its Origin and Development, London, 1889.

The frequent comparisons with Jewish and Roman Law have been made with the object of proving that the Chinese laws and customs are pervaded by the same spirit of common humanity as those of other ancient peoples.

I have constantly consulted the valuable Chinese-English Dictionary by H. A. Giles, Shanghai, 1892, and the excellent Nederlandsch-chineesch Woordenboek by G. Schlegel, 4 vols. 1886–90. The latter is a mine of information and far too little known. The trouble of having to use it with the help of an English-Dutch pocket-dictionary is too slight to stand in the way of its general use.
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INTRODUCTION.

As in the ancient Jewish state, the family is the unit of the Chinese; on its model the state is governed, and from the social conditions of the families the family law received its foundations. In this sense the state is called the family of the nation (國家 kuo chia) and prefects and magistrates are popularly styled 父母官 (fu mu kuan), parent officials.

The Chinese family life, with its sexual purity coupled with filial piety, has greatly contributed towards the maintenance of the Chinese nation. Everything revolves round the family as the centre, and the family circle with its natural conservatism has had a beneficial influence towards the outside world. The Chinese family life compares favourably with the somewhat too loose bonds of the occidental,—in fact, in family life China presents herself at her best.

In the Chinese mind law (律例 lü li) and general custom (規矩 kuei chü) are mixed up and cannot be kept separated. A Chinese judge will always modify the rigour of the law if local usage differs from it; and a Chinese will invariably be in favour of 情理 ch'ing li (the application of special circumstances) in each case. In this sense the term “family law” is to be understood not merely as a statement of the Chinese family laws (leges) but including also general usages, which will have to enter largely into a future codification of the Chinese law, especially private law.

Tradition tells us very little of the family life of the Chinese in antiquity. Its foundations can be clearly recognised in the classical writings; in the Shi king, or Book of Odes, we even find traces of marriage by capture.

1 Generally speaking the lü have been superceded by the li, but in the marriage laws the lü are still mostly in force.
The Chinese family (家 chia) embraces, like the Attic ἐἶχος and the Jewish mishpachah, all members of the same household which stand under one head or pater familias (家長 chia chang, 家主 chia chu, 家君 chia chün), without distinction, whether they have entered the family through marriage or adoption, and including servants and slaves. It is obligatory that all members of the family bear the same family name (姓 hsing) as in India, Greece, and Rome.

Even with adoption a kind of quasi relationship is formed.

In the oldest time of Chinese history the number of families may have been the same as the number of clans; the ancient term 百姓 po hsing (the Hundred Family names, the people) occurs in the Shuking [I, 2 and frequently]. The idea that there exists a kind of relationship between families bearing the same name has lived up to the present time [see below—"Impediments to Marriage"].

Within the family the Chinese distinguish four grades of relationship, which follow according to the proximity of descent, without distinguishing thereby between consanguinity (內親 nei ch’in) and affinity (外姻 wai yin). Genealogical tables are given in the 大清律例 (ta ch'ing lü li), vol. I, fol. 1-6. Compare W. H. Medhurst, Journ. Ch. B.R.A.S., 1853, "Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China" [see also Dr. Legge’s Liki, vol. I, p. 202–209]. C. N. Starcke [The Primitive Family, p. 201–3, 206, 298] discusses the different terms of Chinese relationship, but his authorities

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2 The Prussian Landrecht [I, 1, § 3] also includes the servants in the family.

3 McLennan, L.c., p. 217.

were not free from error. The Relationships are presented by G. Schlegel in his Woordenboek [vol. I, p. 1343] in a tabular form, in which, however, the relationships by adoption are omitted, the others are given in the Tsiang-tsiu (Amoy) dialect of the lower classes. A. J. May has compiled a list of all relationships in the China Review [vol. XXI (1894), p. 15–39], which also is not quite complete and expressed in Cantonese. G. Jamieson [China Review, vol. X (1881), p. 199–200] gives also a table of the 宗 kindred on the male side only.

The above-mentioned four grades of relationship, with the legal time for mourning, given hereafter, are taken from the useful little letter-writer 宮郷要則 (huan hsiang yao tsê, Important Rules for the Officials and the People), by Lu Jun-hsiang (陸潤庠), Shanghai, 1892, 2 vols. 16°.

1st grade.—Term of mourning three years (usually reduced to 27 months). Called 斬衰 chan ts’ui (mourning garments with frayed edges). For man and wife: the husband’s parents. For wife and concubine: the husband.

Term of mourning one year. Called 期年 chi nien. For man: sons, wife of eldest son, grandsons (descended from wife), uncle and his wife, daughters if unmarried, brothers, sister if unmarried, nephew (brother’s son), niece (brother’s daughter) if unmarried. For wife: her parents and grandparents. For concubine: wife of husband, husband’s parents, sons (her own and those of the wife and of other concubines). This term of one year is also kept by a man of double sacra (一子雙祧 i tsü shuang tiao) on the death of his own parents.

Term of mourning five months. Called 齊衰 tsü ts’ui (mourning garments with unhemmed, but even cut edges), with the addition 枉期 chang chi, i.e. in the lifetime of the parents. For man: the great-grandparents, the great-great-
grandparents, the grandparents, the wife. If the parents are already dead, the term of mourning is only three months (不杖期 pu chang ch‘i). For wife: her great-grandparents and great-great-grandparents.

2nd grade.—Term of mourning nine months. Called 大功 ta kung (the greater merit). For man: the wives of sons (others than the eldest), grandsons (others than from first wife), married daughters, male and (unmarried) female cousins (children of paternal uncle), married sisters, wife of nephew (son of brother), married nieces (brother's daughters). For wife: husband's grandparents, husband's uncle, husband's daughter-in-law (wife of a younger son or of a concubine's son), husband's nephew's wife, husband's married niece, grandsons.

3rd grade.—Term of mourning five months. Called 小功 hsiao kung (the lesser merit). For man: grandson's wife, granduncle (brother of grandfather) and his wife, unmarried grandaunt, granduncle (son of great-granduncle) and his wife, brother's wife, male cousins (of the same surname), married female cousins (daughters of elder paternal uncle), unmarried female cousins (of the same surname), nephew and unmarried niece (grandchildren of paternal granduncle), son and unmarried daughter of nephew (brother's son), mother's parents, mother's brother, mother's sister. For wife: husband's aunt, husband's brother and the latter's wife, husband's sister, husband's second cousin, unmarried female second cousin of husband, husband's grand nephew and unmarried grand-niece.

4th grade.—Term of mourning three months. Called 繽麻 ssü ma (coarse hemp garments). For man: wives of grandsons, grandsons of more distant relations, the married female relations which come under the 3rd grade if unmarried, the wives of relations of the 3rd grade, etc. etc.
For a complete list of all relationships and to illustrate the five kinds of mourning (五服 wu fu) seven tables would be required:

1.—A man mourning for his kinsfolk.
2.—A " " " " mother’s kinsfolk.
3.—A " " " " wife’s "
4.—A wife " " her husband’s "
5.—A married woman mourning for her own kinsfolk.
6.—A concubine mourning for her husband’s "
7.—Mourning for step-fathers and fathers by adoption and for step- and foster-mothers.

Tables 1 to 6 are printed in English in Legge’s Liki [vol. I, p. 209].

Slaves (奴才 nu ts’ai) are also counted as belonging to the family; under the name of 家身子 chia shên tsün are designated those who have been bought; 家生子 chia shèng tsün or 家産子 chia ch‘an tsün are those born in the family, children of slaves, verna, cinsu, and the Jewish yelid bayith (Jerem., 2, 14). Slaves are generally well treated, and their position in the family is more like that of the Jewish ebed, not like that of the slaves amongst the Greek and Romans.6

The Chinese master may punish his slave, but not excessively. In ancient times criminals were made slaves as a punishment (官奴 kuan nu, slaves of the state).7

The Manchu family names are not publicly known. The Manchus, whose Emperors reign over China since 1644, do not use their family names (姓 hsing, Manchu: hala) since the reign of the Emperor Kanghi (1662-1723), but only their personal names (名 ming, Manchu: gelu). The surnames are, however, known within the clans, and the law concerning them is, with some modifications to be indicated later on, the same for the Manchus as for the Chinese.

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7 Liki, XXXVI, 48, Legge, vol. II, p. 363,
A.—ON MARRIAGE.

1.—GENERAL.

The ancient Roman conception of marriage was "uxorem habere liberorum quærendorum causa," and the same one-sided view was accepted by the so-called "enlightened epoch" of last century, seeing in marriage nothing but the aim for the procreation and bringing-up of children.

Fundamental institutions like marriage cannot be defined, but can only be approximately described. Better than the old conception is the definition given in l. 1 D. de rite nuptiarum, 23, 2: "nuptiæ sunt conjunctio maris et feminarum, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicatio." The sentiment is here decisive, and as the means at the disposal of law have little influence of the sentiment, the influence of law over marriage can only be a limited one.

The highest moral standpoint was reached by the Jews, who took marriage as "covenant" [Mal., II, 14] to which God is a witness.

How and when marriage became a recognised institution with man is perhaps an idle question. Some take it that the communion of women in prehistoric times had to be conquered by the exogamous marriage by capture, and that the later endogamous marriage by capture formed a transition stage towards marriage by contract. Others again deny that primitive man ever lived in promiscuous intercourse. C. N. Starcke quotes Darwin [Descent, II, p. 362] and Maine [Early Law, p. 206, 216]:—"It is improbable that sexual intercourse was ever

8 The Primitive Family, p. 242.
perfectly free, since the passion of jealousy is so strong in the whole animal kingdom that it cannot be supposed to have been dormant in primitive communities of men."

Of the primitive condition of the Chinese, when the founders of the Chinese empire entered in the north-western part of China, we know next to nothing. Previously to the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), according to the commentators of the Shiking, a general laxity of morals prevailed, and it was not until the Chous laid down proper rites regulating marriage that promiscuous intercourse (淫奔 yin pen, lewdness) ceased. But this judgment of the modern commentators is altogether unjust, and has no other foundation but the wish to excessively glorify the Chous. According to our idea the home life as depicted in the Shiking is a moral and happy one; it may be contrary to the present Chinese ideas of a life surrounded by all sorts of rites and usages, but it is altogether decent and morally irreproachable.

"By the united action of heaven and earth all things spring up," says the Liki [Legge, vol. I, p. 430], "thus the ceremony of marriage is the beginning of a [line that shall last for a] myriad ages." The importance of marriage is thus emphasized [Liki, vol. II, p. 264]:—"Marriage is the union of the representatives of two different surnames in friendship and love, in order to continue the posterity of the former sages, and to furnish those who shall preside at the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth," and [p. 266]:—"Yes, the ceremony of marriage lies at the foundation of Government."

Marriage is thus regarded by the Chinese as necessary and indispensable, and the best proof of this is furnished by the fact that, excluding priests and nuns who are not allowed

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* Two proverbs express it: 大禮有三千婚姻最重 ta li yu san ch'ien, hou yin tsun chung (Of the 3,000 rites marriage is the most important), and 宮可成房不可敗一戶 nung ko chi'eng i-fung, pu ko pai i ku (Better establish a home than cut off one).
to marry, it is scarcely possible to find an old bachelor, and an old maid is a rarity.

Chinese law further recognises the importance of marriage by giving a long list of marriage laws.\textsuperscript{10} We must add, however, that marriage is not absolutely compulsory, nor is celibacy punished, as was the case under the Jewish law and the Attic code of Solon.\textsuperscript{11}

The Chinese distinguish between two kinds of marriage which, not incorrectly, may be termed connubium and concubinatus. In the first case they are obliged to be content with one wife\textsuperscript{12} (妻 ch‘i), who, like the Jewish and Roman, unlike the Greek, wife, shares the rank and honour of the husband. This wife is almost invariably chosen by the pater familias\textsuperscript{13} from a family of equal position and circumstances; but the latter is not a conditio sine qua non and the requirement of equality of rank which led in Europe during the Middle Ages to the absurdity of marriages on the left hand (matrimonium ad morganaticam)\textsuperscript{14} has been almost unknown in China. The wife is generally a woman with small feet.

Concubinage is, however, at the same time permitted, and marriage with several concubines (妾 ch‘ieh) is allowed. The number of these, besides the one wife, is not limited by law, but only one wife is permitted.

The better classes do not give their daughters to a man already married; Manchu girls are not allowed to become concubines.


\textsuperscript{11} Among the Israelites each man was obliged to marry, and could be forced by the authorities to fulfil his duty until he had a son or a daughter; compare Pollux, III, 48; VIII, 40 (MAYER, i.e., vol. II, p. 286).

\textsuperscript{12} Like the Romans, § 7 J. de nuptiis, 1, 10.—1. 2 C. de incestis et inutilibus nuptiis, 5, 5.—1. 1 D. de his qui non. inf. 3, 2.—There is an exception when a man is a filius familias for two families [see below under "Adoptions"].

\textsuperscript{13} As in Biblical antiquity, Gen. 24, 21; Exod. 21, 9.

\textsuperscript{14} In Germany finally abolished by Reichsgesets of 6th Feb, 1875.
Whilst the marriage with the wife (妻 chʻi) is concluded by the parents of the two parties, the man is allowed to choose the concubines himself. These may be of low rank, even slaves, and have, without regard to priority of marriage, equal rank among themselves, but are subjected to the authority of the wife.

The husband has not the right of degrading his wife, without sufficient reason,\(^\text{15}\) to the rank of a concubine, nor of raising a concubine to the rank of a wife whilst the wife is alive.

The wife is considered the mother of all the children born in the family\(^\text{16}\) and is honoured by the latter as their mother.

The reason for the greater number of marriages with concubines is barrenness of the wife.\(^\text{17}\)

2.—Requirements for Concluding Marriages.

A.—Absolute Impediments to Marriage.

The attainment of puberty required by the Roman\(^\text{18}\) and Canon\(^\text{19}\) law, of a certain age, as prescribed by modern legislation, as a pre-requisite for concluding marriage, is not known to Chinese law. It is, however, an established custom, that men marry when over twenty years of age, and that girls are rarely given in marriage before their fifteenth year. But as there are many exceptions in the laws in favour of persons

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\(^{15}\) See below, "Impediments to Marriage."

\(^{16}\) The same in Jewish law [see Meyer, l.c., vol. II, p. 339] and in Mohammedan law [see G. Rosen, in Ztschrift D. M. G., vol. XXII, p. 543].

\(^{17}\) This is probably the case with all polygamous peoples.—The ancient Jewish custom was [Mayer, l.c., vol. II, p. 339]—as it was considered a disgrace to have no children—the wife in such case induced her husband to take a maid-servant as concubine, the children born by the latter were considered hers and she was no longer childless.

\(^{18}\) Pr. J. de nuptiis, 1, 10.—l. 14, D. 23, 1.—l. 4 D. 23, 2.

\(^{19}\) Tit., X, 4, 2 Lib. sent. Decret., 4, 2.
under fifteen years of age, we may consider the latter as the age required for marrying. Very early marriages are not as common in China as is generally believed: the common practice is to provide early in life a suitable wife for the son and a husband for the daughter, and to marry them when their character is formed.\textsuperscript{20} In China puberty commences at the same age as in Europe. The old idea that puberty arrives earlier in hot than in temperate climates is exploded by modern investigations.

Suitability of age is generally recommended, as also that a young girl should not be married to an old man.\textsuperscript{21} But an early marriage in China is understood in the sense of an early settlement in life.\textsuperscript{22}

Non-attainment of puberty, disease, or other defects (as insanity, deafness and dumbness, etc.) are considered impediments, if no notice of them has been given in the marriage contract.

The defect of eunuchs naturally debars them from marrying. The right of having eunuchs (太監 t‘ai-chien, 老宮 lao-kung) is an Imperial prerogative, and is also granted to the highest members of the Imperial family. It is also a prerogative of the king of Corea, who ranked with, but before, Imperial princes of the 1st order (親王 ch‘in-wang). As eunuchs have to serve and to live in the palace (內官 nei kuan), it is for this reason alone impossible for them to marry.\textsuperscript{23}

There are, however, eunuchs at Peking who had children before their mutilation and who may obtain permission to visit their families from time to time. Cases may occur

\textsuperscript{20} Cp. Sirach, 7, 27; 42, 9-10.
\textsuperscript{21} The same in the Talmud.
\textsuperscript{22} Compare the German proverb “jung gefreit, hat keinen gereut.”
\textsuperscript{23} See Shiking, I, 11, 1 and II, 5, 6 [Legge, vol. III, p. 157 and 230].
where a eunuch, who by intrigues in the palace has risen to a position of honour, takes a wife *pro forma* and adopts a son for the succession.\(^{24}\)

**B.—Relative Impediments.**

1.—On Account of Relationship.

Marriage between relations of all grades of agnatic relationship is prohibited; "cognates cannot marry any one of the generation above or below, but may marry any one of the same generation, not being agnate."\(^{25}\) For the relationship by adoption the prohibition does not remain in force after the first adoption has been dissolved by a new one.\(^{26}\)

It may be here observed that there exists in China no relationship between the husband and his wife's sister, as is the case according to the Canonical, and after it the English law.\(^{27}\) In fact, since the Emperor Shun married the two daughters of Yao [2357–2255 B.C.],\(^{28}\) such marriages are of frequent occurrence in China, probably because a wife finding that a concubine will be taken prefers to share the affection of her husband with her sister rather than with a stranger.


\(^{22}\) *G. Jamieson, l.c., vol. X, p. 82.*

\(^{23}\) This was contrary to Roman law.

\(^{24}\) Based, as far as I can see, on Lev., 18, 18: "neither shall thou take a wife to her sister to vex her, beside the other in her lifetime;" which can only apply to marrying two sisters at the same time, and not to marrying the sister after the wife's death.

\(^{25}\) *Meng-t’sü, V, 1, 4 [Legge, II, p. 220].* From the *Li-k‘ie [vol. I, p. 182]* it would appear that Shun had three wives.
Altogether, there is no relationship between the relatives of the husband and those of the wife (called 媳親 yin-ch'īn).

Relationship is always implied by the fact of bearing the same family name:—同一姓名不為婚姻 t'ung hsing pu wei hun yin (those of the same family name do not intermarry).  

Considering that for a population of 400 millions only about 438 family names exist, this impediment appears severe in the highest degree. In the course of ages it happened that whole communities were composed of people with the same surname, so that men desirous of marriage had to look elsewhere for wives, and often to undertake for this purpose expensive voyages. Where a surname has two distinct origins, persons of the same surname may intermarry, provided that their line of ancestry can be traced from the separate stock, 同姓不同宗 t'ung hsing pu t'ung tsung (of the same surname but of different ancestry), e.g. persons of the name of 車 ch'ē. On the other hand, families of the same ancestry have branched off under a different name and do not intermarry, as 徐 and 余, both pronounced hsü, who were one family until the reign of Yüng-chêng [1723-36]. It is the same with 沈 ch'ên and 葉 yeh, and with 楊 yang and 易 yi. An expedient to mitigate this

29 Endogamic marriage is excluded. In the Institutes of Manu it is laid down that a “twice-born” man (i.e., one belonging to the sacerdotal, military, or commercial class [Manu, X, 4]) might elect for nuptials a woman not descended from his paternal or maternal ancestors within the sixth degree and who is not known by her family name to be of the same primitive stock with his father [see McLennan, p. 84].—The American Indians profess to consider it highly criminal for a man to marry a woman whose totem (family name) is the same as his own, and they relate instances where young men, for a violation of this rule, have been put to death by their own relatives [see McLennan, p. 97; C. N. Starcke, p. 32].—The Australians are also divided into branches (murdoe), within which marriage is forbidden.


31 The prohibition occurs in books as early as the Tso chuan (左傳) and the Lun yü (論語).

32 H. A. Giles, L.c., p. 256.

33 H. A. Giles, L.c., p. 265, 283.
law has also been found. During the reign of Yung-lo [1403–25] those families who took part in the grain transport were called military families (軍家 chün chia), the others being called families of the people (民家 min chia). Since that time the distinction between 軍 chün and 民 min has been maintained, and marriages between a chün and a min family bearing the same surname are permitted,—almost the only exception to the above-mentioned prohibition.

Amongst the Manchus, Mr. Parker says, cousins descended through male ancestors and having the same surname may intermarry after the fifth generation; but I have not been able to verify this statement.

It will thus be seen that in China, as throughout America and Australia, the clan is exogamous, that is, marriage within the clan is forbidden.\textsuperscript{24}

2.—On Account of Affinity.

Marriage is not allowed with sisters of the wives of ascendants or descendants, with the father’s or the mother’s sister-in-law, or with the sister of the son-in-law.

Further, marriage is forbidden with the step-daughter and with female relations within the fourth degree of relationship,\textsuperscript{25} with a widow of a relative of the fourth degree, or with the sister of the widowed daughter-in-law. Marriages with widows of relatives of a nearer degree are considered incestuous.

Decapitation is the punishment of marriage with the father’s or grandfather’s former wives,\textsuperscript{26} or with sisters of the father.

\textsuperscript{24} C. N. Starche, \textit{I.e.}, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{25} As in Canonical law, cap. 8, X, 4, 14; Walter, \textit{Kirchenrecht}, § 310.

\textsuperscript{26} Reuben lost his right of primogeniture for such incest [Gen., 35, 22].
Whoever marries his brother's widow is strangled.\textsuperscript{37} The re-marriage of the childless widow to her deceased husband's brother, the so-called levirate,\textsuperscript{38} was of common occurrence with many nations in ancient times\textsuperscript{39} and is still in vogue in the Caucasus.\textsuperscript{40} Among the Jews this custom existed before Moses, but was confined to the case of the widow being childless [Deut., 25, 7].

In China, as already mentioned, the levirate is prohibited, but some assert that the Mohammedans in Peking practise it, and that it also occurs in the district of Huai-an in the province of Kiangsu. A writer in the China Review [vol. X (1881), p. 71] asserts its practice for the provinces of Kiangsi, Hupeh and Szechuan. I have not been able to find the slightest trace of it, and it can never be of the same importance with the Chinese as with other people (\textit{e.g.} to keep the family property), as posthumous adoption, the Chinese substitute for it, fully meets the object.\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{3. On Account of other Reasons.}

To marry during the legal time of mourning is prohibited [\textit{see above, p. 7}].

Marriage with concubines is, however, not punished in this case, unless either the bride or the bridegroom is in

\textsuperscript{37} Decapitation, \textit{i.e.} mutilation of the body, is a heavier punishment than strangulation.

\textsuperscript{38} Or the dispensation from it through the ceremony of taking off the shoe (\textit{chalica}) of the Jews [Deut., 25, 7; Ruth, 4, 7].


\textsuperscript{40} Bodenstedt, \textit{Die Völker des Kaukasus}, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{41} G. Jameson [China Review, X, p. 83] says: In view of the severe penalty for it, it is scarcely possible that the levirate can be practised in any part of China.
mourning for a parent, or the bride for her late husband, even if the marriage had never been consummated. It is considered to be a time of mourning for children or grandchildren if father or mother or grandparent is confined in prison for a capital offence. In accordance with the principle of Chinese marriage—i.e., that the pater familias makes the marriage contract,—marriage is in this case permitted if the head of the family in prison gives his assent. The usual ceremonies and festivities are, however, to be omitted.

Marriage is forbidden with a woman who has committed a crime and has fled for fear of punishment. In this prohibition is included marriage between an adulteress and her seducer.

Whoever forces the wife or daughter of a free man to marry either with himself or with a son, grandson, younger brother, or nephew, i.e., with a filius familiae, is to be strangled.

According to Roman law marriage could not be concluded between persons who stood to each other in the relation of guardianship, as tutor and pupilla. In China these are near relations, as only relatives or adoptive parents are able to exercise the right of guardianship and to acquire through it the patria potestas. A runaway female slave is not allowed to marry, as she can be lawfully given into marriage by no one except her master.


"Once mated with her husband, all her life she will not

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42 The same as in Roman law, according to which widows and their new husbands were punished if remarried before the end of the time of mourning [1. 1, 11-13, pr. D. de his qui not. inf., 3, 2.—Const. 2, C. 5, 9].

43 Also prohibited by Roman law [1. 26, D. de ritu nuptiarum, 28, 2.—1, 18, D. de his quo not. inf., 34, 9.—1. 29, § 1, D. ad legem Jul. de adult., 48, 5.—Nov. 134, si quis autem, c. 12]; also by Attic law [1. 11, § 11, D. ad leg. Jul. de adult.; 48, 5]; and by the Jews [Mayer, i.e., vol. II, p. 320].

44 1. 66, D. de ritu nupt., 23, 2.—C. 5, 6,
change, and hence, when the husband dies, she will not marry again." If after the death of her husband she remains under the power of her husband's father or brother, whose power over her is, however, of the slightest, she will be prevented by them from tying a new matrimonial knot. There are even cases in which a widow instead of remaining in the family of her former husband successfully repudiates any connexion with it and disregards its wishes. The proverb expresses the popular mind in this respect: if heaven wants to rain or your mother to marry again, nothing can prevent them (天要下嫁要嫁無法可制 t'ien yao hsia niang yao chia wu fa k'o chih). It is, however, not considered decent for a widow to marry again, and one who refuses all offers in this respect (or who does not want to add another fiddle-string 沒心續絃 mei hsin hsü hsien) may receive for her faithfulness an imperial reward in the form of a gateway (牌坊 or 樓 p'ai-fang or p'ai-lou), which is erected in the place where she lives. After the bestowal of such reward she is not allowed to change her mind.\footnote{It was considered decent, according to the national feeling of the Romans, that a widow should remain single, \textit{unieira} meant the same as \textit{castissima}. Such a one was highly esteemed and received the wreath of chastity \cite{Vat. Maiw., II, c. 1; Prop., IV, eleg. 12; Pueche, Inst. III, p. 177}.—The Jews, on the contrary, were much in favour of a second marriage of young widows \cite{Mayer, l.c., vol. I, p. 322}.} Should the head of the family try to force her into a new marriage, she is not obliged to obey. If she commits suicide—the common expedient of the unprotected female in China—the head of the family is punished. If, however, the marriage be concluded, she shall live with her new husband, the marriage presents, or rather the purchase-money paid for her, being forfeited.

It is a rule that, in order to secure greater impartiality, officials cannot hold office in their native province. For the same reason they are not allowed to marry a woman.
under their jurisdiction, or out of a family that has an interest in the performance of their official duty. An official who is related to one of the parties is not even allowed to sit as judge.\footnote{A similar thought prohibited in Rome marriage between a 
\textit{priesos provinciae} and a woman of his province [\text{L. 57, pr. D. de ritu nupt., 23, 2.---Cod. Theod., 3, 11.---Cod. Just., 5, tit. 2, 7].}
}

On account of inequality of rank, marriages between officials and actresses or singing girls are not allowed. Such marriages are also forbidden to the sons or grandsons of nobles with hereditary rank (\textit{disparagium, mezälliance}), the punishment in such cases being degradation to a lower class of nobility and eventually loss of it.\footnote{There are in China 9 classes of hereditary nobility: 5 爵 (chiao) and 4 尉 (yū). The 5 chiao are: 公 kung duke, 侯 hou marquis, 厝 (often called marquis), 伯 po count or earl, 子 tsū baron, 男 nan baronet. When the nobility conferred is not "hereditary in perpetuity" (世襲罔替 shih hsi wang t'i), each descendant takes one rank lower than his father; so that the son of a kung becomes hou, the son of a hou becomes po, and so forth, nobility ceasing altogether with the son of a tsū. The 4 yū are military nobility.
}

A widow of a man of rank may not remarry.

Buddhist priests (和尙 ho-shang) and nuns (尼姑 ni-khu), and those Taoist priests (道人 tao-jen) and nuns (道姑 tao-khu) who do not shave their heads, but bind the hair in a net or head-band (網巾 wang-chin\footnote{The old Chinese fashion, still in use in Corea [called wang-ken].}), are not allowed.

In Corea the nobility is divided into four political parties (四色 sē sē, Cor. se sēh). These were formerly called 北人 pêi jen, Cor. puk in (northerners), 南人 nân jen, Cor. namin (southerners), 東人 tung jen, Cor. tongin (easterners), 西人 hsi jen, Cor. sie-in (westerners). After splitting into factions they are now called (1) 老論 lâo-lun, Cor. noron, the most powerful party, a branch of the former 西人 sie-in, (2) 南人 namin, the largest, which has completely absorbed the 東人 tungin, (3) 小論 sieron, the insconsiderable remaining portion of the 西人 sie-in, which at present has joined the noron, (4) 小北 siopuk, the only remaining branch of the pukin and in league with the namin.

The members of each party do not intermarry with those of another.
to marry. Only Taoist priests (道士 tao-shih, or 門祝 mên-chü) who shave their head and plait their hair like other Chinese, in fact lay brothers, may marry.

A priest who obtains a woman under the pretence that she shall marry another, and who then marries her himself, is severely punished.

Marriage is impossible between male slaves and free women.\(^{49}\)

Any impediment to marriage renders the marriage already concluded null and void;\(^{50}\) the impedimenta are always dirimentia. Ignorance of them exempts the parties from punishment, but the marriage is dissolved. In accordance with the sense of the marriage contract the parties who signed it are punished if the marriage laws are transgressed, the go-between only if he was aware of the illegality; but husband and wife are not punished unless they are sui juris. If the father, grandfather, or uncle signed the contract, they alone are punished; if it was another relation, he is punished as principal, and husband and wife as accomplices. The purchase-money is in each case forfeited, except when the parties were ignorant of the existence of of the impediment.

A dispensation in cases of impediments to marriage is not admissible.\(^{51}\)

In China difference of religion has no influence upon marriage.

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\(^{49}\) According to the laws of the Lombards, parents had the right of killing or selling their daughters, if they married one in sorcery [Mayer, L.c., vol. II, p. 301]; in earlier times marriage between a free woman and a slave was not sanctioned, and the slave was put to death if he took the free woman by force [Grimm, p. 324. See C. N. Starck, L.c., p. 106].

\(^{50}\) As in the time of Justinian [§12, J. de nuptiis, 1, 10; C. 5, 8]. Modern legislation distinguishes between impedimenta juris publici which render a marriage null and void—e.g., incest, bigamy, and adultery—and impedimenta juris privati which make the marriage invalid, if only private interests are involved.

\(^{51}\) Also unknown to the Jews [see Mayer, L.c., vol. II, p. 315].
The law says\(^{53}\) that it is forbidden to intermarry with some of the savages; but this is not carried out in practice. In Formosa the Chinese constantly intermarry with the savages; that is to say, arriving singly they readily take savage girls as wives, chiefly from the settled tribes (熟番 shu-fan), who have adopted Chinese surnames.

3.—Betrothal.
A.—The Contract.

The mutual promise of marriage formed with the Romans an act of social and moral importance as a preparation for marriage. In China the parties concerned are not the principal ones. The conclusion, however, of a *justum matrimonium* has to be preceded by a contract,\(^{53}\) in which the amount of presents (*arrhae sponsalitiae*) and the latest day for concluding the marriage are fixed. When made, the contract, if in writing (禮書 li-shu), is signed by those persons in whose *patria potestas* bridegroom and bride stand; the latter never sign it, unless both have no older relations. This last condition, and the fact of the son holding office, being the only cases in which a *filius* or a *filia familias* becomes *sui juris*. This is the chief distinction between the Chinese and the Roman marriage.

Before the contract is signed presents are sent to the family of the bride (納彩 na-tsu'i, in common parlance 落定 lo-ting, giving of earnest). Then cards, with the names, birthdays, etc. inscribed thereon, are exchanged (通庚 t'ung-

\(^{50}\) G. Jamieson, *China Review*, X, p. 58.

\(^{53}\) Known by the Romans [\(l. 2, D. de sponsalibus, 23, 1\)] and by the old German law [Eichhorn, *Rechtsgeschichte*, §54, §183, §321].
kêng, spoken of as 問名 wên-míng, asking of names). When the parties are satisfied with all this, agreement is expressed by sending proof (納徵 na-chêng, commonly called 定 wên-ting, settling the language), when the contract (禮書 li-shù) is exchanged.

Thus the animus matrimoni, the intention of husband and wife to form a connexion for life, can, with the above-mentioned exceptions, have no place in China. In Rome the assent of the pater familias was required, but could only be refused for special reasons; husband and wife, however, were allowed free choice. Among the Chinese the heads of the families alone choose, and the inclination of the principal parties is never consulted.

If the son is absent from home, or if by mere chance a love match does happen, the assent of the parents has to be obtained: 娶妻如何必告父母 chü'ü chi'ü ju ho? pi ku^4 fu mu (how do we proceed in taking a wife? announcement must first be made to our parents).^4 [Shiking, I, VIII, Ode VI, 3.]

The preliminary negotiations are carried on by go-betweens (媒人 mei-jen, 媒媾 mei-kou, 中人 chung-jen and 媒婆 mei-p'o), who, mostly women, form an important part in the whole transaction. Male and female, says the Liki [vol. I, p. 78, Legge], without the intervention of the matchmaker, do not know each other's name. Although the proverb asserts that nine out of ten go-betweens are swindlers (十媒九詭 shih mei chiiu k'uang), still as without clouds in the sky it cannot rain, so without go-betweens a match can never be made (天上無雲不下雨, 地下無

^4 Emperor Shun married without thus informing his parents, fearing they might prevent him from doing so [Mengtzu, IV, XXVI, 2. Legge, II, p. 189]. He considered that obtaining posterity was the higher duty.
Before the signature of the contract by the heads of the families, both parties convince themselves of the truth of the statements regarding the persons of the bride and the bridegroom, that they are sound in body and mind, and that they are not older than stated. The festivities of the betrothal then commence. As lies in the nature of the case, the age of the betrothed parties—except that it be too great—is of no consequence. It often happens that a betrothal is entered upon by friendly families at a time when bride and bridegroom are not over three or four years of age. The betrothal of unborn children is forbidden.

**B.—Effects of Betrothal.**

The contract of betrothal gives both parties a right to sue for the conclusion of marriage. The party who refuses to keep the contract is punished with fifty blows, and the court enforces the marriage. Where the contract

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55 Other proverbs are: 娶妻如何匪媒不得 ch'i ch'i ju ha, foi mei pu te, how is it taking a wife? without go-between it cannot be done [Shijing, I, VIII, Ode VI, 8-4. Compare Liki, I, 78, Legge, II, p. 297]. Or 娶必通媒 ch'i pi tung mei, marriage must be negotiated through a go-between.

The Jews also use go-betweens (shadokham), the Greeks had female go-betweens προκαταθεταί; in Rome a nuptiarum conciliator was similarly employed, who, if present at the marriage, was called auspex nuptiarum.

56 Compare the Roman law [I. 14, D. de spons., 28, 1]: in sponsalisbus contraheñdis aetas contraheñtium definita non est, ut in matrimonih—si non sint minores quam septem annos.

57 The same according to the Canonical, but not according to the old Roman law [1. 2, §2, D. de diversa repud., 24, 21; 1. 2, D. de spons., 28, 1; 1. 134, D. de verb. obi., 45, 1; Const. 2, C. de inutil. stipul., 8, 39. It was not until the time of the Christian Emperors that loss was entailed by repudiation without proper cause [1. 5, C. de spons., 5, 1. Compare the English breach of promise cases.
is not made in writing, the acceptance of presents is taken
as proof of the agreement.\textsuperscript{58}

The betrothal may even be maintained if the family of
the bride enters into a second betrothal;\textsuperscript{59} and only in case the
family of the first bridegroom waives its claim may the bride
marry the second bridegroom. The presents are in this case
to be returned.

A forcible abduction of the bride before the time fixed
for the marriage is punishable, as is also any delay on the
part of the bride’s family beyond that time.\textsuperscript{60}

A singular situation arises if a filius familias is betrothed
during his absence from the family, his grandfather,
father, uncle or older cousin, \textit{i.e.}, a person in whose potestas
he stands, having, in the meantime, chosen a bride for him,
and having signed the contract. If the son has married,
the betrothal made by the head of the family is dissolved.
Otherwise the contract made by his family takes precedence
over the one made by himself.

c.—\textit{Dissolution of the Betrothal.}

If after signing the contract it appears that false state-
ments have been made by the family of the bride, then the
contract is void, the presents are returned, and the pater
familias of the bride receives eighty blows. The punishment
for a like fraud on the part of the bridegroom’s family is
more severe, and the bride keeps the presents. Should the

\textsuperscript{58} In ancient times the Jews celebrated betrothal and marriage at the
same time; considerably later, in the 3rd century A.D., the betrothal
consisted in sending the bride something valuable or a document, declaring
at the same time that he took her to be his wife. By this she became so far
his wife that any breach on her part was punished with death.

\textsuperscript{59} The Roman law punished this with infamy [I. 1, 1, 13, \textit{D. de his qui
not. inf.}, 3, 2; Const. 18, \textit{C. ad legem Jul. de adult.}, 9, 9].

\textsuperscript{60} Roman law allowed an action for delay of marriage where without
sufficient reason the delay extended over two or three years [Const. 16, \textit{C. de
episc. aud.}, 1, 4; Const. 2, 5, \textit{C. de sponsal.}, 5, 1; Const. 2, \textit{C. de repord.}, 5, 17].
fraud be discovered after the marriage, an action for divorce can be entered.

If the betrothal be dissolved before marriage, either through the death of bride or bridegroom, or through withdrawal of both parties (*repudium voluntarium*), or through a delay on the part of the bridegroom’s family for over five years, or through an impediment to marriage just arisen or only just discovered, then the presents have to be returned. If the marriage be not concluded, through the *repudium* of one party, the party innocent of the dissolution of the betrothal gets back or keeps the presents.

The fact of bride or bridegroom having been punished for theft or fornication gives a right to the other party to cancel the contract.

4.—Conclusion of Marriage.

"The ceremony of marriage," says the Liki [Legge, vol. II, p. 428], "was intended to be a bond between two [families of different] surnames, with a view, in its retrospective character, to secure the services in the ancestral temple, and, in its prospective character, to secure the continuance of the family line. Therefore the superior man set great value on it. Hence, in regard to the various [introductory] ceremonies,—the proposal with its accompanying gift [always a goose]; the inquiries about the [lady’s] name; the intimation of the approving divination; the receiving the special offerings; and the request to fix the day;—these all were received by the principal party, as he rested on his mat or leaning-stool in the ancestral temple."

When the parties desire to conclude the marriage, presents of silks (納幣 *na-pi*, spoken of as 大禮 *ta-li*, the
great ceremony) are sent to the father of the bride, and a further document (禮書 li-shu, like the first one, also called婚書 hun-shu, the horoscopes of the betrothed couple) passes.\(^{61}\) This is the marriage contract stipulating the sum for the bride, which sometimes amounts to thousands of taels. The marriage is therefore preceded by a purchase, which is no mere sham transaction like the Roman coëmtio, but corresponds to the purchase of the ancient German laws and to that of the Jewish law.\(^{62}\) By accepting the purchase-money, the father\(^{63}\) of the bride sells and manumits his daughter to the bridegroom’s family, to which she henceforth belongs. Then a date is fixed (講期 ch‘ing-ch‘i, commonly called送日 sung-jih, sending the day), and on that day the presents, together with her furniture, boxes of clothing, eatables, etc., are paraded through the streets to the bridegroom’s house, and the bride herself is brought in a closed red chair with music to her new home, where she is personally welcomed (親迎 ch’in-ying).\(^{64}\) The bride and bridegroom then kneel together before the ancestral shrine (拜堂 pai-t‘ang, 拜天地 pai-t‘ien-t‘i, to worship heaven and earth) of the latter’s family. They next drink together the nuptial cup (囍 ch‘in)—usually two cups tied together by a red string\(^{65}\)—and the marriage ceremony terminates (成禮 ch‘ing-li).

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\(^{61}\) The Jewish ketubah שורפועה. Tobias 7, 14) and the Roman conscriptio, contained the obligations undertaken by the husband. The Roman contract itself was called pactio nuptialis, γυμνασις שורפועה, the document itself tabulæ nuptiales.

\(^{62}\) See Mayer, l.c., II, p. 353.

\(^{63}\) The Talmud says: The matrimonial purchase-money belongs to the father [Mayer, l.c., II, p. 326].

\(^{64}\) The conclusion of the Jewish marriage consists in the bride being led by the bridegroom into the nuptial chamber or being received into the bridegroom’s house. The latter ceremony is to-day represented by the chuppah or canopy, under which betrothal and marriage are celebrated at the same time [cide M. Sachs, Gebetbuch der Israeliten (Breslau, 1892), p. 466].

\(^{65}\) According to the Liki [LEUGE, vol. II, p. 429] two halves of a melon.—This bridal drink [Brauttrunk] was also known to the Germans [v. Weinhold, Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter, pp. 225, 261].
The wife leaves her family for ever (出家 chu'u ch'ia)\(^66\) and belongs to the family of the husband,\(^67\) *i.e.*, she considers the parents of her husband as her own, and mourns for them legally a longer time (three years) than for her parents (one year).\(^68\)

In China, then, the church has nothing to do with marriage; neither are the usual ceremonies and festivities absolutely necessary for the conclusion of a *justum matrimonium*, as long as the *consensus matrimonialis* exists between those persons who sign the marriage contract. In fact when the bride has been brought up in the family of her future husband, as sometimes happens,\(^69\) the red chair and the parading of presents through the streets become useless.\(^70\) But, like the Jews, the Chinese invite guests, relations, and friends,\(^71\) who keep up the festivities for three days. During these three days the bride is accompanied by bridesmaids (大姊 ta-chin), who constantly attend on her. A peculiar custom is the so-called brawl-room (閭房 nao-fang). During the first three nights the newly married couple are constantly disturbed by practical jokes executed by relations (in some provinces even by complete strangers), everybody trying

\(^66\) The same expression is used for a man who becomes a priest or a maiden who joins a nunnery.

\(^67\) The Chinese custom requires a man to cleave to his father and mother and to compel his wife to do the same. Christianity by requiring a man to leave his father and mother and to cleave to his wife [Matth., 19, 5; Gal., 4, 22-28; Eph., 5, 31] has not expressed the popular sentiment and is not in accordance with Roman and modern law precepts. The beautiful words addressed by Ruth, the Moabite, to her Jewish mother-in-law Naomi [Ruth, 1, 16. Comp. 2 Sam., 15, 21] are often quoted in marriage sermons, but only mean that Ruth, the ancestress of the house of David, joins the Jewish faith.

\(^68\) According to the Jewish law, the family of the mother is not called family [Mayer, *l.c.*, II, 288].

\(^69\) See later on, under "Adoption."


\(^71\) Thus giving due importance and sufficient publicity to the ceremony [Likh, I, p. 78 (Legge)].
to obtain clothes or other objects of necessity or value from the bridal chamber, which the bridegroom has to redeem on the following day with wine, cake, etc.

Marriage, therefore, as we have seen, is concluded in China by the will of the parties concerned being expressed in a public manner. So it was according to Roman law and, closely following it, the Canonical law, until the Concilium Tridentinum (1545-63) introduced a formal act and made marriage a religious institution. This led to the doctrine of the indissolubility of the marriage bond, and the church arrogated to itself the exclusive right to decide in matrimonial cases. From that time began the differences between state and church which are only now on the point of being settled.

In the ordinary course of events the Chinese wife brings no dowry (嫁妆 chia-chuang, 秤 租 chuang-lien) to her husband. Still she may inherit, or she may be sui juris and possess money, land, or houses. In this case she can have her rights protected in the marriage contract.

Whilst the acquisition of a wife is called marriage (妻妻 ch'ü-ch'i, 成親 ch'eng-ch'in, 成婚 ch'eng-hun), the ceremonies of which have a sacramental character, the expressions for the acquisition of a concubine (立 li or 買 mai or 置 chih 妾 ch'ieh) point to the inferiority of the action. The union is concluded without music and without the red chair. The punishment for transgressions against the marriage laws in

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22 I. 22, C. de nuptiis, 5, 4.
24 Compare the special dowry contract of the Romans, pacta dotalitia (the document itself being called dotis tabulae). The Jews also mentioned the dowry (nuđwônga. Compare Ezech., 16, 33) in the kethubâ; the dowry, whether consisting of movable or immovable goods, but in most cases comprising female slaves, was called sohâ barzel (prex ferrem).
25 The same with the Jews: wives with nuptials and with marriage contract, concubines (pilgrash) without either; the same with the Greek πώλλαξ; different, however, with the Roman peller [I. 144, D. de verb. signif., 50, 16; Nor., 18, c. 5].
21
the case of a concubine are less severe than in the case of a wife.

Marriage is called 婚姻 hun-yin; to marry a husband is 嫁夫 chiu-fu for wife and concubine alike (男婚女嫁 nan hun nü chia, the man marries, the wife takes a husband). [Compare the Italian casare].

5.—Relation of Husband and Wife to Each Other.

Through the marriage the wife becomes, as was the case according to the law before Justinian,\(^6^6\) not only uxor but comes also into the manus mariti. She ceases to be sui juris, if she ever was it, and leaves the patria potestas, if she stood under it.\(^7^7\)

It is in consequence of the way in which the wife comes into the power of her husband that she acquires very few rights with the marriage. Though she shares the rank and honours of her husband,\(^7^8\) she has no right to demand conjugal fidelity from him,\(^7^9\) whilst she, by sinning against it, commits a heinous crime.

It is a cause for divorce if the wife beats her husband [a case probably as rare in China as with us, and, when it happens, more likely to be quietly endured than brought into court], but the husband has the right to inflict corporal punishment on her. He is, however, punishable if by doing this he inflicts a wound; but he escapes with a fine if he and his wife are willing to be divorced.

\(^6^6\) See Mackeldy, Lehrb. des röm. R., 14th ed., 11, p. 266; compare Gajj Institut., § 49, § 108 ss., 11, § 86 ss.

\(^7^7\) Mackeldy, l.c., II, p. 274, note; Gajj. Inst., III, § 14, 24.

\(^7^8\) As the Roman uxor shared the dignitas mariti.

\(^7^9\) Unlike the Romans [Nov., 117, c. 9, § 5: Icet mulieris propter hanc etiam causam matrimonium dissolvere]. In ancient times the Chinese husband’s adultery was punished by castration (腐刑 fu-hsing).
The wife owes the husband implicit obedience, and is not allowed to leave the house without his permission. If she disobeys, her husband may sell her to another as a concubine.

The wife belongs to her husband’s family even after his death; if she leaves it, either to return to her own or to marry again, she has to leave behind her husband’s estate, including what she brought with her. But her husband may have been the oldest member of his stock; in that case, after his death his power is transferred to his wife, and one not unfrequently hears of an old lady managing the family estate with only one son assisting her, the others living in other provinces and receiving their orders from her. After her death the family property is divided (分家産 fèn chia ch’àn) amongst the sons, who then become sui juris and register themselves as new families or households (戸 hu).

The wife cannot possess property of her own as long as her husband lives; everything she possessed before entering into the manus passes into the hands of her husband, so that even property inherited by her remains with the husband after the marriage has been dissolved, unless it had been otherwise stipulated in the marriage contract. Although, therefore, the questions of dos, paraphermae, pacta dotalitia, and donatio inter virum et uxor em do not really exist in Chinese law any more than they existed in the ancient Roman law, still a divorced wife or a widow will always take her jewellery and silks away with her. And it is in such that any donatio of the husband is invested.

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80 Similar to the Roman law [1. 22, § 1, D. ad municip. et de incol., 50, 1: vidua mulier amissi mariti domicilium retinet].


82 Gaj. Inst., II, § 98: si quam in manum ut uxor em reciperimus, ejus res ad nos transeunt.
The husband is not liable for debts contracted by his wife before marriage, unless she was *sui juris* and had no family when he married her.

If the husband changes his residence, the wife is obliged to follow him if he wishes it. Poor people change their *domicilium* only to emigrate to another province; people of the better classes generally leave their first wife at home, to educate the children and to look after the family property, and take a concubine at the new place. The emigration of females to foreign parts is prohibited.

With all his power the husband is not allowed to hire out his wife to prostitution, although it does occur that a man whose wife has not borne a son, and does not allow him to purchase a concubine, hires for a time the wife of another to get a son by her. This is unlawful and not considered decent. But it is lawful for a man to enter into a contract with a widow and hire her for a certain number of years, until he gets a son by her. In this case the woman need not leave her former husband’s family.

6.—Dissolution of Marriage.

Marriage is naturally dissolved by the death of either husband or wife. Another cause for the dissolution is divorce. This may be either enforced by law or be a voluntary act.

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83 The question is a disputed one with us [see Dernburg, L.c., vol. II, p. 10].

84 The same in Jewish law [Lev., 18, 20].—In Rome *lemo ecium facere* was punished with infamy [1. 1, l. 4, § 2, 3, *D. de his qui not. inf.*, 3, 2.—l. 43, § 6-9, *D. de ritu nuptiarum*, 28, 2].

85 The Hindu in such cases will have recourse to “*nigaya,*” i.e., hand over his childless wife to another man to obtain a child. See Starcke, L.c., p. 142.

86 分家 *fen chia*, 分妻 *fen chi*, 分鴛 *fen yuan*, which expressions are also used for a one-sided divorce, when the husband sends his wife away, the Greek ἀπόστησις.
a.—A divorce must take place if there exists an impediment to marriage, or if the wife commits adultery. The husband has in the latter case the right to kill both adulterers, if he surprises them in flagrante delicto. 87 If he does not kill the wife, she is punished and sold as a concubine, the purchase-money for her being forfeited. If the adulterer kills the husband, the wife is strangled. 88

b.—A divorce may take place—

1.—If both husband and wife are willing to dissolve marriage (owing, e.g., to incompatibility of temper).

2.—If the wife leaves the house against the will of the husband; 86 should she marry whilst absent, she is strangled.

3.—If the wife beats her husband.

4.—If the marriage contract contained false statements.

5.—If the wife has one of the following seven faults: barrenness, sensuality, want of filial piety towards the husband’s parents, loquacity, thievishness, jealousy and distrust, or an incurable disease.

The husband, however, is obliged to keep her in spite of one or several of the above-mentioned faults if she has kept the full term of mourning for three years after the death of

87 Comp. Lev., 20, 10. The husband who kills both and thus maintains the purity of the family is invariably rewarded by the local official and praised by the people. A correspondent from Tsing-kiang-p’u describes such a case in the North-China Daily News of 19th Nov., 1894, and, evidently dissatisfied with the morality of the transaction, adds: “the most deplorable feature of the case is the fact of the official’s letting the murderer go scot free, and public opinion justifying him fully in winking at such brutality.”

88 Compare l. 48, § 12, 13, D. de ritus nuptiarum, 23, 2.

89 On account of the suspicion of adultery; the Canon law required more than mere suspicion, e.g., cap. 12 X, de presumptionibus: witnesses who solum cum sola, nuda cum nuda in cœdom lecto jacentem ca ut credebant intentione, ut cum cognosceret carnaliter, viderunt.
his parents; or if his family, having been poor at the time of the marriage, have since become wealthy; and, lastly, if the wife has no other relations to whom she may return after the divorce.

When the divorced wife leaves the house, the husband may give her a bill of divorce (休書 hui shu, 分書 fen shu), a specimen of which is printed in G. SCHLEGEL's Woordenboek [vol. I, p. 1053].

According to Roman law the action for divorce was a private one, open to wife and husband alike. The Chinese wife may only bring an action if she thinks her husband is willing to give her her liberty, or if her husband has beaten her cruelly, or if she was deceived by false statements in the marriage contract, or if her husband was or has become a leper.

The effects of the dissolution of marriage are the following: the marriage is considered as having never been concluded; the wife returns to her family, if the latter will receive her, the children remaining with the father, and the purchase-money being given back to the husband, except when the latter was the cause of the divorce. If the family will not receive her back, she becomes sui juris. All relationship through the wife ceases with the divorce.

A third way of dissolving a marriage is the official declaration of death, if the husband has absconded and has not been heard of for three years. The wife abandoned can

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90 1. 2, C. de inut. stipulat., 8, 39.—1. 14, C. de nuptiis, 5, 4.

91 The Canon law has made marriage indissoluble ( Conc. Trid. sess., 24, de sacramento matrimonii, cap. 7. Compare also Math., 19. 6). During the so-called enlightenment of last century the facilities for divorce were carried almost as far as in China and had to be considerably reduced. In the United States the most frivolous rules as to divorce seem to exist, and it appears to be granted from arbitrary motives.

92 The same in Roman law [1. 8, § 1, D. de postulando, 3, 1.—J. de nuptiis, 1, 10].—The Canon law is of course different.
then demand such a declaration, especially if the family of her husband will not or cannot pay for her maintenance.

The time within which, after dissolution of marriage, a legitimate child can be born is fixed by Roman law at from 182 to 300 days, or 10 months, by modern legislation at from 210 to 302 days. In China a pregnant wife is rarely or never divorced, but after she has left the house of her husband for good the child she bears cannot be claimed by him.

7.—Bigamy (雙宗 shuang shih).

As before mentioned, the wife who maliciously leaves her husband and marries another during the lifetime of her first husband is strangled.

If the husband, in the lifetime of his first wife (妻 ch'i), marries another (妻 ch'i, not a concubine 妾 ch'ieh; he is allowed to have as many of the latter as he likes), the marriage is null and void; the wife returns to her family, and her father keeps the purchase-money, unless he knew of the existence of the first wife. In this case the money is forfeited.

A man who does double sacra is excepted (一子雙祧 i tzŭ shuang t'iao); his marriage with a second wife (妻 ch'i) is not considered bigamous.

8.—Polygamy and Polyandry.

In ancient times we find no people strictly monogamous. Polygamy was universally practised, generally without distinction between the wives, but sometimes a kind of monogamy existed side by side with permitted polygamy, i.e., one wife and several concubines. In this case the latter
were slaves and subjected to the wife. Sensuality did not always lead to it, frequently the barrenness of the wife and the tendency to strengthen the family influence by having many sons was the guiding motive. Amongst the Jews it was an ancient custom which the Mosaic legislation neither cancelled nor sanctioned, expecting that time only could effect a change in a custom of such antiquity. In the Old Testament [Deut., 21, 15] it is rarely mentioned: Abraham took Hagar as a concubine and divorced her when his wife bore a son. But he had other concubines beside Hagar [Gen., 25, 6]. Jacob had two wives, Leah and Rachel, and besides two concubines, Bilha and Zilpa, whose sons were all legitimate. Esau had many wives. King Solomon's polygamy, which probably sprung from his love of splendour, is severely censured [1 K., 11, 1. Comp. Matth., 18, 25; Luke, 1, 5]. In the 11th century polygamy was finally abolished, at least for the Jews in Europe, by R. Gershom, of Worms, in consultation with several other authorities.

In China the case stands similarly. If the first wife is barren, a concubine is purchased, but almost always with the consent of the wife. Filial piety demands that the family be continued, so that there be worship at the ancestral graves. The concubines stand under the authority of the wife, their children regard her as their mother, for whose death they go into mourning for three years. It is self-evident that this is only an external form and that a child will always love its own mother. The statement of

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22 See C. N. Starcke, Lc., p. 201.
23 Ishmael was his legitimate son, and that Abraham, instigated by Sarah's jealousy, sent him away too, was wrong.
24 In Talmudic times the concubine (pilegeweh) was a legitimate wife, but without the contract (ketuba), given only to the first wife.
25 Mengt. IV, XXVI, 1 [LEHOR, II, p. 189]: 不孝有三無後 爲大 pu hsiao yu san wu hou wei ta (having no descendants is the greatest of the three undutiful acts).
T. Unger, in his book on marriage,⁸⁷ that the children of a concubine treat their mother with contempt, is based on some misunderstanding.

Amongst the lower classes in China polygamy is not the rule. In the better classes the first wife is frequently but slightly younger than her husband, and fades, in consequence of nursing her children too long—sometimes five or even six years,—earlier than her European sister. She remains at home to look after the children and the property, whilst her husband—official or merchant—is often absent for years. It is then that a concubine is taken, though rarely as long as the first wife is young.

Polygamy has been called the “fruitful source of so much anguish and death by suicide.” This is a sweeping statement. Most cases of polygamy occur in well-to-do families, whose means permit to them the maintenance of separate establishments for each wife, and the family life is not always disturbed.⁸⁸

Though undoubtedly a great evil, polygamy is so deeply rooted that reform cannot readily be effected. Even Christianity has no direct prohibition against it,⁹⁹ and Bishop Colenso was of opinion that a convert with a plurality of wives was not required to put any of them away.¹⁰⁰

In Corea, where practically the same family laws are in force as in China, the children of concubines do

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⁸⁷*Die Ehe in ihrer welthistorischen Entwicklung*, quoted by C. N. Starcke, l.c., p. 158.

⁸⁸ Although a proverb says:—*婢美妾醜非閨房之福* pi mei ch’ih chiao fei kuei fang ch’hî fù (beautiful maids and lovely concubines are not a blessing of the ladies’ apartments); or *娶妻娶德娶妾娶色* ch’ü ch’ü tê ch’ü ch’hieh ch’üü sê (we marry a wife for her virtue, a concubine for her beauty).

⁹⁹ Only a bishop was required to be the husband of one wife [1 Tim. 3, 2; Tit. 1, 6, 7: μίας γυναικὸς ἁπάρ.

¹⁰⁰ Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: Cambridge, 1862.
not inherit the noble rank of their father (they are called ilmiöng).

Polyandry, which has to be treated in this chapter, is in China proper found exclusively in the prefectural city of T'ing-chou (汀州府), in the province of Fukien, whose inhabitants speak the Hakka dialect. This polyandry of Fukien, carried by emigrants to Formosa, is of local origin, being caused by the extreme poverty of the above-mentioned district, in which, again, only the very poorest practise it. Here the brothers, who are the husbands of one wife, live with her alternately for some period. In the same place child murder is of common occurrence, so that infanticide and polyandry seem both to spring from poverty. McLennan asserts that infanticide took its rise from the nomadic life of the primitive hordes, and that polyandry was the natural consequence of it, because women were scarce [Studies, p. 131, 134]. This was certainly not the cause of the Fukienese polyandry. 101

9.—Second Nuptials (嬪 kou) and Violation of the Time of Mourning.

After the death of the first wife, remarriage by the husband is permitted without any delay. The requirements of the household may often render it absolutely necessary. The widow, however, against whose remarriage custom is

101 Polyandry is practised in Tibet, Kunawar, and among the Todas [C. N. Starcke, l.c., p. 163]; it is described as follows:—Should there be more brothers, and they agree to the arrangement, the juniors become inferior husbands to the wife of the elder; all the children, however, are considered as belonging to the head of the family [see Moorcroft & Trebek, Travels, I, p. 321. C. N. Starcke, p. 134].—C. R. Markham [Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet (London, 1876), p. 386] quotes Horace Della Penna [1780] as an authority for saying that the wife attributes the offspring to him by whom she says she was with child.
generally opposed, has to mourn three years for her husband, in which time she is not allowed to marry.\textsuperscript{102} The widow of a man of rank is not allowed to marry again.

If the husband has left his wife, she may claim a divorce, or rather permission to marry again, but she has to wait for three years, as if the husband were dead.

A peculiar custom exists in some parts of China, \textit{e.g.}, at Ningpo a marriage between a widow and a widower, usually both of advanced age, is concluded with the understanding that the widow belongs spiritually to her former husband, \textit{i.e.}, when she dies her body is claimed by his family and is buried with him.

To marry a widow is called 娶後姻 \textit{ch'i hou hun}, to take a second husband 改嫁 \textit{kai chia}, or 反頭嫁 \textit{fan t'ou chia}.

\section*{B.—ON PATRIA POTESTAS.}

\section*{1.—General Remarks.}

As was the rule according to the Roman law of the time before Justinian, all persons who depend on a \textit{pater familias}, either grandfather, father, uncle, mother, or husband, stand in China under \textit{patricia potestas}. Such persons are therefore either the wives of the \textit{pater familias} or his sons

\textsuperscript{102} The Roman term of mourning ended after 10 months, the breach of which was punished [\textit{I. 1, C. 11, §1}, and §3, \textit{D. de his qui not. inf.}, 3, 2. \textit{Nov.}, 22, c. 22]. The sense of cap. 6, \textit{X, de secundis nuptiis}, 4, 21, is slightly different.
and daughters or more distant descendants on the male line, or slaves. The *patria potestas* is the same as the *domini potestas*, the power of the master over his slaves, according to the ancient Roman law.

The children of a *pater familias* are either legitimate or illegitimate.

If a man has got a girl with child, he must marry her; if he has a wife already, he must take her as a concubine. But in any case, even if he is prevented by death from marrying her, the child is considered his legitimate offspring.

The master may dispose of the children of his slaves in marriage (*主婚 chu hun*), but has to obtain the consent of the child’s parents if he wants to dispose of them in any other way.

Illegitimate children whose father is known but who are not made legitimate *per sequens matrimonium* or adoption (*私子 ssi tzi*), and children of prostitutes (*雜種 ts‡ chung*, mixed seed, *vulgo quasiti*), stand under the power of the mother, whose family name they bear.

Where many individuals of the same surname live close together a clan (*族 ts‡* or *ts‡u*) is formed with a patriarchal constitution, which consists of individuals, not of families. The oldest and most respected of the fellow-clansmen (*族 降 ts‡u lin*, *族人 ts‡u jen*) is elected elder of the clan (*族長 ts‡u chang*, *族老 ts‡u lao*, *族兄 ts‡u hsiung*). By him the genealogical register of the clan (*族譜 ts‡u p‘u*) is kept, and the ancestral temple of the clan is under his management. If the clan is poor, the elder determines the contributions for the spring and autumn festivals to be paid by each household, and divides the sacrificial meat (*胙肉 ts‡u jou*) amongst them. But frequently there is clan property (*族田 ts‡u t‘ien*), left by a wealthy clansman. In that case the different

103 Compare the Jewish *mamzer*, *sperinus*, *nothus*, the child of adultery or incest [Dunt., 29, 3; Sach., 13, 6, bastard].
households have nothing to pay, and any surplus is divided amongst them. Sometimes there exist endowments for a clan school, and from them candidates of the clan who are successful at the public examinations receive handsome rewards.

Where a clan has thus been organised the greater part of the father’s power passes into the hands of the clan elder. Meetings of the clan are frequently held, in which clan affairs, family questions, business matters, politics, etc., are freely discussed. Members of the clan who misbehave themselves are punished, a common punishment being to debar a man from joining in the ancestral worship and from sharing the sacrificial meat for the space of one year (停 赈 一年 t’ing tsu i niien). A more serious punishment is to be turned out of the clan altogether (出 族 ch’u ts’u); but on those who continually disgrace the clan by crimes, capital sentence is passed and carried out by drowning (淹 死 yen ssù) or by burying alive (活 埋 huo mai).

The officials hardly ever interfere with clan decisions, but out of this imperium in imperio sprung during the Ts’in dynasty [秦 ch’in, 255–202 B.C.] a law called 夷 三 族 i san ts’u, by which the whole clan was made responsible for the crime of a single clansman. This law, to all appearances cruel and brutal, is after all but a natural consequence of the unity of the clan, claimed whenever it is advantageous to the clan interests. In modern times it is only applied in cases of rebellion, high treason, and similar crimes.

2.—On the Rights of both Parents with regard to their Children.

The patria potestas over children, whether legitimate or adopted, is unlimited. The father (or after his death the
mother)\textsuperscript{104} can do with them as he likes; he may not only chastise, but even sell, expose, or kill them.\textsuperscript{105} The latter occurs often enough, especially with girls, if the family is too poor to bring them up. Infanticide is not prohibited, but whenever it spreads too far (especially in the province of Fukien)\textsuperscript{106} the officials issue proclamations against it. Moreover, it is generally considered blameable, and the voice of the people is raised against persons who carry the abuse of the father’s power thus far.\textsuperscript{107}

The power of the father over his son does not cease as long as the father lives, unless the son enters the government service,\textsuperscript{108} when the father, desiring to exercise his rights over him, has first to obtain the consent of the Emperor.\textsuperscript{109} Over the daughter the father’s power exists until she comes into the manus of a husband.\textsuperscript{110} If her marriage is dissolved, she may return into the power of her father; as a widow, however, she remains in the family of her former husband.

The duty of the parents is expressed in the proverb 兒成雙女成對一生大事已完 érh ch'êng shuang nà ch'êng tui i shêng ta shih i wan (when sons are paired and daughters mated the principal business of life is accomplished).

\textsuperscript{104} Therefore not like Gej., Inst., I, § 104.—§ 10, J. de adopt., I, 11: femina—nec naturales liberos in sua potestate habent; but the same as the law of the Visigoths, Mayer, l.c., II, p. 416.

\textsuperscript{105} The same power was given the father by the Romans [§ 2, J., 1, 9; Gej., Inst., I, § 55], by the Gauls [Câesâr, de bello Gall., VI, 19], and by the Visigoths [lex Wisiq., IV, 2, § 13], Mayer, l.c., II, p. 416.

\textsuperscript{106} Infanticide was not wholly suppressed in Guzerat [see Schlagnhut, Reisen in Indien, etc. (Jena, 1869), I, p. 60].

\textsuperscript{107} CH. Piton, L’Infanticide en Chine, Bâle, 1887.

\textsuperscript{108} In publicis locis atque munerebus atque actionibus patrum jura cum filiis qui in magistratu sunt potestatis collata, interquiescore paululum et connivere, etc. Aulus Gellius, Noctes, II, 2. See Gibbon, Rome, chap. XLV (ed. 1815), vol. 8, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{109} The same according to the ancient German law [Mayer, l.c., II, p. 443].

\textsuperscript{110} As in Jewish law [Mayer, l.c., II, p. 440].
3.—On the Rights of the Husband with regard to his Wife.

The wife follows her husband wherever he likes to go, and may not leave the house against his will. The husband has the right to chastise her, but not to inflict a wound [see above, "Causes for Divorce"]; He has not the right to kill her, except where he surprises her in flagrante delicto.

He cannot, without sufficient reason, degrade his wife to the rank of a concubine. He may not hire her out to another man.

4.—On the Duties of Children towards their Parents.

As long as the parents are alive, it is the duty of the children to show them reverence and obedience (孝順 hsião shun) and, if necessary, to nurse and support them. The son shall, if father, mother, or grandparents are over eighty years old, or feeble and ill, remain at home, unless another son over sixteen years old lives with them. Officials especially are bound by this command, but should anyone use this as a pretence in order to quit his post, he is severely punished.

111 Filial Piety is called the fundamental virtue [Lunyü, I, 2. Legge, I, p. 2. See also E. Faber's Systematical Digest, and the essay "What is Filial Piety?" by various authors, in the Journ. of the N.C.B. of R.A.S., vol. XX (1886), p. 115–144. Compare the Jewish kibbud am re'am, reverence for father and mother].

112 See Lunyü, IV, 19 [Legge, I, p. 35].
As long as parents, grandparents, or husband are in prison on account of a capital crime, the children, grandchildren, and wife are not allowed to participate in festivities and amusements of any kind. Disobedience towards parents or neglect to supply proper support is, on the motion of the parents concerned, severely punished by the officials. Descendants are not allowed to enter an action against ascendants; they are not obliged to denounce crimes committed by them or to appear as witnesses against them, except in cases of high treason, rebellion, etc. This exemption extends to all members of the same household, even to servants and slaves.

In fact the whole of Chinese life is theoretically based on filial piety; on it the well-being of the family is built, and on this again society in general, and even the Empire itself, relies.

After the death of the parents the descendants take their place and see that their memory is kept unsullied. It is their chief duty to strictly keep the term fixed for mourning and to rigorously perform the sacrificial ceremonies at the ancestral shrines and at the graves. The coffin has to be buried, if at all feasible, in the native soil,

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113 According to Lev., 20, 9; Deut., 21, 20–21; 27, 16; Prov., 30, 17, even disrespect to parents was to be punished by death.

114 萬善孝為先 wan shan hsiao wei hsien (of all the virtues filial piety is the foremost).

115 Comp. Exod., 20, 15; Deut., 5, 16; see also PLATO, opera [ed. Didot] vol. II, p. 327; TALKUT, I, § 820: who has parents and does not reverence them has disgraced God.

116 The son is responsible for the father's debts to the amount of his inheritance, 夫產子得父債子還 fu chan tsu te fu chui tsu huan.

117 See Liang, 11, 5 [LEGGE, I, p. 11].
and only then are the funeral ceremonies completed (成殮 ch'êng lien)\(^\text{118}\)

All ancient nations regarded it as a sacred family duty to bury the dead with honours and to preserve their memory; filial piety towards the departed was considered a general duty of humanity (仁 jên)\(^\text{119}\). On the ideas of the Greeks and Romans, BOECKH \([l.e., p. 422]\) says: the whole of the cult of the dead is based on belief in the immortality of the soul, which belongs to the highest antiquity. In the popular belief of the Greeks the souls of the departed were reduced to unsubstantial shadows through the Homeric conception of the world turned to a sensual life. In contradistinction to this, old cults were maintained, by which the dead were honoured as heroes and blessed spirits, as by the early Italians in the cult of the dîi manes.

Belief in the immortality of the soul is very ancient, and with it came the natural wish to let the deceased participate in the family feasting; hence a cult of the dead sprung up\(^\text{120}\).

The Egyptians held a similar belief\(^\text{121}\). Just as uncivilised people of our times, especially on the Dark Continent, reverence their dead and believe in the invisible existence

\(^{118}\) The onerous nature of this duty may be gathered from the case of a former Customs Taotai of Shanghai, Fêng Chun-Kuang (馮峻光), who in 1878 went as far as Kansu, in the north-west of China, to fetch the coffin of his father and to bring it overland to Canton, his native province. The difficulty of the voyage, on which many ceremonies had to be performed, exhausted the dutiful son to such an extent that he succumbed when only half the voyage was completed. His brother took his place and continued the voyage with the two coffins.


\(^{120}\) H. PAUL, Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie (1891-93), vol. I, p. 908.

of the departed and in their influence for good or evil on the surviving, so also with the Egyptians was the dead the subject of special reverence. In Egypt the cult of the dead was exaggerated. They believed in a second life, which was assumed to be on the pattern of the temporal. They gave the dead all sorts of things—in the beginning, perhaps, the proper ones, later on common and worthless imitations.

Dim and hazy as was the conception of a future life with the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, so is it with the Chinese. In fact, like the Egyptians, the Chinese consider the departed as taking the same interest in family matters as when alive, and serve them as such. 122

The religious belief of the Chinese is not very profound, and their worship at different temples is influenced not so much by a belief in the special efficacy of a particular idol as by the unpoetical hope of reward for offerings—all too charily made,—a hope somewhat akin to that of a man who stakes his money—and his faith—on a number in a lottery. In this sense they believe that the invisible spirits of the departed are hovering round their old homes and may benefit those who appeal to them, but might also be revenged on those who disregard and neglect them. Filial love is the moving spirit; habit and an indistinct fear are, however, closely allied with it.

This cult of the dead has been called Ancestral Worship, and stamped as idolatrous by the decennial Missionary Conference of 1890.

Now what is this cult?

Each Chinese house contains an ancestral shrine (家祠 t'iao, 家 堂 chia ssii, 家 堂 chia t'ang), in which the wooden tablets of the ancestors (神 牌 shên p'ai, 神 主 shên chu, 神 物 shên mu, also called 家 神 chia shên) are placed, with the names, rank, and dates of birth and decease of the various ascendants

122 See Liki [LEGGE, II, p. 311].
inscribed thereon. Before these incense is daily offered with prostrations (拜 pai), and twice a month offerings of eatables are spread, again with prostrations. Besides this house-shrine, each clan possesses an ancestral temple (宗廟 tsung miao), in which also tablets are placed, either of wood (神木 shén mu) or of stone (神主 shén chu). In spring and autumn periodical rites are performed by the clan, accompanied by sacrifices of meat (豕 tsu), at this temple, together with ceremonies at the graves of the ancestors.

Ancestral Worship is called 拜神 pai shén chu, to “pai” the tablet of a deceased parent or ancestor, or 拜祖宗 pai tsu tsung, to “pai” the ancestors. 拜 pai means [Giles] to pay one's respects to, to make obeisance, to worship, to visit (e.g., 拜客 pai k'o, to make calls). All family affairs should be announced (告 k'ou) to the spirits [see Liki. Legge, I, p. 78] and their blessing invoked (祝宗 chu tsung). The offerings (祭祀 chi ssü) should be made in a sincere spirit to all ancestors, however remote (祖宗雖遠祭祀不可不誠 tsu tsung sui yüan chi ssü pu k'o pu ch'eng).

At the Ch'ing-ming festival, in the spring, the ancestral graves are visited and swept (拜墳 pai fén, 拜掃 pai sao). Then meat is offered (豕 tsu), and paper money (金銀紙)

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123 For an illustration of their arrangement, see China Review, vol. IV (1875), p. 296.

124 神 shén, spirits, gods, divine, supernatural, mysterious [Giles], should, on account of the use of the word in the sense as here, never stand for God. That this is the true and only standpoint to take the author endeavoured to show in the China Review [vol. VI (1877), p. 278] by translating the articles on 上帝 shang-ti and 神 shén from the great Manchu Dictionary, the highest authority on the point, having been published with Imperial assistance. The term shang-ti exactly corresponds to the Hebrew El 'eljên in Genesis, אל יהוה.

125 春明, one of the 24 terms into which the year is divided, the 16th of the 2nd moon, about March.

126 Greeks and Romans also honoured the memory of the dead by periodic sacrifices at the graves [Boehck, l.c., p. 422]. The Jews also have a yearly visit to the grave, the so-called "Jahrzeit." Their service in memory of the dead (hazharat nemahot) is part of their synagogal liturgy. The All Souls Day of the Church is the same, when supplications are made for the souls of the faithful deceased,
ching yin chih) and different articles for the use of the departed, also made of paper, are burnt in front of the tombs (墳前燒紙 jen ch'ien shuo chih). The following is a prayer recited on this occasion: We have come to sweep your tomb, to show our gratitude for your protecting care, and now we beseech you to accept our offerings and make our posterity prosperous and happy.

A funeral repast, at which the sacrificial meat is eaten, concludes the ceremony.

This, then, is the form the so-called Ancestral Worship takes in China. The subject in its bearing on Christian converts was first discussed as early as the 17th century. The Jesuits saw nothing idolatrous in this form of worship, and, perceiving the strong hold it had taken on the Chinese mind, allowed their converts to continue its practice. Christianity was then on the point of conquering China. Subsequently rival sects set up a cry and accused the Jesuits of too great leniency towards heathen practices. Pope and Emperor were appealed to. The former at last gave a final verdict against ancestral worship, which the Emperor resented; in consequence of this dispute the cause of Christianity was blighted. The Roman Catholics have ever since disallowed ancestral worship.

The Protestant missionaries have for a long time been in doubt about this cult. Many voices had already been raised against it, when at the last Missionary Conference (1890)

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127 The heathen custom of burning clothes and other articles at the funeral of the dead was permitted to the Jews, as this custom is also mentioned in the Bible [see Sanhedrin, p. 52b]; it is called “serēphah” [see Hamburger, Suppl., II, p. 83]. It was evidently an old Egyptian rite [see Brugsch, l.c., p. 180]. One of the oldest customs of all Germanic tribes was to place in the tomb of the dead something which had been treasured or regarded as indispensable by him while living [see H. Paul, l.c., vol. I, p. 999]. Even in this century it is customary in Sweden to place in the coffin tobacco-pipes, knives, and even a full bottle of whisky [Weinhold, Altnord. Leben, p. 493. H. Paul, l.c., vol. I, p. 1600].


129 See H. Paul, l.c., vol. I, p. 998.—The idea that the dead invisibly participate in the meal we find everywhere. Compare the Irish wakes.
the question was put to the vote and it was decided "that this Conference affirm the belief that idolatry is an essential constituent of ancestral worship." The Conference condemned all idolatrous customs, all customs that recognise any being as worthy of worship aside from the true God. Dr. Yates, a well-known missionary, says [p. 612] that three evils come from ancestral worship:—

1.—"Betrothal of children at an early age, by which millions are made miserable for life."

Now it is well known how much our line of thought is influenced by general custom. What appears to us as want of freedom and even severity does not appear so to the Chinese mind. The Chinese consider marriage as a business, in which the erotic element need not enter at all or is perhaps considered troublesome. This was also the view taken in Europe in former ages and the betrothal of children was a common practice. The romantic love in marriage is a thing of modern times. But even now it is not considered a necessary factor; equal aims and equal interests are more conducive to a happy union than mere love.

We cannot hold ancestral worship responsible for early betrothals.

2.—"Polygamy, the fruitful source of so much anguish and death by suicide."

Polygamy, as we have already said, is certainly an evil, but it is still practised by the great majority of mankind. "Anguish and death by suicide," said to be provoked by polygamy, are, in my opinion, not of frequent occurrence in China, because the evil is firmly established and the Chinese woman hardly considers it as baneful. In the majority of cases, but not in all, barrenness of the wife and the desire to have children lead to polygamy. Love of splendour, the wish to have a large family (and

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hence greater influence), and carnal considerations have as much to do with it as ancestral worship. But before we judge others, ought we not to inquire into our own position? Have we realised the ideal of marriage of one man with one woman? or have we, to use the words of a modern author, rounded Seraglio Point, but not passed Cape Turk yet?

3.—“The heavy tax in support of this worship.”

The daily expenditure of 360 millions in joss-sticks alone\(^{131}\) certainly comes to a respectable total at the end of the year, and the spending of so much money may be called an utter waste, but it can hardly be called an evil, and is not a heavy tax on the individual.

A paper by Dr. Martin [Record of Conf., pp. 619-631] pleads for tolerance; Dr. H. Blodget [ib., pp. 631-654] condemns ancestral worship as antagonistic to Christianity; Dr. E. Faber has given a concise and terse résumé of the whole question [pp. 654-655].

Now religious Conferences and Councils have invariably been failures when absolute truth was to be ascertained, and I am afraid this last Conference was no exception to the rule. It is more than doubtful whether idolatry is really an essential constituent of ancestral worship. Idolatry is “the worship of idols, images, or anything made by hands, or which is not God” [Webster]. If the Chinese “worship” their dead as idols, they also worship their living parents in the same way, for the ancestral rites are but a continuation of the filial love shown to the living. In such rites there is no “worship” in our sense of the term, and by substituting “cult” the baneful spell of the word is broken.

Ancestral worship is only external religion, but it has taken deep root in the hearts of the Chinese. Only thorough teaching can undermine it. A true convert to Christianity

\(^{131}\) As W. Williams [Middle Kingdom, vol. II, p. 279] has done; he computes the yearly expenditure at one dollar per head.
will soon give up the superstitions closely connected with ancestral worship, and we have for this a good example in the Chinese Mohammedans, who with their better creed soon gave up the superstitious practices. The early church acted more wisely than our modern missionaries, for old customs which appeared dangerous to the new creed, but the sudden prohibition of which would have been unwise, were changed into Christian festivals. England and Germany offer many examples of this practice [comp. Beda, Hist. eccl., I, 30, ed. Holder].

The difference between the sacrifices to God and those offered to ancestors is well drawn in the Liki [Legge, vol. I, p. 413]:—"In the sacrifice to God we have the utmost expression of reverence, in the sacrifices of the ancestral temple we have the utmost expression of humanity."

In India a somewhat similar cult of the dead existed, but as to its present state I have no authorities.

5.—Acquisition of Patria Potestas.

Patria potestas may be acquired (a) through marriage, (b) through procreation, (c) through adoption, and (d) through purchase, the last method differing in nowise from (a) and (c). If the person who acquires patria potestas in one of these four ways stands himself under patria potestas, then he acquires it for his pater familias:

(a.) By Marriage.—The wife belongs after marriage to the family of her husband, and stands in his manus or in the patria potestas of that person under whose patria potestas the husband stands.

(b.) By Procreation.—Children come under the patria potestas of their father, whether born by a wife or by a concubine.

(c.) *By Adoption.*—To explain this institution, most important in Chinese law, we take the Roman law as a type.\(^{133}\)

A man may adopt a person as son or daughter, or, if he formerly had sons, as grandchild, but not as brother, wife, or concubine.\(^{134}\) In China nearly all adoptions take place in childless families, and among these the greater part are adoptions of sons. Five per cent of all families in China possess adopted children [E. H. Parker].\(^{135}\) What is said with regard to adoption among the ancient Greeks holds good for the Chinese:—The dying out of a family was to be prevented, as by the desolation of the house the dead lost their religious honours, the gods of the family their sacrifices, the hearth its flame, and the forefathers their name among the living.

The oldest recorded instance of adoption in China is that of Shun being received into the family of Emperor Yao [2200 B.C.]

Adoption, like marriage and the acquisition of slaves, rests in China upon purchase, concerning which a contract is made, with the difference that the word "wife," "son," "daughter," or "slave" is specifically mentioned in it. The most frequent case is the adoption of a nephew by a childless uncle. This nephew is generally a younger son, who then leaves his father’s family and his son becomes the grandson of the adopting uncle. If there is only one nephew whose duty it is to continue the line of his father, he has to marry another wife (妻 ch'i), whose male issue is considered that of the uncle. The nephew has thus to perform double suera and is called "one son with two ancestral halls" (一生两名 i tzü shuang


\(^{134}\) Compare l. 87, pr. D. de adopt., 1, 7.

\(^{135}\) Compare the law of Mann, IX, 127, 159: the Hindu considers it a religious duty to have a son, by whose means he may pay off his debt to his forefathers. If without offspring he must adopt a child.
t‘iao). He mourns the three years' term for his adoptive father and only one year for his parents. If he leaves only one son, the latter has, like his father, to marry two wives; the issue of the one is that of his grandfather, that of the other continues the uncle's family. When two sons are obtained the ancestral hall is completed (成祧 ch'êng t‘iao). This, then, constitutes the only case where a Chinese may have two wives (妻 ch‘i) at the same time.

Where there is no son or nephew, but only a daughter, a son-in-law may be taken into the family, who leaves his own family without being actually adopted. This is called 招婿 chuo hsù, inviting a son-in-law.

It being prohibited in China for officials to hold office in their native province, adoption becomes the means of avoiding this restriction. The official in question is adopted into a family of another province, acquires thus a right of domicile (ch‘i 籍) in the province of his adopted parents, and may now hold an office in the province originally his native one. In the same way confiscation of property is prevented by adoption, if such confiscation is imminent on account of the crimes of near relatives.

The general reason for adoption is to continue the stock, 接宗子 chieh tsung tzū. Adoption of agnates is called 承繼 ch‘êng chi (taking over the succession), 過嗣 kuo ssù (going over to be heir), or 過祀 kuo ssù (going over to the sarra). There is a distinction between this and the adoption of a stranger:—義子 i tzū (or 女 nü) and 契子 ch‘i tzū (or 女 nü) godchildren or jilii lustrici, or 養子 yang tzū (rearing a child). As long as the former is possible, few will resort to the latter fiction. The adoption of cognates is called 歸宗 kuei tsung (returning to the stock).

A.—General Requirements of Adoption.

As the main idea of Chinese adoption, it may be stated
that only children out of families who bear the same family name may be adopted, as otherwise, according to the Chinese, the difference between families would soon cease to exist.

No special requirements are prescribed for the adopter, and the law fixes no age limit under which one may not adopt, although it is usual for the adopter to be older than the person to be adopted. Foundlings under three years’ old may be adopted without further ceremony.

An adopter may emancipate the adopted, and adopt him a second time.

The wife, acquiring after the death of her husband his patria potestas, has therefore the right of adopting; she has, however, to ask the consent of the nearest male relation of her late husband, for adoption as well as for datio in adoptionem. She has further the right of preventing the legitimate or adopted sons of her former husband from giving themselves into arrogation against her wish.

The adoption of one’s younger brother or one’s uncle, even if the latter is younger than the nephew, is not allowed; for the same reason the uncle may not adopt a nephew who is older or of the same age as himself.

An interesting case is that of a foreigner desiring to adopt the two illegitimate children he had by a Chinese woman who had subsequently absconded. According to the law of his

132 As is the case in Roman law [§ 4, J. de adopt., 1, 11: minorem nati non posso majorem adoptare placet; adoptionem enim naturam imitatur et pro monstro est, ut major sit filius quam pater. Debit itaque is qui sibi per adoptionem vel arrogationem filium facile, plena pubertate, id est xvili annis procedere. L., 40, § 1, D. de adopt., 1, 7].

133 Not so in Roman law [l., 37, § 1, D. de adopt., 1, 7: eum quem quis adoptavit emancipatum vel in adoptionem datum iterum non potest adoptare].

134 The same in ancient Egypt [see Mayer, l.c., II, p. 427], but not so in Rome [§ 10, J. de adopt., 1, 11: feminae quoque adoptare non possunt. Const., 8, l. de adopt., 8, 48: mulierem quidem quae nec suos filios habet in potestate, arrogare non posse certum est].
country he could only legitimise his children, so long as their mother was living, by subsequens matrimonium. This was impossible, as the woman could not be found. The Chinese authorities were then asked to allow these children to take the foreign nationality of their father; and after obtaining this permission, the children were adopted by the father.

b.—Special Requirements of Adoption and Arrogation.

Whoever wants to give himself into arrogation must ask for the consent of the nearest relations of his former pater familias. If he has elder brothers alive, their consent also must be asked. In the lifetime of his father the son may give himself into arrogation, even without the consent of his father or his relations, if the father is insane and poor, so that the son by the arrogation acquires the means of supporting him. If the father is far away the son is allowed to be arrogated, but the father may, on his return, claim back his son.

According to its nature, the datio in adoptionem is, properly speaking, a sale (renditio), to which only the consent of the pater familias is required; the person to be adopted is not asked except he be a son holding office. In practice, however, it never happens that an adult married son is sold into adoption against his own free will. The wife of the adopted follows her husband, but the children remain in the family of the pater familias.130

A man having sons of his own may not adopt a stranger as their elder brother, but he may adopt grandchildren, as

130 According to Roman law the children of an arrogated person followed their father, while the children of an adopted person remained with their grandfather [C. 2, § 2, D. de adopt., 1, 7: is qui liberos in potestate habet, si se arrogandum dederit, non solum ipse potestati arrogatoris subjiciatur, sed et liberij ejus in ejusdem et potestate tamquam nepotes. L., 40, pr. D. de adopt., 1, 7: quod non similariter in adoptione contingit, nam nepotes ex eo in avi naturalis retinentur potestate.—L., 26, 27, D. ibid. : ex adoptivo natus adoptivi locum obtinet in jure civili].
sons of his legitimate or adopted sons. After his death the latter have the right to dissolve such adoptions.

Brothers may, after the death of their parents, give their elder or younger sisters into adoption, but not without the consent of the latter.

Even after death a filius posthumus may be adopted for a man by his relations or friends, in case he died without any male descendants; preference is given, in such cases, to a nephew of the deceased. By special grace the Emperor may do this for princes of the blood or high dignitaries, but in all cases with the consent of the male relatives of the deceased. By this means the levirate, as stated above, becomes unnecessary.

c.—Effects of Arrogation and of Adoption.

In China the effects are in either case the same. The adopted becomes agnate of all agnates of the arrogater or of the adopter. Altogether, the adopted son (or daughter) has a better position than the natural one, as he cannot be sold without the consent of his natural parents, unless a second adoption be of real benefit to the child. He has all the rights of a son (or daughter). In the case of inheritance, natural as well as adopted sons take precedence of all daughters. Should the adopter have sons born after the adoption, so that the original cause for the adoption no longer exists, he may cancel the adoption, if the parents are willing to take back the child. The child, however, must be kept if no member of his family lives to whom he can return; only officials may thus be left without family.

140 This adoption after death was also known to the Greeks [see Mayer, Lc., H, 429, who quotes Demosth. and Isaeus].

141 Not so in Roman law (l. 1, l. 23, D. de adopt., 1, 7.—§ 2, J. de adopt., 1, 11.—Const. 10, pr., § 5, C. de adopt., 8, 48.—§ 13, J. de hered., 3, 1].

The adopted child being regarded as the real child of his adopted parents, these must give their consent if the child wants to commence a three years' mourning after the death of his natural parents. An official is not allowed to mourn two terms of three years, but only one term for his adopted father, as mourning means in this case withdrawal for the time from official life.

6.—Termination of the Patria Potestas.

With the death of the father his power passes to the mother, and after her death to the eldest son, who then has also power over his younger brothers and elder and younger sisters.

The father's power does not cease throughout his lifetime, except with his own free will or where the son holds office. Unless with the special permission of the Emperor, the father cannot in the latter case exercise power over his son. As already mentioned, the son becomes quasi sui juris if the father is insane and at the same time poor.

Excepting where the father gives himself into arrogation, so that his children come under the power of his arrogater, the father's power may cease with his will:—

1.—By sale into adoption, by which the son acquires agnate rights in the family of his adopted father.

2.—By sale of a daughter into marriage, she becoming an agnate in her husband's family and entering his manus.

3.—By permission to the children to enter a religious order. They then lose their family name and leave the family connexion altogether (出家 ch'iu chia).

4.—By exposing the children in tender age. The finder may lawfully adopt them if under three
years of age.\textsuperscript{143} If older, they are not allowed to be exposed, and only the ways mentioned under No. 1 and No. 3 are left to the father to rid himself of his child.

In contradistinction to the Roman law,\textsuperscript{144} the father may relinquish his power even against the wish of his children.

An emancipation in the Roman sense, by which the emancipated person becomes \textit{sui juris}, does not exist in China. After the death of the father the daughter becomes \textit{sui juris}, if a widow and having sons, the son only in case he has a family.

\textbf{C.—ON GUARDIANSHIP.}

If at the time of the parents’ death the children are still very young (under seven years), and no head of the family exists who has \textit{ipso jure} a right to the \textit{patria potestas}, the father’s power devolves upon one of the male relations of the same surname (同姓親戚 \textit{t‘ung hsing ch‘in ch‘i}), if no \textit{testamentaria tutela} has been ordered. If no such relation exist, then one among the male relations of a different surname (外姓親戚 \textit{wai hsing ch‘in ch‘i}) is chosen. To be without any such relationship is in China an impossibility. If after the father’s death no relation is willing to take the responsibility of the \textit{patria potestas} upon himself, such guardian has to be appointed (託孤 \textit{t‘o ku}, to confide an orphan to any one, 受託孤者 \textit{shou t‘o ku chê}, a guardian).

\textsuperscript{143} Const. 2, 4, \textit{C. de infant. expon.}, 8, 52. \textit{Nov.} 153, c. 1 (non gloss.).

\textsuperscript{144} \textit{Nov.}, 89, c. 11, \textit{pr.}: solvere jus patriae potestatis in vitis filiis non permissum est patribus.
The guardian has the full *patria potestas* and, like the father, retains it, with the above-mentioned exceptions, as long as he lives. The property of the child, of which the guardian has the full usufruct, continues to be the child's.

When a widow remarries, the children by her first husband come under the power of the second. But if a son of her first husband returns, with the consent of the second husband, to his father's family (*孔子歸宗* *ku tù kuei tsung*, an orphan returning to his ancestors), a guardian has to be appointed.

Between *tutor* and *pupilla* a marriage is impossible; it would be considered incestuous.
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COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1892-3.

1.—The following members of Council and office-bearers were elected at the annual meeting held under the presidency of Consul-General Hannen on the 11th May 1892:


During the course of the year we have been singularly unlucky in losing either temporarily or definitively some of the most valuable members of the Council. The indefatigable Vice-President, Dr. Edkins, has been absent for almost the whole time, devoting his energy to the service of sinology at home; and from official reasons of different kinds Messrs. Bredon, Playfair, and Faber have been called away from Shanghai and we have lost their services in the Council. The absence of the latter gentlemen having occurred only lately their places were not filled up, this being reserved for the coming annual meeting.

2.—Members of the Society.—Eight new members joined the Society during the year, and four have retired.

3.—Meetings.—Four Meetings were held during the year, when papers with the following titles were read:

Early Growth of Language in Asia, by Dr. Edkins.
Abstracts from the papers received on Inland Communications in China, and Remarks on the so-called Runes of the Yenisei Valley, by T. W. Kingsmill.
Early Portuguese Commerce in China, by Z. Volpicelli.
Arab Trade in China during the T'ang dynasty, by Z. Volpicelli.
4. — *Journal.* — The following papers read at former meetings were published during the year:—

1. — The Fish-skin Tartars, by M. F. A. Fraser.
2. — A Comparative Table of the Ancient Lunar Asterisms, by T. W. Kingsmill.
3. — Wei-ch'i, by Z. Volpicelli.

The delay in publishing the papers read during the year, besides a valuable paper received from A. von Rosthorn on the Salt Administration in Szechuan, is explained by the fact that the Council have desired to give precedence to a very long and bulky series of papers which require most careful revision in the press,—the papers received from all provinces on Inland Communications in China. Such a preference is justified, because the series is a most important one, throwing great light on an interesting subject which one may say is of great present and future value, because the contemporary history of all other countries has taught us that railways always follow in the main lines the roads already employed for thousands of years by men, pack-horses and vehicles. This useful collection, which Mr. Kingsmill has kindly undertaken to see through the press, will be prefaced by a lucid introduction by the same gentleman which will greatly assist the reader in grasping the general features of the question worked out in detail by many different papers.

5. — *Library.* — During the year a slow but valuable work has been going on, the compilation of a new catalogue. The Council feel it a duty to point out the debt the Society owes to its Hon. Librarian for the patience and assiduity he has shown in this work, the fruits of which will only be apparent to all when the new catalogue is published; it will then be seen how many new volumes have been catalogued and how necessary it was to adopt a new method of arrangement.

6. — *Museum.* — There is no report from the Hon. Curator for this year, because during almost the whole period the Museum has been
closed. This measure was rendered necessary by the discharge of
the Taxidermist in the expectation that a Paid Curator would
shortly be put in charge of the Museum. During the whole period
under review the Council has been in correspondence with a
Taxidermist in Australia, highly recommended by Mr. Carl Bock
and other authorities, and it was led to expect that the Naturalist
would arrive in Shanghai at the beginning of 1893. Unexpected
circumstances, amongst which was the financial crisis in Australia,
rendering it difficult for the gentleman in question to liquidate his
affairs, have delayed his arrival, and the present Council being at
the end of its term of office did not think it advisable to settle the
question by sending him an ultimatum. It is, however, a question
which the future Council will have to settle at once.
# BALANCE SHEET

For the year ended April 30th, 1893.

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<td><strong>EXPENDITURE.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>By Printing and Binding Journals</td>
<td>314</td>
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<td>Postage and Carriage of Parcels</td>
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<td>Stationery</td>
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<td>Advertising</td>
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<td>Taxes</td>
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<td>Insurance</td>
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<td>Coals and Gas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Repairs and Gas Fittings</td>
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<td>Shroffs for Collecting</td>
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<td>Balance in hand</td>
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<td><strong>Total Expenditure</strong></td>
<td>789</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, April 30th, 1893.

Compared with Vouchers and found correct,

A. W. DANFORTH.

J. P. DONOVAN.

THOMAS BROWN,
### Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Tls</th>
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<tr>
<td>To Balance from last account</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grant from the English Municipality</td>
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**Total Income:** Taels 1,678 82

### Expenditure

<table>
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<tr>
<td>By Wages of Taxidermist and Coolie</td>
<td>104</td>
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<td>Stationery</td>
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<td>Cork Mounting Boards</td>
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<td>Interest on Loan from the Recreation Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balance in hand</td>
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<td>62</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Total Expenditure:** Taels 1,678 82

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**E. & O. E.**

**Shanghai, April 30th, 1893.**

*Compared with Vouchers and found correct,*

A. W. Danforth.

J. P. Donovan.

**Thomas Brown,**

Shanghai, 16th May 1898.

Gentlemen,

My report for the past year is only a short one. The Council having decided that a new catalogue of our Library should be published, your Librarian was during the tenure of the second year of his office busily engaged in arranging and classifying the Library, a task not easily and speedily performed if you take into consideration that there are about 2,000 numbers comprising nearly 20,000 volumes.

The catalogue will soon be in the press, and I hope the same will be published in the course of this year.

As I stated in my last year's report, the books referring more especially to Natural History have been separated from the Library and handed over to the Museum Branch. It affords me special pleasure to inform you that this part of the Library is as extensive and up to the last researches of Natural History as an expert could desire. It requires now only to be classified and catalogued.

In view of the approaching festivity of the Shanghai Jubilee year, the Council might take into consideration the advisability of our handing over the Museum with the Library attached thereto, to the Municipal Council in particular and to the Shanghai Public in general.

Another part of our Library forms the books which do not deal with subjects on China or the Far East. The catalogues of these sections will appear later on.

It is highly gratifying to note the very lively interest Societies abroad take in our working and in our publications. Over fifty of such Societies are exchanging with us their publications; Part F. "Transactions of Learned Societies and Periodical Publications" forms the most important part of our Library.
Again I have to express my regret that we find less sympathy with authors on Chinese subjects, who very rarely think of presenting to our Library a copy of their publications.

Concerning the working of the Library, the number of books which were lent out in the course of last year amounted only to 320. The rule V., *viz.* "Works of reference and certain rare and valuable books are not to be taken out of the Library building," was strictly enforced.

A classified index to the articles published in our Journals from the foundation of the Society to the end of 1892 will also soon appear.

I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HAAS,

*Hon. Librarian.*

To the President

and Members of the Council

of the China Branch of the

Royal Asiatic Society.
MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AT A GENERAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY, MUSEUM ROAD, SHANGHAI, ON WEDNESDAY, 28TH DECEMBER 1892, AT 9 P.M.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the chair.

Mr. Hayashi, the Japanese Consul, and a number of his fellow-nationals were present.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that Mr. T. W. Kingsmill had consented to read abstracts from the papers on Inland Communications in China, sent to the Society, and extracts from a paper on the so-called Runes of the Upper Yenisei, read before the Canadian Institute by Professor Campbell of Montreal, with reference to the early connection of the Kitans with Japanese Buddhism.

Mr. Kingsmill then proceeded to read extracts from the paper on Inland Communications in China, which is printed in extenso at pp. 1-213 of this volume.

The Chairman remarked that he must take the opportunity of thanking those gentlemen who had assisted the Council by sending in replies to the queries set forth in the circular. He also wished to thank Mr. Kingsmill for the trouble he had taken in compiling the interesting paper which had been read to them. The papers would be of great service, and when printed would form as valuable a volume as any the Society had ever had. He quite understood that a summary like Mr. Kingsmill had read did not permit of any discussion or even of questions being usefully asked of the person who summarised them. He was therefore inclined to think that their simplest way would be to thank Mr. Kingsmill and those who had contributed the papers in the warmest manner, and to proceed to the other subject which Mr. Kingsmill had undertaken to bring before them that night.
Mr. Kingsmill then said that in a meeting of the Society held there in March last, Dr. Macgowan, who had just returned from a tour in the North of Asia, told them some stories with regard to certain inscriptions which occurred on the waters of the Upper Yenisei, and one of which it seemed he had seen himself. He described those remains as Runes, which led to a very interesting discussion, more especially as it was known that the regions about the upper waters of the Jaxartes had been peopled about the dawn of history by certain Gothic tribes, and it was supposed that these remains certainly found on the Yenisei were really allied with the Runic inscriptions so common in the Northern parts of Europe, and more especially in Scandinavia. He (Mr. Kingsmill) had found amongst the transactions of the Canadian Institute a highly interesting account of those inscriptions by Dr. John Campbell, Professor in the Presbyterian College of Montreal, portions of which he proceeded to read as follows:—

"A wonderfully interesting class of inscriptions, hardly known beyond scientific circles within the bounds of the Russian Empire, is that of the so-called runic monuments of Siberia, and notably of that part of it which is watered by the Yenisei and its tributaries. Several years ago, Mr. Youferoff, of the Imperial Geographical Society at St. Petersburg, made, from all available sources published and unpublished, a collection of trustworthy copies of these documents, which I have in my possession, translations of which will be found in my forthcoming book The Hittite Track in the East. But, in the winter of 1889, I had the satisfaction of receiving, from the Archaeological Society of Finland, a folio volume consisting of 52 pages of letterpress and 8 photographs of inscriptions. Of the first part, 17 pages are taken up with a historical account of the discovery of the monuments, illustrated with 14 well-executed engravings; the rest is a representation by the formulated syllabary of 32 complete documents awaiting the zeal of the epigrapher. Such a treasury of ancient Siberian lore never before lay open to the gaze of the historical explorer. The preface may be trusted to tell the tale of the book, which, I may say for the comfort of students, is written in French."
"The importance, for the archaeology and history of Central Asia, of the inscriptions discovered upon raised stones and upon the rocks of the Upper Yenisei, has given to the Archæological Society of Finland the thought of taking the initiative in collecting these inscriptions and in publishing them for scientific ends. Although the work of collection is not yet completed, the Society has been unwilling to deprive orientalists of the inscriptions already brought together by the expedition formed for this purpose. This will also explain the incomplete state in which this publication appears. At the time of the work's preparation, the need of possessing photographs taken directly from the inscriptions was deeply felt, for the squeezes made with prepared moist paper could only be made use of in the absence of anything better for the photographic reproduction of the inscriptions. For the same reason, in the text edited by Mr. J. R. Aspelin, State Archæologist, who took the initiative in collecting the inscriptions, and has taken part, as their chief, in the two expeditions, the writer has limited himself to speaking of the interest which the inscriptions have so far excited. After a first copy of the squeezes, a work in which Mr. Aspelin was able to take part prior to setting out upon the third expedition, Professor O. Donner has kindly undertaken to charge himself with the task of publishing these inscriptions. . . .

"Exceedingly valuable as is Mr. Aspelin's historical introduction, the most complete thing of its kind ever undertaken, its numerous details can hardly be of interest to the general student. The first inscription discovered was on an upright dressed stone, sixteen feet in height, two feet wide and a foot thick, found on the borders of the Ouibat, a tributary of the Abakan, by D. G. Messerschmidt in 1781. Messerschmidt, a young naturalist of Dantzig, was then making a tour of exploration in Siberia by order of Peter the Great. In the course of his travels, he feel in with Captain Tabbert, better known by his later title of nobility, Strahlenberg, and it is to the latter's work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia that the world is indebted for an account of Messerschmidt's labours. This work, containing
representations of a few other inscriptions, was published in 1790. Little more was effected in the field of Siberian written monuments till the end of the century, when the Empress Catherine II ordered search to be made for inscriptions, several of which were found and copied by Pallas in the editions of his Neues Nordische Beiträge. From 1818 onwards, George Spassky, Superintendent of Mines, betook himself seriously to the task of collecting these documents, new copies of which he published in the Siberian Messenger, and more lately and correctly in the Journal of the Imperial Geographical Society at St. Petersburg. Klaproth, Castren, and Prince Kostroff continued the work of exploration, but zeal finally died away; and, according to Mr. Aspelin, from 1860 to 1870 nothing at all was done to rescue the ancient records. Since 1870, Siberian studies have revived in the hands of Messrs. Popoff, Adrianoff, Potanin and other explorers, through the museum of Minouinsk, founded in 1874 by Martianoff; through the Russian Archaeological Commission and Geographical Society; and, far from least, through the Archaeological Society of Finland, and its indefatigable Director, Mr. Aspelin, whose published work brings the story of Siberian explorations almost to date.

"The Yeniseian, or, more generically, the Siberian, inscriptions are, with one obscure exception, that on a fragment of bronze plate supposed to have been a Chinese mirror, engraved upon stones and rocks, the latter almost always overhanging rivers or streams. They are written or unwritten, the first consisting of regular lines of apparently alphabetic characters, the second being pictographs differing little from those depicted in many parts of the American continent. To the pictorial class, which has no hieroglyphic connection whatsoever, the rock inscriptions chiefly belong; but innumerable stones scattered over the once habitable area of Siberia contain representations rudely executed of men and animals, of hunting and pastoral scenes. Acts of individual warfare are sometimes portrayed, and illustrations of copper cauldrons with human figures dancing round them are supposed to connect with northern magic. A finer kind of sculpture, sometimes intaglio, but oftener in bold relief approaching the statuesque,
appears generally in connection with the written character. When it represents the human features it was evidently intended as a portrait of the occupant of the grave mound over which the stone that bears it was originally reared. Some sepulchral stones are void of ornament; on others there are reindeer and other animal effigies; and on others the portrayed face is so barely and grotesquely human that it may be regarded as an object of idolatrous worship. The number of stones engraved with written characters, accompanied or unaccompanied with other ornamentation, is probably but little over forty, of which Mr. Aspelin figures thirty-two. It does not necessarily follow that all of these, whether found in a standing position or lying flat upon the surface of the ground, are sepulchral in character. Some contain Buddhist emblems, and, were I to anticipate the results of personal decipherment, it would appear that several of them are inscribed with proclamations relating to the worship of Gotama, which were probably engraved on portions of religious buildings that have fallen to decay.

"The Yenisei country is one of thick strewn mounds, mounds by no means so ambitious in size and variation of outline as many of those which are scattered over the Ohio and Mississippi valleys; but, in so far as they are sepulchral, of the same nature, the chambered tumulus of Asia being identical with that of America, even to its cinder layers, its log walls, and its birch bark coverings. The Russian archaeologists trace the continuity of the Siberian mounds and sculptures from the ancient Scythic region north of the Black Sea, through the Caucasus and the shores of the Caspian, onward to the Yenisei. Their conjectures as to the origin of the old civilisation these represent, and especially as to the derivation of the Siberian runes, have been numerous and varied. Much of Mr. Aspelin's introduction is taken up with the history of these diverse theories.

"The language of the inscriptions being a priori unknown, the history they record a blank, without the aid of a bilingual, however brief, no guess work, ever so brilliant, could lead the student to a consistent lexical and grammatical interpretation of them in a well-known oriental tongue. That tongue is the Japanese, in a dialect
varying but little from the written or literary speech of the present
day. The suggestions of Strahlenberg and other writers, that the
Siberian characters are related to those of the Sinaitic and Etruscan,
of the Parthian and Devanagari, inscriptions, and that they were
carried by the Kitan in a modified form into Corea, are justified by
the linguistic and historical facts which all of these documents
unfold, when the key that unlocks the door of long Siberian silence
is applied in turn to them.

"Literal translation of No. XX, according to M. Youferoff's
version:—

"Part I. Mekuba tobai: mito Metome: iku Mekuba
Mekuba's consort: king Metome: buries Mekuba.
Kado: mi: toji tachi: abatta ba ini doku buji tsuka
door: behold: shut stands: defended may malice injury
safe tomb.
Sagota Yobakame chijitashita: mo Shidzuta
Sagota Yobakame ruler under: even Shidzuta
Raba name Buda: bai to gukumomi
Raba people Budha: priest company learned
Keiku kuđatta
grand has committed.

"Part II. Ta: giri ga fuju
who: righteousness of bereft
toji tsuka: saido tojiku
closed tomb: a second time unclose3
yame tobai: mito Sagota tsu—
widow's consort: King Sagota's successor
gi: mito Shidzuta kubiri beku de
King Shidzuta hang should not.

"Freely: 'Mekuba buries king Metome, Mekuba's consort.
Behold: the door stands shut; may the tomb be kept free from
injury, Sagota's subordinate ruler of Yobakami, even Shidzuta, has
committed the guardianship to the learned company of Budha's
priests of the Raba people.
"He, who, bereft of righteousness; forces open the closed tomb, the consort of the widow, the successor of King Sagota, King Shidzuta, ought he not to hang?"

"The full text of over twenty Siberian inscriptions, including those under consideration, will be found in my forthcoming work *The Hittite Track in the East*, accompanied by an account of the discovery of the phonetic values of the characters, and ample grammatical notes. I have, however, thought it wise to forestall the information therein contained, by appending lexical and grammatical notes to the inscriptions dealt with in this paper, using for that purpose Dr. Hepburn's *Japanese Dictionary* and Mr. Aston's *Grammar of the Japanese Written Language*. As the writers of the Siberian character were really the most important element that subsequently, in their descendants, occupied the Japanese Islands, it almost necessarily follows that their history has a place in the Japanese annals, which, however, like most ancient documents dealing with the period of a nation's infancy, are silent concerning the story of migration, although Japanese writers are not wanting to derive their race from Northern India. For the history, therefore, I make use of Titsingh's translation of the *Nipon O Dai Itsi Ran*, or *Annals of the Emperors of Japan*. In *The Hittite Track in the East*, this history will be farther elucidated by chronologically anterior data furnished by Indian Buddhist inscriptions and native histories, and by materials contributed in the annals of the Chinese dynasties, and in the *San Koki Tsu Ran To Sets*, so far as it relates to the peninsula of Corea.

"The oldest and most important royal name in the inscriptions which have been under consideration is that of King Sagota. In other inscriptions, he and his successors are called Kings of the Kita in various divisions, such as the Raba-kita and the Yoba-kita. These are the Khitan of the Chinese historians, who are said to have occupied Northern China from before the middle of the tenth century until 1123 A.D. One of the earliest Khitan emperors of China, from whose dynastic title Marco Polo picked up the name Cathay, was She-King-Tang, the founder of the sub-dynasty of the How-Tsin in 936. His successor was Tse-wang or Chuh-Te, and
his, Le-Tsung-e, who is called a prince of How. She-King-Tang, a brave general and a wise administrator, adopted the name of Kaou-Tsoo. In more than one Siberian inscription, the successor of Sagota is called Dzuta or Shidzuta, a name sufficiently like that of Chuh-Te, the successor of Shi-King-Tang, to demand attention. The ancestry of Shekingtang or Sheketang is not given by the Chinese historians, who represent him as a man of low extraction, but his immediate predecessors were Mingtsung and his son Minte. It is very evident that the Leou, Hows, and Khitan, under Sheketang and Chuhute, are the people who, in the end of the fifth century, dwelt between the Obi and the Yenisei in Siberia; but Sheketang and Chuhute belong, according to the Chinese annals, to the first half of the tenth century. Yet the Khitan were in Liaou-Tung long before, for the historians of Corea state that they took possession of the northern part of that peninsula between 684 and 689, or 250 years earlier, although still 200 years later than the dated inscription of Sagato. The Khitan were strangers, invaders, and conquerors of China, whither they brought not only their customs, language, and religion, but also their annals, including the names of their former kings, Sagota and Dzuta. The Chinese historians, without question, copied the names of these and other kings, buried under Siberian tumuli, with some facts of their reigns, as if they had been rulers in the Celestial Empire, equally with their successors of four centuries later. There may, of course, have been a later Sagota with a son or successor Dzuta, named after those of Siberia, for the tendency of the Khitan is to repeat names of illustrious persons from generation to generation, but the probability is that these Siberian kings are the Chinese Sheketang and Chuhute of the Khitan.

A discussion took place in which Mr. C. H. Dallas and Mr. Hayashi discussed the probabilities of the identity of Genghis Khan with the Japanese hero Mianomoto, and Mr. von Möllendorff contested the idea that the Hittites were identical with the people who left these runic inscriptions.

The proceedings then terminated.
Minutes of Proceedings at a General Meeting held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Monday, 27th February 1893, at 9 p.m.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the chair. There was a large number of members and visitors present.

Mr. Z. N. Volpicelli read a Paper entitled "Early Portuguese Commerce and Settlements in China."

The Lecturer commenced by remarking that the early Portuguese settlements in China form an interesting study, as they mark the farthest advance of that European nation which led the way in the continuous movement of colonial and commercial expansion which has been going on for the last four hundred years, and which forms such an important factor in the modern history of the world. The cause of Portuguese expansion he ascribed to her geographical position in the West of Europe, pointing out that the other nations which had formed or attempted to form colonial empires—England, Spain, Holland, and France—were all similarly situated, but at the same time there was a difference in the origin of the Portuguese colonial empire compared with that of other nations. The others, even when most successful, as in the case of England, had expanded unconsciously, either seizing opportunities which presented themselves or being driven to conquest by circumstances: they had never carried out a plan elaborated for years and persevered in against every discouragement and difficulty, though with the certainty that immense wealth would be the reward of success. Portugal started with a clear plan, though fraught with many difficulties,—the discovery of a new trade route, which she saw must give her for a long time the monopoly of Eastern commerce. This was a new departure in history. Hitherto all the products of further Asia had been brought to the European markets through the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the wealth and prosperity of the Italian maritime cities during the Middle Ages was owing to their monopoly
of the carrying trade of these products in the Mediterranean. The
genius of Prince Henry the Navigator inspired him with the
broad plan of reaching India by direct sea-route round Africa, thus
securing for Portugal not only the monopoly enjoyed by the
Italians in the Mediterranean, but also that of the Arabs and
Indians in the Indian Ocean. To this purpose nearly a century
of unceasing exertion was sacrificed. Slowly but unceasingly they
crept along the African coast, until at last the end of the continent
was reached, and in 1486 the Cape of Good Hope was doubled.
The curious alliance which the zeal of Portuguese explorers
brought about between their own country and Abyssinia having
been noticed,—the Lecturer remarking that he drew attention to
it in a series of articles in the Italian papers about three years
ago,—he proceeded to trace the rapid growth of Portuguese
influence which reached Malacca in 1509, and in 1516 Cochin-
China and Siam. The Portuguese were too flushed by success to
care for casual losses incurred by local hostility, and too well trained
by their trials of a century to fear any enemy they might encounter,
and they continued their explorations and mercantile adventures.
Their possession of Malacca, which was thoroughly conquered by
Dalboquerque in 1511, at once opened up relations with China,
both private and public. The sagacity of Dalboquerque arranged
matters in such a way that the first reports about the Portuguese
in China should be of the most favourable description; they had
shown great valour against their powerful enemies, and a generosity
towards weak strangers which must have seemed extraordinary
to the Chinese accustomed to the violence and hostility of the
Malays. Events that followed soon proved the wisdom of Dalbo-
querque's conduct. When the Portuguese took Malacca, the king
fled to the kingdom of Pão and sent an ambassador to the Court
of Peking asking for succour from China on account of the
sincere friendship between the two countries. The fall of Malacca,
then the great commercial port of the East, had caused an immense
sensation throughout all the neighbouring States, so that when the
ambassador reached Peking, after a long journey overland from
Canton, he was subjected to long questioning about the Portuguese,
their great Viceroy, and their mode of fighting. He was able to give a full account of the whole war, as he had been an eye-witness; but all his eloquence in describing the affronts his master had received from the Captain of the King of Portugal was insufficient to obtain an army and fleet to reinstate his sovereign. The Emperor of China determined to keep on good terms with the Portuguese, because they had treated his merchants kindly, and intended to allow them to trade in Malacca. As time went on the intercourse between the Portuguese and Chinese in China became of the most friendly nature, and would have continued but for the inconsiderate actions of men whose conduct destroyed all the good effects of the policy of Dalboquerque. In 1518 Simião de Andrade arrived at Tomao, and the end of his conduct was that the Chinese fleet blockaded the Portuguese force, and would have starved them into submission if a gale had not enabled the latter to run the blockade in 1521. The bad conduct of this official ruined negotiations which if carried out would have obtained official sanction from the Emperor to trade between China and Portugal.

After narrating the nature of the negotiations which the representatives of Portugal sought to carry through at Peking, the Lecturer said that the bad conduct of Simião de Andrade at Tomao and the sea-fights which ensued did not prevent Portuguese vessels from frequenting it at a later date. The Portuguese were impelled to open settlements at Chinchew and Ningpo. They did this not only from the desire to open new channels of trade, but also to remove at such a distance from Tomao that they should not be affected by the reports of the past misconduct of their own countrymen. The principal trading stations at that time were three—in the South, successively Tomao, Lampacao, Macao; in the north Liamo (Ningpo); and about half-way between them, Chinchew.

The remainder of the paper was occupied with a description of life as it was in China, and an attempt to show that although more than three centuries had passed yet many things were unchanged. The principal authority discussed was
F. M. Pinto, whose reputation for veracity was described as very bad. On the ground that even works of fiction are often of some historical value, as they show the current of thought of the time, the Lecturer went carefully through the extraordinary story of Pinto, teeming as it did with tales of piracy, land and sea-fights, and adventures romantic to a degree. Pinto describes the settlement of Liampo (Ningpo) in glowing terms. He says there were 3,000 people in it, among which were 1,200 Portuguese; that 800 were married to Portuguese and half-caste wives, that there were more than 1,000 houses, some of which cost 3,000 or 4,000 cruzeiros, and seven or eight churches; two hospitals, on which they spent every year 30,000 cruzeiros. Japan had only been discovered two years, and Liampo monopolised the trade with that country, which was very profitable, in fact money employed in it was doubled three or four times over. He estimates the trade at three millions of gold. A regular administration was established, and he gives the titles of a lot of officials. The Portuguese were so independent that Pinto is astonished, and remarks that the public scriveners in their acts used to write “And I, so-and-so, Public Notary in this city of Liampo, in the name of the King, our Lord,” just as if they were living between Santarem and Lisbon. If Pinto’s description is correct, Liampo must have been the Shanghai of the sixteenth century. In fact he says it was considered a nobler and more wealthy place than any in India or all Asia. Now all this, according to him, was wiped out by the Chinese in five hours. But it is strange that although he says he was an eye-witness of the disastrous end of this flourishing place, and he describes minutely so many other of his personal adventures, he gives us no particulars of what he was doing on that occasion. It is only more than fifteen years after that time, while he is describing the flourishing state of Macao, that he reverts to the subject as a moral lesson to those who might feel too confident in their new settlement at Macao.

In conclusion the Lecturer said:—Though we cannot believe that F. M. Pinto was present at the burning of the Portuguese settlement at Liampo, nor accept his version of it, yet it looks likely
that there may be some kernel of truth in it. Da Cruz says that a fleet was sent in 1548 to drive away the Portuguese, and probably later on they achieved their purpose; it was quite sufficient to stop trade to render the place an undesirable residence to the merchants, and we may believe that though there was some bloodshed, no such carnage took place as Pinto wishes us to believe. As we know that the mandarins agreed to concentrate foreign trade in 1554 at Lampacao, and in 1557 at Macao, it is probable that the Portuguese were driven away from Liampo and Chinchew some time before these dates. Such events would cause sensation among the traders and adventurers of the Far East, and F. M. Pinto felt probably that he must be present at such an important event, and therefore assigns it to the year 1542. When he was so long at Liampo, it would not do for him to miss such an adventure, and he worked up a dramatic description of the catastrophe. The adventures of F. M. Pinto, marvellous as some of them are, must be considered to have generally a small substratum of truth, and to be based if not on what he saw or did on what he heard others had seen or done. Taken in such a light he gives us a picturesque view of the life of those times, and if we reflect we shall find that in most cases we can find a modern parallel to all he describes. Even the last mad enterprise of A. de Faria, which cost him his life—his expedition to rifle the tombs of the Emperor of China—has something to match it in our times, for not many years ago here in Shanghai, at the instigation of pious missionaries, with the assistance of princely hongs, Oppert fitted out his expedition to rob the tombs of the Kings of Corea.

Minutes of Proceedings at a General Meeting held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Wednesday, 26th April 1893, at 9 p.m.

Mr. N. J. HANNEN, who presided, announced that the only business to transact, before calling upon the Lecturer, was to announce that Mr. Schomberg had been elected a member.
Mr. Z. H. Volpicelli delivered a lecture on "Arab Trade in China during the T'ang Dynasty" (9th century), with an account of the country as given by those early travellers.

The Lecturer, speaking extemporaneously, reminded his audience that a short time ago he gave an account of the early Portuguese traders in China, and he now proposed to go back and speak of a much earlier period, when the Arabs traded with China. We were apt sometimes to think that we were almost the first who had been in China, just as we sometimes thought when we came across a fact unknown to us, that we were the first to discover it. The first proofs of Arab trade with China dated back to the 5th century, the principal port from which it was conducted being on the Euphrates at a point now no longer navigable. Afterwards the starting-point of Arabian trade shifted successively to Basrah, Al Siraf, and later on toOrmuz. The trade eastwards rapidly extended, and the accounts we had of the trade in the 9th century were from an interesting manuscript in two parts, which was translated by the Abbé Eusebins Renandot in 1718. It was a fairly good translation, but, as the manuscript could not be found for a long time, people began to doubt its existence, until it was discovered some fifty years later: another translation was compiled in 1845 by Reinaud. Of the first part of the manuscript we could not tell the author, but the second part we knew was written by Abu Zeid Hassan of Siraf. The Lecturer then proceeded to endeavour to locate the ports of call mentioned in the manuscript, contending that if attention were paid to the statements as to the time occupied in passing from one to the other, we could gain a very fair idea of their approximate positions. The ports of call extended along to Cochin-China and then northwards, and he thought they might identify Khanfu, the great Arabic trade port in China, with Hangchow Fu. The travellers give a very detailed account of China, as well as of India and the islands of the South Indian Archipelago. The first author, speaking of the climate of China, says it is very good and far healthier than India. The country is more populous, and whilst he found many desolate places in India he did not notice the same in China. He speaks of
the large rivers, and the moisture of the climate, matters which would naturally strike a native of the dry atmosphere of Arabia. He says the people are very fine-looking, and very white, an impression which the traveller might have formed as a result of his wanderings amongst the darker natives of India. The dress of the Chinese he describes as being silk, both the poor and rich being clothed in that material, and he was very much struck by the number of articles of clothing they wore. He says that the people wore five or more dresses; that they were a black-haired race—in fact the darkest haired race in the world; the men let their hair grow long, and did not wear turbans; the women did not wear any head-covering, but they usually indulged in a number of combs, and he had seen as many as twenty. Like a good Arabian the writer regrets the absence of palm-trees, and he mentions the absence of lions and elephants, and considers the Chinese horses superior to those of India. There were two hundred principal cities, each having many smaller ones administratively dependent on them. The cities, he says, have generally four gates, and he makes some curious remarks upon the cities, stating that each gate is provided with five large trumpets, which are blown day and night to announce the hour. The peculiar construction of the houses is remarked upon. They are of wood or bamboo and, on account of the frequency of fires, have no steps or staircases, so that the contents can be easily removed. The houses are also furnished with boxes on wheels, and when a fire breaks out the household articles are put into them and they are run out of the house. The food of the people consists largely of rice, but not exclusively. They have no wines, but they make a spirit from rice, which of course is what we know as samshu. The people, he further says, eat all kinds of animals, and also those which had died. The writer is one of the few mediæval writers who mentions tea, and describes the plant. He notices that the people are not very clean, and says they never perform any of the ablutions of the Mohammedans. The marriage customs strike him as peculiar, and he speaks of the noise made by the beating of drums and musical instruments during the ceremony. Speaking of the burial customs
he remarks upon the long time they keep the corpses, and notices the extraordinary care they have in performing the funeral rites, and the long time of mourning, which is generally three years. He adds—but perhaps it is a slight exaggeration—that those who do not grieve constantly for the loss of their parents are bambooed. Polygamy is practised, and he says that the expenses incurred over funerals frequently ruin people. The great skill of the Chinese as workmen is spoken of, and he goes so far as to say they are the most skilful people on earth. He says that when any workman accomplishes a new kind of work, which he thinks worthy of consideration, he presents it to the king (or governor) and the work is exhibited for a certain period. If nobody can find fault with it, the workman is rewarded, and he is entered in the corporation of artists. As an instance the writer says that a workman executed a most beautiful piece of embroidery, representing a bird resting on some corn. It was put on exhibition and admired for some time, until a hunchbacked man came to see it and began laughing. Asked the reason of his merriment he said that everybody must know that if even the smallest bird rest on an ear of corn it would bend, but here the corn was quite straight. The criticism was found to be just, and the workman received no reward. Nearly everybody could read and write, and there were public schools where the people gained instruction. The peculiar coins are described, and he says they are strung on strings in bundles of a thousand, with a knot tied at every hundred, to facilitate counting. When a man cannot pay his debts, all his property is seized for the benefit of his creditors, and all debtors have to pay what they owe the man. If the bankrupt reveals all his belongings, and is found not to have concealed anything, or to have handed over any property to others for keeping, he is released, but if he is discovered acting fraudulently he is punished by death. Describing the punishments of the Chinese, he says that they have a peculiar one, which consists in fastening the hands and feet behind the culprit's back, so that he becomes very much like a ball. He is then rolled about until his joints are dislocated, after which he is bambooed and left to die. The fondness for gambling is a peculiar characteristic, but the
people are generally sober: they have little or no knowledge of science, and their mode of medicine is principally cauterisation. The Emperor lives in seclusion, only going out every ten months, the reason being that he thinks respect is gained by fear and mystery. When the officials go out they are preceded by men beating pieces of wood, which is a sign to the people to retire into their houses. The administration of justice is carried on by written statements, and he describes its working. The only taxation is by a poll-tax, every man on attaining the age of 18 being liable. When a man reaches 80 years of age not only is he exempt from further taxation but he receives a small allowance from the Treasury, as a matter of right. The Arab merchants in Khanfu (which, as already mentioned, the Lecturer argued was Hangchow Fu) were allowed to have their own judge and composed a self-governing body. This was the account given by the first author. The second writer mentions that in the year of the Hegira 264 (A.D. 877) this happy state of things had been changed by a great rebellion which had broken out. The rebels rapidly gained aid and, attacking Khanfu, destroyed the mulberry trees, and caused a scarcity of silk in the district. The Emperor fled to Chengtu, but with the help of the Tartars, returned and crushed the rebellion. The carnage at Khanfu when it was destroyed is described as very great, some 120,000 persons being put to the sword. In concluding, the Lecturer pointed out that the greater part of what this Arabian author had written on the subject corresponded with the Chinese accounts of the insurrection of Hwang Ch'ao of the T'ang dynasty. This gave good grounds for believing all the rest. He thought the records he had spoken of might be regarded as having really wonderful accuracy. He hoped to be able to give a translation of the author, for although the existing translation was a good one yet it might be improved.

Mr. Kingsmill was inclined to differ with some conclusions the Lecturer had come to with regard to the identity of some of the places mentioned. At the time of which the Lecturer had been speaking Hangchow as a port might be regarded as non-existent, and he himself inclined to the belief that Khanfu corresponded with Canton.
Mr. Volpicielll replied that Canton was mentioned by other Arabian authors, who gave it another name, and he did not think the distances mentioned in the manuscript of which he had been speaking would agree with Mr. Kingsmill's contention. He also pointed out that according to the second Arab author the siege of Khanfu took place in the year 264 of the Hegira, which commenced on the 18th September 877 (N.S.) and would extend far into 878; and the Chinese historians mentioned the taking of Hangchow by the rebel Hwang Ch'ao in the 8th moon of the 5th year of Hsi Tsung (A.D. 878). This chronological agreement was strong proof of the identity of Khanfu and Hangchow.

Mr. Playfair remarked that one argument in favour of Hangchow being Khanfu was that at one time it was the capital of the empire, whereas there was no record of Canton being the capital.

Mr. James Scott added that at the present time there was a large Mahommedan community in Canton, which had kept itself quite distinct. Within the last few years the better class Mahommedans had taken them up and were endeavouring to raise their status.

The proceedings then terminated.
Minutes of Proceedings at the Annual Meeting held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, on Thursday, 28th June 1894, at 9 p.m.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the chair.

The Chairman, in proposing the adoption of the reports and accounts, congratulated the Branch upon being in a better financial position than last year. The credit balance at present was Tls. 423, and at the beginning of the year it was Tls. 132.91. The balance in the hands of the Treasurer on account of the Museum was Tls. 707, but there was a debt on the Museum of Tls. 500, so that in reality there was only Tls. 207 at credit. The Museum having been placed in a better position than it had been for some time, and being looked after by someone who took an interest in it, would be able to show good work, and it was hoped that the Municipal Council would grant Tls. 1,000, instead of Tls. 500, as they did one year, and that the Museum would thus be worthy of the Settlement and the Branch.

Mr. Volpicelli seconded the various reports and accounts, which were unanimously adopted. They were as follows:

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1893-4.

1.—Council.—The following members of Council and office-bearers were elected at the annual meeting held in 1892 under the presidency of Chief Justice N. J. Hannen:

President:—N. J. Hannen.

Vice-Presidents:—P. G. von Möllendorff and Dr. J. Edkins.

COUNCIL'S REPORT.

Councillors:—T. W. Kingsmill, James Scott, John Macgregor and Dr. Franke.

During the course of the year several changes have taken place. The Council had the misfortune of losing one of its members, the much-regretted Mr. Macgregor. In his place was elected Dr. Faber, who has rendered so many services to sinology in general and to our Society especially. The Hon. Curator, Mr. Jansen, having repeatedly declared his inability to give sufficient time to the Museum, the Council with great regret had to appoint a successor. It was fortunate in securing the assistance of Mr. Vosy-Bourbon, whose zeal and assiduity have already done much for the Museum.

2.—Members:—Twenty-one new members were elected during the year, and only a few names of members, from whom nothing had been heard for a long time, were struck off the list.

3.—Meetings:—In the course of the year four public meetings were held, and the following papers read:—

Popular Lecture on the Oriental Congress, by Dr. Edkins.
Stray Notes on Corean History and Literature, by J. Scott.
Prehistoric Archaeology, by Dr. Edkins.
Synopsis of How to Awaken Faith in the Mahayama School, by the Rev. Timothy Richard.

4.—Journal:—Part II of Vol. XXVI has been published in the year under review and Part III is already printed and will shortly appear. It is well to call attention to the Index of the Society's Publications, compiled and brought up to date by the Hon. Librarian, Mr. von Haas. It forms a valuable portion of Part II and will be found of great assistance to all who wish to refer to the many subjects which have been treated by our Society since its foundation.

5.—Officers' Reports:—The Hon. Librarian has been unable to present his yearly report for the annual meeting, owing to his sudden departure for the capital and to the length of time required for the report this year, as Mr. von Haas after much painstaking labour has completed the new Catalogue of the Society's Library, which will appear in Part III. The Hon. Curator of the Museum
gives a full and detailed account of the state of that institution and of the necessary improvements it requires. The Hon. Treasurer's report is very satisfactory; under his able management the finances of the Society continue in a flourishing condition.

Z. Volpicelli,
Hon. Secretary.

Shanghai, 20th June 1894.
Hon. Treasurer's Report.

I have the honour to present my audited accounts for the year ended 30th April 1894. The balance to the credit of the Society is Tls. 423.33. The amount received from the sales of the Society's Journals shows a satisfactory increase. The expenditure under the heading of "Additions to the Library" is made up chiefly by the cost of binding some 400 volumes.

The Museum.—The usual grants have been received from the English and French Municipal Councils. The loan from the Recreation Fund has been reduced by Tls. 1,000. The balance at the credit of the Museum now is Tls. 707.83.

Thomas Brown,
Hon. Treas.
THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Dr.

For the year ended April 30th, 1894.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Tls</th>
<th>cts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Balance from 1893</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>91</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Subscriptions from Members</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Rent of Hall, etc.</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Sales of the Society’s Journals</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Interest received from the Bank</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>99</td>
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<td>&quot; Exchange Account</td>
<td>1</td>
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| Taels | 1,281 | 43  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Tls</th>
<th>cts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Printing and Binding Journals</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Postages</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>&quot; Stationery</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>&quot; Advertising</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>71</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Additions to Library and Binding</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>01</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Native and Municipal Taxes</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Insurance</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>&quot; Wages</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>89</td>
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<td>&quot; Coals and Gas</td>
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<td>00</td>
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<td>&quot; Repairs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>&quot; Shroffs for Collecting</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Balance</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Taels | 1,281 | 43  |

E. & O. E.

Shanghai, April 30th, 1894.

Compared with Vouchers and found correct,

A. W. DANFORTH.

J. P. DONOVAN.

THOMAS BROWN,
THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM.

For the year ending April 30th, 1894.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Dr.</th>
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<th>Cr.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Balance from 1893</td>
<td>1,481</td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Grant from the Municipal Council</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Donation from the Municipalité Française</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tael 2,081</td>
<td>62</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Wages</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Chemicals, etc., for Specimens</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Advertising</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Furniture</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Books purchased for Natural History Library</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Interest paid to the Recreation Fund on Loan</td>
<td>Tls. 1,500</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Part Payment of Loan of Tls. 1,500</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Interest on Tls. 1,000 from January 1st to June 6th, 1894</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Rent</td>
<td>150</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Balance in the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tael 2,081</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, April 30th, 1894.

THOMAS BROWN,

Audited and found correct,

A. W. DANFORTH.

J. P. DONOVAN.
The length of time elapsed since the resignation of my valuable predecessor, has deeply affected the Museum, and its difficulties are not yet removed. All our efforts to get out a taxidermist from Australia or from Japan have proved ineffectual, and the only way left open to us with our small resources is to train a Chinese; this is at the same time the most practical plan, as we could send him more easily to collect in the country.

In any case such a man is necessary for the routine work of preserving the collection; the scientific supervision alone is heavily taxing the spare time of an honorary officer, and certainly a paid curator will be indispensable if there is any success in the projected extension.

But this seems distant, as the interest in the Museum has been very weak in the last year, recent accessions being very few indeed. The contributors therefore deserve the more to be mentioned. We can name Messrs. W. Lay (Chinkiang) and Douglas Jones (Shanghai) who have sent on several occasions what they thought interesting for us, also Messrs. Starkey, G. Corner, W. Mesny, etc. etc.

We hope, however, that our programme of technologic collection will be favourably received and attended to.

The damages done to the collections by insects are considerable and now quite apparent, as the warm and wet weather accelerated the hatching of the eggs, and this could not be checked in time in the absence of a skilled caretaker. The Mammals specially have much suffered from tinea pullucida and anthrenus lepidus which rendered half the specimens useless. The groups of herons also have been attacked.

Since I took charge in January, a catalogue of birds has been prepared, and we are adding now the Chinese names, which is a laborious task. After clearing the worst, we are left still with 493 specimens, representing 245 species, but very few duplicates.
The good collection of butterflies has been revised and about 750 specimens (representing 22 species new for the Museum) were added by purchase or exchange.

As soon as possible all the labels will be renewed, but in the majority of cases it is a pity that the names of donor and locality were lost or never affixed. This is a point much commented on in the visitors’ book, and indeed it is concealing the value of numerous specimens.

Another complaint of anyone interested in the institution is the absence of the most elementary reference books, which makes the specifications impossible in many cases, but this means a considerable amount of money.

If we are supported by the public in the proportion to our usefulness, we hope to present next year a better situation.

H. Vosy-Bourbon,
Hon. Curator.

Shanghai, 19th June 1894.
HON. LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

Shanghai, 15th June 1894.

Gentlemen,

In my last report I had the honour to submit to you concerning the working of our Library during the year 1892-93. I announced that a new Catalogue was in course of publication.

This Catalogue has meanwhile been distributed among the members. It comprises only publications referring directly or indirectly to the Far East, which numbered, up to 31st December 1893, 1,325 various books, besides 67 Chinese and 3 Manchurian works.

I beg to enclose a list of Addenda which came in during the course of this year, and which, considering they are donations, I am glad to say represent a higher number than ever achieved previously.

I hope in the course of this year to have arranged the Library of our Museum, and to have then a separate Catalogue of it printed.

I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HAAS,
Hon. Librarian.

To the President and Members of the Council of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
ADDENDA.

C. V.
1326. 9.—Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Abaque Chinois et sur la dérivation des anciennes Fiches à calcul par A. Vissière. 
Extrait du Bulletin de Géographie, 1892. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1892, ppt. 8vo (28 pag.)

E. II. d. 2.

E. VI. b. 4. a.

E. VI. b. 6.
1329. 3.—Note Historique sur les diverses espèces de Monnaie qui ont été usitées en Corée par M. Maurice Courant, 

E. VIII.
1330. 53.—Charles Lowe's Catalogue of Books, etc. Birmingham, 8vo.

Catalogue mensuel, 8vo. 
No. 70, 74-76. 1894.

1332. 55.—Karl W. Hirsemann, Buchhändler und Antiquar. 
Bibliographie. 1894.
F. I. e.  
1883. 8.—R. Istituto Orientale in Napoli.  
L'Oriente. Rivista Trimestrale.  
Anno I. No. 1. 1 Gennajo, 1894.

F. I. h.  
1884. 4.—West Siberian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. St. Petersburg.  
Report for the year 1883. (In Russian), ppt. 8vo.

C. II.  
1835. 87.—Lehrbegriff des Confucius nach 論語,大學,中庸, von Ernst Faber. Hongkong, Ch. Gaupp & Co, 1874, 8vo.

C. IV.  

C. VI.  


E. II. d. II.  
E. IV.


E. VI. B. 4. a.

1341. 167.—Modern China: thirty-one short Essays on subjects which illustrate the present condition of the country. By Joseph Edkins, D.D. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1891, ppt. 8vo (55 pag.)

E. VIII.

1342. 56.—Asher & Co., London.

Cirenlars of Books on sale.

F. I. e.

1343. 9.—Società Asiatica Italiana. Firenze.

Giornale.

Volume Primo. 1887.

F. I. h.

1344. 5.—Société des Naturalistes de la Nouvelle Russie. Odessa.

Mémoires. Tom. XVIII, No. 1.

Section Mathématique:

Mémoires. Tom. XV.

F. II. a.


Memoirs, 4to. Volume VI. 1893.

F. III. a.

1346. 20.—Liceo Científico, Artístico y Literario de Manila Revista. Año III, No. 4, 18 Setiembre 1881.


1347. 29.—A Chinese-English Dictionary by Herbert A. Giles, bound in 3 vols. London, Bernard Quaritch; Shanghai....

Kelly & Walsh, Lim., 1892, 4to.

Part I.—A to Hu.

Part II.—Hu to Shun.

Part III.—Shun to Yün,
E. VIII.
1348. 57.—1894. Asia. A catalogue of Books (ancient and modern) relating to British India, Central Asia, China, Japan,...etc. including books on History, Geography....
Offered by Francis Edwards, Bookseller. London, sm. 8vo (36 pag.)

Shanghai, 1894, sm. 8vo.

C. III.
1350. 18.—L’Industrie de la Soie en France par M. Natalis Rondot.
Lyon, Mougin-Rusand, 1894, 8vo.

D. II. A.
1351. 24.—Anecdotes, Historiettes et Bons Mots, en Chinois parlé, publié pour la première fois avec une traduction française et des notes explicatives par Camille Imbault-Huart. Péking, Typographie du Pei-t’ang; Paris, E. Leroux; 1882, 12mo.

D. II. B.

E. II. D. 2.
1353. 27.—Le Royaume de l’Eléphant Blanc, quatorze mois au pays et à la cour du Roi de Siam par Charles Bock.
Traduction française par André Tissot. Tours, Alfred Mame et fils, 1889, 8vo.

E. VI. b. 3.
ADDENDA.

E. VI. b. 4. a.


1357. 170.—Le Pays de Hami ou Khamil ; description et histoire d'après les auteurs chinois par M. C. Imbault-Huart. (*Extrait du Bulletin des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*) (*Section de Géographie, année 1892*). Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1892, ppt. 8vo (74 pag.)


1359. 172.—*Variétés Sinologiques No. 5.*—Pratique des Examens Littéraires en Chine par le P. Etienne Zi (Siu), S.J. Chang-haï, *Mission catholique, 1894, 8vo.*

1360. 31.—The Eastern Bimetallic League, 1894.
A Bimetallic League in Shanghai.

E. VI. b. 6.

F. I. c.

   Anno IX. Maggio-Luglio. Fasc. V-VII.

1363. 9.—R. Istituto Orientale in Napoli.
   L’Oriente. Revista Trimestrale. 8vo.
   Anno I, No. 2. Aprile, 1894.

F. II.

1364. 23.—Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. New York. Annual Report. 8vo.
   Thirty-fifth. May 26th, 1894.

1365. 24.—Geographical Society of California, San Francisco, Bulletin. 8vo.
   Volume II. Double Number. May, 1894.
   Special Bulletin. Did the Phœnicians discover America?
   A paper by Thomas Crawford Johnston, Esq. 1892.

F. III. c.

1366. 42.—Prospetto delle ricoverate e delle opere di carità esercitate nello Stabilimento delle Figlie della Carità Conossiane in Han-kow (Hu-pe) China 1892. Bergamo, Cattaneo, 1893. 4to.

CHINESE WORKS.

C. 68. 玩索聖史 ...... 3 vol.
   Studies in the Old Testament. 1892.
   By Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol.

C. 69. 馬可講義 ...... 5 vols.
   Markus. 1874.
   By Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol.

C. 70. 自西祖東 ...... 5 vols.
   Civilisation. 1893.
   By Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol.
Upon the proposition of Mr. Donovan, seconded by Dr. Fryer, the officers for the year were chosen as under:—President, Mr. N. J. Hannen; Vice-Presidents, Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff and Dr. Edkins; Hon. Secretary, Mr. Z. Volpicelli; Hon. Librarian, J. Ritter von Haas; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Thomas Brown; Hon. Curator of Museum, M. Vosy-Bourbon; Councillors, Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Dr. Faber, Dr. O. Franke, and Mr. James Scott.

This concluded the business of the Annual Meeting, and Dr. Edkins then proceeded to read his paper on The Oriental Congress, as follows:—

The theatre of the London University in Burlington House was chosen for the larger meetings of the Ninth International Congress of September 1892. The sectional meetings were held in adjoining rooms which at other times are usually occupied by various learned Societies. They were accessible, some of them, by way of Regent Street and some from Piccadilly. There would be about two hundred delegates and members present to hear the opening address of Professor Max Müller at 11 o'clock on 5th September. He is in vigorous health, is 69 years of age, and is in great honour for his learning, ability, industry, and animation of style. In his address he said that the languages of the Aryan stock in India and Europe could be considered finished at about B.C. 2000, and had then a metrical form. He considers that the mother-tongue of these languages, the Proto-Aryan, as he calls it, may be referred to some such date as B.C. 10,000, somewhere in Asia. Some features of it we know may be as old as that. The discoverers of that mother-tongue
deserve our gratitude as much as Columbus and his companions do for the discovery of the New World.

In speaking of the Aryans, the Egyptians, and the Semites in their mutual relations, the orator took pains to show that they should not be regarded as growing up in a state of isolation. The art of writing connected them. China was on the other hand a perfectly isolated country. The people have always been different from their neighbours in thought, in language, and in writing. China has been a perfectly isolated country, and has been inhabited by a peculiar people.

Professor Max Müller carried out the same idea when speaking of India before the invasion of Alexander the Great. India grew up in isolation and developed her own ideas. The ancient literature of India and China is homespun and home-grown and thus forms an independent parallel to all the other literatures of the world. The religion and philosophy of India came upon us like meteors from a distant planet, perfectly independent in their origin and character. When they agree with other religions and philosophies they inspire us with the same confidence as when two mathematicians working quite independently arrive at the same results.

These are the Professor's words, but what are the results of special researches in Chinese, Persian, Babylonian, and Egyptian Philosophy? I believe it will be found necessary to regard this view as different from the opinion of not a few of those members of the Congress who have given attention to comparative researches.

The art of writing was in existence in India, and possibly came from the West, as the President himself tells us, before the time of Alexander's invasion* in the Sutra period. The Confucian early philosophy taught the Persian dualism. The Taoist religion, as developed by Lao-tze, reveals Indian features. The Chinese written characters are really of Babylonian origin, as many now believe in Europe and in China. Then, as to the monosyllabic nature of Chinese speech, it does not stand alone in this feature. The

* History of Sanscrit Literature, p. 515.
Tibetan, Siamese, Burmese, and Cochin Chinese languages are also monosyllabic. Nor do the Chinese stand alone in speaking with tones; these neighbour languages possess tones and must be allowed to bear a sisterly relation to the Chinese. In China and in India the ancient mode of writing numbers was from left to right, giving a value of ten for example to one if written one place to the left and 100 if it is written two places to the left. This economy in writing numbers was in existence before Alexander's conquest, and the principle of local value involved was Babylonian. Mathematical knowledge spread from Mesopotamia to the East and in the nations of that part of the world where commerce flourished taught the trader this principle. In the West, Egypt, Greece, and Rome failed to take hold of it till the Arab conquest, when it was introduced into Europe for greater convenience in writing and in calculation and gladly accepted.* This principle of local value was assumed to be Arabian and Indian, but in fact it went from Mesopotamia to India and then returned westward to Arabia and so to Europe.

Such facts disprove the theory of isolation in my opinion. Besides we have evidence in the mythology of the Vedas. Varuna is the same with the Greek Oceanos viewed as a very ancient god. Agni, God of Fire, or Vesta, is the son of Ormuzd. Mitra, the Sun God, is in Persian Mithras. Yama, the Hindoo God of Death, is the Persian Jemshid, an ancient King of Persia who preceded Zoroaster. Trade by land and sea conveyed a knowledge of foreign mythologies by means of the pictorial art. The early Assyrian empire, the Babylonian empire, and the Persian empire, all had a marked effect in spreading knowledge. It was the impact of new ideas which woke up the power of philosophic thought in India, and led the Brahmin intellect to elaborate the Nyaya, the Vedanta, the Sankhya and the Buddhist systems of thought.

It was the establishment of powerful and peaceful empires combined with the spread of enlightenment that led to distant

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* The year 1893 written in Roman numerals requires ten letters instead of four.
voyages and travels. Trade sprang up when war and robbery ceased. Where the king's writs ran and are respected, there commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and education are in a state of prosperity.

By such causes it came about that the India of the Assyrian and Persian age became quite different from what it was in the time of the Vedas. In the age of Solomon, for example, there was peace far and wide. Egypt was powerful and Solomon was in alliance with Egypt. Trade on the ocean was active, and ideas were capable of being communicated. After Alexander the Great many Greek words were introduced into Indian mathematical treatises, and the Hindoos began to write dramas, like those which they had seen performed by Greek actors. But even before Alexander, in the age of Persian influence, the tradition of the Deluge, the tritheistic idea of God, pictures and statues of the gods, and maps of the world, found their way to India from Babylon and so afterwards from India to China.

The learned Professor's theory needs to have this correction applied to it in order to make it agree with the facts of the case. Professor Max Müller's statements in regard to the entrance of Buddhism into China in his presidential address were not commented upon by anyone. I will do so now briefly.

He said that Buddhism reached the frontiers of China B.C. 217, and was accepted by the Emperor Ming-ti, B.C. 61, as one of the state religions of China. This must be a misprint for A.D. 61* In fact Buddhism began its career in China at the latter date. It was long after that time that Buddhism became a state religion. In the history of the Three Kingdoms it does not rise to the dimensions of a state religion. This is plain even from the novel The Three Kingdoms, which indeed speaks more of Taoism than of Buddhism.

Professor Max Müller drew an interesting parallel between the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Thermopylae and the conquest of India by Buddha. This seems to show, as his writings also

* The newspaper reports of the meetings were in several respects inaccurate.
indicate, that he has formed a very favourable opinion of the beneficial effects of the Buddhist religion, as if its advance was in fact a great moral and social victory. To have had a discussion on this point would have been most interesting. It would have brought up the whole question of the benefits conferred on Asia by Buddhism as a subject of debate. In China we see that the Confucian morality is stronger than that of Buddhism. Buddhism has a moral code for the shorn monk, but it is the Confucian morality which controls the actions of the general population and constitutes the national standard of appeal. Further the monkish institute is opposed to the family relationship, and this works ill in many ways and has a deleterious effect upon society.

When the President said Buddha is still the ruler of the majority of mankind he made a statement which may be objected to. The Chinese do not consider him their ruler. He is only ruler of thought to his own adherents in China, Japan and Corea. In all these countries Confucius is much more their ruler of thought than Buddha.

The view given by the President of the early world is that it consists of three ages. The first age tells us the fates of the Aryan and Semitic races as compact confederacies before their separation into languages and historical nations. The second age is that of the wars and conquests of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria. This second age included the progress of eastern culture on its path to the west on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. The third age is the wars of Alexander and the effect of Greek culture on Asiatic countries as far as India.

Here it was assumed that both the Aryans and Semites were compact races before the growth of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilisation. It would have been interesting to discuss this question. The opinion of M. Terrien de la Couperie was stated to be that ideographs were first invented in China and conveyed from thence to the west, where they originated the cuneiform writing. I find, however, that M. Terrien de la Couperie when stating his own views holds that the civilisation of China is younger by two or three
thousand years at the least than the great civilisations of antiquity, now lost, of Chaldea and Egypt. He has written many articles showing that this is his opinion, such as "The Tree of Life and the Calender Plant of Babylonia and China," and the "Origin from Babylonia and Elam of the Early Chinese Civilisation," which last year was still unfinished. He says also that the comparative evidence and chronological correspondences now at our disposal show beyond possibility of doubt that a large amount of notions and institutions, with religious, social, and scientific traditions, had been carried to China, not later than the 23rd century before Christ, from Chaldea and Elam.

Probably then Professor Max Müller has mistaken Professor Terrien de la Couperie, who says in one place the Chinese civilisation is the "oldest in the world in existence but not in history, and it derives from this fact a great deal of a special interest mixed with diffidence and prejudice in favour of its isolation." He has spoken in this way but he is really in favour of the opinion that China was the receiver of knowledge from the West.

The Rev. C. J. Ball, who in addition to a great knowledge of Semitic languages has also studied Accadian closely, has of late years attended to Chinese, and he read an interesting paper at the China section upon the connection of Chinese and Accadian. He is one who holds that the great Asiatic nations did not grow up in isolation. With him may be mentioned here Professor Hommel of Munich who has specially studied Semitic languages, and is now occupied with Accadian. He intends to study Mongolian and is now busy with Chinese. I came into friendly relations with both these scholars, and can speak without hesitation in regard to the views they hold. They hold the ultimate unity of the great systems of language. Professor Hommel believes for example that many Aryan roots are identical with Semitic and Turanian roots. To say this is what many of the most renowned philologists of Germany will not do. But a new era appears to be dawning. An English school of Chinese philology is springing up, and if to the study of Chinese be added the comparative study of Tibetan and Mongol, the
issue does not appear doubtful. Philology will accept the view that the vocabularies of all the Asiatic systems of language are ultimately identical.

Mr. Gladstone made a contribution to the Congress of which the title was Archaic Greece and the East. It was read by the President, who gave it a qualified approval. The author said that Homer had an energetic and methodical conception of the obligations of his country to the East. In Achilles we have a superb projection of the strictly Hellenic character magnified to the utmost point consistent with poetic probability. In the epithet Hellenic is conveyed that wonderful receptivity which first accepted and then transmitted the eastern civilisation. But Achilles, the hero, was not the whole. The Iliad, which presents Achilles in a triumphal series of events, is not enough to represent Greece without a supplement. The other side of the Greek character is Ulysses and the Odyssey is his deathless monument. Here the view presented of the Greek character is completed. Achilles expressed a colossal humanity. Ulysses expressed the many-sided, the all-accomplished, the all-enduring man. The character of Ulysses is based on Phoenician elements trained by Hellenic contact and experience into a superior development. He is presented in the poems side by side with the purely Hellenic Achilles. This shows that Homer regarded the arts and institutions of his age as in the main of eastern origin. For Ulysses is everywhere represented as having a knowledge of the arts for which the last was then distinguished. He also possessed the Phœnician prudence in counsel.

At the close Mr. Gladstone enumerated fifteen examples of Greek borrowing from Assyria as found in Homer. The Greeks came to know the stars through the Phœncians. The moon god is the father of the sun god. The Aphrodite of Homer, the Venus of the Romans, is the Ishtar of Assyria. The Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto of Greece and Italy are the Ann, Bel, and Hia of Babylon. Thalasse, the Greek name of the sea, was an oriental word. The sea surrounding the world, called by Homer the River Oceanus, was the mother of rivers and also of gods and men.
This paper of Mr. Gladstone seems to show how plainly the times in which we live are advancing towards unity in the history of thought. Greece, the originator of European thought, borrowed from Asia and particularly from Mesopotamia and Egypt. Looking at this matter from the Chinese point of view we find there are many proofs that in ancient China before Buddhism there was borrowing from Western Asia in each successive age. In Chuangtze, B.C. 300, the northern and southern oceans are mentioned. The Babylonian trinity appears in the Tao-té-ching. Venus is the Goddess of the West mentioned in the romance of the Emperor Mu. The astrology of Babylon is found in the Chou-li. The art of writing of the Chinese and their earliest astronomy are visibly like the early writing and astronomy of Babylonia. The same thing occurred in Eastern Asia that occurred in Greece. The source of civilised and superstitious ideas in both cases was Western Asia.

In the Congress the President’s view was different from this. He argued that before Alexander the Great, India and China were unassisted in their progress of thought by the western civilisation. The Rev. C. J. Ball held a strong affirmative view. He devotes much energy to prove that the Chinese characters are Accadian and he represents the Chinese language as being one with the Accadian. His sympathies are entirely with the radiation of western thought from a centre in Western Asia to eastern countries. Professor Terrien de la Couperie takes a similar view.

The President of the Section on Egypt and Africa was M. Le Page Renouf, who has made a great reputation by his publication of the Egyptian Book of the Dead in elephant folio. The pictures are given in colours. Isis, Osiris and other divinities are there. Osiris sits in judgment. The human soul, after the death of the individual, appears before him to be judged and receive an award. The book dates from before the time of Moses. If anyone wishes in a short time to acquire an impressive idea of Egyptian views on the future state, let him spend an hour in looking at that book.

I heard him lecturing on Egyptian grammar at the rooms of the Society for Biblical Archæology. After the lecture I asked if he
accepted Hommel's views on the derivation of Egyptian mythology from that of Babylon. He replied that he certainly did not. That is to say, Egyptologists who are not Assyriologists will not admit at present that Egyptian writing and Egyptian religion are of Mesopotamian origin. But Assyriologists do not object to this view. There is much to be said for it. The Phœnicians were navigators, for the Egyptian and Babylonian navigation began very early and appears to have been the source of Arabian and Phœnican navigation. The Semitic people coming from the east to Mesopotamia learned the new wisdom of that region and adopted navigation as a favourite mode of life. The Arabian and Syrian coasts were occupied by these navigators, and then they stretched farther along the north coast of Africa and the south coast of Europe. The ancient Egyptians spoke a language which is very much like in its grammar and vocabulary to that of the Semitic people. As the Phœnicians taught the alphabet to Italy and Greece, so at an earlier date they could assist in conveying the art of writing to Egypt. Picture writing too is easily carried from one country to another. The Accadians of Babylon first had picture writing and then it become phonetic. Language and religion, geography and mythology were in those early times all taught by pictures. We must learn to look at painting as the early method used for instruction in astronomy, religion, cosmogony and eschatology. This was the case in all countries from China to Egypt. Thus it seems that on the whole the belief that the Egyptian civilization came from Babylonia is likely soon to be generally entertained.

Papers were read by Professor Hechler of Vienna on a newly discovered MS. on papyrus of a portion of the Septuagint, and by Dr. Flinders Petrie on recent excavations at Tel-el-Amarna. Professor Hechler is very much interested in the subject of Biblical chronology. I heard him deliver two lectures on Egyptian paintings on stone. It was in a clergyman's house in Russell square. The drawing-room was full of listeners, and the Egyptian pictures illustrating the lectures were hung on the walls. A group of Hebrews, the Apuri of Egyptian history, were represented as visitors who
stood before a high Egyptian official. Professor Hechler explained the rudiments of hieroglyphic writing to the audience. From the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, it appears that about the time of Abraham and before it Palestine was subject to the Egyptian Pharaohs who were then the Shepherd Kings known as Hyksos. Despatches were written from Palestine by governors in Babylonian writing, and in the Babylonian language. Abraham went to Egypt and was welcomed because the royal family belonged to a kindred race.

In the Chinese section Sir Thomas Wade presided, and Professor Legge read a paper on the comparative merits of the Three Religions of China as represented by Liu Mei, a Chinese Buddhist, who wrote 500 or 600 years ago. The Buddhist contended that his religion was the best and Dr. Legge held that Confucianism is superior to either.

This was followed by a paper of my own on the results of philological research in Chinese. The changes of letters show that such letters as \( l, r, s, sh, ch \) are all new and that they are formed from \( d, t, \) and \( n \). The mother of the Aryan languages therefore which commenced with these derived letters as already belonging to it are a much newer stock. In the same way it is shown that the old Egyptian and the Semitic languages are newer in type than Chinese. In the same way it may be proved that the marking of moods and tenses by vowel change is a new phenomenon in language first appearing in Tibetan, then in Semitic, and lastly in Indo-European speech. Then it was shown that the polysyllabism of the Tartar languages is a form of derivation from the primitive language, and the roots from which they are formed are in Chinese. The words to be and the personal pronouns \( me, my \), are found in the Aryan languages. The teaching of grammar may be much improved if the system of Tartar speech be studied, for there the mode of growth in verb forms comes clearly to view, and the way in which pronouns became transformed into participial and indicative suffixes may be observed. The idea was also presented that the brachycephalic races are older than the dolichocephalic and that new races are formed by
mixture of varieties. Climate and migration have a decided influence in modifying the characteristics of race, because they are accompanied by peculiarities in food and in daily habits. The conclusion to be drawn is that different as is the appearance of the negro from the European and the native Australian from the Chinese, there need not have been at first more than one human pair.

When the Rev. C. J. Ball read his paper on the Accadian affinities of the Chinese writing and language, he marked on the black board especially the characters for gold, sheep, reed, and righteousness, and claimed that the written symbols were the same. Dr. Legge opposed him. Sir Thomas Wade spoke moderately, as if the theory were possible but not as if he were fully convinced. I spoke decidedly in favour of the identification of Chinese primitive characters with those of the Accadians. I was convinced of it a quarter of a century ago by the fact that the Chinese have the ten signs of the denary cycle and the twelve signs of the duodecimal cycle, as well as by the native astronomy being Babylonian. If the Chinese received astronomy from Babylon they would receive their writing from the same source. Sir Henry Howorth, who wrote the "History of the Mongols" and "The Mammoth and the Flood," also spoke on the question. He was diligent in attendance at the China section and afterwards took part in discussions. He opposed me on the point that the Tibetan language has many Hebrew words in it, such as rab, chief, master, the same as rabbi. Sir H. Howorth's suggestion was that the Nestorian missionaries might have taught the Tibetans to use these words. But this hypothesis is insecure. The words I have found belong to the original Tibetan and besides there is a similarity in mood and tense formation.

Mr. Delmar Morgan read a paper in the China Section on Dr. Radloff's researches in Tartary. The paper was called "Reports on the Results of the Russian Archæological Expedition." They were written by Dr. W. Radloff and other members of the expedition. This was of special interest to Chinese scholars because several inscriptions found are in Chinese and date from about 1,000 years ago. They illustrate Chinese history in the Tung dynasty and the
relations existing at that time between North Mongolia and Tibet. One was erected in A.D. 732 by the Chinese Emperor to Kirtegin, younger brother of the Turkish Khan. Another dates A.D. 733 and was erected by the Emperor in honour of Mekilikor Khan of the Turks. Both monuments are covered with Chinese and runic inscriptions. They are just fifty years older than the Nestorian monument in China. The third is in Chinese, Uigur and runes, the last is Yenissei writing. This inscription will prove most useful for the illustration of Turkish dialects. The Uigur and probably the third are both Turkish.

Dr. Radloff passed through Shanghai just two years ago, and gave us information in regard to his journey then just concluded, also leaving some inscriptions for translation. We hope to have further communication with him.

Egyptian and Assyrian students paid many visits to the British Museum. I was looking one day in the Egyptian gallery at a statue of Rameses, the father of the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites. The arms of the sculptured Rameses are very long, the hands large and the fingers thick and long. I concluded that the Egyptian race of sovereigns at that time must have been a mixed race. A distinguished looking scholar was standing by and I asked him whether he had noticed it. He said he had, and I found that he had made a special study of Egyptian antiquities. We exchanged cards; he proved to be Professor Schmidt of Copenhagen. He read a paper in the Egyptian section on the sarcophages and funeral wrappings of the Egyptians. On another occasion I met Professor Deussen of Kiel. He is occupied with a general history of philosophy, and read at the Congress a paper on the Philosophy of the Vedas. He is attending somewhat to Chinese questions and especially those bearing on the history of philosophy. Another foreigner I may mention here was Professor Donner of Helsingfors. He is a Finn, like Castren who forty years ago did so much by his grammars for the illustration of the Turkish, Mongol and Tungus dialects of the Russian empire. Professor Donner spoke in the China section upon the subject of Mr. Morgan's paper. He presented a copy of the
Report of the Finnish expedition in 1890 to Mongolia. The volume is a very handsome one and contains photographs of Mongolian scenery and monuments in the vicinity of Urga, in the valley of the Orkhon. He also gave me a copy of it, which I shall be happy to show to anyone interested in the antiquities of Mongolia.

Nine sovereign princes of India contributed towards the expenses of the Congress. Among those present at the Congress from that country was Shrimant Sampatrao Gaikwad, the younger brother of the Maharajah of Baroda. The Maharajah himself is second in rank of the princes of India and sits next to the Nizam, who is first in rank, in the Governor-General’s Durbar. He has about four millions of subjects. Gaikwad is the family name, and the eldest brother is Commander-in-Chief of the army. The younger, my friend, is a man of very liberal ideas. He thinks caste should not be maintained in India, and he has aided in establishing native schools for children not belonging to the higher castes. He objects to any pampering of Brahmin pride, and he told me that Brahmanism and caste have done immense harm to India. They ought to be opposed and no encouragement should be given them. The Hindoo idea about the merit of giving money to Brahmins is a mistaken one. It is putting a premium on idleness. The English view of philanthropy is far better. The English are favourable to bestowing charity on the really needy. Sampatrao admits this to be most reasonable. It would, he thinks, be a great boon to India if nothing were done to encourage the caste system. He also told me that he regards India as being better governed now than it ever was in the past. It is regrettable that Hindoos, however overpopulated the country may become, will not emigrate. It is even difficult for a Hindoo to persuade himself to remove from one part of his own country to another. Sampatrao is himself remarkably free from all such prejudices. His liberality is a hopeful sign for India, and as English training has set him free it may set others free also, and must have done so in the case of a multitude of the rising youth of that country. His country is one of the Mahratta States and was conquered by them about A.D. 1680 with Poonah and Gujerat in the vicinity of Bombay.
In the city of Baroda he has founded an extensive library for native readers, and he wishes to obtain the journal of our Society, for which purpose he desires to become a subscriber to our funds, and a member of our Society. In the national reading library he has founded there will be a department for Sanscrit palm-leaf manuscripts; books of this class are hidden by the people and often become spoiled by damp and decay. On this account it is difficult to obtain copies.

Baroda formerly grew the poppy, but not now. The use of opium diminishes decidedly in Baroda. On this point he has no fear, yet he is aware how the habit of opium smoking and the craving for the stimulus to be supplied in this or some other mode grows on a person and quite overpowers him. With his knowledge of the insidious power of opium he is still quite hopeful. I gathered from him the impression that in those parts of the country where landanum is taken the habit dies out. Opium smoking may be conquered by persistent philanthropy.

Some delightful excursions I may just mention. We went to Oxford, and the party with whom I was were entertained to luncheon by the Master of Oriel College, and visited the sights under the guidance of members of the University. We also went another day to a retired old house near Dorking, six miles from any railway station. It once belonged to Brackenbury, who was Governor of the Tower when little Prince Edward and his brother were smothered. It belongs at present to our President’s son-in-law, who entertained us. The house is surrounded by a moat. On the broad lawns a luncheon was spread, after which a very famous Arabian orator made an eloquent speech in Arabic from a table. We admired the grace of his gestures and the modulations of his fine voice. He was a deputation from the Egyptian Government.

Another day we went to Sir Grant Duff’s house at Hilham, with a lawn looking out on the Thames; Lady Grant Duff received us. Her house was full of beautiful and curious things brought from India on Sir Grant Duff’s return from Madras, where he was Governor. Here I conversed with Dr. John Taylor, a north-country
divine deep in the knowledge of Hebrew. He accepts the higher criticism of the Old Testament, as do the Rev. C. J. Ball and Professor Driver whom I saw in Oxford. On the other side I conversed with Dr. Friedländer, Theological Instructor of the Jewish College in Tavistock Square, London. Dr. Friedländer rejects the higher criticism and holds the traditional Jewish view of the Books of Moses.

The next Congress is to be held at Geneva in the autumn of 1894.

Mr. HANNEN rose as soon as Dr. Edkins had finished his applauded lecture and proposed a vote of thanks which he felt sure all would join in seconding. He pointed out the advantages which accrued to Oriental studies by the annual Congresses which brought together Orientalists from all parts of the world who were thus able to discuss their various views. He hoped that this evening such an example would be followed and that a discussion would arise on the very interesting lecture they had just heard from Dr. Edkins. He would himself give the example by pointing out what to him seemed a slightly inaccurate statement on the part of the lecturer, viz. that Confucianism had had a greater influence on the development of Japanese thought than Buddhism. His long residence in Japan had produced on him a different impression, and he was inclined to think that Buddhism was the strongest factor in the intellectual development of Japan. He hoped that Mr. Hayashi, the Japanese Consul, who was the most competent in such a matter, would arise to give his opinion on the subject.

Mr. HAYASHI then rose and said that though Confucianism was much studied by the cultured classes and exercised great influence over them, still Buddhism had a much more powerful influence over the whole nation.

Mr. DALLAS then said he thought that the state of the question in Japan might be better understood by referring to a parallel case in Europe, where though the educated classes were much influenced by philosophical works, as for instance by the Ethics of Aristotle, yet such influence could not be compared with that of Christianity.
Dr. Edkins said he thought that Confucius really had greater influence in Japan than Buddha, at least during the last two centuries, when a new school of thought had sprung up adverse to Buddhism and favourable to Confucianism. But he was very willing to bow to the opinion of Mr. Hannen, who knew Japan so well, and of the Japanese Consul who supported his view.

Mr. Timothy Richard rose to express his interest in the views contained in the lecture they had just heard and regretted that Dr. Edkins had not inserted them in his late valuable work, "The Early Spread of Religious Ideas in the Far East." He considered that such views were complementary to that book and threw great light on it.

Minutes of Proceedings at a General Meeting held at the Society’s Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Wednesday, 29th November, 1893, at 9 p.m.

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the Chair. It was announced that since the last meeting a brother of the Gaekwar of Baroda and Dr. Paulun, of Shanghai, had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. James Scott, H.B.M.'s Senior Vice-Consul, read a paper before the members of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society entitled "Stray Notes on Corean History and Literature" which is published in extenso at pages 214-232 of Vol. XXVIII.

In the discussion that followed, Dr. Edkins said that the change from the Chinese ㄊ to ㄊ at the end of Chinese words in Corean ought to be regarded as a variation of a physiological nature; mel, "honey," is madhu in Sanscrit. It is mit in Chinese and mil in Corean, while in Mongol it is bal. The Chinese language ought to be regarded as a consolidated unit. The lecturer in his valuable paper had shown that in some respects the Corean transcription agreed with the dialect of Canton and in other respects it agreed with the Shanghai dialect. In fact the final ㄊ of Cantonese was
originally the final consonant of the spoken language in all the provinces. The lecture to-night showed that we are making progress in our knowledge of Chinese and of the outlying languages. In this case the explanation is not difficult. \( T \) is a letter produced by putting the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. \( D \) is the same with more breath coming from the throat. \( L \) is formed in the same way, only that the sides of the tongue are dropped. This change took place in North China in mediæval times and it took place also in Corea. If in the Corean the initial \( n \) is frequently lost and replaced by \( y \) this is observable also in the Shantung pronunciation as used in Chefoo. The Corean pronunciation of Chinese characters was borrowed from the language as spoken in Chihli, in Shantung, and also here in Shanghai, as in the phrase mentioned by Mr. Scott, hao sœo, "quickly." This is in constant use in Shanghai while it is also Corean. The results reached by the author of the paper are in many respects good and true. It is to be hoped that the time is now nearer when in philology we shall all come to an agreement in the belief that Chinese with the surrounding languages are all combined in a unity with each other and with the speech of western nations also.

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MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AT A GENERAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY, MUSEUM ROAD, SHANGHAI, ON WEDNESDAY, 24TH JANUARY 1894, AT 9 P.M.

Dr. Edkins delivered a lecture upon Comparative Archæology, as follows:—

The number of small Chinese medicine bottles an inch and a quarter in length found in various parts of Europe is remarkable. They astonish and delight when met with and increase the number of collectors of Chinese curios. The Rev. James Johnston, of London, formerly of Amoy, found two of these bottles at Arles in the South of France. In October 1892 he showed them to me. One was inscribed "Only in this mountain," chî tsâi t'êi shan chung. The other read "The Yangtze-kiang stretching for three thousand miles." Roman ruins abound at
Arles, and it is believed that Chinese bottles are found in them in considerable numbers. The first of the two sentences is a part of a T'ang dynasty poem. "Beneath a pine tree I asked a boy for his master. He told me his master was gone to gather medicinal herbs. Only in this mountain they are found. The clouds are thick and I do not know just where he is." Since this is T'ang poetry why are the bottles found in Egyptian tombs, in Irish bogs, and among Roman remains? This is the problem and it is hard of solution.

A good many students of Chinese have been fascinated by the hope of discovering inventions, religious observances, and ancient customs in this country resembling those of other lands. The late Mr. T. T. Fergusson, of Chefoo, wrote to me sixteen years ago that he was reading Biot's translation of the Chow-li with the view of obtaining an accurate description of the modes of conducting worship among the Chinese about 1,000 years before Christ. This, he said, he did for the purpose of enquiring whether analogous practices existed elsewhere, and so to pursue a course of researches into the connecting links between China and other countries. He noticed in Biot's translation many prayers, imprecations and examples of divination. These prayers and addresses were offered to supernatural beings honoured in the Chow worship, but not mentioned in the Li-ki.

In 1880, three years after writing this letter, Mr. Fergusson published Chinese Researches, a work on Chinese chimology. In this he quotes from a paper by Sir John Davis on the pre-historic use of steel and iron, published in London, 1877 [page 182]. He refers to highly heated steel taking a red colour and acquiring a great cutting power, so that a red blade will cut jade with perfect ease. Lie-tze lived about B.C. 400. The same power in heated steel is mentioned at about the same time by Aristotle, who describes the Greeks as having in his day the knowledge of the
same process. Sir John Davis regarded it as a most instructive fact in comparative archaeology that two philosophers, the one in China and the other in Greece, should describe the same process of metallurgy. What Lie-tze really says is more interesting than as Sir John Davis gives it. The passage is found in chapter the fifth, page 16. The Emperor Chow Mu-wang led an expedition to fight the Tibetans, called the Si-fung, probably meaning the "Western bowmen." As a present they offered him a sword from Kwunwu, a country in the West, says the commentator Chang Shen, writing A.D. 350. This commentator adds that Shi-tze describes the sword of Kwunwu as capable of cutting jade.

It was the knowledge of metallurgy that with other operating causes so greatly helped mankind forward in the conquest over nature in those times. Asbestos is mentioned with jade-cutting steel by Lie-tze in the same place. The sword he speaks of was one foot eight inches long. Steel was heated till it was red. Jade was cut by it as if it were a cake of mud. I remark here, by the way, that the old Chinese foot was not more than eight inches long. This should be noted in our estimate of ancient measurements. Thus the Chinese 劍 becomes in old books about the seventh part of an English mile instead of being a third part as now. Lie-tze goes on to describe asbestos. He calls it fire-washed cloth. When you desire to purify it you throw it into the fire. This gives it the colour of fire. If soiled it takes the colour of unbleached cloth. Take it out of the fire and shake it. It then becomes white as snow. It is mentioned as a foreign article at first here, and the old work 余ぬ鶴羽 says that it was "the hair of a certain animal in the city of fire." It is now a well-known product of Shantung and is much used in Northern China for making hand-stoves. Its hairy texture led to this mineral being described as the hair of an animal. The fact that both these substances, steel and asbestos, are mentioned as of foreign origin makes it plain that our comparative archaeology has a good foundation. What the fact means is that one origin for the same art or invention is more likely than a double origin. The process of making steel, it is perfectly possible,
may have been independent, originated in two countries. But in
this case steel manufacture is mentioned first by Chinese authors as
a foreign art. It is preferable therefore to assign to the art a single
origin, because it happened in the time of the Great Persian
Empire, which did much to promote commercial intercourse between
the East and the West. The geographical position of Persia
favoured greatly the spread of useful arts throughout Asia. In fact
there is no country so well suited as Persia to accomplish this
object, having complete control over the land routes of commerce
between Europe and Egypt in the west and China and India in the
East.

Mr. WICKERSHAW of Tacoma has written to enquire respecting
funeral mounds, and asks if the mounds of China are really, as he
has been informed, similar to those of that and other parts of
North America. To this I have replied that in China the depth is
important. The depth beneath the surface is as important as the
height above the surface. The tomb of an emperor must have a
water-path inside to insure the continuance of good luck. For the
most distinguished in an imperial line a tomb a mile round is
sufficient. Emperors less distinguished have smaller mounds. The
emperor's coffin rests over the "golden well," the source of the
water-path. The water must always be running, so that the tombs
must be on the side of a hill with springs. This burial is, like that,
I believe, of the period before fire worship began in Persia. You
will see this point briefly referred to in my "Early Spread of
Religious Ideas," lately published. Zoroaster put down cremation
perhaps about B.C. 1200. Before that there was cremation, the
fruit of ideas connected with fire worship. Previous to this there
would be burial in coffins. To that stage in the development of
funeral rites the Chinese ideas of burial belong. In China the
idea of the necessity of running water beneath a tomb is not older
than fifteen centuries ago, when the Chinese very much modified
their notions on burial. No great Indian chief would be likely to
have such an enormous mound raised over his coffin as an emperor
of China has, but I expect the principle is the same. So far as
I know, a detailed legend is attached to every large funeral mound in China, and it is stated in the local topography to whom the mound belonged. These legends may be inventions or not, but every mound has such a legend of origin. That the funeral rites in North America were of Asiatic origin is probable, because in Mexico, China, and Japan many persons were put to death at the funeral of monarchs to attend them in the other world. The Chinese monarchs very seldom encouraged this cruel custom. It was practised to a frightful extent by the Japanese and the Mexicans. As the Japanese language is of Tartar origin it seems to require that the Indian tribes who speak languages resembling the Dacota must have come from Asia. The Japanese Government and the Mikado’s dynasty date from about B.C. 600 or B.C. 700. Perhaps that will help us to conjecture that the Indians speaking languages characterised by Asiatic features passed into Asia in the first millennium before Christ. This is the more likely because the mammoth ivory of Siberia shows that hairy elephants lived in a temperate climate in Siberia at some date not very far removed, and fed on the tender branches and twigs of the forests which existed in Siberia in a mild age when the severe winters of the present day were not known there.

Ma Tuan-lin mentions that the difference was great between the burial of emperors two and three centuries before Christ and those the third century after. For the Emperor Ch’in Shi-huang and the first Han Emperors great expense was incurred, and when the tomb was finished the workmen were killed to conceal the entrance. This was altered in the time of the Three Kingdoms. Emperors then had the good sense to decree for themselves beforehand an inexpensive funeral, and the workmen who constructed the tomb were not put to death when their work was done.

The tablet of the Empress-Dowager Tung T’ai Hou, first wife of the Emperor Wen-tsung, was conveyed after her death about fifteen years ago to the Temple of Ancestors in Peking. It was brought from the tomb to the temple on the 13th of November. The day before, the Emperor had gone to meet it at a certain
bridge outside the city. Among the ceremonies that take place on
the occasion of the burial at the Tung-ting, eighty miles to the east
of the capital, is that of writing on the tablet the sacrificial name
of the Empress. The tablet represents the seat of the soul called
Shén 神 in Chinese. When the name is written it is considered
proper that the tablet should still be at the tomb near the deceased.
The tablet without the name accompanies the funeral procession.
When the ceremonies of burial are over, the tablet, suitably
inscribed, is carried back again to the ancestral temple as the
representative of the deceased. This Empress was legal mother of
the Emperor T'ung Chi, whose jubilee is now being celebrated, and
of the present Emperor, while the Si T'ai Hou was the mother of
the Emperor T'ung Chi and the true aunt of the present Emperor
Kuang Hsü. The Tung T'ai Hou's tablet is placed on the east
side of that of her husband. When the arrangement is extended
to embrace the tablets of the Empress next in rank the west of the
Emperor is chosen. The funeral procession going and returning
occupied fifteen days. Civil and military officers have each a part
to perform. The military officers attend at the time of sacrificing.
Civil officers write on the tablet in vermilion letters the name of
the deceased. The Emperor after meeting the tablet on the 12th
of November and accompanying it for a certain distance returned
to the palace. With him went his escort consisting in part of
great personages in attendance on the tablet. The remainder, still
a large company, continued with the tablet through the eastern city
to the front gate of the palace and of the city. Here the procession
turned to the north, entering two gates of the palace. At this
second gate the procession turned to the east into the Temple of
Ancestors which is known as the T'ai-mian. As the procession
passed along the streets of the city no special effort was made to
keep the crowd away. Curious onlookers passed within the barriers
of the streets upon the newly levelled road sprinkled with yellow
earth. In the escort were a large number of bannermen mounted
and on foot, who had been told off for the duty of maintaining
order. Of the mounted escort in Court dress with heraldic
emblazonment on the chest there were eight or ten in front and about twenty behind. These all appeared in official costume; then followed a troop of spearmen with long wooden spears and yellow jackets. All these were military officers having in their charge the tablet borne on a yellow chair or baldachino. Behind this escort came a large troop of red-clothed attendants.

I believe there is a close connection between the tablet of the individual and the genealogical book called anciently the Shi-pen. What the tablet is to the person, the Shi-pen is to the family. The tablet name is the temple name, and the genealogical record contains all the tablet names with other particulars. Shi is the Chinese word for generations, and in the 史記 Shi-ki, the remarkable history of China produced a century before the Christian era. The records of noble families made use of are called 世家 Shi-kia—families having genealogies. Thus the record of the Ts‘ao family is called 世家 Ts‘ao Shi-kia; that of the Wei family is the Wei Shi-kia. The work Shi-pen re-published sixty years ago is an example of an elaborated genealogical record. The Bamboo Book translated by Legge is another example. The worship of ancestors has been in this way a fruitful mother of literature. Our notions on the origin of literature ought in China to be conformed to the special conditions of the problem. The question is asked, how did history begin in China as a branch of literature? The answer must be that it began in the discharge of their duty by official historiographers. Herodotus wrote histories not because of the opportunity of reading them at the Olympian games, for this is denied by the best critics, but because of his own keen interest in contemporary events and large experience acquired during his travels. His aim was literary, but was created by the desire to crystallise his views on Greece and the Greeks in a shape to gratify patriotism and individual ambition. There is nothing of this in the beau idéal of the Chinese annalist. Instead there is the sense of official duty daily exercised in obedience to an imperial master’s commands. The Chinese historian is the head of an official commission, who is responsible for the way in which a number of
clerks perform their duties. A history is a selection of documents or records more or less genealogical.

The "written prayer" (祝文) addressed to the deceased shows how thoroughly the belief in the actual existence of the souls of the departed pervades the Chinese funeral rites. Since the practice of burning paper commenced, the prayer written on silk or paper has been burnt on each occasion. Probably in early times it would accompany the books placed in the tomb, but of this we have no record. The written prayer is prepared by Court scribes in each instance. It becomes a historical document and is preserved in the record of each reign.

There is an ancient Chinese work called 世本 Shiben. I possess a reprint of it by Lui Chi-ching about seventy years ago. It is in two chapters. Pan-piao, father of the historian Pan-ku, says of it, that it formed part of the material from which Sze-ma Ch'ien made his biographies of the baronial families in the Chow dynasty. The other book he used was the Chan-kuo-tse, a much fuller work. In Sze-ma Ch'ien's book those biographies look as if they must have had special sources from which their details were taken, and Chinese critical scholars appear to have decided in favour of the claim of this book to be one of those sources. Among genealogical books this one has a peculiar value. In filling up the lacunes of history and in indicating how books of history were made, it holds a special place.

The earliest history was genealogical. The kings had scribes who wrote by their order. The genealogical record was as a rule made up whenever a death occurred or birth or marriage. The modern idea of births, deaths and marriages kept in a registrar's office is as different as possible from ancient custom. Each influential family had its own register. The family scribe from time to time made additions. Among those additions historical facts were introduced pleasing to the family pride. The book was not limited to pure genealogy. When the historian came to do his work he made use of all suitable materials. They included the genealogical records, the biographical incidents, and the daily audiences, each recorded
by secretaries who were present. The secretary's duty is to hold pencil and tablet and write as he stands. This is expressed by the character 峯 shì, which is a picture of a man holding a pencil and a tablet. If civilised usages were abandoned the art of writing was neglected and genealogical links were of necessity then lost. It is in this way that Szé-ma Ch'ien expresses the absence of historical links. Among barbarians it became impossible to continue the record of the generations of the ages called 历 shì.

Hia Siao Chéng.—This work, purporting to be of the Hia dynasty [B.C. 2205 to B.C. 1766], first appeared in the Ta-tai Li-ki by Tai Tê. Two or three centuries later it is found referred to as a separate book. Great scholars like Ts'ai Yung and Kwo P'u both refer to this work as a separate production, so that it is much older than the time of Tai Tê, who simply included it in his edition of the Li-ki. In the 12th century a copy was found by a Chêkjiang scholar in the house of his brother at Shanyin—near Ningpo, as I believe. A scholar of the Fu family who found it compared it with the copy in the Li-ki and set himself to prepare an edition with text and notes in different type, but died before the publication. Chunfutze made use of it in his edition of the Ili. The editions now current of the Hia Siao Chéng are all based on this edition in the corrections and arrangements of the text. Professor Douglas, of the British Museum, has translated it and points attention to the oddness of the syntax observable in sentences. The book is divided into twelve months. It contains zoological, agricultural, and astronomical indications of the year. My edition was printed in 1823 in Peking, carefully edited by Lui Pio-chi, a learned scholar of Tungchow, near Peking.

The whole question comes up here of the precession of the equinoxes as accounting for a slow motion of the stars. In an old book like this recording the meridian stars at different times of the year in the Hia dynasty astronomical data occur of great value. A brilliant star like Lyra, for example, is recorded here as seen just after sunset in the 7th month in the centre of the eastern sky. European astronomers have investigated this statement and find that in B.C.
2200 Lyra would in the seventh month occupy the place indicated. Hence the book belongs to that period.

The Bamboo Books.—The name of this work indicates clearly enough that it was a history written on slips of bamboo. Its period was B.C. 295. It was then that it was deposited in the tomb of Wei Siang-wang who died in that year. On the tablets were inscribed more than 10,000 words in the small seal character. When discovered and placed in the emperor’s library in A.D. 279 it was accompanied by a copy of the Yi King in two books agreeing with the edition in current use.

The reason of such books being placed in the tomb of a person of high rank consists in this. Ancestral worship implies the continued existence of the individual after his death and burial. The books written for his use when living should accompany him when dead. The filial duty of his descendants would not allow any other course of proceeding than this. The aim in ancestral worship was to treat him with the same respect when dead as when living. Filial duty therefore becomes a definite factor in the elaboration of history. The honorific principle dominates historical composition.

The Bamboo Books show how the official historian did his work. It was made his duty to honour the family he served by expanding the official history in earlier times. The elemental philosophy prevailed in those times. Therefore the princes believed it. Hence their genealogical histories required to be written in the tone of the elemental philosophy. For instance, the remark occurs in the account of the Yellow Emperor, 帝以士氣勝, 終以土德王 ti yi t‘u ch‘i sheng, sui yi t‘u te wang (The power of earth element being then dominant, the emperor ruled by the virtue of that element). This was the philosophy not of the age of the Yellow Emperor but of that of the feudal prince at whose command the record was made. What it tells us is the belief of B.C. 295, and not that of B.C. 2800. In the discharge of his duty the historiographer made use of old records. These were prefixed to the annals of the family in order to add to its honour. The names of all ancient emperors occur, and the Bamboo annals were expanded by the scribes
of Wei, the present Weihueifu in the north-eastern part of Honan, till they became a sort of equivalent to the Book of History. Old accounts were re-written with the proclivities and opinions of Honan scribes of the third century before Christ. All was done to please the reigning prince, and such was the way in which history was made in those times. Animals were symbolical. The phoenix, as we call it, that is, the fènghuáng, the same Bamboo annals say, "comes to a country when the king is fond of peace and leaves it when he is fond of war. In this heaven gives weighty indications to your majesty. Let not your majesty act in a sense contrary to this instruction."

The care shown in placing historical works in the tomb of the deceased sovereigns of a State reminds us how like ancient China was to Western Asia and Egypt. The Book of the Dead was placed in many a royal sarcophagus in Egypt, and apparently for just the same reasons that led to the Bamboo Books and the Yi-king being placed in the tombs of sovereign princes in China. The sovereign is to be honoured, in the words of Confucius, "as if he were living." Books are placed near him in the coffin, and they are such books as are most important to him as a prince, and such as he is likely to find pleasure in reading, on the hypothesis that he is able to read in his tomb. This idea is to treat him as if he were living. So powerful was this sentiment that it has given origin to a special literature. The Bamboo Books would not have been written but for the use of the dead. It is much the same now in China. Books are written by court scribes for the emperor's use. Other persons obtain copies of them by Imperial grace, but they are primarily written for the emperor's own perusal.

It appears to be the same with the Book of Genesis in the Bible. It is a history consisting of a series of genealogical records, prepared by scribes for the use of the patriarchs and of Joseph in Egypt. It is not an independent piece of literary work of the time of the Kings of Israel, as has been recently conjectured, but was composed in portions anonymously by the scribes who wrote in succession for the high chiefs whose genealogies are contained in Genesis. This gives us the true idea of the book, and it accounts for differences in
form meeting the eye in different sections. The remainder of the Pentateuch is distinguished by special uses of the terms for God, just as the various sections of the Book of Genesis are distinguished in the same way. Here then we have a clue to explain the origin of Genesis in its present form. In the sixth chapter of Exodus it is said that God was known to Abraham and the other patriarchs by the name El Shaddai, and not by the name Jehovah. Consequently we infer that the scribes of the age of Moses when re-writing portions of Genesis made use of the divine name Jehovah. In their doing so we have a parallel in the mode of re-writing ancient Chinese history by the scribes who inserted the ideas current in their own age, and the history assumes a philosophical and mythological tinge coming from the third century before Christ. There is no doubt of this in regard to the ancient books found in tombs in China. Why then should we not, as a process of comparative archaeology, perfectly justifiable in the circumstances, proceed to apply the same principle to account for the peculiarities found in the Book of Genesis? Hebrew scribes whose names have not been preserved wrote as they were directed to write by Moses, and modified the name for God in a large portion of Genesis. There is also perceptible in the work of the scribes, while thus re-writing portions of the pre-Mosaic Genesis, a variety in style, resulting in part from the special instructions under which any scribe acted while thus engaged, and in part also from his individual training and natural gifts of mind.

Thus the literary structure of the books found in the tombs of old Chinese sovereigns helps us to a highly probable theory of the construction of Genesis and of the Pentateuch, and this shows plainly that comparative archaeology has an important field before it in China which if diligently worked will yield results of extreme importance and exceptional interest. If anyone will consult Canon Driver's work on the literature of the Old Testament he will find that the phrase "These are the generations" is stated to be a formula of the historians, two literary men supposed to have been living in the eighth century before Christ. But this is not so pro-
bable as that a new genealogical record meets us whenever the for-

mula "These are the generations" occurs. Nor can it be reconciled
with the archaeological character of the proper names and other
words found in the Pentateuch, pointing to an age anterior to
Samuel and David. It is better for us to regard the Book of
Genesis as a genealogical collection made by the scribes whom the
patriarchs of the Hebrew nation employed to write for them. Then
the formula "These are the generations" is accounted for in a
reasonable manner. We can also understand why the names for
God are modified according to the usage followed by each scribe.

Mr. James Wickershaw of Tacoma has written to me asking if
maize is an Indian plant. He also asks if the Indian stonemill
called metote is known in Asia. Further, he asks if the Indian war
club of wood, stone or bone is an Asiatic implement also. It is
round at the handle and at the broad end it becomes flat and broad.
It is $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick and four inches wide. It is 18 inches long.

To these I replied:—

1st.—Is maize in China an American plant? Reply.—Yes. There
is no proof of maize having been an old plant in China. Dr. Bret-
schneider, formerly of Peking and now of St. Petersburg, has stated
his opinion in Botanicon Sinicum, p. 150, "I may observe that maize,
an American plant, was unknown in ancient China." Legge in
his Chinese Classics has translated the Chinese word liang by maize.
This, says Dr. Bretschneider, needs correction, for the word liang
in the classical books means Setaria Italica. The word setaria is
from setu, a bristle. The Chinese sao and shua, old form set, to
brush, a brush, shows that there was identity in the Eastern and
Western names of the plant and that it was named from its brush-
like appearance. This plant is the chief food of many millions of
human beings at the present time in North China and in Italy.
The sorghum was probably introduced into China in the third cen-
tury from India. The Chinese call it kao-liang. It supplies food
for horses and mules.

I cannot find that Li Shi-chen knew maize, nor is it mentioned
in Kaempfer's Amoenitates Exoticæ. Yet Li Shi-chen lived in the
16th century, subsequent therefore to the discovery of America. Li Shi-chen is a sober-minded writer who does not give the impression that he is in any way the enthusiast that Crawford represents him to be.

2nd.—Is the Indian stone-mill called metate known in Asia? This implement is capable of reducing maize to a coarse meal. It is three-footed, and the power is that of a roller which, as it passes along a level surface, crushes maize. The Chinese do not appear to have such an instrument. For grinding they have much more ingenious and efficient methods. They have an upper and lower grindstone, very thick and heavy, and these produce fine flour by circular motion. In their oil presses they use what is called a nien-tsê, which is a stone roller turned on an axle in its centre by a lever. It is upright, and the grain pressed is on a flat stone beneath it. See Williams’ Chinese Dictionary, where the flat stone is called nien-p‘an. Nien is to revolve, roll. In Chinese mien is flour. Mo is to grind. Since the Indian vocabulary is Asiatic, metate means the grinder, and consequently is the same word as the Latin mola and the English mill. But this conjecture needs verifying by a knowledge of cognate words in the Indian language, to which metate belongs.

The agricultural implements of the Chinese are ingenious but are not necessarily invented by themselves; just now there is a large demand for Japanese-made spinning machines based on European ideas. There is no metate known here.

3rd.—The war club. The Chinese instruments of punishment are of bamboo or wood. There is one called chi, of bamboo; the criminal lies flat. The man who inflicts the penalty is called Tsan-li. It is two feet long, and is held in one hand. The chang, five feet long, is used with two hands to beat the criminal on the back of his legs; only four stripes are allowed. Its use leaves scars on the thighs. Any person who has such scars is not allowed to pass the Great Wall, nor can he in the army become an officer.

The known used in camps to beat soldiers is in shape something like the Indian war club. It is two or three feet long. It makes
no scar, so that he who is punished with it is not disqualified from rising in rank.

Of weapons used in the army there are eighteen kinds. Many of them are of very old shapes, but I have not at hand a description of them. I will ask at a bookshop for a book with plates containing them and send it to you if suitable.

The North American Indians have very interesting ideas regarding the future state. These have to be considered when their beliefs and those of ancient Asia are brought into comparison. It may be asked, did the Indians think out their ideas regarding the soul in a future life in the quiet of their forests, or while talking round the camp fire of an evening? Did they after feasting on a deer, with maize cakes, potatoes and a pipe of tobacco, think out then, unassisted by tradition, their ideas of God as the Great Spirit and the happy hunting grounds of immortality? It is more likely that they had a basis for their ideas before they reached America from the continent of Asia, and modified their thoughts of God and the soul afterwards when they were among the woods, lakes, and rivers of their new home. Comparative archeological research carefully conducted seems certainly to point to this result.

An interesting discussion followed the lecture.

The Chairman said the lecture to which they had just listened was very full and interesting. It bristled with points that might provoke discussion. In that respect it was the beau idéal of a lecture, abounding as it did not only with facts but also with remarks that would awaken the desire in the listener to contradict what was said. This appeared to him a distinct merit. For instance, in regard to inventions he must say that to himself it appeared far more likely that the same invention occurred to different persons in two localities wide apart than that one person should borrow from another. Also he doubted the correctness of the conclusion that the mammoth lived in Siberia in a temperate climate at the same time when the Japanese Imperial dynasty took its rise. He hoped the lecturer would explain this point.
The Rev. W. Muirhead said that Mr. William Lockhart, formerly in Shanghai, took great interest in the question of Chinese medicine bottles found in Egyptian tombs and elsewhere. Especially it was mentioned by Layard in his work on Nineveh that he found Chinese medicine bottles in the ruins of that city. Sir Walter Medhurst had upheld the view that Arab travellers to China had taken back medicine bottles and left them in the tombs of Egypt and other ancient ruins. This was intended as an explanation of the very curious fact that the bottles of the T'ang dynasty should be found in such places. Judge Goodwin, formerly in Shanghai, had stated to him, Mr. Muirhead, that he hoped to find many resemblances between Egyptian antiquities and those of China. Judge Goodwin being himself an Egyptologist of high repute, his opinion in this matter was of great value. He united with the Chairman in his high appreciation of the lecture to which they had listened.

Mr. Volpicielli said that the remarks just made had forestalled what he was going to point out, viz. that as the T'ang dynasty was posterior not only to the existence of Egypt as an independent State, but also to the Roman Empire, the medicine bottles in question, bearing inscriptions of verses of the T'ang dynasty, could not have been taken to Egypt or France in a very remote age. That they should have been carried to Arles and Egypt by Arab merchants was rendered probable by the fact that the most flourishing period of Arab trade in China was during the T'ang dynasty, the age when the verses on the medicine bottles were written. About the existence of the mammoth in Siberia, though he could not recall at the moment the exact amount of time required by geological theories for such immense climatic changes, he fancied that about 20,000 years were generally claimed for a change from a glacial to a tropical climate or vice versa. Mr. Volpicielli also enquired from Dr. Edkins whether there was not more positive evidence of the affinity between the North American Indians and Asiatic races than that contained in the valuable lecture they had just heard. He thought their ideas of a future state were not sufficient, as the promised happy hunting-grounds were simply an effect of their
surroundings and their actual life, just as the barbarous nations of ancient Europe imagined their greatest happiness after life would be to fight and carouse in the Valhalla.

The Rev. Mr. Bonsis, of Hankow, said that in the very interesting lecture they had heard there were matters of discussion which would require a fortnight to consider. He was specially interested in the idea that the Book of Genesis was composed in the same way in which some ancient genealogical books in China were composed. It would be well to investigate this point further, because the critics of to-day seemed to have gone to an unwarranted length in regarding the Book of Genesis as a literary production of a later age.

Dr. Edkins, in reply, said that as the poem from which the most common inscriptions on bottles were taken was of the T'ang dynasty, which lasted through the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, the problem how to account for their being found in ancient ruins was certainly difficult of solution. The age when the mammoth lived in Siberia was unknown, but it certainly was probable that the climate of Northern Asia has been gradually becoming colder. The Indians of North America, judged by the test of language, seemed to have passed to that continent from Asia rather than from Europe. In answer to a question of Mr. Volpicelli he added that the beliefs of the Indians on the future state were in fact much more precise and more like those of Asia than was stated in the paper as it was read.

The following is a synopsis, with an Introduction by the Rev. Timothy Richard, of "How to Awaken Faith in the Mahayana School," a work by the 12th Buddhist Patriarch Ma Ming (Ashragasha), who died about A.D. 100.

I.—Importance of the Book.

1.—The importance of "How to Awaken Faith in the Mahayana School" is apparent from the fact that it is said by the Japanese to be the origin of the "Pure Land School" which has 17,000 out of...
the 26,000 monks and nuns in that kingdom, and the doctrine is believed in by every other Buddhist sect in China, Corea and Japan.

2.—Its importance is also apparent from the fact that it is the origin of the Mahayana School, which is the chief school among the Chinese Buddhists, and China contains by far the largest number of the Buddhists of the world.

3.—Next to the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas and the Confucian Classics probably this little volume (about the size of the Gospel by Mark) can claim the largest following of the remaining sacred books in the world.

4.—It is both philosophic and popular, doctrinal and practical. It is Brahministic and Buddhistic, Indian and Western.

5.—Finally its doctrine of the One-Soul of the Universe, of a Divine helper of men, of immortality, of good works, of the importance of Faith and of the salvation of others make it common ground not only for most of the Asiatic continent but also a meeting-ground for the other continents. This bond of union of the races where it and Christianity are at one constitutes to my mind one of its highest claims to our attention—all the more so as a universal bond, stronger than language, race or nationality, seems to be one of the greatest needs of modern times.

In the Introduction I wish to consider five things in connection with this book and the Mahayana school, viz.:

I. The Importance of the Book.
II. The Doctrines of the Mahayana School.
III. The Origin of the Mahayana Doctrines.
IV. The Philosophy of the Mahayana School.
V. The Present Outlook of the Mahayana School.

II.—What are the Doctrines of the Mahayana School?

They are mainly four, viz.:

1.—That the chief controlling power of all living beings is not a passionless soul such as is held by the Indian philosophers, but one who is full of pity for human suffering and is ready to help
men, i.e. Amitabha, a god from the west, but at that time imperfectly identified with the One-Soul.

2.—That this help is bound up with faith and is secured in proportion to our faith, and that human salvation therefore is not the mere result of unaided human self-sacrifices as in original Buddhism but the result of that plus superhuman aid.

3.—That the highest believers strive to save others as well as themselves.

4.—That there is a Paradise into which men may go after death if they follow this way of salvation and thereby they escape the round of transmigration, while Sakya’s plan was a rigid abstinence from perpetuating life as life was inseparable from sorrow. Rhys Davids in his Hibbert lectures [p. 254] only gives one of these [No. 3] as the Keynote of the “Great Vehicle.”

III.—Origin of the Mahayana Doctrine.

These four specific doctrines of the Mahayana School not being in original Buddhism or even in Indian Buddhism, the question is “where did they come from?”

1.—First as regards the Supreme Power over all having compassion for human suffering. Vairochana is described as the Omnipresent and perfect in all virtue, the Master from whom all the Buddhas learn [Japanese Sanscrit Dictionary, pp. 9, 10]. As the one who delivered the children of light who are in the Tushita heavens from the lowest hell by his light and power and grace, [Guide to Buddhahood, Chap. IV, 14].

Amitabha is described as the Eternal [of boundless age] as the God of Light whom the innumerable Bodhisatvas of the Buddhist Kingdom of the Ganges in the East adore, whom even Maitreya looks up to as one full of love and compassion for the sorrows of men, whom all the Julais (Tathagathas) and Buddhas must worship. The Sutra of the Eternal [Woo Liang Shiu King].

As the same attributes are given to these two Vairochana and Amitabha as are given to the Christian’s God, we must consider them to be the Buddhist way of describing the one supreme God
of Love. This is obviously alien to the original Buddhism of Sakia, who owned nothing superior to himself and who worshipped no God.

5.—Next in regard to the doctrine of Faith. The Buddhist Messiah, Maitreya, was to plant faith not in the hosts of Buddhas but in the fountain of all the Buddhas. He is moreover repeatedly stated to appear 500 years after Sakya [can the 5,000 years mentioned by others be the error of adding a cipher?] and to be of unspeakable blessing to the world. The Buddhists were to learn of him and follow him when he should come. [*Pradīpa Paramita, Chaps. VI and XIV.*]

Dr. Eitel also says that Maitreya is the "principal figure" in connection with Sakyamuni, though not a historic disciple of his but one whom he met in heaven, and that he now controls the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Moreover the Japanese History [*p. 2*] says the doctrines of the Mahayana School were collected by Adjita, i.e. Maitreya, in the *Tie Wei Shan*. Fahien also [in Dr. Legge's translation, p. 28] writes: "We may say that the diffusion of our great doctrines in the East [China] began from the setting up of this image of Maitreya. If it had not been through that Maitreya, the great spiritual teacher, the successor of the Sakya, who would have caused the 'Three Precious Ones' to be proclaimed so far?" In the Sutra of the Eternal, Maitreya is, next to the Eternal, the chief figure in showing mercy and in saving the world.

As to Faith in God's help, this is one of the most distinctive features of Christianity. It existed in Judea and among the Jews when in Babylon many centuries before the Christian era. This sounds like an anachronism, but while Jesus was born at the beginning of what we call the Christian era we have only to remember that the promise of the Messiah or the Christ who should set up the kingdom of Heaven on earth was for centuries the undying hope of the prophets of Israel in their darkest days of captivity, and this they had long before the Sakya sage was ever born, but found its fulfilment in Jesus Christ who was born 500 years after Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism.
Thus we have both in prophecy and history the doctrine of Faith and the time of the advent and also the supreme authority of Maitreya identified with the Founder of Christianity in the most remarkable manner without any other religious teacher of the time even disputing it.

3.—As regards the duty of saving others, this is regarded as pre-eminent belonging to the Mahayana school. Those who save others are called Pusas [Bodhisattvas] while the chief object of the other schools of Buddhism is to teach each one how to save himself. The command of the Jewish Messiah to his disciples to go into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature is given by every Mission as the chief reason of its existence and is so well known that there is no need of enlarging on it.

4.—As to the doctrine of Paradise, the Hindoos themselves speak of it as Western, while the doctrine of a happy heaven after death and of special rewards to those who have endeavoured to save others have been among the leading tenets of Christianity from the beginning.

5.—These doctrines are not those of the Buddhism of the first five centuries after Sakya's death. Buddhism of that period followed the sayings of Sakya as collected after his death by the first Patriarch Kasyapa and was called the Hinayana school. [See Japanese History of the Eight Septs of Buddhism, pp. 1-5.]

6.—The Mahayana school however only began to flourish after the publication of Ma Ming's [Ahvagosa's] book on "How to Awaken Faith," though Maitreya was the first to gather its sayings together. Ma Ming lived about 600 years after the death of Sakya, i.e. about A.D. 100. [Japanese History, p. 3]. The book was translated into Chinese by Paramartha, A.D. 502-555.

7.—The doctrine of the All-Soul in this book is not merely Buddhistic but Brahmanistic as well, and indeed has always been more or less common to all the Indian religions. Generally speaking it is also the basis of Jewish theocracy.

8.—According to this book the old method of mere asceticism and doing the best one can is not so good a way to escape from the
sorrows of life as to have, in addition to one's own efforts, Faith in
the power of the God Amitabha to help one's efforts.

9.—As to Amitabha, Dr. Eitel says that the doctrine may
have come from the Persian Zarathustra, while Mr. Beal is
strongly inclined to the Arab origin. But wherever it came from,
the doctrine of Faith and of Paradise and the duty of saving others
came along with it. They are an inseparable group of ideas in
Chinese Buddhism. I would venture, however, to call attention to
another possible source gathered from the following facts. The
Chinese translate Amitayus, which is Amitabha, by the words
"Boundless Age" and "Boundless Light." Now turning to
Daniel we find an extraordinary series of corresponding phrases
which seem to me impossible except on the supposition that Daniel,
or whoever wrote the book, had in mind the very same doctrines as
those of the Mahayana school under consideration. The similarity
of details as to the age and brightness of Amitabha himself, and in
regard to the reward and brightness of those who are saved and
have saved others is wonderful, and all this in a few verses. The
writer, speaking of him "that liveth for ever," speaks of him in the
same verse as the "Ancient of Days" and as one whose raiment
was "white as snow" [Daniel, vii, 9]. Speaking of deliverance
we have these words:—"And at that time shall Michael stand
up, the great Prince which standeth for the children of thy
people: and there shall be a time of trouble such as never was
since there was a nation even to that same time; and at that time
thy people shall be delivered every one that shall be found written
in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the
earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and
everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the
brightness of the firmament and they that turn many to righteous-
ness as the stars for ever and ever."

The fact seems to be that those four doctrines were non-Indian
but well known over a very wide area from Persia to Alexandria
and from Babylon to Judea.

Again the later Mahayana school connects Kwanyin with the
worship of Amitabha. The proper colour for Indians such as
Sakyamuni is the golden colour, but the image of Kwanyin is directed to be white as well as her robes, indicating a foreign origin. The worshippers of Kwanyin are called the white-robed ones, and the temples the white-robed temples. Turning again to Daniel you note that the Eternal is one whose garment is white as snow. The universal traditional view of the redeemed Christians is that they are clothed in white. The Nestorian monument speaks of the Christian priests at that time also as robed in white.

In view of all these circumstances it seems that we are compelled to arrive at the conclusion that the Christian and the Mahayana schools, however differently developed afterwards, have the same origin, that that origin is to the West of India and with a great religious teacher of one God and Saviour who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era. As there was only one such person at that period it seems the evidence is complete, that the Mahayana school had its origin in the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah that was to come, which was fulfilled in Jesus Christ.

10.—Add to this the proximity of the great bulk of the Jews—who never returned to Judea even if they remained in Babylon—to India, the intercourse of men and ideas were not only possible in those days but certain. Gnosticism from India was well known to all religious leaders of the West at the beginning of the Christian era.

11.—Moreover our next great teacher of the Mahayana doctrine, the 14th Patriarch, Lung Shu (Nagariuna), who lived about A.D. 200, was from the West of India. At that time Christianity had spread mightily in the East and West, struggling for supremacy in the great Roman Empire, and only a century later it became dominant in it, spreading widely over Syria, Persia and Arabia as well as in Europe. This gigantic wave of Christian religious fervour, which flooded three continents round about Judea, could never have been unknown so near at hand as India, and it seems to me we have ample proof of this in this book, as it contains some of the most distinguishing forms of the Christian doctrine as held in those early days.
IV.—The Philosophy of the Mahayana School.

The philosophy is difficult, like most of the highest philosophies of every country, and the horizon of thought is so new that it is difficult to realise its true meaning without reading the book several times over. In spirit, perhaps Hegel's philosophy is nearest to it, if we dare compare modern with ancient forms of thought, which necessarily have many categories of thought wholly beyond one another.

2.—The leading features of it, however, are these:—

1. That there is one all-pervading Eternal Soul which is the source of everything good in the universe.

2. That this One-Soul can be thought of as independent and outside of all forms of nature.

3. That this One-Soul manifests itself also in nature, in matter, in physical forces, in life, in mind, in knowledge, in wisdom, in character, and in spiritual forces which are the highest of all.

4. That this One Divine Soul is mixed up with so much of what is material and human that many people do not perceive it. The wise recognise the precious metal in the buried ore. They strive to purify the gold from the dross, or, to change the figure, the wise seek to discover these underlying forces of matter, mind, character and spiritual power, so that they may be able to control all things and not be at the mercy of so many forces as at present!

5. That enlightenment about the relation of the All-Soul to matter and mind, to physical and spiritual energies, is therefore the highest science of all.

Thus we find the philosophy of this book vindicating precisely the same position as is held by the leading Christian teachers of to-day, whether in Germany, England or America, leaving
material philosophers like Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer discussing only a part of the great problem of existence.

V.—The Present Outlook of the Mahayana School.

1.—The original teaching of this new or Mahayana school was given with so much of the old Buddhistic terms in it as only to be fully understood by the advanced and initiated. The followers were therefore frequently warned in their Sutras that if they did not find expert teachers they might not find out the true meaning at all! As a familiar example we might give what is prefixed to the Diamond Sutra, one of the most popular in China. It might be thus rendered into English:

Highest, deepest, law profound
Man from million woes does save;
This great secret of the world—
Julai's truth I vow to know.

2.—As Christianity was repeatedly threatened with extinction by being overlaid with Jewish ideas on the one hand and heathen ideas on the other, so has the new school of Mahayana not only been threatened but actually smothered in many places with layers of original Buddhism, leaving little more behind than an empty name—a departed glory.

3.—Buddhism in its palmiest days was under imperial patronage and had all the benefits of enlightenment. But that patronage has now for the last 500 years been given to Confucianism. Not one in a thousand of even the Buddhist priests can explain their own sacred books to-day. If the priests have no light the people must be in still greater darkness. They cannot contend with other enlightened religions. In Japan, however, the Buddhist priests seem to be much more enlightened. Their future depends upon the extent to which they will recognise truth wherever found—indeed, independent of forms and names. The religion which has most of God, of truth, and of love, is the religion which will finally win everywhere.
For high and catholic doctrine, for search after truth, for freedom from trivial and national customs and for universal love, few books can surpass this little volume on "How to Awaken Faith."

TIMOTHY RICHARD.

SHANGHAI, May 25th, 1894.

Opening Verses.
I yield my life to the All—
To ALL-SOUL, full of good,
In wisdom all complete,
In power all divine,
In pity—would save all.
To Law which does embody
The Archetype of all.
To Church which does contain
The Archetype in seed!
That men may be delivered
From doubt and evil ways;
Get Faith in the great School
Perpetuating God!

Synopsis of the Book.

It has five Chapters:

I.—Object of the Book.
II.—Basis of the Book.
III.—Exposition of Principles.
IV.—Practice of Religion.
V.—Advantages of Religion.

Opening Verses.
Chap. I.—Object of writing the book.

Question 1.—Why write the book?
Answer 1. a.—Not for fame but to give happiness to a world of sorrow.
b.—To lead men to the right through Ju-Lai.
c.—To lead the best men to Faith in the Great School.
d.—To lead less noble men to Faith.
e.—To shew how to get rid of all error.
f.—To rid worldly men and those of the two lower schools of error.
g.—To shew how to see Buddha.
h.—To shew the benefits of this religion.

Question 2.—As the Sutras explain all this, why write a new book?

Answer 2.—To give a comprehensive view of the whole to intelligent men.

Chap. II.—The basis—the Mahayana.
a.—Its nature—the Soul of All.
b.—Its attributes—all-pervading.

Chap. III.—Exposition. A.—In definitions. B.—In the cure of heresies. C.—In steps of progress.

A.—Definitions. The One Soul has two aspects.

1.—The transcendant form—beyond all language.

Question 3.—How then can any follow it?

Answer 3.—Though beyond language it is conceivable.

a.—It is not the ordinary realities.
b.—It is nevertheless the most real of all.

2.—The immanent form—in all living beings.

a.—Intuitive knowledge.
b.—Non-intuitive knowledge.

(1.) Produces three states corresponding to the non-intuitive knowledge and six others.

(2.) Intuition and non-intuition have two states.

(a.) The same state as a fragment of pottery and all the fragments are of clay.

(b.) Different states, as the clay is made into different utensils.
(3.) Produces the five thoughts (motives and results).
(4.) Produces ignorant opinions—six soul-stainers.
(5.) The destruction [end] of the immanent state—general and particular—rough and fine.

Question 4.—If the soul ends how does it continue? If it continues how does it end?

Answer 4.—What ends is only the state of the soul, not the soul itself.

(6.) There are four influences—purifying, staining, false opinions and a false world.
   (a.) The incessant defiling influence.
      aa.—Of the false world.
      bb.—Of the false opinions.
      cc.—Of ignorance.
   (b.) The constant purifying influences.
      aa.—Of [thought] opinions.
      bb.—Of the transcendent.
      (aa.)—Directly by its own nature.

Question 5.—As all have the transcendent, what need of faith and practice?

Answer 5.—It is because ignorance differs.

(7.) The transcendent’s own nature and state.

Question 6.—As the transcendent is independent of all states, how do you speak of all kinds of blessings and possibilities?

Answer 6.—Although it has these blessings it is independent of any state.

(8.) The transcendent in action—Buddha’s vows begin here.
   (a.) Has the faculty of distinguishing between good and evil—the reflected body (Ying Shen).
   (b.) Has the faculty of consciences indwelling—the rewarded body (Pao Shen).
   (c.) Has the faculty of knowing suffering.
   (d.) Has the faculty of perceiving the transcendent body (Fa Shen).
(e.) Has finally the faculty beyond human experience——the Buddha state.

**Question 7.**—If the Buddhas are independent of all visible states how can they manifest themselves?

**Answer 7.**—The spiritual state is the soul of all the visible, therefore can manifest itself in the invisible.

(9.) Shown in leaving the immanent for the transcendent.

**B.——The Cure of Heresies.**

1.——About terms, such as
   a.—That Ju-lai is space.
   b.—That Nirvana and the transcendent are intangible.
   c.—That Ju-lai embraces matter and spirit, therefore that these cannot be cured.
   d.—That as Ju-lai embraces everything, therefore life and death.
   e.—That the joys of Nirvana come to an end when Ju-lai comes from heaven to save men.

2.——About the relation of the transcendent to the immanent being inimical.

3.——About purity and stains being absolute, not relative.

**C.—Different Steps of Progress.**

1.——Growth of faith depends on man and character.
   a.—Faith is not mere goodness which may fail.
   b.—Faith is threefold—is based on the transcendent, rejoices in all good, helps to save.

**Question 8.**—As men and the transcendent are the same, what need is there for practice?

**Answer 8.**—Like a precious stone from a quarry it must be polished.

   c.—Faith employs four means of progress.

(1.) Cultivate the study of the root of all things.
(2.) Stop evil.
(3.) Grow in goodness,
(4.) Grow in the desire of the salvation of all beings.
   d. Faith-fruits—manifested in self-sacrifices, the reflected body (Ying Shen).
   e.—Faith descends to save others.
   f.—Faith never fails because of difficulties.

2.—Growth in intelligent practice of the five paramitas.
   a.—Paramita charity.
   b.—Paramita discipline.
   c.—Paramita endurance.
   d.—Paramita perseverance.
   e.—Paramita unchangeableness.
   f.—Paramita wisdom.

3.—Growth in attainments.
   a.—This (Pusa) disciple becomes at once able to reach any place in space to worship the enlightened.
   b.—The growth of this (Pusa) discipleship is threefold—the transcendent, the means, and the new attainments nearer perfection.
   c.—This discipleship perfected—Buddhahood.

Question 9.—To comprehend all beings in all the worlds how can any get this wisdom seed?

Answer 9.—By obtaining the omniscience that is independent of the senses and is in all minds.

Question 10.—If the Buddhas are incarnate everywhere to save mankind, why do you say that most people cannot see them?

Answer 10.—Only those pure like a bright mirror are able to reflect and see such.

Chap. IV.—The Practice of the Higher School of Religion.

A.—How to practise charity.
B.—How to practise morality.
C.—How to practise the enduring of wrong.
D.—How to practise perseverance.
E.—How to practise stopping vain thought and reflection.

1.—Stopping vain thought—sitting in quietness and then
   a.—Think of the means of stopping vain thoughts
       till you get transcendent peace.
   b.—Learn that the peace of all in heaven and earth
       is the same.
   c.—Think when tempted of the one eternal soul.
   d.—Find out the advantages of peace in this life.

2.—Reflect
   a.—That nothing made lasts long.
   b.—That life is full of sorrow.
   c.—That the present is not the real self—the past is
       as a dream, the present a lightning flash, the
       future smoke.
   d.—That all living beings are stained.
   e.—That existence down all the ages is marred by
       sorrow and therefore to be pitied.
   f.—That a great vow should be made to save others.
   g.—That the vow should be carried out in practice.

3.—Stop vain thoughts and reflect simultaneously and at
   all times.

4.—Reflect on Amitabha so as not to lose faith.

Chap. V.—Advantages of this practice.

A.—Generally will attain the very highest doctrine.
B.—Will attain to Buddhahood.
C.—An hour of faith surpasses a universe of good works.
D.—The advantages are unspeakable and eternity is not
    long enough to calculate them.
E.—Unbelievers and revilers have no hope of salvation.
F.—It is by means of this religion that the Buddhas and
    the Pussas of the past and present have attained and
    are attaining their pure faith, therefore follow it!
Closing Verse.

Deep and wide are Buddhist laws,
These in brief I have declared;
Returning has eternal stores,
Blessing gives to countless worlds.
LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1893-94.

President: N. J. Hannen (absent).

Vice-Presidents: { P. G. von Möllendorff (in the Chair).
                   Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D.

Hon. Secretary: Z. Volpicelli.

Hon. Treasurer: Thomas Brown.

Hon. Librarian: J. Ritter von Haas.


{ Dr. E. Faber.

Councillors: { T. W. Kingsmill.
              James Scott.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

(Corrected to December 31st, 1894.)

Members are particularly requested to notify the Hon. Secretary of any change of address or other necessary correction to be made in this List.

† Indicates a Member who has contributed to the Society’s Journal.
§ " Life Member of the Society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Year of Election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bart, Sir Robert, Bart., G.C.M.G., L.L.D.</td>
<td>Inspectorate - General of Customs, Peking</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, P. J., M.A.</td>
<td>4, Whitehall Court, London, S.W.</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legge, Prof. James, D.D.</td>
<td>University of Oxford</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richthofen, Freiherr F. von</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zottoli, Père Angelo</td>
<td>Jesuit Mission, Sicawei, Shanghai</td>
<td>1886</td>
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Honorary Protector.

His Majesty LEOPOLD II, King of the Belgians.

Honorary Members.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Year of Election</th>
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<tr>
<td>†Bastian, Dr. Adolph</td>
<td>Ethnological Museum, Berlin</td>
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<td>†Bretschneider, E., M.D.</td>
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<td>1864</td>
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<td>Andubon Park, 157th Street, New York</td>
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<td>†McCcartee, D. B., M.D.</td>
<td>C/o Dr. Ellinwood, 23, Centre Street, New York, U.S.A.</td>
<td>1865</td>
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<td>†Moule, Right Rev. Bishop, D.D.</td>
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<td>Rondot, Natalis</td>
<td>Rue Saint-Joseph, 20, Lyons</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>Széchényi, Count Béla</td>
<td>Zinkendorf, Hungary</td>
<td>1880</td>
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### Ordinary Members.

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Year of Election</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aalst, Jules A. van</td>
<td>Custom House, Shanghai</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acheson, James</td>
<td>Custom House, Canton</td>
<td>1880</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anderson, J.</td>
<td>National Bank of China, Amoy</td>
<td>1894</td>
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<td><em>Ball, J. Dyer</em></td>
<td>Supreme Court, Hongkong</td>
<td>1883</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bard, Eugene</td>
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| †Haas, J. Ritter von        | Austro-Hungarian Consulate, S'hui            | 1869             |
| Heekmann, Pastor Licentiate H. | 10, Kiuikang Road, Shanghai          | 1894             |
| †Hall, J. C., M.A.          | British Consulate, Nagasaki, Japan          | 1888             |
| †Halifax, T. E.             | Matsumoto, Nagano Ken, Japan               | 1889             |
| Hanbury, T.                 | C/o Messrs. Iveson & Co., Shanghai          | 1868             |
| Hannen, Sir N. J.           | British Consulate-General, Shanghai         | 1891             |
| †Happer, Andrew P., Jr.     | C/o L.M. Customs, Newchwang                 | 1885             |
| †Hart, J. H.                | C/o Custom House, Shanghai                  | 1885             |
| Hart, Rev. V. C., M.A.      | 2, Whangpoo Road, Shanghai                  | 1887             |
| Henderson, D. M., M.C.E.    | Custom House, Shanghai                      | 1885             |
| Henderson, E., M.D.         | Szechuen Road, Shanghai                     | 1876             |
| †Henry, A., M.A.           | Custom House, Takow                         | 1881             |
| Hey, E.                     | 8, Foochow Road, Shanghai                   | 1886             |
| Hippisley, A. E.            | Custom House, Shanghai                      | 1876             |
| †Hirth, F., PH.D.          | Custom House, Chungking                     | 1877             |
| †Hobson, H. E.             | C/o Custom House, Shanghai                  | 1868             |
| Hodges, Rev. H. C., M.A.    | The Deanery, Shanghai                       | 1887             |
| Hostink, B.                | C/o Lauts & Haesloop, Swatow                | 1882             |
| †Hosie, Alex., M.A.        | British Consulate, Wenchow                   | 1877             |
| Hunter, Dulmeay             | U.S. Vice-Consul, Shanghai                  | 1894             |
| Hunter, Rev. S. A., M.A., M.D., LL.D. | Morgan Town, West Virginia, Va., U.S.A. | 1890             |

| †Imbault-Huart, C.         | French Consulate, Canton                    | 1880             |

| Jack, J. B.                | Custom House, Hankow                        | 1890             |
| †Jamieson, G.              | H.B.M.'s Supreme Court, Shanghai            | 1868             |
| Jamieson, J. W.            | British Consulate-General, Shanghai         | 1888             |
| Jeffrey, Sydney            | Singapore                                    | 1892             |

<p>| Kenmure, Alexander         | C/o British and Foreign Bible Society, Shanghai | 1887             |
| King, Paul H.              | C/o Custom House, Shanghai                   | 1886             |
| †Kingsmill, Thos. W.       | Szechuen Road, Shanghai                      | 1864             |
| †Kopsch, H.               | Inspectorate-General of Customs, Shanghai    | 1877             |
| Kremser, G.                | Kiuikang Road, Shanghai                      | 1894             |</p>
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