SUPPLEMENTARY JOTTINGS

TO THE "NOTES ON THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO AND MALACCA, COMPILED FROM CHINESE SOURCES"

BY

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This little work, published by me in 1876 in the Transactions of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, has been repeatedly noticed in the columns of the *T'oung-pao*, and, I am happy to say, always in a friendly spirit. Questions were put, where I had been obliged to leave uncertainty; solutions were proposed, where I had been unable to suggest them. Though I saw with extreme satisfaction that others interested themselves in a subject on which I had bestowed some pains, I could not take a part in the discussion, because my time was completely taken up by official duties.

Even when in 1887 these Notes were reprinted by Dr. Reinhold Rost for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I had to limit myself to a few corrections and rectifications, but could not attempt to go further into the matter [1]).

Having now a period of leisure before me, I gladly return to the old task, though I can hardly add anything to what I gave

1) When further on I shall have to refer to my Notes, the two editions will be distinguished by the numbers I and II.

before, as no new materials have been discovered by others or by myself; I am indeed prepared to think that I have exhausted the subject in this respect, but I say this without any feeling of exultation, for nobody would rejoice more than myself, if new sources were discovered to supply our scanty information on so interesting a subject.

In Vol. IV, pag. 81 ff. of the *T'oung-pao* Dr. F. W. K. Müller has made a few remarks, which I would answer as follows.

It cannot be denied that the characters 彭坑 *p'ang-k'ang* give a very defective transcription of the name *Pahang* (Notes I, pag. 136 and II, pag. 255), and as Dr. Müller informs us that there is a tribe in that locality of the name *Panggang*, it is indeed quite probable that this was the old name of the place, for which the two characters, mentioned just now, were correctly used.

In the second place Dr. Müller suggests that the word *Mau-su*, used for the pirates of Northern Borneo (Notes I, pag. 102 and 138, II, pag. 224 and 257), and which I have been unable to identify, may be the Malay word *musuh* = enemy. I think this is a case of accidental homophony, unsupported by any other evidence and which should not be noticed therefore.

This is even more so with the third observation of Dr. Müller suggesting that the word *so-fu* (Notes I, pag. 141 and II, pag. 260) may mean stuffed skins of birds of paradise (Ternatan: *sofu*, Malay: *sopo*). Dr. Hirth (*Toung-pao* V, pag. 391) has already pointed out that *so-fu* is undoubtedly used for a woven stuff throughout the old geographical literature and reminds of the Arab word *suf* = wool.

I must acknowledge, however, that my description of the article is neither quite correct, as I did not take it for a woven stuff, but called it a dress or quilt of feathers, on no other authority than a passage from the *Tung-Si-Yang-K'au*: 以鳥毳爲之、

紋如納綺 "it is made of birdsdown and the pattern is like that of the silk called *hwan-k'i*".

I can now, however, add a few new extracts, which run as follows:

蘇普回回毛布之精者也 "*Su-p'u* is the finest haircloth of the Mohammedans" (History of the Yuen-dynasty, book 78).

織鳥毛爲銷伏、紋如納綺 "They (the people of 哈烈 Herat) weave feathers to make *so-fuh*, its pattern is like *hwan-k'i* silk" (淵鑑類函, book 237).

鳥服者諸種鳥毳所織成。一曰天鵝絨。番人剪天鵝羽細管雜以機絲爲之。其製巧麗。以色大紅者爲上。有冬夏二種。雨灑不濕謂之雨紗雨緞。粵人得其法。以土鵝管或以絨。物品既下價亦因之。一曰琍祕出哈烈國亦鳥毳所成。紋如納綺。其大紅者貴。然頗重不堪服。粵人倣爲之似素絹。起雲殊不逮也。又有以孔雀毛績爲線縷以繡黼子及婦女雲肩。金翠奪目。其毛多買於番舶。

"Birdsdresses are woven from all sorts of birdsdown; some call it wild-swan-velvet. The people in foreign countries cut with scissors the small feathers of the wild swan, mix them with weaving-silk and so make it; it is done in a skilful and fine way. Dark red is the best. There are two sorts: for summer and for winter. That which is not wetted by rain is called raingauze or rainsatin. The people of Canton have learned to make it, using the feathers of the domestic goose or flossy silk; the price has fallen accordingly.

Some call it *so-fuh*. This comes from Herat and is also made from down of birds; its pattern is like *hwan-k'i* and dark red is the dearest, but it is a little heavy and uncomfortable to wear. The people of Canton make an imitation, which is like plain sarcenet, but the cloudy pattern is not so good by far. They (the

Cantonese) also take peacockfeathers and make them into a thread, with which they embroider the shouldercovers of boys and girls; the bright and variegated colours dazzle the eye. These feathers are mostly bought from foreign ships" (粵中見聞, book 19).

These extracts show that *so-fu* is a textile fabric and that it came from Persia, Turkestan and the neighbouring countries. What it really was, is not quite clear, but the extracts are very positive about the use of feathers or down. I cannot, however, repress the idea that this may be a myth after all and that we have to do here with some kind of velvet, which, from its outward appearance, was taken to be made of feathers.

I have now to correct another mistake, this time completely of my own. With respect to the name 淡洋 *Tam-iang* (Notes I, pag. 93 and II, pag. 216), I have allowed myself to be taken in by my Chinese informant, who explained these characters according to their meaning and invented a story to suit his explanation, whilst they are the transcription of the name *Tamiang*, a country still existing and situated on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra, between Atjeh and Deli, lat. 4° 25′ and long. 98° 20′. The name "Country of the Fresh-water Sea" must be consigned to oblivion.

The kingdom of Aru (Notes I, pag. 94 and II, pag. 216) must be placed at the south of Tamiang on the present Aru-bay, where the last map reveals a Pulau Sembilan = Nine Island = 九州. It is quite sure now that the Sembilan-islands on the coast of Perak and the Aru-islands in the strait of Malacca, are not meant here.

When I compiled my Notes, I came across an account of a country called *Shih-li-fuh-shi* 室利佛逝. I could not identify it and I thought it did not belong to the Malay archipelago, so I did not translate the notice. This country is only noticed in the history of the T'ang-dynasty, at least I never met the name anywhere else.

Since that time however, the Rev. S. Beal has informed us (Livre des merveilles de l'Inde par Van der Lith et Devic, Leide, Brill, 1883, pag. 251) that this name frequently occurs in the works of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim *I-tsing* and that it must mean a place on the Palembang river near its mouth. Prof. Beal observes that the Chinese characters, according to the method of transcribing Sanscrit words adopted by the Chinese Buddhists, point to a native name *Çrîbhôja*. *I-tsing* calls the place also simply *Bhôja*, from which it follows that *çrî* is here an epitheton ornans, well fitting a place for which the writer shows high regard, and on this account Prof. Beal thinks it possible that the name *San-bo-tsai*, which is given to Palembang in following centuries, is the same name with the prefix *sam* = united.

I have had no occasion to consult the works of *I-tsing*, but one of them, the *Ta-t'ang Si-yu k'ieou-fa Kao-seng tchoan* 大唐西遊求法高僧傳, "Mémoire sur les religieux éminents de la grande dynastie T'ang qui sont allés chercher la Loi dans les pays d'Occident", has been translated by Mr. E. Chavannes (Paris, Leroux, 1894). We learn from this book that the Chinese pilgrims, who went from China to India by sea, sometimes took a direct passage, but often went first to some place in the Malay archipelago, probably because no direct passage could be had. They went then to *Çrîbhôja* or to *Kaling* 訶陵 (Java), whilst one is said to have gone to *P'ouo-lou-che* [1]) (pag. 36), a place apparently in the island of Sumatra, but which I have not been able to identify. When going from *Bhôja* or *Kaling* to India, they generally touched at *Mo-la-yu* 末羅瑜 and *Kieh-ch'a* 羯茶, both of them also places on the coast of the island Sumatra. The voyage from Canton to Bhôja took from 20 to 30 days (pag. 119 and 144), from Bhôja

1) I follow here the orthography of Mr. Chavannes, because the Chinese characters are not given.

to Molayu 15 and from Molayu to Kieh-ch'a 15 days also; from Kieh-ch'a the ships either took a western course and then arrived in southern India or Ceylon in about 30 days (pag. 144), or they went north and then passed the Nicobar-islands after 10 days or more (pag. 120). In one case the voyage was undertaken from Java to Molayu and from there to India without going by Kieh-ch'a (pag. 43). It is not unlikely that these different courses were determined by the reigning monsoon. In Bhôja as well as in Java Buddhism was flourishing; in both countries the Chinese pilgrims studied the Law with the assistance of native scholars. Bhôja was the residence of the king, who was a fervent Buddhist, hououring and assisting the pilgrims in many ways; he had ships of his own, in which sometimes a passage was given to the pilgrims, and as these vessels certainly were no men of war, we may infer from this that the king traded on his own account, as was the general custom of the native princes of the archipelago.

Prof. Beal and Mr. Chavannes do not agree about the locality which must be assigned to these different places, but before discussing that point I will give a translation of the two notices on the subject which are found in the history of the T'ang-dynasty.

"*Shih-li-fuh-shi* 室利佛逝 also 尸利佛誓 (*Çrîbhôja*) is situated 2000 *li* beyond *Kiün-t'u-lung* (軍徒弄 not yet identified); it extends 1000 *li* from east to west and 4000 or more *li* from north to south; it has 14 walled towns belonging to two different kingdoms; the western kingdom is called *Lang-p'o-lou-szĕ* 郎婆露斯.

Çrîbhôja has much gold, cinnaber and ambergris; at the summer-solstitium a gnomon of 8 feet casts a shadow towards the south of 2 feet 5 inches (2½) [1]). In this country the number of males is

1) This would be a most valuable indication, but I am afraid these numbers cannot be trusted, as they seem to have been altered in the course of time. We have a similar indication for Java (Notes I, pag. 14 and II, pag. 139), in which a shorter shadow is given, whilst it should evidently be longer.

preponderant. They have here an animal called *t'oh-t'o-pau* (橐它豹), spotted and with a rhinoceroshorn, which is used for riding and ploughing; they call it the carrying ox-leopard 它牛豹; there is also an animal like a wild pig, with horns like a wild goat, called *yü* 雲; its flesh is very fine.

The king is styled *Hoh-mih-to* 曷蜜多; between the years 670—741 he repeatedly sent envoys to present letters of allegiance. Once these were robbed by the border-officials and then the emperor ordered Canton to soothe them; he also once sent two dwarfs and two negro-girls with dancers and musicians. The envoys got the official rank of *cheh-ch'ung* 折衝, the king was made Great commander of the left frontier guard and he got as presents a purple robe and a girdle with golden flowers.

Afterwards he sent his son to court; the emperor ordered to feast him in one of the palace halls and appointed him crownprince by decree. He also got a high military title and was then sent back". (*Sin T'ang-shu*, book 222*c*).

In book 43*b* of the new History of the T'ang-dynasty (618 – 906) we find a kind of itinerary from Canton by sea to the southern and western countries; the first part mentions a number of countries, mountains and rocks which cannot be identified and lie beyond the scope of my task, but a part of it may be of some use for our purpose; it is the following passage:

"From *Kiün-tuh-lung* (軍突弄), after going 5 days, one comes to a strait which the foreigners call *chih* 質; it is 100 *li* from north to south; on the north lies the country of *Lo-yüeh* 羅越 and on the south the country of *Bhôja* 佛逝. From *Bhôja* going eastward for 4 or 5 days, one comes to the country of *Kaling* 訶陵 (Java), which is the largest of the islands of the south". (*Sin T'ang-shu*, book 43*b*).

I will now try to show what places are meant by the different

names, which are given above. It is no easy task, as we have but scant indications, admitting indeed a good deal of uncertainty and doubt.

The second extract from the *Sin T'ang-shu* shows that the country of *Lo-yüeh* was situated to the north of the eastern entrance of the Strait of Malacca; I cannot identify this country, but it reminds me of Marco Polo's Locac, a place situated much further north and which gave its name to the whole south of the Malay peninsula. (v. Yule, Marco Polo, II, pag. 262).

Bhôja was situated on the other side, i. e. on the eastern coast of Sumatra. Before attempting to fix its locality with more precision, we have to answer the question how the voyage of Bhôja to India was made, by the Strait of Sunda or by that of Malacca? We may take it for granted that the latter route was generally preferred because it was much less dangerous, the ships being able to remain longer in the proximity of land. This supposition is confirmed by the *Sin T'ang-shu* which, after the passage translated above, gives an itinerary through the Strait of Malacca to India, but does not mention the Strait of Sunda.

Keeping this is mind, it is clear that Bhôja must lie to the south of Molayu, and Mr. Chavannes, considering that Palembang, according to the commentaries of Alboquerque, was called by the Javanese Malayo, places Bhôja in the extreme south of Sumatra. This statement of Alboquerque does not agree with de Barros, who in his list of Sumatran kingdoms makes Tana-Malayu (the land of the Malays) the *next* to Palembang (Yule, Marco Polo, 2nd edit. II, pag. 263); Alboquerque may have heard the Javanese call Palembang a Malay country and wrongly concluded that this was its name.

Moreover there are other reasons which make it altogether improbable that Bhôja could have been situated more south than

Palembang. The eastern coast of Sumatra is a low marshy plain, where all communication is carried on by water; any place of importance, any emporium of trade must have been situated on one of the large rivers, which come nearly from the other side of the island and run through immense tracts of country of which they are the natural and only outlets. Now there is no river of any importance south of Palembang, and if we turn the south-eastern corner and come to the Lampongs, we find, it is true, higher land, but with no back country, so no important market can ever have existed here. When the *Sin T'ang-shu* says that the country to the south of the entrance to the Strait of Malacca was called Bhôja, it can hardly have meant the Lampongs, but we must look to the east coast of Sumatra, where Bhôja then was, if not the only, at least the principal port.

Admitting with Mr. Chavannes that it must be placed as far south as possible, we naturally come to the conclusion that Bhôja or Çrîbhôja was situated on the Palembang river, and that it is the same place for which we find later on the name of *San-bo-tsai*, corresponding to a native name *Sambhôja* or *Sĕmbhôja*.

So far I quite agree with Prof. Beal, but one of his reasons, being that Bhôja is the same place as the Molayu of I-tsing or Malaiur of Marco Polo, cannot be admitted as correct. In the first place he is mistaken in telling us that I-tsing says so, as has already been shown by Mr. Chavannes (pag. 202); I-tsing tells us distinctly that Molayu is another country and the passage which makes it the same as Bhôja is from a later commentator. Prof. Beal further says that Col. Yule (Marco Polo, II, pag. 261) has given good reasons for supposing the Malaiur of Marco Polo to be the same as Palembang; I find, however, that Col. Yule is far from positive and inclines even to the interpretation of de Barros, who places Tana Malayu *next* to Palembang.

We have therefore to find now a place for the Molayu of I-tsing, the Malaiur of Marco Polo, the Malayo of Alboquerque and the Tana-Malayu of de Barros, all which may be taken to mean the same place. I-tsing tells us that it took 15 days to go from Bhôja to Molayu and 15 days again to go from there to Kieh-ch'a (pag. 144). The latter place, suggesting a native name Kada, must have been situated in the north-west of Sumatra, somewhere near the present Atjeh, for going from there west one arrived in 30 days at Magapatana near Ceylon (pag. 144), whilst a northern course brought one in 10 days to the Nicobar-islands (pag. 120). Molayu should thus lie halfway between Bhôja and Kieh-ch'a, but this indication must not be taken too litterally, where it is given for a sailing vessel, and there is also the statement of de Barros, which does not allow us to go too far away from Palembang, as he mentions Tana-Malayu *next* to that place. We have therefore to choose between the next three larger rivers: those of Jambi, Indragiri and Kampar and there is an indication in favour of the last one, not very strong, it is true, but still not to be neglected. I-tsing tells us (pag. 119): "Le roi me donna des secours grâce auxquels je parvins au pays de *Mo-louo-yu*; j'y séjournai derechef pendant deux mois. Je changeai de direction pour aller dans le pays de *Kie-tcha*". The change of direction during a voyage along the east coast of Sumatra from Palembang to Atjeh is nowhere very perceptible, because the course is throughout more or less north-west, still one may speak of a change of direction at the mouth of the river Kampar, about the entrance of the Strait of Malacca, whence the track begins to run more west, whilst it is more north before. The country of Kampar is of little importance now, but it is not improbable that there has been a Hindoo settlement, as the ruins of religious monuments decidedly Buddhist are still existing on the upper course of the river, the only ones

indeed on this side of the island, it being a still unexplained fact that the Hindoos in Java have built on a very large scale and those of Sumatra hardly anything at all.

I-tsing says that the country of *P'ouo-lou-che* (pag. 36) was situated to the west of Bhôja and Mr. Chavannes therefore thinks it may be the same as *Lang-p'o-lou-szĕ* in the extract from the New History of the *T'ang-dynasty*, translated above; this looks not improbable, but I must reject his supposition that it may be Perlak, quite in the north of the island, which seems to be a mere guess without any real foundation and not even probable. For the same reason I cannot follow Prof. Beal, who assumes that this is the same as Pasei, a little to the north of Perlak. I prefer to acknowledge that the situation of this place must remain an open question until further evidence.

On the northern coast of Sumatra the name Lambri (Notes I pag. 98 and II pag. 220) has been found back in a small village near Kota Radja; it is called Lambāri by the people of Atjeh which gives in Malay: Lambĕri or Lambri.

In the description of the palace at Modjopait (I, pag. 46 and II, pag. 171), I wrote that its brick wall had a length of a hundred feet; this must be a hundred paces, as the text has: 墻高三丈餘週圍約有百餘步. But even this must be wrong, for it gives us only a sqare of 25 paces side, far too small for the palace of a native ruler and incompatible with the fact, mentioned in the narrative, that a number of large houses were erected inside. It is probable that a printing error has crept into the text here, for our author was too well acquainted with the subject to make such a mistake. For this reason it deserves notice that the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan Tsi* (Notes I, pag. X), which is otherwise quite unreliable, but may have followed a more correct edition of our text, has 300 li for the circumference of this wall; this is certainly

too much again, being at least 120 kilometer, but it points to a large cipher in the original text, better agreeing with the enormous walls of Modjopait, of which many traces remain and which may easily have been overestimated.

The 古今圖書集成, placed at my disposal by my friend Dr. de Groot of Leiden, has yielded a few extracts, which I sthink I may translate here.

"The fields of Java are rich and its soil is level and well watered, therefore grain and rice are abundant, twice as much as in other countries. The people do not steal, and what is dropped on the road is not taken up. The common saying: "prosperous Java" means this country. Men and women wrap up their head and wear long clothes." (島夷志 in 邊裔典, book 97).

The *Tau-I Chi* was written about 1350, and it is interesting to see that Java at that period still possessed its old reputation for wealth and prosperity, which it was about to lose for a considerable length of time, owing to the internal dissensions accompanying or following the introduction of the Islam.

"In the year 1375, the 2nd month, the Emperor ordered that the spirits of the mountains and rivers of *San-bo-tsai* and Java were to be jointly sacrificed to in the hall of the mountains and rivers of Kwang-Tung.

"Previously the President of the Board of Rites had represented that an end having been made in the capital to the sacrifices to the mountains and rivers of the empire, it was not becoming that the Emperor should any longer personally worship the mountains and rivers of the foreign countries (四𢘑[1]) and then the Emperor had ordered that these rites should be reconsidered and a report presented.

1) 𢘑 is used here for 夷; I never met it elsewhere with this meaning, but the text leaves no place for uncertainty about this.

"Thereupon the Chung Shu (? 中書) and the Board of Rites proposed that the mountains and rivers of the foreign countries (外彝) should be joined to the sacrifices of the different provinces, in this way that Kwang-Si should take the sacrifices for Annam, Champa, Cambodja, Siam and Soli; Kwang-Tung those for San-bo-tsai and Java; Fuh-kien those for Japan, Liukiu and the West-Coast of Borneo (Pu-ni); Liau-tung those for Corea; Shen-si those for Kan-suh etc. In the capital they should then not be worshipped any more.

"They also observed that the mountains and rivers of the various provinces, together with (the tablets of) wind, clouds, thunder and rain, already occupied the centre (of each provincial hall) facing the south, therefore the tablets of the mountains and rivers of the foreign countries should be divided east and west and worshipped together at one altar.

"The Emperor consented to these propositions and ordered the Chung Shu to make them generally known.

"When the time of these sacrifices drew near, an officer was sent to look after the mode of worship." (廣東通志 in 邊裔典, book 97).

This extract gives us a curious instance how thoroughly and with what intimate conviction the idea of China's universal rule (Notes I, pag. 5 and II, pag. 130) was carried out.

"When I-tsu (藝祖) had founded his dynasty, in the autumn of his first year, Sam-bo-tsai came to bring tribute, but at that time this country did not yet know that the house of Sung had succeeded to the throne. Among the articles brought as tribute there was a t'ung-t'ien rhinoceroshorn (通天犀), in the midst of which there was something like a dragon holding up a cover; this figure of a dragon was climbing (rampant) with its tail slightly towards the left, which gives the (old) character 宋 Sung. (This

needs not astonish us, for) how could it be by accident that the lawful lord receives the heavenly award to rule the empire? I-tsu took this rhinoceroshorn for a girdle-clasp and he always wore it when sacrificing to heaven, to earth or to his ancestors". (袁褧楓窗小牘, Yuen Kiung's Booklet of the maple-window in 邊裔典, book 98).

By I-tsu nobody else can be meant than the founder of the Sung dynasty, whom I know however only under the name of T'ai-tsu and I cannot explain why he is called by another name here.

This uncertainty does not, however, affect the meaning of this anecdote, which may find a place here, because it shows for what peculiar reasons the products of foreign countries were sometimes appreciated in China.

The words t'ung-t'ien have not been translated, because I am not quite certain of their meaning; they signify literally "penetrating into heaven, towering into the sky" and are used for "very high" as an epithet of sacrificial mounds 臺 and court-hats (vide 佩文韻府 sub voce 天). We find there also the following notice: 犀有異角其名通天, the rhinoceros has a peculiar (rare) horn, which is called t'ung-t'ien. This is of course no explanation at all, neither have I been able to find a satisfactory one, but in looking for it, I came across a number of superstitions and legends about the rhinoceroshorn, which must have come from foreign countries to China with the article itself and may have some interest for the folklore of those foreign parts.

The rhinoceros, or at least its horn, was known in China at the dawn of its history; it is mentioned in the Chow-li, Ritual of the house of Chow (1122—255 b. C.) and in the Shi-king, respectively under the names of si 犀 and szĕ 兕, which seem to design the same animal.

The Shan-hai-king, dating from the beginning of the Chow-dynasty or perhaps further back, uses both names for two different, but related animals.

The Urh-ya, written about the 5th century b. C., but a part of which is said to date back as far as the beginning of the Chow-dynasty, makes a difference between the two and says: "the *szĕ* is like an ox and the *si* is like a pig". The commentary of Kwoh P'oh (A. D. 276—324) adds to this: "The *szĕ* is of a black (dark green 青) colour. The *si* resembles a buffalo and has the head of a pig, a large belly and short feet with three toes; it is of a black colour and has three horns, one on the crown of the head, one on the front and one on the nose: the last is the eating horn (食角?), it is small and is never shed; the animal likes to eat thorns; there are also some with one horn".

We may infer from these notices that those who wrote them had never seen a rhinoceros themselves, but were in the possession of oral information, which may have been got near at hand, as the rhinoceros was found in the southwestern part of the present empire, at that time not belonging to China proper yet. The detail of the three toes for instance is correct. But as this rhinoceros (rh. indicus) has only one horn, they must also have heard of the species in Sumatra, which has two.

The note of the wonderful was soon struck by *Pau P'o-tszĕ* 抱朴子 in his book on occult science, written in the beginning of the 4th century (內篇, 4th book):

"The venerable Cheng once got a real t'ung-t'ien rhinoceros-horn, somewhat longer than 3 inches; he carved it into the shape of a fish and took it in his mouth when he went into the water, which always opened before him with a square of 3 feet and he was able to breathe in it".

"The t'ung-t'ien horn has a red streak like a tasselthread, run-

ning from the bottom to the top; when this horn is filled with rice and placed amongst the fowls, these eat only a few inches and then run frightened away; therefore the people of the south call this horn also the horn which scares the fowls 駭鷄犀. When this horn is stuck into the top of a heap of grain, the birds dare not alight upon it. When on nights of thick mist or strong dew it is placed in the open space of the house, it does not become wet.

"This rhinoceros lives in deep forests; on dark evenings its horn shines brightly as a blazing torch.

"This horn is used to draw poison. The stuff is made into a broth, which is stirred with the horn, when a white froth is produced, which bubbles up and then it is over; the poison has no force any more. When a non poisonous substance is stirred with it, no froth comes up; it can thus be known by this. When travelling in foreign countries, there are poisonous villages, and if one eats or drinks in another house, he always first stirs with a rhinoceroshorn. When a man is wounded by a poisonous arrow and on the point of dying, they stick this horn into the wound, when froth comes forth and it is healed.

"The reason why this horn can kill poison is that this animal eats only plants which contain poison and trees which have thorns; it will never eat plants or trees which are soft or smooth.

"Once a year they shed their horns amongst the rocks in the mountains. When people find them, they must cut a piece of wood, making it like the horn in colour, spots and shape, this they put in the place of the horn and the rhinoceros cannot detect it, but comes in the following years to the same place to shed its horns.

"Other sorts of rhinoceroshorn can also cure poison, but not so wonderfully as the t'ung-t'ien".

Gradually the Chinese have become somewhat better acquainted

with this animal, but their notions have remained far from correct and even now it is still represented by them as a buffalo with a long horn on the top of its head. Neither have the old superstitions been discarded, but on the contrary a large number of new stories have been added to them. The 圖書集成 devotes two chapters to this subject (禽蟲典, books 68 and 69) from which I venture to take what follows.

The distinction between *szĕ* and *si* is long maintained. The former is said to be an animal living in the water, very clever in upsetting boats. The hide of both is used for armour; the skin of the *szĕ* is stronger and lasts 200 years, whilst that of the *si* lasts only a hundred. Later on we are informed that the *szĕ* is the female of the *si*; her horns are finer of design and surface and therefore better for ornaments, but the horn of the male is superior for magical and medicinal purposes. Another says that *szĕ* is the old name, now only used in the north, and *si* the modern name, preferred in the south.

The Chinese idea of a water-rhinoceros may have been derived from what they had heard about the tapir and even the hippopotamus. They soon saw that their notions about this animal were of a somewhat mythical character, but as they delight in these old traditions, they kept on repeating them; they acknowledge, however, that the animal is very rarely seen.

The water-rhinoceros is often called by the name *si* also; *e. g.* in the following extracts: "In the ocean there is the water-rhinoceros, resembling a buffalo; when it comes out of or enters into the water, it gives out light; the water opens before it".

"The rhinoceros which wards off dust (辟 or 却塵犀) is a sea-animal; its horn repels dust; when it is placed in a hall, dust does not come in".

"In the ocean there is a rhinoceros which is fond of hearing

music of stringed and blowing instruments 絲竹; when the people of those parts humour this liking, it comes out of the water".

"In the time of Han Wu Ti (140—88 b. C.) people from the west presented a red rhinoceros-dress 兕裘; when steeped into the water, it did not become wet; the Emperor wore it when giving audiences; it must have been something like the hide of the water-rhinoceros 水犀".

Sometimes this wonderful creature is represented as a quite different animal, having with the rhinoceros only the name in common; thus *f. i.* the San-tsai-t'u-hwui: "The *szĕ* is like a tiger, but smaller; it does not eat men. At night it stands alone on high mountain-tops and listens to the sound of rivulets; it likes silence. Just before the birds begin to sing and the sky becomes bright, it goes back to its lair". The 異林 gives the following story: "A man of Ts'ung-ming (about the mouth of the Yang-tszĕ) had put out his net in the sea and caught an animal like a dog and of a black colour. He put it in a pond, where it stole all the fish. This annoyed the man and he drove the animal away into the sea; it ran very quick and the water burst open before it. He then knew it was a *si*".

About the real rhinoceros we find the following notices, partly correct, but in which the marvellous continues to play a great part.

"When the rhinoceros sheds its horns it conceals them in a lonely and hidden place, not wishing that people should see it. The native king values them because they are rare and has them made into hairpins, which can dispel and ward off bad and dangerous influences".

"The t'ung-t'ien rhinoceros dislikes to see its own image and therefore always drinks muddy water, which cannot reflect it; when it is about to enter the water and people are following it, it will not move another step.

A captain of a foreign ship in the south told the following story: "When people want to capture rhinocerosses in my country, they plant stakes in the ground like monkey-poles; the forelegs of the rhinoceros have no joints and it always sleeps leaning against a tree; when these poles break off, it cannot get up any more [1])".

"The rhinoceros is like an ox, but its hoofs and legs are like those of an elephant. It has two horns: one on the forehead and a smaller one on the nose; the female has also two horns".

"The rhinoceros comes from Annam and is caught by making it fall into a pit; when it is killed, there is heavy thunder and pelting rain".

"In the country of the Tazi (probably the westcoast of Sumatra, see Notes I, pag. 14 and II, pag. 139) the rhinoceros is killed by men who climb in big trees to wait for it and shoot it when it passes by. For the smaller ones it is not necessary to use bows and arrows, as they can be caught with the hand".

"The rhinoceros has three hairs in each pore of its skin.

"When it sheds its horns, it heaps up earth and buries them underneath. The natives trace the spot and change them for wooden ones; if they take them without this precaution, the rhinoceros moves to another mountain and cannot be traced any more".

"The rhinoceros has thorns on its tongue and always eats the thorns of plants and trees, but never grasses or leaves [2])".

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1) Caesar told the same story about the alces or elk in the Hercynian forest. In Java the natives relate it also of a wild cow of diminative size, which is said to live in the loneliest recesses of the jungle.

2) Marco Polo gives the following account of the rhinoceros (Yule, II, pag. 265): "There are wild elephants in the country (of Basma, in the north of Sumatra) and numerous unicorns, which are very nearly as big. They have hair like that of the buffalo, feet like those of an elephant, and a horn in the middle of the forehead, which is black and very thick. They do no mischief, however, with the horn, but with the tongue alone; for this is covered all over with long and strong prickles (and when savage with any one, they crush him under their knees and then rasp him with their tongue). The head

"Champa produces much rhinoceroshorns and elephant-teeth. The rhinoceros is like the buffalo, and a big one weighs 800 cattys; its body has no hair, it is black and has a thick hide with scales. The hoof has three toes and it has one horn on the point of the nose, long about 1 foot, 5 inches. It eats the leaves and branches of thorny trees".

The Chinese value the rhinoceros only for its horns, to which they ascribe the most remarkable magical and medicinal properties, as may be illustrated by the following extracts.

"There is the t'ung-t'ien horn with flowered spots; those with the finest pattern bear figures of all kinds of things; some say this is a disease of the horn, but it is impossible to say whether this is true or not. When the horn on the forehead of the t'ung-t'ien rhinoceros is a thousand years old, it is long and pointed and has white stars all through it; it can exhale an aerial fluid pervading the sky and is then able to influence the spirits, to open the water and to scare the fowls; therefore it is called: pervading the sky (t'ung-t'ien).

"When the rhinoceros is pregnant and sees the shape of things against the sky, these are figured on the horn (of its young), therefore it is called t'ung-t'ien".

"The t'ung-t'ien rhinoceroshorn bears images of all kinds of things as if they were painted upon it; it is not known how this is caused; some say that when a rhinoceros likes a thing and long delights in it, it is gradually represented in its horn".

"When the rhinoceros looks at the stars, they (i. e. their image) penetrate into its horn".

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resembles that of a wild boar, and they carry it ever bent towards the ground. They delight much to abide in mire and mud". It is evident that Marco Polo has derived this information chiefly from Chinese sources, as is indeed the case in many other parts of his narrative.

"In the year 1054 there was a severe epidemic in the capital, and in the prescription of the college of physicians rhinoceroshorn was used; two horns were given from the imperial treasury, and when they were split, one of them proved to be a t'ung-t'ien horn. The palace-officials wanted to keep it for the imperial dress, but the emperor said; 'how could I keep it for dress and not give it to cure my people!' He forthwith ordered to pound it to powder".

"A girdlepin of rhinoceroshorn with thickset spots; inside was the figure of the moon, which could be seen during the last quarter. When the rhinoceros looks long at the moon, its image enters into the horn".

The t'ung-t'ien horn was very rare; one author says that hardly one is found in a thousand. It seems even that the article had no real existence at all, but lived only in an alchemistic fancy, just as the philosopher's stone on this side of the world. I am the more inclined to think so, as no distinctive signs are given by which it may be recognized with any degree of certainty or even probability; I have found, it is true, quite a number of passages, treating of the specks, stripes, striae etc. which may be seen on these horns, but the descriptions are so conflicting and irrelevant, that I have been obliged to let them alone. Neither can I attach any value to the attempts to explain the expression t'ung-t'ien, as they certainly give no sufficient reason for the use of these two words, which therefore must remain untranslated.

A few other myths about rhinoceroshorns are mentioned in the following extracts:

"The horn which keeps off dust 辟塵犀 (also 却塵犀 *vide supra*) is made into hairpins and combs for women; no dust then falls upon the hair".

"When the luminous rhinoceroshorn (光明犀) is placed in a dark room it gives light".

"In the year 825, a country from the south presented different articles, amongst which a rhinoceroshorn giving light at night (夜明犀). Its shape resembled the t'ung-t'ien and at night it gave such a light, that one could see at a hundred paces; even if it was covered a thousandfold with silk, its light could not be concealed. The emperor had it made into a girdleclasp, and when he went out hunting, he used no torch at night, for it was as clear as daylight".

"The horn of the spiritual rhinoceros (神犀) is lucent; in daytime it looks like an ordinary horn and at night like a blazing torch. If it is placed in the wilderness, the birds and animals are afraid". (Pei-wen yün-fu, sub voce 犀).

"In the year 714, towards the end of December, Kiau-chi (Tonking) brought as tribute a rhinoceroshorn of a yellow colour like gold. The envoy asked to put it in a golden pan and to place it in the middle of the hall, where it caused a genial warmth felt by every one. The emperor asked the reason of it, when the envoy answered: this is the rhinoceroshorn that dispels cold (辟寒犀)".

"We often hear of living rhinoceroshorns, and the tradition is that it is a horn which has never been soaked in water or burnt by fire. Some say, however, that this is not so, but that the living horn is obtained from a rhinoceros which is captured and killed, whilst the horns which have been shed are of an inferior quality. It is just as with the horns of stags".

I will conclude with a quotation from the 錄異記, written in the 10th century: "All these sorts of horn we know only by hearsay, but we cannot find an occasion to see them".