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NOTES

ON THE

MALAY ARCHIPELAGO /2/3

AND

MALACCA.

COMPILED FROM CHINESE SOURCES

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INTRODUCTION.

The history of Eastern Asia, its geography and its people, before the time of European intercourse, are subjects on which so little is known, that the very defective narratives of the Arabian travelers of the 9th century, of Marco Polo and 1bn Batuta, must be considered as works of the first importance.

In the midst of this unknown world, we find the Chinese empire with its ancient civilisation, which has never been violently interrupted, and with a literature on various subjects, nearly equally old, and handed down to our days in an unbroken series. It is evident that this is a source where further knowledge on the subject may be sought.

We do not claim to be the first who have seen this; on the contrary, it is a fact already proved by many others. Rémusat and Julien for instance, translating from Chinese sources, have supplied us with an amount of information about the ancient geography of Hindustan, for which it would be vain to look in all the books of that country itself.

Neither has the Malay archipelago been forgotten: in Vol. XIV of the Mémoires concernant les Chinois we find an article on Java from the hand of father Amiot; from Dr. G. Schlegel we have Iets omtrent de betrekkingen der Chinezen met Java voor de komst der Europeanen aldaar. Batavia, 1870, and Léon de Rosny gave us Les peuples de l'archipel indien, connus des anciens géographes Chinois et Japonais; fragments orientaux traduits en français. Paris, 1872.

After our compilation was finished, we have seen the articles of Mr. W. F. Mayers on the Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean during the 15th Century, in last year's China Review. Mr. Mayers in these also touches on the subject before us, and it will be seen that in a few cases his identification of localities differs from ours. As we probably had more resources for the purpose than were at the disposal of Mr. Mayers, we think it no presumption to expect that he will be himself the first to share our views.

Our task however has not become superfluous by these previous attempts. The texts translated by Amiot and Schlegel were both compositions of a Chinese official and seem to have been copied from some Chinese cyclopedia, with such abbreviations an embellishments of style, as were thought desirable by a man who knew very little or nothing about the subject.

Now these cyclopedias, in their turn, have been composed in nearly the same way. Professing to embrace a certain range of subjects, some of which are treated with considerable skill, the notices about foreign countries are introduced chiefly for the sake of completeness, and as a rule the author does not seem to have bestowed much research upon them. He just takes the Dynastic Histories and composes his account from the notices he finds there, abbreviating more or less, and frequently committing serious errors by fanciful corrections of what he does not understand; he throws together and mixes up the information of different times, which thereby loses its fixed dates and with them much of its value. We have consulted the principal of these cyclopedias, without finding material for a single extract.

Under these circumstances it need not astonish us, that the accounts translated by Amiot and Schlegel were very defective and unsatisfactory, and that their translations are disfigured by grave errors, some of which we shall have to correct in the following pages. We feel obliged to say however that many of these errors are less the fault of the translators, than of the worthless material on which they bestowed their pains.

Leon de Rosny has made his translations from the Cyclopedia San-ts'ai T'u Hui, which is amongst the least complete on this subject, and moreover he has committed many mistakes of his own: he places Pekalongan on Borneo and Tuban on Sumatra, Chan-ch'êng and Champa are made two different places, he writes Kuawa instead of Java, Tu-po instead of Dja-po or Dja-pa, etc. His mistakes have been caused by insufficient acquaintance with the geography of these countries, whilst a part of them might have been avoided, if he had compared other sources with the one he has translated.

Our plan has been different from that of our predecessors. We have made a collection, as complete as we could, of the literature on the subject, and by reading everything, we have generally been able to trace the different notices to their first appearance and to ascertain with more or less certitude the time to which their refer. By this process of comparison it was also possible to estimate the accuracy and value of every account, whilst many passages, unintelligible at first sight, became clear in the course of our reading. We translated only what was original, and the endless repetitions, through which we were obliged to go, were consigned to oblivion. In this way it has been necessary to read at least ten times more than what has been translated; our task has been long and often became tedious, but we see no other course to a reliable result.

Whilst thus recommending our method, we hope it will not be definitely judged by the results we have obtained with it. The Malay countries have been treated first for special reasons, which it is not necessary to explain here, but being situated at a considerable distance from China, they were very imperfectly known there, and the way in which they are noticed in the geographical literature of the Chinese leaves much to desire. As soon however as a country nearer to China is taken, there is a considerable improvement, and for the different countries of Indo-China we have found the sources of information much more abundant and complete.

Returning to the results before us, we must say that they are extremely scanty. Some new light is thrown on the ancient internal and international life of the inhabitants of these parts, a mite is added to the little we know of them before the time of European intercourse, and some questionable points of history and geography are settled; but this is done in a most defective manner; at every step we have to regret that particulars of the first importance have been omitted, and even to arrive at these poor results the reader must go through a great deal of matter, which may seem unimportant or perfectly superfluous to him. This last defect however could not possibly be avoided; we had no right to curtail our materials, but have tried to lay them before the reader in a faithful translation, in order that he may judge himself what they are worth.

We may venture to say that the materials at our disposal have been exhaustively treated, but there may be much on this subject in Chinese literature, which we have failed to discover, and we hope that others will eventually assist us in supplying these lacunae. This is the principal reason which made us write in English, therely putting ourselves at a disadvantage, which often made itself painfully felt. Those of our own countrymen, who are engaged in studying Chinese, do not reside in China, and therefore are not in a way to discover new sources, for which we have to look to the numerous foreign sinologues living in China. If written in Dutch, this compilation would have remained unknown to them, as has been shown before by a very striking example. Some years ago my colleague Mr. de Grys made a translation of the Hsi Yüan Lu, the official handbook on medical jurisprudence; he was well qualified for his task by his knowledge of Chinose, as well as by his previous medical studies, and so he not only gave a good translation, but also supplied us with a valuable source for medical terms in Chinese. His work however is hardly known to the foreign students in China, and some time ago an attempt at a new translation was made there.

It may be that our system of transcribing Chinese sounds seems fanciful at first, but a closer inspection will show that we have followed a regular and natural method. The sound of Chinese characters has considerably changed in the course of time, and again there is much difference between the various dialects; it would therefore have been evidently wrong to take the pronunciation of one period or one dialect. We have rendered the older names, say those previous to the T'ang dynasty, according to the value we find for Chinese characters of that time in the transcription of Buddhist words; for names of later time, when transmitted by officials, we have taken the old form of Mandarin; whilst those which became known by mercantile intercourse, have been read according to the Amoy-dialect, because most Chinese traders hailed from that place or its neighbourhood.

For the convenience of those who do not understand Chinese, we liave emitted all Chinese characters from the body of these pages and only given them in the notes at the foot. It is for the same class of readers that we have introduced many

details into the list of books at the end of this introduction, which would be super-fluous for students of Chinese, but are necessary if we want to enable others to form an idea about the credit our sources may deserve. The translations of Chinese extracts are printed in a larger type, to distinguish them from our notes, for which smaller type has been used.

Before finishing we want to avail ourselves of this occasion to present our best thanks to His Excellency the General Vlangaly, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Russia in China, for the liberal way the valuable library of the Russian Legation was placed at our disposal during our stay in Peking, by which we were enabled to become acquainted with many of the works used in our compilation; to the Archimandrite Palladius, who not only gave us the benefit of his extensive knowledge of Chinese literature, by indicating different sources where materials might be found, but who also presented us with a most valuable part of them, which we would not have been able to procure otherwise; and last, but not least, to Dr. E. Brettschneider, of the Russian Legation in Peking, who, himself a labourer in the same field, has greatly assisted us with his experience and guided our first attempts.

BATAVIA, March 6th, 1876.



LIST OF THE WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED IN MAKING THIS COMPILATION.

A. Works from which extracts have been translated.

The twenty-four Historians (1), also called the Dynastic Histories. A most voluminous work in about 900 large volumes, and containing the history of every dynasty which has reigned in China previous to the present. Every dynasty is trated separately; its history was written after its downfall and generally under its immediate successor. The materials used were the government archives and the literature of the time, and though the internal history of the country, especially towards the end of the old dynasty, may be tinged by the views of the new power which overthrew it, this is not the case with the accounts on foreign countries, which have always been drawn up from the materials at hand, and may therefore be considered to refer to the time when the dynasty still existed, even if the time of their compilation and publication falls considerably later.

Ying-yai Shêng-lan (2), "General Account of the shores of the Ocean." This book was published in 1416, by Ma Huan, who, in his preface, says that he was sent with Chêng Ho (q. v.), the celebrated envoy to foreign countries, in his expedition of 1413, because he could translate foreign books. In a second preface by a friend, we are informed that Ma Huan was a Chinese Mahomedan and knew the Arabic language. The author describes the different countries visited by him, beginning with Champa on the coast of Cambodja and finishing with Arabia.

Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan (3), "General Account of Peregrinations at Sea", published in 1436 by Fei Hsin, a man from Hang-chou, who was in government

- (1) 卅四史.
- (*) 星槎膀覽.

(*) 瀛涯勝覽.



employ, but does not say in what capacity. Within a time of more than 20 years, he was sent abroad with Chêng Ho four times, and from what he saw, he composed his book. In the second preface to the Ying-yai Shêng-lan, quoted just now, we see that this man was also a Chinese Mahomedan, who knew Arabic.

These two books are much similar in plan and execution; in some cases they nearly use the same terms, but as a rule the former gives a greater abundance of details. As the two authors have traveled together and in the same capacity, it is but natural that they have consulted each other and compared notes.

Hai Yü (1), "Words about the Sea", by Hwang Chung, published in 1537. The author has obtained his information from traders, who had visited the countries described by him. He gives an account of Siam and Malacca, and further speaks of some animals, products and wonders of those parts.

Tung Hsi Yang K'au (2), "Researches on the Eastern and Western Ocean", published in 1618 by Wang Ch'i-tsung, Superintendent of Revenue in Nanking, and some other functionaries. This book gives an historical and geographical description of Indo-China, the Malay peninsula, the Archipelago, the Philippines and Formosa, and contains a good deal of curious information; but it is necessary to read it with care, as many errors are found in it. Though written long after the commencement of European intercourse, many of the materials used in its composition belong to an earlier date, and as a rule its descriptions refer to the time when the Europeans first began to visit these countries.

Fo Kuo Chi (3), "Account of Buddhist Countries", by the Buddhist priest Fahien, who in the year 400 of our era, went overland from China to India in search of Buddhist books, and came back by sea fifteen years afterwards, via Ceylon and Java. The book is written from his narratives and was published shortly after his death.

T'ai-p'ing Huan-yii Chi (4), "A Geography of the world" by Lo Shih, published in the period T'ai-p'ing Hsing-Kuo (976—983) and called after it. It is very valuable for the geography of China, but the information it contains about the countries we are treating of, has generally been copied from the previous Dynastic Histories in a rather slovenly manner, and it has therefore been of very little use to us.

Pèn-ts'-au Kang-mu (5), the Chinese standard-work on botany and the other natural sciences. This has been used for determining different products, mentioned in these notes.

⁽⁾ 海語.

^(*) 佛國記.

^(*) 本草綱目.

^(*) 東西洋考。

^(*) 太平寰宇記.

B. Works consulted, but from which no extracts have been translated.

Hai-kuo T'u-Chi (1), "Maps and Descriptions of Foreign Countries", published in 1844 by a Chinese official. This is, as the title says, a geographical account of foreign countries, and a very valuable guide in researches as the present, because for every country it gives most abundant quotations from what has been written about it in the literature of China.

Tu-shih T'ung-tien (2), an account of the institutions and geography of China, from the earliest times down to the middle of the 8th century. It has a section on foreign countries, containing nothing original.

Ta Ming Yi-t'ung Chi (3), "Universal Geography of the Ming dynasty", with a section on foreign countries, copied from other sources.

Wèn Hsien T'ung-k'au (4), the celebrated cyclopedia of Ma Tuan-lin, containing however nothing new or fit for our purpose.

Yii Hai (5), a cyclopedia from the beginning of the 12th century.

San-ts'ai T'u Hui (6), an illustrated cyclopedia from the beginning of the 16th century.

Yuan-chien Lei-han (7), a very voluminous cyclopedia from the beginning of the 18th century.

Hai-kuo Wèn-chien-lu (8), a small geographical treatise, chiefly relating to the islands in the eastern and southern ocean, published in 1744.

Yüch-tung Chien-wên (9), "Notices about Canton", published in the year 1801.

Kwang-tung T'ung-chi (10), "General description of the province of, Canton"

Hsia-mèn Chi (11), "Description of Amoy"

Ch'uan-chou-fu Chi (12), "Description of the district of Ch'uan-chou".

Hua Yi Fèng-t'u Chi (13), "An Account of Customs and Products of, China and Foreign Countries", published in 1594.

- () 海國圖志.
- ① 大明一統志.
- (*) 玉海.
- () 淵鑑類函.
- (*) 粤東見聞。
- (") 厦門志.
- (") 華夷風土記.

- (*) 杜氏通典.
- "文獻通考.
- (*) 三才圖繪.
- (*) 海國聞見錄.
- (10) 廣東通志.
- (12) 泉州府志.



Hsi Yang Chi (¹), "a Tale of the Western Sea". A novel with strong Buddhistic tendencies, based on the Mongol expedition to Java in 1293, and on the mission of Chêng Ho in the beginning of the 15th century. It abounds in different details, which however have no other guarantee than the fancy of the writer.

Nan-fang Ts'au-mu Chuang (2), "Plants and trees of southern regions", published during the Tsin dynasty (265—419), and chiefly describing plants from Annam.

Ying-yai Shêng-lan Tsi (3), "an Abstract of the General Account of the Shores of the Ocean". This is the Ying-yai Shêng-lan in a new form, by a certain Chang Shêng, who objected to the unpolished style of the original and therefore rewrote it, improving perhaps the style, but spoiling the value of the work altogether, by numerous omissions and errors.

There is one work which we have been unable to procure and which may contain some new information. It is the

Tau-yi Chi-lüch (4), an account of the various nations in the Malay archipelago, written about 1350 (vide Wylie. Notes on Chinese literature p. 47). In the Hai-Kuo T'u-chi we find only very few, and most insignificant extracts from it, by which circumstance some doubt is thrown on the value of this little book.

⁽⁾ 西洋記.

⁽⁾ 南方草木壯.

⁽⁾ 瀛涯勝覽集.

^(*) 島夷志畧.

NOTES

ON THE

MALAY ARCHIPELAGO AND MALACCA

A careful perusal of the geographical literature of the ancient Chinese has shown, that they have not gained their knowledge of south-eastern Asia by bold voyages of discovery; slowly and cautiously they have crept along its shores, probably not venturing to a country, before they had become acquainted with it by others.

The proofs for this assertion lie partly beyond the scope of our present task, but even in the following notes sufficient evidence will be found of what we advanced just now.

When the Chinese turned themselves towards the south, the first country they visited was, of course, the northern part of what we call Annam now; pushing on along its coast they arrived at Cambodja, and next turned into the gulf of Siam. Here they were detained a considerable time, for in Chinese history we find abundant information about these countries, long before it knows anything of those further south, and it would seem that they did not go on in the original direction, before they had got to the coast of the Malay peninsula, which gradually showed them their way to Sumatra and Java.

This process must have taken many centuries, before it was accomplished so far: a hundred years before Christ the Chinese were in northern Annam, but during the first centuries of our era, though Chinese history was then already thoroughly established and written according to a reliable system, we find a complete absence of information about the countries which form the object of our present research. It would be difficult to explain this by saying, that during these times China was often divided under different rulers and generally more or less in a disturbed state, so that the adventures

of the merchants and mariners of the southern provinces Fukian and Kwangtung, who then, as now, had the monopoly of foreign trade, might have remained unknown to those who collected materials for history in other parts of the country; by this argument the loss of much information might be accounted for, but it would remain improbable that everything had disappeared, without leaving any trace. And though the following extracts, extremely scanty and defective, especially in the beginning, do not tell us directly at what time the Chinese began to navigate and to establish themselves in these parts, we have a valuable indication in the travels of the Buddhist pilgrim Fahien, who visited Java in 413. He had traveled overland to India and arrived from Ceylon in an Indian vessel. He found no Chinese in Java and returned to China in an Indian ship again. We shall revert more amply to this traveler when treating of Java, but here already we may say that the Chinese, in his time at least, had not yet penetrated to that country.

On the other hand we have numerous reasons to believe, that the Indians and Persians went to China by sea at a very early date; we see it in the itinerary of Fahien, mentioned just now, we see it on many other pages of the geographical literature of the time and, lastly, all this is fully confirmed by indications derived from other sources. The knowledge of Rome and Roman products were brought to China in this way, if not by Romans themselves, at least by Roman subjects.

We may therefore feel sure not to be far from the truth, when we say that the Indians and Persians reached China a little before the commencement of our era, that the Chinese began to trade towards the south about that time also, but that they arrived in the Malay archipelago certainly not before the fifth century, probably even later, for their first notices of these countries look as if they had been obtained from hearsay, rather than from personal knowledge.

There are still many subjects which might find a place amongst these preliminary observations, but we prefer the plan of reserving them untill they naturally present themselves in the course of the following pages, when they may be treated in explanatory notes as the case requires. We only add two passages from the Chinese Dynastic Histories, which, though not giving any details about the parts we are considering, still are the first mentioning them at all. They will also be found to tell something of that earliest intercourse, about which we have ventured to express an opinion just now.

History of the first Sung dynasty (420-478). Book 91 p. 1.

The southern and south-western barbarians live, generally speaking, to the south and south-west of the land of the Giau-chi (1) and also inhabit

⁽¹⁾ The Giau-chi lived in northern Annam or Tungking; the Chinese called their country 交供, or by abreviation, as here, 交州.

the islands in the great ocean; the distance is about 3 to 5 thousand li (1), for those that are nearer and 20 to 30 thousand li for those that are farther away. When sailing in a vessel, it is difficult to compute the length of the road and therefore we must recollect that the number of li, given with respect to the barbarians of the outer countries, must not be taken as exact.

History of the Liang dynasty (502-556). Book 54 p. 1.

The countries of the southern ocean are, generally speaking, situated at the south-west of the land of the Giau-chi and on the islands of the ocean. The nearest are away from 3 to 5 thousand li and the most remote from 20 to 30 thousand li; their western parts join the countries at the west of China.

In the period Yuan-ting of the Han dynasty (116—110 B. C.), the generals Fu-p'o and Lu-po-teh (2) were sent to open the south; they founded the district Jih-nan (3) and since that time the countries beyond it borders have all come to court and presented tribute.

Afterwards, during the reign of the emperor Hsüan of the Han dynasty (73-49 B. C.), the Romans and Indians (4) have sent envoys and presented tribute through the same way.

In the time of Sun-ch'üan of the house of Wu (222—251), two functionaries, called Chu-ying and K'ang-tai (5), were ordered to go to the south; they went to or heard from a hundred and more countries and made an account of them.

During the Chin dynasty (265—419) those who came to China were very few and therefore they were not mentioned in the history of that dynasty. In the Sung (420—477) and Ch'i (479—501) dynasties more than ten countries made their appearance and for the first time a notice of them is given. Since the accession of the Liang dynasty (502—556), they have come over the sea every year for getting an almanac and acquitting themselves of the duty of tribute, in greater number than in any former time.

⁽¹⁾ The Chinese li has, in the course of time, considerably changed its value; at the time the above passage was written, it may be taken at 340 in a degree.

^(*) 伏 被 and 路 博 德.

⁽³⁾ H , Jih-nan, according to Chinese writers a kind of colony on the spot or in the neighbourhood of Huë.

^(*) 大秦, Ta-tsin and 天 竺 T'ien-tak.

^(*) 朱 應 and 康 泰.

It will be observed that the second extract speaks of an embassy or expedition sent to foreign countries between 222 and 251. What countries these were is not stated, but we may believe that the Malay islands were not amongst them, otherwise their name would have appeared at that time already in the annals of China. With the exception of this single instance, the historian only speaks of distant nations who came to China, not of Chinese going to them.

This brings us also to the tribute, which is said to have been presented by those foreign countries, a matter with which we shall have much to do yet and which may well be discussed at once.

From the beginning of Chinese history up to the present day, their annals record numerous instances of foreign princes, doing homage to the emperor of China in this manner. Some people have tried to dispose of this question with the assistance of the wellknown conceitedness of the Chinese, and charged them on this score with boastful misrepresentation or even deliberate falsehood, but such an explanation can only have its ground in total ignorance of the facts and surely the most sceptic reader will not be satisfied with it after perusal of the following pages.

Fortunately it is possible to take a more natural view of the case.

In the first place we know by our own experience, that the princes of the smaller states in Asia were often engaged in trade on their own account and, when they extended their operations to China, it was but natural that they sought to propitiate the ruler of that country by a few presents, which they soon saw were so acceptable there. This example was often followed by private traders, who, in order to gain facilities for their commerce, or perhaps to get access to the capital, a paying mart for their merchandise, assumed the character of envoys from a distant country and set apart a few articles of their stock to be presented as tribute, knowing at the same time that even these would not be lost, but probably reciprocated above their value. And lastly it cannot be denied, that China formerly occupied a very exalted place in the estimation of the greater part of Asia, its higher civilisation, the splendor of its court, the richness and extent of its territory, easily account for this feeling of veneration. Compared with China all other countries were petty and insignificant, and it would seem that the different princes thought it an honor to have relations with it just as once, on the other side of the old world, it was a point of national pride to be an ally of Rome. On different occasions, especially on their accession to the throne of their country, these princes sent envoys with presents as a homage to the emperor of China, and, besides costly gifts, they received in return letters, seals, royal insignia or other tokens of investiture, which seem generally to have been highly prized. At the same time this sending of envoys and presents could hardly be called a burden: the presents were requited in the most liberal way, the envoys lived at the expense of China and, above all, it offered an occasion for trading in places, which were not accessible other-The introduction of the Islam and the arrival of Europeans have put an end to these relations for the greater part; in Siam they have been broken off under the latter

influence not many years ago, and they only continue to exist in Annam, Corea, Birma and a few smaller countries of the interior, a last remnant of what was general once.

On the other hand we need not wonder that the Chinese attached so much importance to these embassies and were prepared to go to all the expenses, which they necessarily entailed. The supremacy of China over all other countries is, and has always been, a national dogma, more deeply rooted in the Chinese mind than any other conviction. Their emperor is appointed by Heaven to be the ruler of the whole earth, but only Heaven's chosen people, the Chinese, are directly governed by him, and he controls the outside barbarians not more than is necessary for the interests of this favoured nation, which must be the chief object of his care. All however owe him allegiance and if they come forward showing their sense of this duty by presenting tribute, be it ever so little, they must be graciously received and assisted according to their wants. The civilised rule of China is not fit for these benighted barbarians, therefore they are suffered to arrange their government as they like best, and even if they fail to recognise the superiority of China and abstain from doing homage to the emperor, it is not necessary to compel them: China has nothing to gain from intercourse with them, whilst for them it is an occasion, not only of profiting by the munificence of the imperial presents, but also of coming within the enlightening and renovating influence of Chinese civilisation. Many Chinese emperors however were not so wholly indifferent to these tokens of respect from distant countries, which seem to have gratified their pride; they went to considerable expense in order to encourage them and gradually it became the custom, on the accession of a new dynasty, to send envoys to the different countries which were in the habit of presenting tribute, informing them of the change that had taken place and inviting them to continue their allegiance.

If we recollect that the Chinese mind has always been deeply imbued with these ideas, it is not necessary to tax them with wilful misrepresentation, even when they have construed the most ordinary attempts at commercial intercourse into an acknowledgement of their superiority; at the same time the more enlightened among their historians, though never doubting that it was the duty of other countries to bring tribute to China, do not deny that the sense of this obligation was often very little developed and that, with many, the motive was rather to gain the material benefits attached to it.

We may now proceed to give the notices on the countries mentioned in our title, which have been compiled from Chinese sources and will be arranged as follows:

JAVA,

SUMATRA,

BORNEO,

THE ISLANDS TO THE EAST OF THESE and

THE MALAY PENINSULA,

whilst under each head of this division those smaller islands will find a place, which may be looked upon as natural dependencies of the others.

JAVA.

The first notice of this country is found in the itinerary of the Buddhist priest Fahien, who, in the year 400 of our era, went from China to India overland and returned by sea to his native country, on which occasion he visited Java, in 414. The book containing his travels, called "An account of the Buddhist countries" (1) has been translated into French by Abel Rémusat, whilst afterwards the Rev. S. Beal has given a much improved English version of it. Of Java the writer says not much, but the account of his sea voyage is sufficiently interesting to give it in his own words.

Fahien left Ceylon on board a great merchant vessel, which carried about two hundred men. Astern of the great ship a smaller one was fastened, as a provision in case of the large vessel being injured or wrecked during the voyage. Having got a fair wind they sailed eastward for two days, when they encountered a storm and the ship sprang a leak. The merchants then wanted to rush into the smaller vessel, but the crew of that ship, fearing that it would become too crowded, cut the towing cable and fell off. The merchants were very much afraid and their lives stood in the greatest danger. Then dreading lest the leak should gain upon them, they forthwith took their goods and merchandize and cast them overboard. Fahien also flung overboard his waterpitcher and his washing basin, as well as other portions of his property. He was only afraid lest the merchants should throw into the sea his sacred books and images. And so, with earnestness of heart, he invoked Avâlokitêshwara and paid reverence to the Buddhist saints of China - speaking thus: "I have wandered so far in search of the law; may you by your spiritual power drive back the water and cause us to reach some resting place." The gale lasted thirteen days and nights, when they arrived at the shore of an island, and, on the tide going out, they found the place of the leak; having forthwith stopped it up, they again put to sea and continued their voyage. In this sea there are many pirates, when one falls in with them, he is lost. The sea is boundless in extent - it is impossible to know east or west and one can only advance by observing the sun, moon or stars; if it is dark rainy weather you

⁽¹⁾ 法 题 佛 図 記, Relation des royaumes bouddhiques (Rémusat), or Records of Buddhist countries (Beal).

have to follow the wind in perfect uncertainty. During the darkness of night, one only sees the great waves striking each other and shining like fire, whilst shoals of sea monsters of every description surround the ship. merchants were much perplexed, not knowing what course to steer. sea was so deep that no sounding could be taken and also there was no place for anchorage. At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards. But if (during the bad weather) they had happened to strike a hidden rock, then there would have been no way to escape alive. Thus they voyaged for about ninety days, when they arrived at a country called Ya-va-di (1). In this country heretics and Brahmans flourish, but the law of Buddha hardly deserves mentioning. (2) After having stopped here for five months, Fahien again embarked on another merchant vessel, having also a crew of 200 men or so. They took with them fifty days provisions and set sail on the 16th day of the 4th month. Whilst Fahien was on board of this ship, they shaped a course N. E. for the province of Canton in China. After a month and some days, at the stroke of two in the middle watch of the night, a black squall suddenly came on, accompanied with pelting rain. The merchants and passengers were all terrified. Fahien, at this time also, with great earnestness of mind, again entreated Avalôkitêshvara and all the priesthood of China, praying for the assistance of their divine power to carry them through until daylight. When the day broke, all the Brahmans, consulting together, said: "It is because we have got this Buddhist priest on board with us, that we have no luck and have incurred this great mischief come let us land this monk on the first island we meet with, for it is not proper that we should all perish for the sake of one man." But a man who had taken Fahien under his care (dânapati), then said: "If you land this

⁽¹⁾ It is name, written Jabadiu by Ptolemaeus, may be an abbreviation of Yava Dwipa, but then this abbreviation seems to have been generally used at that time, for if the Hindus on Java had called it by its full name, our author, who knew Sanscrit, would have transcribed it according to that form. — Yava Dwipa does not mean, as has been thoughtlessly said and repeated, the country of the barley, for the simple reason that barley could not grow there, but instead of barley we must read millet, of which there are different varities indigenous in the island, many of them called by the generic name Djawa. It is not impossible that the first Hindus found this cereal used instead of rice and that the latter was introduced by them.

⁽²⁾ The Chinese text has: 佛 法 不 足 言 litt. Buddha's law .not sufficient to speak of. This does not denote a total absence of Buddhism, but seems to indicate that this religion was practised by very few only.