ON THE CH'ING TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

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CONTENTS

1. THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF TRIBUTE

Chinese foreign policy in the nineteenth century can be understood only against its traditional Chinese background, the tributary system. This system for the conduct of foreign relations had been directly inherited from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and modified to suit the needs of the Manchus. As a Confucian world-order in the Far East, it continued formally in existence until the very end of the nineteenth century, and was superseded in practice only gradually, after 1842, by the British treaty system which has until recently governed the foreign relations of Siam, Japan, and other states, as well as China. The Chinese diplomatic documents of a century ago are therefore really unintelligible unless they are studied in the light of the imperial tributary system which produced them.[1]

[1] We are indebted to Prof. C. S. GARDNER for assistance on several points, particularly regarding the table of western embassies in part 5. This article, like its predecessors, is intended to deal with administrative problems of importance for the study of Chinese foreign relations in the nineteenth century. Cf. J. K. FAIRBANK and S. Y. TÊNG, On the Transmission of Ch'ing Documents, *HJAS* 4.12-46; On the Types and Uses of Ch'ing Documents, *ibid.*, 5.1-71 (Corrigendum p. 59, Shên-ch'êng: for ch'êng 呈 read ch'ên 陳).

The ramifications of this vast subject, in political theory, in international trade, and in diplomacy, have been explored by a few pioneer scholars,[2] some of whom have traced the development of the administration of foreign trade from the Sung up to the late Ming, while others have painstakingly established translations of texts concerning the seven great Ming expeditions of the early fifteenth century. These expeditions under the eunuch CHÊNG Ho and others in the period 1403-1433 took Chinese fleets of as many as 60 vessels and 27,000 men into the Indian Ocean and in some cases as far as Arabia and Africa, and the period has rightly attracted attention as the high point of Chinese tributary relations. Studies of the tributary system in the Ch'ing period, however, are less numerous; relatively little effort has been made to link the sorry Chinese foreign policy of the nineteenth century with the great tradition which lay behind it. To do so will require the efforts of many workers over a long period.

The present article attempts a preliminary survey of the tributary system as it developed under the Ch'ing dynasty of the Manchus (1644-1912). In order to reach useful conclusions on a subject of such magnitude, we have based this study chiefly upon the various editions of the *Collected Statutes (Hui-tien)*,[3] which not only are the fundamental official source for the general structure of the system, but also reflect its history, as mirrored in successive changes and revised editions, over a period of more than two hundred years. The *Collected Statutes*, moreover, were issued both as a record of administrative practice and as a guide to the bureaucracy in its day by day activities. In this they excel for our purposes the official compilations of a later date, such as the *Draft History of the Ch'ing Dynasty (Ch'ing-shih kao)*, which are at one remove from the scene and compiled by, if not for, posterity. Before proceeding to the presentation and analysis of this material, we offer below a brief ex-

[2] [For this long bibliographical note, including the abbreviations used in footnotes, see appendix 1 at end of this article.]

[3] *Ta-ming hui-tien* 大明會典 or *Ch'in-ting ta-ch'ing hui-tien* 欽定清; the various editions are cited hereafter by the reigns in which they were issued, chronologically as follows:

Wan-li hui-tien (*Ta-ming hui-tien*, preface dated 1587),
K'ang-hsi hui-tien (*Ta-ch'ing hui-tien*, pub. 1690),
Yung-chêng hui-tien (pref. 1732),
Ch'ien-lung hui-tien, and *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien tsê-li* (both completed 1764),
Chia-ch'ing hui-tien, and *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* (both completed 1818),
Kuang-hsü hui-tien, and *Kuang-hsü hui-tien shih-li* (both pub. 1899).

planatory discussion of the function of tribute in the Chinese state, which may serve to pose further problems for research.

For purpose of analysis it may be pointed out (1) that the tributary system was a natural outgrowth of the cultural preeminence of the early Chinese, (2) that it came to be used by the rulers of China for political ends of self-defense, (3) that in practice it had a very fundamental and important commercial basis, and (4) that it served as the medium for Chinese international relations and diplomacy. It was, in short, a scheme of things entire, and deserves attention as one historical solution to problems of world-organization.

Behind the tributary system as it became institutionalized in the Ming and Ch'ing periods lay the age-old tradition of Chinese cultural superiority over the barbarians.[4] Continuously from the bronze age, when Shang civilization first appears as a culture-island in North China, this has been a striking element in Chinese thought, perpetuated by the eternal conflict between the settled agrarian society of the Yellow River basin and the pastoral nomads of the steppe beyond the Wall, as well as by the persistent expansion of the Chinese to the south among the tribes whose remnants are now being absorbed in Yunnan and Kweichow. From this contact with the nomads of the north and west and with the aborigines of the south, the Chinese appear to have derived certain basic assumptions which may be stated as follows: first, that Chinese superiority over the barbarians had a cultural rather than a mere political basis; it rested

[4] Satisfactory equivalents of certain key terms are not easily established. Fan 藩 (fence, boundary, frontier) as used with reference to countries outside China has a connotation somewhere in between "foreign" and "barbarian"; we have usually used the gentler term.

Man, I, Jung, and Ti 蠻夷戎狄 in conjunction refer to the barbarians of the south, east, west, and north, respectively; but I serves also as a generic term for all barbarians together (Cf. *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 324.4). The term Ssŭ-i 四夷 (lit. "Four barbarians") is a collective term for the various barbarians dwelling in the four quarters of the compass on the periphery of the civilized world of which China was the center. It therefore indicates the barbarians in general,—all the barbarians, not those of any particular places. BRUNNERT 392 is in error in translating Hui T'ung Ssŭ I Kuan 會同四譯(for 夷)館 as "Residence for Envoys of the Four Tributary States; here were domiciled Envoys from Korea, Siam, Tonkin, and Burma. . . ."

Under the Ming the Ssŭ I Kuan had had charge of relations both with the barbarians of the north and west and with those of the east and south, there being no Li Fan Yüan (see sec. 3 below). Thus the *Ssŭ-i-kuan k'ao* 四夷館考 (Lo Chên-yü ed., 1924) records relations with the Mongols, Samarkand, Turfan, Tibet, Hami, etc., and also with Champa, Japan, Java, Burma, and the like.

less upon force than upon the Chinese way of life embodied in such things as the Confucian code of conduct and the use of the Chinese written language; the sign of the barbarian was not race or origin so much as non-adherence to this way of life. From this it followed, secondly, that those barbarians who wished to "come and be transformed" (lai-hua), and so participate in the benefits of (Chinese) civilization, must recognize the supreme position of the Emperor; for the Son of Heaven represented all mankind, both Chinese and barbarian, in his ritual sacrifices before the forces of nature. Adherence to the Chinese way of life automatically entailed the recognition of the Emperor's mandate to rule all men. This supremacy of the Emperor as mediator between Heaven and Earth was most obviously acknowledged in the performance of the kotow, the three kneelings and nine prostrations to which European envoys later objected.[5] It was also acknowledged by the bringing of a tribute

[5] YANO (2) 151-180 summarizes numerous Chinese and western references to the subject.

It should be emphasized that the relationship to the Son of Heaven expressed by the kotow was shared by all mankind, Chinese and barbarian alike. The highest dignitaries of the empire performed this ceremony on appropriate occasion,—as did the Emperor himself when paying reverence to Heaven (pai-t'ien 拜天). The kotow performed unilaterally, on the other hand, expressed an inferiority of status in the universal order, without which there could be no order. It was therefore appropriate, honorable, and indeed good manners when performed in the right context. Other contexts might require less elaborate ceremonies, such as one kneeling and three prostrations. Strictly speaking, this was also a "knocking of the head," k'o-t'ou 磕頭. For clarity we suggest the term "full kotow" for three kneelings and nine prostrations, (theoretically) knocking the head upon the ground, san-kuei chiu-k'ou li 三跪九叩禮; "modified kotow" for three kneelings and nine reverences bowing the head over the hands upon the ground, san-kuei chiu-pai li; and "single kotow" or "double kotow" for one-third or two-thirds, respectively, of the full kotow,—i-kuei san-k'ou li, êrh-kuei liu-k'ou li.

This universal order of ceremony which expressed the order of all mankind may be illustrated by the following random references to the *Ta-Ch'ing t'ung-li* (chüan 42 chün-li, military ceremonial): in the ceremony of announcing the sacrifices, the Emperor performed the modified kotow (4b). On receiving a seal indirectly from the Emperor, a generalissimo (Ta Chiang Chün; cf. B 658: Field Marshal) and his staff performed the full kotow (12b). In another ceremony, they and the princes and high ministers of state followed the Emperor in the modified kotow (21). The princes and ministers later performed one kneeling and one prostration (i-kuei i-k'ou li), and again one head-knocking from their seats 各於坐次行一叩禮 (21b). When a Mongolian prince met a prince of the imperial Manchu clan, they both performed a double kotow (Ch. 46 pin-li, ceremonial for guests. 1). Officials at the capital and in the provinces saluted each other with three formal bows (5, 11, 15 san-i 三揖;

of local produce, by the formal bestowal of a seal, comparable to the investiture of a vassal in medieval Europe, and in other ways. Thus the tributary system, as the sum total of these formalities, was the mechanism by which barbarous non-Chinese regions were given their place in the all-embracing Chinese political, and therefore ethical, scheme of things.[6]

This general theory is of course familiar to the most casual student of Chinese history, and yet the realities of the situation are still a matter of dispute. In the intercourse between the Chinese state and the barbarians, commercial relations became inseparably bound up with tributary. Trade was conducted by barbarian merchants who accompanied the tributary envoy to the frontier or even to the capital; sometimes it was conducted by the members of the mission itself. That tribute was a cloak for trade has been a commonplace ever since merchants from the Roman orient arrived in China in 166 A. D. claiming to be envoys of Marcus Aurelius. Thus Benedict DE GOEZ, crossing Central Asia in the year 1604, describes the "sham embassies" of merchants from the western kingdoms who "forge public letters in the names of the kings whom they profess to represent" and "under pretence of being ambassadors go and offer tribute to the Emperor."[7] Innumerable other examples could be cited where-

cf. GILES 5394 tso-i 作 "to make a salute by bending the body until the hands touch a little below the knees, and then rising and raising the hands to the level of the eyebrows"). To a superior official, a single kotow might also be used, perhaps followed by three bows (14b, 16b, 17). Bows and similar formalities were also prescribed for apprentices, friends, and relatives (20-21). In all this, the prescriptions regarding precedence in entering doors and directions faced in sitting were equally detailed.

It should be noted (1) that all ceremonies between individuals were reciprocal in the sense that both parties took part; (2) that the ceremonial for barbarian visitors (chüan 45, pin-li) was an integral part of the whole body of ceremonial just referred to. Egalitarian westerners were ill-prepared to maintain their proper status, or any other, in this system of rites.

[6] Various aspects of the rationale of tribute have been eloquently set forth by T. C. LIN (2), and its general background by Owen LATTIMORE, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, New York, 1940.

[7] Sir Henry YULE, revised by H. CORDIER, *Cathay and the Way Thither* . . . , (4 vols. London 1913-16) 4.235, 242, 243 n. For other examples cf. GROENEVELDT 4-5, DUYVENDAK (1) 74 n., (2) 378-9. CHANG Hsing-lang 張星烺 [*Chung-hsi chiao-t'ung shih-liao hui-p'ien* 中西交通史料滙篇 (Miscellaneous historical materials on Sino-western relations), vol. 5, p. 534] states that the Kansu Governor reported in 1502 that there were more than 150 self-styled rulers (wang) trading from the Western Regions; cf. *Ming-shih* 332.6 (T'ung-wên shu-chü ed. 1894).

in tribute, in the minds of the tribute bearers, was merely a formality connected with trade; at Macao and Canton, indeed, the Europeans in their concentration upon the substance of commerce eventually forgot all about the formality which theoretically still went with it.

This economic interpretation, however, is made from the point of view of the barbarians. The motivation of the Court is a different matter.

The argument that the tributary system was developed by the Court chiefly for political defense has been succinctly stated by Dr. T. F. TSIANG: "Out of this period of intense struggle and bitter humiliation [the eleventh and twelfth centuries], the neo-Confucian philosophy, which began then to dominate China, worked out a dogma in regard to international relations, to hold sway in China right to the middle of the nineteenth century. . . . That dogma asserts that national security could only be found in isolation and stipulates that whoever wished to enter into relations with China must do so as China's vassal, acknowledging the supremacy of the Chinese emperor and obeying his commands, thus ruling out all possibility of international intercourse on terms of equality. It must not be construed to be a dogma of conquest or univeral dominion, for it imposed nothing on foreign peoples who chose to remain outside the Chinese world. It sought peace and security, with both of which international relations were held incompatible. If relations there had to be, they must be of the suzerain-vassal type, acceptance of which meant to the Chinese acceptance of the Chinese ethic on the part of the barbarian. . . .

"It must not be assumed that the Chinese Court made a profit out of . . . tribute. The imperial gifts bestowed in return were usually more valuable than the tribute . . . Chinese statesmen before the latter part of the nineteenth century would have ridiculed the notion that national finance and wealth should be or could be promoted by means of international trade. On China's part the permission to trade was intended to be a mark of imperial bounty and a means of keeping the barbarians in the proper state of submissiveness. . . ."[8]

Thus we might conclude that trade and tribute were cognate aspects of a single system of foreign relations, the moral value of tribute being the more important in the minds of the rulers of China, and the

[8] T. F. TSIANG (CHIANG T'ing-fu 蔣廷黻), "China and European Expansion" (*Politica* 2 no. 5, Mar. 1936, pp. 1-18), pp. 3-4. A lecture delivered at the London School of Economics.

material value of trade in the minds of the barbarians; this balance of interests would allow mutual satisfaction and the system would continue to function. From this it might be concluded further that the tributary system really worked in reverse, the submission of the barbarians being actually bought and paid for by the trade conceded to them by China. But this last is an over-simplification which runs counter to the whole set of ideas behind the system, and it also overlooks the interesting possibility, which deserves exploration, of an imperial economic interest,—for instance, in the silk export trade. In short it seems impossible at present to make more than one generalization: that the tributary system was a framework within which all sorts of intersts, personal and imperial, economic and social, found their expression. Further study should reveal an interplay between greed and statecraft, dynastic policy and vested interest, similar to that in other great political institutions.

One untouched aspect of the system is its functioning as a diplomatic medium. Since all foreign relations in the Chinese view were ipso facto tributary relations, it followed that all types of international intercourse, if they occurred at all in the experience of China, had to be fitted into the tributary system. Thus Chinese envoys were sometimes sent abroad to spy out the enemy or to seek allies, and foreign envoys came and conducted negotiations at the capital, all within this framework. As an introduction to this aspect of the subject, we quote below from the prefaces to the sections on tributary ritual in the *Ta-Ming chi-li* 大明集禮 (Collected Ceremonies of the Ming Dynasty), an official work of the Ming period.[9] Naturally, these prefaces recount what the Court hoped everyone would believe had generally occurred during the course of Chinese history, but this merely enhances their value for our purpose. (We omit passages recounting details concerning various tribes and rulers.)

"CEREMONIAL FOR VISITORS: 1. FOREIGN KINGS PRESENTING TRIBUTE AT COURT (Fan-wang ch'ao-kung 蕃王朝貢).

"The kings of former times cultivated their own refinement and virtue in order to subdue persons at a distance, whereupon the barbarians (of the east and north) came to Court to have audience. This comes down as a long tradition 其來尙矣.

[9] *Ta-Ming chi-li* (Palace edition, 1530). We quote from the first two or three pages, respectively, forming general introductions (tsung-hsü 總序) to ch. 30-32 (pin-li 賓禮 Ceremonial for Visitors 1-3).

"In the time of King T'ang of Yin (trad. dates B. C. 1766-1754), the Ti-ch'iang [an ancient Tibetan tribe in E. Kansu and Kokonor], distant barbarians, came to offer gifts and to visit the king. In the time of (King) T'ai Mou (trad. dates B. C. 1637-1563) the remote tribes [ch'ung-i 重譯 i. e. those so far off as to require repeated interpretations] which came to Court (consisted of) 76 countries.

"When King Wu of the Chou (trad. dates 1122-1116) overcame the Shang, (there was) a great meeting of the feudal lords and the barbarians on the four quarters (ssŭ-i), and there was written (the chapter on) the meeting of the princes.[10] In the autumn officials (section) of the *Chou li*,[11] (it is stated that) the interpreting officer had charge of the envoys of the countries of the wild tribes of the south and east (man-i), of Min (Fukien?), of the north (mai), and of the west (jung-ti), and gave them instructions and explanations.

"The Han dynasty established (an officer) in charge of guests and official interpreters, a chief and assistants, to guide the barbarians (ssŭ-i) who came to Court to present tribute. Also they established (an office) in charge of dependent states, and a chief interpreter of the nine [languages; i. e. one capable of speaking the tongues of foreign nations]. Under the Emperor Wu in 111 B. C. the Yeh-lang [chieftain, from the Yunnan-Szechwan frontier] came to Court. Thereafter the outer barbarians sent tribute to Court without interruption. In 53 B. C. the chieftain of the Hsiung-nu came to the Court. In 51 B. C. the Hsiung-nu chieftain, Chi-chü-shan [12] 稽居狦 came to Court. Both had audience at the Sweet Spring Palace.[13] In 28 B. C. the barbarians from all sides (ssŭ-i) came to the Court and received direction from the grand master of ceremonial for ambassadors.[14] Under the Emperor Shun in 136 A. D. the king of the Wo-nu (Japan?) came to Court. For all of these there were regulations for entertainment at banquets and the bestowal of gifts.

[10] Wang-hui 王會, forming chüan 7 in the *I chou shu* 逸周書; cf. Kuang han-wei ts'ung-shu 廣漢魏叢書, 1592 edition, ts'ê 34-36.

[11] Cf. *Chou Li* 周禮, Hsiang-hsi 象胥 38.14b (in Shih-san-ching chu-su 十三經注疏, Kiangsi edition, 1815) (Biot 2. Kiu 34. fol. 26-27).

[12] Cf. *Ch'ien Han shu* (Palace edition, 1739) 94 sec. B. 3b. Established as chieftain 58 B. C., *ibid.* sec. A. 37. The name is given here as Chi-hou-shan 侯; likewise in *K'ang-hsi tzŭ-tien* 康熙字典 under 狦.

[13] Kan-ch'üan kung 甘泉宮, a summer palace in Shensi, N. W. of Ch'ang-an, dating from the time of the First Emperor, cf. Giles (*A Chinese-English Dictionary*, 1912) 5823.

[14] Ta hung lu 大鴻臚, cf. Hung Lu Ssŭ 寺, Court of State Ceremonial in T'ang and Ch'ing, B 935; Kuwabara 7. 14 refers to it as "the office of foreign affairs."

"Under the T'ang there was established the Chu K'o Lang Chung 主客郎中 (Secretary in Charge of Guests), in charge of all the barbarians (fan) who came to Court. His activities in receiving and entertaining (them) were four in number: Going out to meet and greet them (lao 勞); preparing them for audience (i.e. warning them); foreign kings receiving an audience; banqueting the rulers of foreign states. The ceremonies for these (activities) were detailed. . . .

"In the Sung period there were more than forty states which presented tribute at Court, all of them merely sending envoys to present the tribute. Although foreign kings did not regularly themselves come to the Court for audience, still the ceremonies for reception and audience which appear in the books of ceremony are about the same as for the T'ang.

"Yüan dynasty: in 1210 the king of the Uigurs, I-tu-hu 奕都護, came to Court. Under Shih-tsu (Kublai Khan) in 1264, an imperial command was given to the King of Korea (Kao-li), Chih 植, ordering him to cultivate the ceremony of shih-chien.[15] In the sixth month Chih came to the Court at Shang-tu ["Xanadu," near modern Dolonor]. Thereafter when the (rulers of) foreign countries came to Court, they waited for the day of a great Court assembly on the first day of the first month or on an imperial birthday, and then performed the ceremony.

"Now it is proposed, as to the reigning dynasty, that when foreign kings come to Court, there shall first be despatched an official of the city of Nanking (Ying-t'ien fu) to go out to meet them and greet them. When they have arrived at the Residence[16] there shall be sent

[15] 世見 Cf. *Chou li* 大行人 Ta hsing jên 37.20: 世壹見 (BIOT 2.406: En un siècle ou dans un age d'homme, ils doivent une visite a l'empéreur).

[16] Kuan 館, standing for Hui T'ung Kuan 會同. This refers of course to the Hui T'ung Ssŭ I Kuan 四譯 (or 夷) under the Board of Ceremonies, rather than to the Hui T'ung Kuan (Imperial Despatch Office, MAYERS 182 xiv) under the Board of War; but it presents a typical problem of translation,—the reference being known to all, what English words shall be generally used for it? BRUNNERT 392 gives Residence for Envoys of the Four Tributary States, an erroneous interpretation as noted above (note 4). CHANG Tê-ch'ang 273 uses the romanization Hui-tung-kwan, without attempting a translation, but this otherwise sound procedure involves in this case ambiguity with the office above mentioned under the Board of War. T. C. LIN (2) 879 offers Cosmopolitan Palaces, which is sound in meaning but perhaps a bit flamboyant. CHANG T'ien-tsê 50 sidesteps the problem of translating Hui T'ung Kuan by using Ssŭ-i-kuan; this is no solution for the non-sinological reader. In order to conform as

further (an official of) the Board (of Ceremony) at the capital to prepare a feast. Thereupon they shall practice the ceremonies. They are to have imperial audience in the Fêng-t'ien Hall 奉天殿 and to have audience with the Heir-apparent in the Eastern Palace. When the imperial audiences are finished, a banquet is offered to them. The officers and departments (of government) at the capital all are to prepare banquets to entertain them. When they return, officers are to be sent to escort them out of the boundaries. Now all their ceremonial is drawn up to form the section on "Foreign kings presenting tribute at court. . . ." [17]

"2. FOREIGN ENVOYS PRESENTING TRIBUTE AT COURT (Fan-shih ch'ao-kung 蕃使朝貢).

"According to the *Chou li*, 'when the envoys from the four quarters arrive, if they are great guests then they are received ceremoniously; if they are small guests then their presents are accepted and their statements are listened to.' [18] By small guests is meant the official envoys sent by foreign countries. The envoys of foreign countries all are barbarians, and do not practice these ceremonies. Therefore one only listens to their statements, and that is all. When King Wu overcame the Shang, he opened communications with the nine I (eastern barbarians) and the eight Man (southern barbarians). . . . States at a great distance came to offer up presents; in all cases their offerings were accepted and their statements were listened to.

"Under the Han . . . (a total of) thirty-six states were all dependents of the Middle (Kingdom) and offered tribute . . . (when) they came to present offerings, they all received rewards so as to send them away with gifts.

"In the T'ang when foreign envoys offered tribute, the ceremonies for their banqueting and audience had four parts: going out to meet and greet them; preparing them for audience; receiving the foreign envoys' congratulatory memorials and presents; and the Emperor's banquet for the envoys of foreign countries. . . .

closely as possible to the chief manual now available (BRUNNERT) we suggest Residence for Tributary Envoys.

DUYVENDAK (3) 45-49 uses "lodginghouse" but not as an official title, and agrees that LIN has "rather overtranslated." Prof. DUYVENDAK also describes (from the *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li*) some seven locations of establishments used to house embassies at various dates, all nominally under or part of the Hui T'ung Kuan, a title which therefore cannot easily be associated with one particular place.

[17] *Ta-Ming chi-li* 30.1-2b.

[18] Cf. *Chou Li*, Hsiao hsing jên 37.24 (BIOT 2.411).

"Under the Sung when the envoys of foreign countries arrived, they were feasted and given audience in the hall of the palace (tzŭ-ch'ên tien 紫宸殿) and in the Ch'ung-chêng Hall 崇政殿. The ceremonies for going out to meet and greet (the envoys), preparing them for audience, and entertaining them at banquets, all were the same as for the T'ang. . . .

"In the Yüan period from the time of the Emperor T'ai-tsu (Jenghis Khan, 1206-1227) the Uigurs (wei-wu-êrh 畏吾兒), the Moslems (hui-hu 回鶻), the Tanguts (Hsi Hsia), the Western Regions, and Koryŏ all sent envoys to present tribute. After the time of the Emperor Shih-tsu (Kublai Khan 1260-1294), Annam, Champa, Yunnan, Laos,[19] Northern Burma (Mien kuo 緬國), Tali (in Yunnan), and Fu-lang,[20] all sent envoys to offer up tribute.

"Under the reigning dynasty in 1369, the country of Champa sent a minister (named) Hu-tu-man 虎都蠻 to come with tribute; Koryŏ sent a minister, the President of the Board of Ceremonies, HUNG Shang-tsai 洪尙載; Annam sent a minister, T'UNG Shih-min 同時敏, and others. All presented tribute of local produce. When they had arrived (at the borders of China), an officer memorialized for the Emperor's information and went out of the capital (ch'u kuo mên 出國門) to meet and greet them. On an appointed day after they had presented a tributary memorial and presents of local produce at the Fêng-t'ien Hall, they presented their memorials and local produce at the central palace (i. e. to the Empress) and at the eastern palace (to the Heir-apparent). After the Emperor sent officials to the Residence (hui-t'ung-kuan) to give them banquets, the Heir-apparent again sent officials to treat them ceremoniously. The departments and offices at the capital all held banquets. When they were about to return, a legate was sent to console them and escort them out of the boundaries. If it was an ordinary Court, then the clerks in the Grand Secretariat (chung-shu) took receipt of the tributary memorials and the local produce. On the following day the envoys followed the ushers into an imperial audience, and their banquet was conferred upon them. The Emperor and the Heir-apparent composed rescripts (to the tributary memorials) and treated (the envoys) ceremoniously. We now arrange these ceremonies to form the section on 'Foreign envoys presenting tribute at court. . . .'" [21]

[19] 金齒 chin-ch'ih, lit. gold teeth, Laos or Shan tribes who gilded their teeth.

[20] 拂郎 GILES 3659 identifies this with Fu-lin 菻, now recognized as the Eastern Roman Empire or Syria.

[21] *Ta-Ming chi-li* 31. 1-3.

"3. SENDING (CHINESE) ENVOYS (ABROAD) (Ch'ien-shih 遣使).

"In ancient times the Son of Heaven, toward the feudal princes who had submitted to him, occasionally would observe the ceremony of inquiring about charities, congratulations, or mourning sacrifices. Envoys were not yet sent to pay visits outside the Nine Chou (i.e. the empire).

"In the Han period the Emperor Kao (B.C. 206-195) sent LU Chia 陸賈 on a mission to Nan-yüeh (Kwangtung-Kwangsi), conferring upon him a seal of office. In the time of the filial (Emperor) Wên (179-157) LU Chia again was sent, receiving an imperial mandate (chao) to go to Nan-yüeh. When the filial (Emperor) Wu (140-87) had dealings with the barbarians (ssŭ-i) he sent CHANG Ch'ien 張騫 on a mission to the Western Regions (in the capacity of) an imperial guard (lang 郎), and SU Wu 蘇武 on a mission to the Hsiung-nu as a lieutenant-general (chung lang chiang 中郎將). Thereafter whenever a foreign kingdom had a bereavement, condoling inquiries were made; when they came with inquiries and presents, they were answered and rewarded; when they tendered their allegiance, an imperial seal was bestowed upon them. The Emperor Kuang-wu in A.D. 50 sent the lieutenant-general TUAN Ch'ên 段郴 and the assistant governor WANG Yü 王郁, on a mission to the southern Chieftain (of the Hsiung-nu). The Chieftain prostrated himself to receive the imperial mandate. In 55 A.D. the Chieftain died and (the Emperor) sent the lieutenant-general, TUAN Ch'ên, in command of an army to go and offer condolences. . . .

"In the T'ang period when an envoy was sent to a foreign country he was called 'an envoy to foreign countries' (ju-fan shih 入蕃使). . . .

"In the Sung period when an envoy was sent to a foreign country he was called 'an envoy with a state message' (kuo-hsin shih 國信使). The Emperor T'ai-tsu in 975 sent the Hsi shang ko mên shih (西上閤門使 Usher of the Upper Western Hall), HAO Ch'ung-hsin 郝崇信, on a mission to the Khitan, with the secretary of the Court of Sacrificial Worship as his assistant. From this time on, messengers were sent without interruption. . . .

"Under the Yüan in 1211 (the Emperor) sent an envoy to the kingdom of the Uigurs. Their ruler, I-tu-hu, was greatly pleased, and treated (the envoy) with very extensive ceremony. For this reason he sent an envoy to pay tribute. In 1260 (the Emperor, i.e. Kublai Khan) sent the Director of the Board of Ceremonies, MÊNG Chia

孟甲, and the Assistant Department Director Li Chün 李俊, as envoys to Annam and Tali. In 1266 he sent the Vice-President of the Board of War, Hei-ti 黑的, as envoy to Japan. In 1291 he sent the President of the Board of Ceremonies, Chang Li-tao 張立道, as envoy to Annam; in 1293 he also sent Liang Tsêng 梁曾 and Ch'ên Fu 陳孚 as envoys to Annam, to summon envoys to come to the Court; he also gave an imperial command that the son (of the ruler of Annam) should come for an audience.

"The reigning dynasty has united the whole empire into one. Various envoys have been sent out in order to show compassion to those at a distance. To such countries as Korea (Kao-li), Annam, and Champa imperial proclamations have been promulgated and the imperial commands have been sent to them. Furthermore by imperial command envoys have gone and conferred the imperial seal. The dynasty has also sent down fragrant presents in order to make sacrifices to the mountains and streams of these countries. Its purpose in soothing and subduing the barbarians of the four quarters is most complete. We now in detail set forth the ceremonies connected with the issue of imperial proclamations, the conferring of a seal, and the bestowals and gifts to form the section on 'Sending Envoys....'" [22]

From the official résumé just quoted, several things stand out. Relations between the Son of Heaven and his tributaries were on an ethical basis, and hence reciprocal. The tributaries were submissive and reverent, the Emperor was compassionate and condescending. These reciprocal relationships required formal expression. Presentation of tribute was a ritual performance, balanced by the forms of imperial hospitality and bestowal of imperial gifts. Hence the great importance of ceremonies, so complicated that they must be practiced under guidance beforehand. The detailed regulations given at length in official Chinese works [23] might fruitfully be compared with the feudal and ecclesiastical ceremonies of medieval Europe.

[22] *Ibid.* 32. 1-3.

[23] Cf. *Wan-li hui-tien* 58, 8b line 9): "Reception by a foreign country of a seal and goods: . . . the foreign king and his officials in a body all kneel. The envoy proclaims the imperial decree, reading, 'His Majesty the Emperor commands his envoy ——— (to be filled in by name) to take a seal and confer it on your country's king ———, and also confer ——— goods.' When this proclamation is finished, the envoy holds up in both hands the seal which is conferred and the ——— goods, and facing the west gives them to the foreign king. The foreign king kneels and receives them, and gives them to his attendants. When this is finished, the ceremonial conductor (yin-li

But, as in European experience, very practical results were achieved within this cloak of ritual. Mourning for the dead being a major ceremony in the Confucian life, the Emperor could properly send his envoys abroad on the death of a foreign ruler, at just the time when it was desirable to have information as to the new ruler and perhaps exert pressure upon affairs in the foreign state. TUAN Ch'ên, in going to offer condolences to the Hsiung-nu, incidentally took an army with him. Bestowal of an imperial seal upon a new ruler has obvious analogies to the recognition of new governments practiced in the West. Diplomatic courtesies of a sort were extended to tributary envoys, who traveled by government post and received state burial if they died in China. Other comparisons can be made to show that the tributary system functioned, among other things, as a diplomatic medium. The fact that the normal needs of foreign intercourse could be met in this egocentric manner tended to perpetuate it, and made any other system seem impossible. Hence the fatal tenacity with which the Manchu Court in the modern period tried to solve its foreign problems through the ancient tributary mechanism.

2. TRIBUTARIES OF THE LATE MING.

The foregoing essay has attempted to suggest certain lines of approach to this subject, any one of which might be made a topic in itself. The nature of the sources, however, seems to prescribe a certain order of investigation: studies of political theory and national psychology connected with tribute must wait upon a more complete understanding of the basic facts of the system, in particular upon an understanding of its economic basis,—what were the conditions of trade between the tributaries and China? This important commercial aspect, in turn, can be approached perhaps most easily through a study of the so-called tribute embassies themselves,—whence did they come and how often? This brings us to the immediate question, what places outside of China were actively tributary, and what fluctuations can be observed in their sending of embassies?

Students of the Ch'ing period are fortunate not only in their opportunities in a virgin field but also in the fact that a number of

引禮) calls out, 'Fall prostrate; rise (to a kneeling position); get up.' The official usher calls out the same (commands). The foreign king and his officials in a body all fall prostrate, rise (to a kneeling position), and get up . . ." etc. PAUTHIER 14-22 gives a not impeccable but useful translation of *Ta-ch'ing t'ung-li* 大清通禮 (edition 1756) ch. 43 on tributary ceremony in general.

eminent scholars have established, by their studies of the Ming period, certain *points d'appui* from which Ch'ing studies may take their start. Researches on the maritime expeditions under CHÊNG Ho are a case in point, to say nothing of those concerning medieval travelers in Central Asia. Since, moreover, the Manchus took over the Ming administration almost as it stood and altered it only by degrees, the Ch'ing system of government can really be understood only against its Ming background. We therefore begin with a glance at the tributary system of the late Ming period.

With the exception of certain aboriginal border tribes under the supervision of the Board of War, all Ming tributary relations were under the management of the Reception Department (Chu K'o Ssŭ 主客司) of the Board of Ceremonies.[24] We present below (table 1) the tributaries listed under the Reception Department in the last Ming edition of the *Collected Statutes* (1587).[25] It will at once be

[24] The *Statutes* open as follows (*Wan-li hui-tien* 105. 80, in ts'ê 7): "Reception Department: the Directors, Assistant Directors, and Second Class Secretaries share the charge of matters connected with the various barbarians' presentation of tribute at Court, and their entertainment and the bestowal of gifts upon them. They select their interpreters and attendants, and make known to them the prohibitory regulations. They also have control over gifts made, by imperial grace to the various officials (of the empire) and the tribute of local produce from the various provinces.

"Court tribute (ch'ao-kung): at the beginning of the dynasty the Court tribute (i. e. presented at Court) of the various foreign countries and of the tribal officials among the barbarians was clearly recorded in the *Administrative Duties* [chih-chang 職掌 for *Chu-ssŭ chih-chang* 諸司 (Administrative duties of the various offices), the first work listed in the bibliography given in *Wan-li hui-tien*, ts'ê 1, preceding chüan 1]. Thereafter those who longed to be transformed (i. e. civilized, mu-hua chê 慕化者) multiplied, the cases and precedents daily increased, and the Tribal Officials Office (t'u-kuan ya-mên) was set up. For this, see under the Board of War; matters concerning Court tribute are appended here.

"Barbarians of the east and south, part one: see the *Ancestral Instructions* [tsu-hsün 祖訓, for *Huang-Ming tsu-hsün* 皇明, another work listed in the bibliography just noted] and the *Administrative Duties*; there are altogether twenty countries. The *Ancestral Instructions* enumerate the unconquered barbarians as follows: Korea (Kao-li), Japan, Great and Small Liu-ch'iu, Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Champa, Samudra, Western Ocean (Hsi-yang), Java, Pahang, Pai-hua (Po-hua?), Palembang, Brunei,—altogether fifteen countries. In the *Duties of Administration* there are also recorded the countries of Chola, Western Ocean Chola, Lan-pang, Tan-pa, Samudra,—which is a bit different from the Ancestral Instructions." The *Statute* continues from here as quoted in note 26.

[25] *Wan-li hui-tien* 105-108. For comparative purposes we take this list from the *Ming hui-tien* as the most exact available description of the situation in 1587, a century before the first edition of the *Ch'ing hui-tien* in 1690. It may be compared

observed that this list includes those distant places visited by the fleets under CHÊNG Ho some two centuries earlier, with most of which formal relations had ceased as soon as the Chinese expeditions failed to reappear after 1433. It therefore gives a totally incorrect impression of the number of countries actively tributary in 1587; it is, rather, a list of all countries with which the Ming dynasty had ever had nominal tributary relations.[26] For the reader's guidance it may be totaled as follows, under the categories given in the *Statutes*:

COURT TRIBUTE:

[1]Barbarians of the east and south, part one:	18 (Korea through Tan-pa);
[2]Barbarians of the east and south, part two:	45 (Sulu through Cananore);
[3]Northern barbarians:	
Small princes toward the north:	3 entries (Mongol princes, et al.)
Barbarians of the northeast:	2 entries (Jurchen, et al.)
Western barbarians; part one:	4 entries (Hami etc.)
	38 countries of the Western Regions
	13 other western places.
[4]Western barbarians, part two:	(Tibet, and aboriginal or border tribes, some 20 entries, not listed in this article.)

(Total entries listed below in this article: 123.)

The Chinese version of these place names and the mechanics of their identification we have confined to an index, part 8 below.

In anticipation of our second problem, how often these tributaries were recorded as sending tribute (which may indicate the frequency

with the quite similar list given in the *Ming History*, ch. 320-332, a survey of which was published by BRETSCHNEIDER in 1876 et seq. (see appendix 1).

[26] This fact is indicated by indirection in the opening passages of the Statute:

"At the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368-1398) various envoys were sent with imperial proclamations to go and announce them to the various barbarians, with a view to establishing peace over the four seas (i. e. all the world). Frequently there were accompanying envoys (with the imperial envoys, on their return) who came to Court to present tribute. In 1375 it was imperially ordered that Annam, Korea, and Champa should send tribute to Court every three years, and when a king in those countries succeeded to the throne then the heir-apparent should appear (at Court). During the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) on several occasions there were troubles in the Western Ocean and (the Emperor) sent palace (i. e. eunuch) envoys with 30,000 seamen, taking gold and silks to bestow them as imperial gifts. There were sixteen envoys who accompanied (the Chinese, on their return) to present tribute at Court."

Nothing further is said concerning tribute presented during the century and a half which had preceded the publication of the *Wan-li hui-tien*.

of trade), we note after each place the dates[27] mentioned by the compilers of the *Statutes* in connection with each place as they listed it. These may be presumed to be important milestones at least in the opinion of the compilers. (The first seven states, Korea through Champa, sent tribute with comparative regularity, and the compilers of the *Statutes* gave certain additional facts which we indicate regarding the periodicity and route of their tribute embassies.)

TABLE 1. MING TRIBUTARIES AS OF 1587.

COUNTRY	TRIBUTE EMBASSIES	PERIODICITY	ROUTE VIA
Korea (Chao-hsien)	1369 ff.	1372, every 3 yrs. or 1 yr.; after 1403, annual	Yalu R., Liao-yang, Shanhaikuan
Japan	1374 refused, accepted 1381 1403-1551 occasional	10 yrs.	Ningpo
Liu-ch'iu	1368 ff.	2 yrs.	Foochow
Annam	1369 ff.	3 yrs.	P'ing-yang chou, Kwangsi
Cambodia (Chên-la)	1371 ff.	Court tribute indefinite	Kwangtung
Siam	1371 ff.	3 yrs.	Kwangtung
Champa	1369 ff.	3 yrs.	Kwangtung
Java (Chao-wa)	1372, 1381, 1404, 1407	1443 every 3 yrs., later indefinite	

COUNTRY	TRIBUTE EMBASSIES
Pahang	1378, 1414
Pai-hua	1378
Palembang (San-fo-ch'i)	1368, 1371, 1373, 1375, 1377
Brunei (P'o-ni)	1371, 1405, 1408, 1414, 1425
Samudra (Hsü-wên-ta-na)	1383
Samudra (Su-mên-ta-la)	1405, 1407, 1431, 1435
Chola (Hsi-yang so-li)	1370, 1403
Chola (So-li)	1372
Lan-pang	1376 (in periods 1403-24, 1426-35 joined a neighboring country in sending tribute)
Tan-pa	1377
Sulu	1417, 1421
Ku-ma-la	1420

[27] In the *Collected Statutes* most events are dated by year only. The lunar Chinese year overlaps the Gregorian by about 34 days, say 10%. It follows that on the average one in ten of the year dates given in the *Statutes* will represent a time (in the western month of January) which is really in the succeeding year.

Country	Tribute Embassies
Calicut	1405, 1407, 1409
Malacca	(via Kwangtung) 1405, 1411, 1412, 1414, 1424, 1434, frequently 1445 ff., 1459
Borneo (?So-lo)	1406
Aru	1407 with Calicut et al.
Quilon	1407 with Samudra et al.
Bengal	1408, 1414, 1438
Ceylon	1411, 1412, 1445, 1459
Jaunpur	1420
Syria (Fu-lin)	1371
Cochin	1404, 1412
Melinde	1414
The Philippines (Lü-sung)	1372, 1405, 1576 (via Fukien)
Tieh-li Jih-lo-hsia-chih Marinduque (Ho-mao-li)	sent tribute with Java in 1405
Ku-li-pan-tsu (Pansur?)	1405
Ta-hui	1405
Hormuz	1405
Coyampadi (Kan-pa-li)	1414
Cail	Yung-lo period (1403-1425)
Djofar	"
Maldive Is.	"
Burma (A-wa)	"
Lambri (Nan-wu-li)	"
Kelantan	"
Ch'i-la-ni	"
Hsia-la-pi (Arabia?)	"
K'u-ch'a-ni	"
Wu-shê-la-t'ang	"
Aden	"
Rum, Asia Minor	"
Bengal (P'êng-chia-na)	"
Shê-la-ch'i	"
Pa-k'o-i	"
Coyampadi (K'an-pa-i-t'i)	"
Hei-ka-ta	"
(also Pai-ka-ta in 1432)	"
La-sa	"
Barawa, Africa	"
Mogadisho	"
Lambri (Nan-p'o-li)	"
Ch'ien-li-ta	"
Cananore (Jurfattan)	

The list of tributaries in the *Wan-li hui-tien* then continues with the northern barbarians, chiefly the Wa-la (Oirats), as quoted below.[28]

[28] "Court Tribute, part three: Northern barbarians. Of the northern barbarians, the Tatars (ta-ta, Tartars) are the largest. Since the Mongolian Yüan (dynasty) retired into the Gobi, the remaining troublemakers for generations have called (themselves) Khans (k'o-han, kagan). On the east is Urianghai, on the west Hami, on the north Wa-la. The Wa-la (Oirats) became strong and several times defeated the Tatars. Thereafter Urianghai and Hami both tendered their allegiance. But Urianghai was then divided to form the three (military) districts of To-yen, etc. (i. e. To-yen, Fu-yü, and T'ai-ning). The chief of the Wa-la, Ma-ho-mu 馬哈木, was invested as Prince of Shun-ning 順寧. The Tatar chief of the Altai offered his allegiance and was invested as Prince of Ho-ning 和寧. Both sent envoys to present tribute. Thereafter they were rebellious and submissive in an uncertain manner. In the Ch'êng-hua period (1465-1487) the small princes also sent tribute. The tribute was without a

It then continues: "Western barbarians, first section: from Lanchow in Shensi one crosses the (Yellow) River and goes 1500 li to reach Su-chou. From Su-chou west 70 li is the Jade Gate (Chia Yü Kuan). Everything outside the Jade Gate is called the Western Regions. But to the south of Shensi everything beyond the frontier from Szechwan to Yunnan is called the Western Tribes (Hsi-Fan). In the Western Regions are seven districts: Hami, Anting, A-tuan (Khotan?), Ch'ih-chin Mongolia, Ch'ü-hsien, Han-tung, and Han-tung the Left, all west of the Gate, Hami being the farthest west 皆在關西而哈密又最西. . . ."

Hami	tribute begun 1404, annual from 1465, every 5 yrs. from 1475	district of Han-tung	
district of Anting	begun 1374	Ch'ih-chin Mongolia	1404, every 5 yrs. from 1563
		district of Ch'ü-hsien	1437

"The tribute sent to the Court by the thirty-eight countries of the western regions all passes through Hami. As to their periods for tribute, it may be sent off perhaps once in 3 or once in 5 years. The (number of) men may not exceed 35." (The 38 countries are as follows:)

Herat	sent an envoy in 35th year of Hung-wu (1402), 1409, 1437	Ilibalik (and Bashibalik)	sent tribute 1391, 1406, 1413, 1418(?), 1437, continuous from 1457
Ha-san		Nieh-k'o-li (or Mieh-k'o-li)	
Ha-lieh-erh		Badakshan (Pa-tan-sha)	
Sha-ti-man		Balkh	
Kashgar		Almalik?	
Ha-ti-lan (Khotelan?)		Togmak	
Sairam (Sai-lan)			
Sao-lan (Sairam?)			

fixed period. In the Lung-ch'ing period (1567-1572) Anda 俺荅 was invested as Prince of Shun-i 順義. Every year he sends a tribute of horses and has traded (with China) to the present time uninterruptedly. The small princes extending toward the north (are as follows): The three princes of the Wa-la, [tribute begun 1403; annual, with interruptions, from 1458], the Prince of Shun-i [tribute annual from 1570], the districts of To-yen, Fu-yü, and T'ai-ning [1388, tribute twice a year from 1403]. The northeastern barbarians are as follows: [Jurchen et al., tribute irregular because of distance]. On the west of the sea (is) Chien-chou [annual tribute]."

BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 159-173 gives an extensive critical account of the same subject-matter drawn from the *Ming History*, and a similar account appears in *JA* ser. 9, vol. 7 (1896). 173-179.

Chalish	Ya-hsi
Kan-shih	Yarkand
Bukhara?	Jung (Western barbarians?)
P'a-la	Pai
Shiraz	Wu-lun
Nishapur	Alani
Kashmir	Khotan? (A-tuan)
Tabriz	Yeh-ssŭ-ch'êng
Kuo-sa-ssŭ	K'un-ch'êng (Kunduz?)
Khodjend? (Huo-t'an)	Shê-hei
Khodjend (Huo-chan)	Pai-yin
Kucha (K'u-hsien)	K'o-chieh
Khodjend (Sha-liu-hai-ya)	

(The list continues with further countries in the west as follows:)

Turfan	1430, 1497, 1509, 1510, after 1523 once in 5 yrs.
including after 1430: Karakhodjo (Huo-chou);	1409, 1430
Liu-ch'ên city	1430
Samarkand	1387, 1389, 1391, etc.; after 1523 once in 5 yrs.
Kingdom of Rum (Asia Minor)	after 1524 once in 5 yrs., via Kansu
Arabia (Tien-fang, Mecca?)	Hsüan-tê period (1426-1435), 1517, in Chia-ching period (1522-1566) fixed to be once in 5 yrs.
Medina	Hsüan-tê period (1426-1435)
Khotan (Yü-t'ien)	1408
Jih-lo	Yung-lo period (1403-1424)
Badakshan (Pa-ta-hei-shang)	"
Andkhui	"
Isfahan	"
Khorassan	1432
Ê-chi-chieh	Chia-ching period (1522-1566)
Ha-hsin	"

(The list concludes with Tibet (chüan 108), followed by a score of temples and tribes of the Tibetan border or the southwest.)

When compared with the lists recorded in other Ming sources, this one appears to be relatively complete,[29] enabling us to make the following tentative analysis:

[29] With this list from the *Hui-tien* of 1587 may be compared that given in the (pre-Ming) *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 ch. 324-332, which includes a total of 97 barbarian places or peoples. The Ch'ing supplement to this work (*Ch'in-ting hsü wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao*), ch. 239-250, the compilation of which was ordered in 1747, in a corresponding section lists some 125 places or peoples; this is chiefly for the Ming

Eliminating the first seven adjacent states and those entries which appear to be duplicates, there are some 50 tributaries communicating by sea (of which about 15 remain unidentified so far as we know). A dozen of these states are recorded as sending tribute *before* the period of the great Ming expeditions under CHÊNG Ho (c. 1403-1433). But only half a dozen are recorded as doing so *after* 1433 (Java 1443 ff., Samudra 1435, Malacca 1459, Bengal 1438, Ceylon 1459, Philippines 1576,—an exception, concerned with a reward for the seizure of pirates). Moreover, with the exception noted, not one of these maritime tributaries is recorded as arriving *after* 1460.

Turning to the tributaries communicating by land, if we pass over the Mongols and others on the north, and the western frontier districts such as Hami, we find a list of 38 tributaries of the western region which are said to communicate via Hami. These are listed without comment and are almost the same list, item for item, as that given in the *Ming History* (Cf. BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 314-15), also without comment. Almost half of these places are of doubtful identity, so far as we are aware, and the entire list, so closely and yet not exactly copied later in the *Ming History*, seems like a hand-me-down,—a traditional roll-call without validity for our purposes; perhaps its origin can be found in some work of an earlier period. By contrast, the dozen western places which conclude the list, and concerning which details are given, are plainly of historical importance, particularly Turfan, Samarkand, Rum, and Arabia. These four places, plus Ilibalik and the two obscure items at the end, appear to be the chief "tributaries" which functioned independently via Central Asia, all the others being grouped under Hami. They seem well suited to serve as the alleged or actual sources of merchants in caravan trade. It is significant that their tributary activity appears regularly established at the beginning of the Chia-ching period after 1522.

These observations warrant the hypothesis that the chief activity in the sending of tribute embassies under the Ming shifted from the

period and a great number of the entries are for aboriginal or border tribes or places really within the confines of nineteenth century China.

Another work, the *Ta-ming i-t'ung chih* 大明一統志 ch. 89-90,—used by BRETSCHNEIDER,—gives a list of 56 tributaries, all of which are included in the list given above. BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 176-315 chiefly from the *Ming History* sections on foreign countries (*Ming-shih wai-kuo chüan,* ch. 329-332), lists 43 tributaries plus 38 smaller places (29 via Hami) all of which had intercourse with China from the west by land; a score of these are not in the list above, half of them being very obscure items.

southern sea-routes to the northwestern land-routes after the middle of the fifteenth century, just as the capital had been shifted from Nanking to Peking in 1421.

This general hypothesis is supported by reference to the lists of tribute embassies recorded at the end of each annual section in the annals of the *Ming History* (*Ming-shih pên-chi*). For analytical purposes we have constructed a chart of these embassies as recorded for the period 1369-1643. Publication of so voluminous a document does not seem feasible, particularly when there are so many problems of identification and the like still unsolved; but certain observations may be based upon it. Judging by the completeness with which the embassies from the Southern Sea and the Indian Ocean were recorded during the period of the great maritime expeditions,[30] this record given in the annals may be considered complete enough for survey purposes.[31]

1. First it is worth noting again that embassies from Southeast Asia began to come to the Ming capital from the very beginning of the dynasty, years before the first of the maritime expeditions under CHÊNG Ho were sent out. This is not surprising in view of the long growth of Chinese trade with this region and the Mongol expeditions which had already sailed through it. Thus in the period from 1369 to 1404 (CHÊNG Ho's first expedition occupied the years 1405-1407) tribute is recorded from Java (Chao-wa) in 11 different years, from Java (Shê-p'o) in 1378, from Brunei (P'o-ni) in 1371, from Pahang (P'êng-hêng) in 1378, from Samudra (Hsü-wên-ta-na) in 1383, from Palembang (San-fo-ch'i) in Sumatra 6 times, and from Chola (So-li) on the Coromandel coast of India in 1372. This agrees with the dates given in the *Collected Statutes* and noted above.

In this period embassies from states adjacent to China,—Korea (Kao-li, Koryŏ), Liu-ch'iu, Annam, Champa, Cambodia, Siam, Tibet (Wu-ssŭ-tsang),—are comparatively regular and frequent. It is note-

[30] PELLIOT (1) 317 n. states that all the South Sea embassies in the period of the Ming expeditions were recorded in the *Ming-shih pên-chi*. In the case of Central Asian embassies the *Hui-tien* seems to refer to some not recorded in the *Pên-chi*. This is not unexpected, judged by the example of the Ch'ing records analyzed in part 6 below. On the other hand nearly all the references to XV century embassies from Java and Champa collected by FERRAND 14. 5-11 are included in the *Ming History*.

[31] The annals (Chung-hua shu-chü edition) list some 36 tributaries arriving in the period 1369-1404, some 55 in the period 1405-1433, some 16 in 1434-1500, and some 14 in the long period 1500-1643.

worthy, however, that relatively few are recorded from Central Asia: Samarkand 3 times, Bashibalik once, and but few others.

2. During the much-studied period of the maritime expeditions up to 1433, when tribute embassies from the Indian Ocean graced the court frequently, the activity of embassies from Central Asia steadily increased. Beginning in 1421 the Wa-la (Oirats) are recorded in almost every year up to 1453. Meanwhile Badakshan, Shiraz, and Ispahan are recorded for 1419, Herat in 1415 and later, Ilibalik from 1426; and, most important, Hami, the funnel for Central Asian trade, begins to be regularly recorded in 1415, as does Turfan also.

3. During the remainder of the sixteenth century after the end of the maritime expeditions in 1433, Tibet and the other countries adjacent to China are recorded with a good deal of regularity with the exception of Korea (Chao-hsien) which appears in the record only a few times after 1397 (perhaps because it could be taken for granted), while Japan is recorded half a dozen times. Of the many countries from the Indian Ocean and the South Sea, only Java and Malacca (recorded 10 times between 1439 and 1481) continue with much regularity, Ceylon (Hsi-lan-shan) being recorded along with Malacca in 1445 and 1459. Meanwhile tribute embassies from Hami are noted in more than half the years of the period (1434-1500), Turfan and Samarkand less frequently, about one year in four, and Ilibalik half a dozen times. Thus there is a marked shift of tributary activity from the maritime south to the continental west.

4. During the sixteenth century there is a thinning out of the number of embassies noted in the annals. Liu-ch'iu appears 50 times, every other year on the average. Annam, however, appears only 19 times; Siam, only 9; Champa, 4 (to 1543); and Japan, 7. By way of contrast, the embassies recorded from Central Asia remain relatively numerous: Tibet, 26; Hami, 19; Turfan, 24; Samarkand, 16; Arabia (T'ien-fang), 13; and Rum (Lu-mi, in Asia Minor), 6.

5. In the last years of the dynasty, 1600-1643, the embassies from Central Asia wither away like those from elsewhere: Liu-ch'iu, 15; Annam, 7; Siam, 9; Tibet, 9; Turfan, 3; Hami, 3; Samarkand, Arabia, and Rum, each once (in 1618, with Hami and Turfan).

Certain implications of these data are discussed below in section 6.

3. The Li Fan Yüan (Court of Colonial Affairs) under the Ch'ing.

The inauguration of the Manchu dynasty led to a thorough reshuffling of the relations between China and Central Asia. The Manchus therefore divided their inheritance of tributaries from the Ming into two categories, those from the east and south, who continued to be under the Reception Department (Chu K'o Ssŭ) of the Board of Ceremonies, and those from the north and west, who were put under a new agency, the 理藩院 Li Fan Yüan. Since this article is concerned primarily with the former, among whom were included the maritime nations of Europe, we shall take only brief note of the Ch'ing tributaries to the north and west.

The tributaries of the north and west were primarily the Mongols. So important were Mongol relations that a special department of the Manchu administration, a Mongolian Office (Mêng-ku Ya-mên), was set up, some years before the entrance into China. In 1638 this Mongolian Office was changed into the Li Fan Yüan,[32] the so-called Court of Colonial Affairs or Mongolian Superintendency,[33] which continued as an important part of the government of China under the Ch'ing dynasty.

It is worth noting first of all that the Li Fan Yüan managed Manchu-Mongol relations through the forms of the ancient tributary system.[34]

[32] In the sixth month of 1638; cf. *Ch'in-ting li-tai chih-kuan piao* 欽定歷代職官表 (Table of offices and officials of successive dynasties), compiled by Chi Chün 紀昀 et al., Kuang-ya shu-chü 廣雅書局 edition, 17.5.

[33] Although the term "Colonial" seems unfortunate, we favor the translation of Brunnert (a) because some sort of translation is necessary for non-sinologists and (b) for the sake of conformity to a manual of titles. Mayers 183 gives a descriptive translation, "The Mongolian Superintendency . . . which has sometimes been called the Colonial Office." P. Hoang, *Mélanges sur l'administration* (*Variétés sinologiques* no. 21, Chang-hai 1902) 135 gives a more literal version, "Cour suprème de l'administration des Vassaux." Dr. H. B. Morse and many others have followed Mayers. Hsieh Pao-chao (*The Government of China 1644-1911*, Balt. 1925) 322, under American influence, uses "Department of Territories."

[34] Here as everywhere the reader must remember that tribute was a *substitute* for more forceful domination, rather than an expression of such domination. In actual fact, as Owen Lattimore puts it, "control was by manipulation rather than by decree" (*The Mongols of Manchuria*, N. Y. C. 1934, 50).

Hsieh Pao-chao, *op. cit.*, not only thoroughly misrepresents the nature of the tributary system (pp. 235-7) but also fails to indicate its use in the government of Mongolia and Tibet (pp. 321-341).

The K'ang-hsi edition of the *Hui-tien* introduced this new department in these rapturous terms: [35]

"When our Dynasty first arose, its awe-inspiring virtue (tê) gradually spread and became established. Wherever its name and influence reached, there were none who did not come to Court. As to the leaders of the Mongolian tribes, those who first tendered their allegiance all submitted to our jurisdiction and are regarded as of one body (with the Manchus). Those who came later were a vast host; and all of them coming with their whole countries or with their entire tribes happily tendered their allegiance. Since the land was extensive, the people were numerous. Thereupon they were ordered each to preserve his own territory, and in the years for audience to present a regular tribute. The abundant population and the vast area,—from ancient times down to the present there had been nothing like them! Therefore, outside the Six Boards, there was established the Court of Colonial Affairs (Li Fan Yüan)...."

Thus the origin of tribute is affirmed to lie, as usual, in the all-pervading virtue of the Son of Heaven, while the cognate principles of imperial compassion and reverent barbarian submission are expressed in another introductory passage, on Court assemblies: [36]

"Among the 49 banners, from the princes on down, annually or seasonally there must be some who come to the capital. They are made to divide the years (of their attendance) to represent each other, in order to save them labor and weariness, and hay and grain are given them, in order to relieve their exhaustion and fatigue. Thus the system of visiting (the Court) for audience and the benevolence (of the Emperor) in soothing and guiding them are both accomplished."

The general nature of the administration exercised by this new agency will appear from a recital of the main divisions of the K'ang-hsi *Statutes* concerning it. Successive sections dealt with the Ranks of Nobility among the Mongolian princes; the Assemblies, held triennially and concerned with judicial matters, fines being exacted for non-attendance; the Registers of Males, including all between 18 and 60, with penalties for false report; the Postal Transmission system, with regulations for the use of post-station horses and facilities; the system of Guard Houses, with prohibitions of unannounced movements, unauthorized trips to Kuei-hua to sell horses, overstepping of tribal boundaries, or use of others' pasture, and the like; a set of Strict Pro-

[35] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 142.

[36] *Ibid.*, 143.1.

hibitions regarding Persons Absconding, with penalties; the Soothing and Reuniting of Persons who Absconded, with penalties for non-coöperation.[37] As Mr. Lattimore points out,[38] these regulations were in general designed to check the reuniting of the Mongol tribes under another Jenghis Khan, a process which could occur only when relationships in Mongolia were so fluid as to allow the concentration of many personal loyalties under one tribal leader. Further regulations then dealt with Assemblies at Court, Presentation of Tribute, Banquets, Court Tribute, and Bestowal of Rewards,—all in the traditional forms of the tributary relationship.[39]

The later Ch'ing rulers appear to have covered the tributary relationship with a sugar coating heavy enough to make it decidedly palatable. On the one hand it was decreed that "the various ranks of princes among the Mongols at the New Year festival all in Court dress are to look toward the throne and perform the ceremony of the three kneeling and nine knockings of the head";[40] and there were further regulations for the presentation of tribute and the bestowal of gifts and banquets in return. Yet within the limits of these formalities the system was developed to allow a maximum of Manchu supervision and control with a minimum of irritation on the part of the Mongols. The nobility among the Inner Mongols, for example, were divided into three classes (pan), of which one came to Court each year in rotation, just before New Years. Limits were put on the number of retainers that each might bring to the capital and on the length of time they might stay, and they were required to practice the ceremonies on their arrival; but beneath all these details the fact stands out that considerable payments were made to and for them. The seven ranks of Mongol nobility each received annually from the imperial coffers an emolument (祿 lu) corresponding to his rank. In the case

[37] *Ibid.*, 142 *passim.*

[38] O. LATTIMORE, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* 90. The Li Fan Yüan kept a record of boundaries, with maps, of ranks and titles, and of genealogies, revised every decade; it conferred patents of nobility, enforced regulations of the sort mentioned above, and had a hand in marriages. Among other things it is provided that Mongols who have had smallpox are to be received in audience at Peking while those who have not had it, and therefore might carry it, are to be received in audience at Jehol. Cf. *Kuang-hsü hui-tien* 64.10a. The *Huang-ch'ao fan-pu yao-lüeh* 皇朝藩部要略 (A general survey of the feudatory tribes under the reigning dynasty) (18 chüan, piao 4 chüan, preface 1839, colophon 1845) gives a chronological summary of edicts on these matters of administration.

[39] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 143-144.

[40] *Kuang-hsü hui-tien* 65.4.

of a first class prince, this stipend might come to Tls. 2000 in silver (fêng yin 俸銀) and 25 rolls of silks (fêng pi 幣) or satin (fêng tuan 緞). "Chieftains (Dzassak), hereditary nobles (Daidji), and Tabunang, have a stipend of Tls. 100 in silver and 4 rolls of satin."[41] Further, the expenses of the noble's suits were taken care of in Peking, provisions being due to them for as much as 40 days. Thus a chieftain, the lowest of the seven ranks, was allowed to have ten retainers and receive provisions while in Peking in the following amounts: every day, in silver Tls. 1.61, in rice 6.5 pints; for three riding horses and ten lead horses, every day for fodder Tls. 0.875511.[42] There were also the customary banquets and presents, and even a gift of travel expenses on departure. In contrast to all these imperial donations, the *statutory* tribute presented at Court, as recorded for the late nineteenth century, was purely nominal. "The annual tribute of Inner (Mongol) chieftains is not to exceed . . . one sheep and one bottle of milk-wine (koumiss)."[43] (This use of the velvet glove does not imply that the Mongols did not contribute heavily elsewhere). In the nineteenth century the regulations for Outer Mongolia, including the lamaseries, and for East Turkestan (the moslems of the Hami and Turfan areas) were along the same lines.[44] The Dalai Lama and others in Tibet were likewise now included in the system.[45]

Enough has been said to indicate that the traditional system of tribute was applied to northern and western Asia, though in a form adapted to new circumstances. This success in using old bottles for new wine must have given strength to the continuing Manchu effort to keep the European traders bottled up at Macao and Canton.

As a second point it is noteworthy that the jurisdiction of the Li Fan Yüan was extended to Central Asia only gradually. Relations with Turfan were not under its control until sometime after 1732 (see

[41] *Ibid.*, 65.1.

[42] *Ibid.*, 5b.

[43] *Ibid.*, 4.

[44] *Ibid.*, chüan 68.

[45] Cf. *Kuang-hsü hui-tien* 67.12b-13b: "Tribute from Tibet arrives at fixed intervals: Tibet (Hsi Tsang, i.e. central Tibet, Lhasa) once every year sends an envoy to present tribute. Anterior Tibet (Ch'ien Tsang, i.e. eastern Tibet) and Ulterior Tibet (Hou Tsang, i.e. western Tibet) each send tribute once every third year. . . . The Po-k'o-pa-la Living Buddha of Chamdo (eastern Tibet) sends an envoy to present tribute once every five years. . . . The Gurkha Erdeni King (King of Nepal) sends an envoy to present tribute once in five years. . . ." Officers are deputed to escort these tributary envoys, who are often abbots; their suites are limited in size but they are allowed to use the postal stations, for which purpose the Board of War issues tallies, and so on.

Table 2 in section 4 below). It appears that the Manchu conquests which built up a great continental empire including Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan,—ending with the conquest of Kashgar by 1760,—led to a reorganization of the Li Fan Yüan and an extension of its activities.[46] This meant in turn that tributary relations and tributary trade with the continent to the north and west of China were put in a special category, removed from the inherited tributary administration under the Board of Ceremonies. Central Asian trade in the later Ch'ing period thus becomes a special study, connected with the administration of the Li Fan Yüan, and until extensive research is done upon the working of this new agency, Manchu relations with Central Asia cannot easily be fitted into our picture of the tributary commercial system as a whole. In particular, a correlation between tribute and trade, such as it may have been for the Ming period, becomes impossible for this area under the Ch'ing because tributary embassies ceased to be even a chief form of economic intercourse.

For this reason an examination of the tributary embassies from the north and west recorded at the end of each annual section in the *Draft History of the Ch'ing* (*Ch'ing-shih kao, pên-chi*, see Table 5 below) cannot yield results as significant as those gained in this way

[46] In the first two editions of the *Statutes* the Li Fan Yüan was divided into four departments, as follows: 1. Department of Records of Merit (Lu Hsün Ch'ing Li Ssŭ 祿勳), 2. Department of Guests (Pin K'o 賓客), 3. Department for Receiving Princes of Outer Mongolia (Jou Yüan 柔遠, BRUNNERT 495.4; lit. "for gracious treatment of persons from afar"), 4. Judicial Department (Li Hsing 理刑). In the third and later editions, that is, from 1764 on, there were six departments; these are named as follows in BRUNNERT 495.1-6, where further details may be found: 1. Department of the Inner Mongols, 2. of the Outer Mongols, 3. for Receiving Princes of Inner Mongolia, 4. for Receiving Princes of Outer Mongolia, 5. Department of Eastern Turkestan, 6. Judicial Department. There were in addition a Treasury, a Mongol Translation Office, a Tangut Studies Office, Inspectors, Secretaries, a Chancery, and so on. For the nineteenth century the Mongol tribes and banners may be tabulated as follows (for details see BRUNNERT pp. 442-464, which, however, omits a simple synoptic table such as this):

AREA	TRIBES	BANNERS
Inner Mongolia (So. of the Gobi)	24	49
Outer Mongolia (across the Gobi)	6	86
Kokonor (Ch'ing Hai Mongolia) (Kukunor)	5	28
Kobdo (between the Altai and the T'ien Shan, Oelots, Durbets, etc.)	11	34
Hami-Turfan (Moslems)	..	2

Cf. *Kuang-hsü hui-tien* 63-68 or, for details, *Ch'in-ting Li-Fan-Yüan tsê-li* 欽定理藩院則例 (1908 movable type edition, 64 chüan).

for the Ming period. The chart which we have constructed of these recorded embassies shows a vast profusion of Mongol tribes and dignitaries presenting tribute at various times up to the beginning of the K'ang-hsi period (1662). From that time on, however, places in the north and west practically disappear from the record; during the remainder of the dynasty the embassies listed are almost entirely from the south and east. The classification of Turfan as a tributary until after 1732 might be taken to indicate that up to that time it was serving as a funnel for caravan trade with regions to the west, as Hami had done under the Ming; but the tribute embassies recorded in the *Ch'ing-shih kao* as from Turfan are so very few as to leave the whole question in obscurity.

4. Ch'ing Tributaries from the South and East — General Regulations.

Before touching upon the status formally accorded to Europeans in the Ch'ing tributary system, we must look at the general scheme into which they were fitted. The Ch'ing regulations for the Reception Department of the Board of Ceremonies were modelled upon those which have been described, by Professors Chang Tê-ch'ang, Yano Jinichi, T. C. Lin, Uchida Naosaku, and others, for the Ming period.[47] Needless to say, an understanding of these rules will explain many of the points of friction that arose when Sino-European diplomatic relations became intensified. We therefore quote at length the statement of administrative principles made in the 1690 (K'ang-hsi) edition of the *Collected Statutes*.[48] (We have ourselves numbered the sections of the text, to facilitate reference.)

"General Regulations for the Presentation of Tribute at Court:

"The prosperity of the united country exceeds that of all previous ages. East, west, north, and south, those who declare themselves sub-

[47] See appendix 1.

[48] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 72 (Board of Ceremonies 33). 1-3b: "Reception Department: The Senior Secretaries, Second-class Secretaries, and Second-class Assistant Secretaries divide the charge of the barbarians that send tribute to the Court, the receiving and entertainment of them, and the bestowal of presents upon them. They examine their translated documents; they explain the prohibitory regulations, together with the Superintendent of the Residence for Tributary Envoys. All rewards bestowed upon officials and the local tribute of the various provinces are also under their control." (The general regulations then follow.)

missive feudatories and present tribute at Court are beyond counting. As to the Mongolian tribes, the Court of Colonial Affairs (Li Fan Yüan) has been especially established to control them. Likewise the various aboriginal tribes are under the control of the Board of War. As for those which are under the Reception Department and the Residence for Tributary Envoys,—the years when they present tribute come at certain intervals, the persons who come to Court are of a certain number, the local products (presented as tribute) are of a certain amount, the rewards bestowed are of certain categories. Here we put the general regulations first of all, and then the various countries in order according to their priority in presenting tribute:

1. "In the Ch'ung-tê period (1635-43) it was settled that on (the rulers of) all foreign countries which tendered their submission there should be bestowed an imperial patent of appointment (ts'ê-kao), and there should be conferred a noble rank, and thereafter whenever memorials and official despatches ought to be presented, they should all be dated by the Ta Ch'ing dynastic reign-title. On the occasion of imperial birthdays, New Years days, and winter solstices, they should present a memorial in the imperial presence and offer a tribute of local products, and present a (congratulatory) tablet to the Empress and the Heir-apparent and offer a tribute of local products, sending an official delegate to the Court congratulations.

2. "In the Shun-chih period (1644-61) it was settled that whenever foreign countries presented tribute to the Court with a memorial and local products as proof of the fact, the Governor-General and Governor concerned should examine their authenticity and then permit them to present a memorial and send the tribute to Court.

3. "Whenever foreign countries, in presenting tribute to the Court, send back the imperial seal granted them in the Ming period, the local authorities may be allowed to present a memorial (on their behalf).

4. "The officers and servants who bring tribute on any one occasion must not exceed a hundred men; only twenty officers and servants may enter the capital, all the rest remaining at the border to await their reward. The ships which bring tribute must not be more than three; each ship must not exceed a hundred men.

5. "Whenever a tribute envoy reaches the capital, the local products which he is presenting as tribute are reported by the Residence for Tributary Envoys to the Board of Ceremonies. The Superintend-

ent in charge of the said Residence goes to the Residence, examines the things, and sends officers and underlings to control them. The said Board memorializes for the Emperor's information. The tribute objects are handed in to the Imperial Household Department. Elephants are transferred to the Imperial Equipage Department; horses are transferred to the Palace Stud. Daggers, deer's skin, blue squirrel skin [ch'ing-shu p'i 青黍皮 for ch'ing-shu p'i 鼠] and such things are handed over to the Imperial Armory. All sulphur brought in is kept and given to the Governor-General and Governor concerned, to be stored.

6. " For foreigners to send presents to the Governor-General and Governor concerned (in their case) is forbidden in perpetuity.

7. " Whenever a foreign ship comes privately to trade without reason and not in a year when tribute is presented, the Governor-General and Governor concerned shall forthwith stop it and drive it away.

8. " Whenever a foreign country sends tribute, all those ships which take over charge of tribute and ships which keep watch on tribute, and the like, aside from the ships specified by the regulations, are to be stopped and sent back. They must not be allowed to enter.

9. " Whenever the principal tribute ship has not arrived, the ships which protect tribute or keep watch on the tribute are not allowed to trade.

10. " Whenever a foreign tribute envoy happens to die en route, the Board of Ceremonies shall memorialize to order the Inner Secretariat [49] to compose a funeral essay (to be recited and burned at the grave) and the Financial Commissioner on the the spot to prepare the sacrificial offerings. A High Official (T'ang Kuan 堂官, B 304) shall be sent to offer the sacrifices on one occasion, and also arrange for a cemetery, set up a stone, and confer an (imperial) inscription. If an envoy who came with (the deceased) volunteers to take back the corpse, he may do so. If (an envoy) reaches the capital and dies, a wooden coffin and red satin shall be supplied and an official of the Department of Sacrifices shall be sent to issue the imperial orders for the sacrifices. The carts and men which were to be supplied by the Board of War and the clothing and satins and such things which were to be presented (to the deceased) shall still be handed

[49] Nei Yüan 內院, presumably the Nei Mi Shu Yüan 祕書, one of the Nei San Yüan 三, in charge of correspondence with foreign countries.

over to the envoy who came with him, for him to take back and bestow. If an attendant of the tribute mission dies at the capital, a coffin and red silk shall be supplied; if he dies en route, (the mission) may proceed to bury him of its own accord.

11. "When a tribute envoy returns to his country, by regulation there is deputed a Ceremonial Usher of the Court of Colonial Affairs (Ssŭ Pin Hsü Pan 司賓序班, B 940) and there is issued to him an official express rider's tally (k'an-ho). He is sent along with the official post and on the way is watched over and urged on, and not allowed to loiter and cause trouble, nor to trade in goods forbidden by the regulations. (When the envoy) has been clearly handed over to the Governor concerned, (the Ceremonial Usher) at once returns (to the capital). The Governor-General and Governor concerned, according to the regulations, send (the tribute envoy) out of the frontier.

12. "In 1664 it was settled that whenever foreign countries admire (Chinese) civilization (mu-hua) and come with a tribute of local produce, it should be examined and accepted as they present it, without adhering too closely to the old regulations.

13. "In 1666 it was memorialized and sanctioned that when foreign countries present a memorial to the throne they need not give it to an envoy, sent to bring it along with him. They should be ordered to depute a special officer to give it to the Governor-General and Governor concerned, who will in turn memorialize on their behalf.

14. "In 1667 it was settled that whenever a foreign country tenders a document to the Governor-General and Governor (concerned in its case), the said officers should straightway open and examine the original document, deliberate, and memorialize the throne.

15. "No Governors-General, Governors, Provincial Commanders-in-chief, or other such officials may unauthorizedly and of their own accord send a communication (i-wên) to a foreign country.

16. "In 1669 it was memorialized and sanctioned that whenever the principal and assistant tribute envoys of a foreign country and the fixed number of their attendants come to the capital, their provisions en route and the men, horses, boats, and carts of the postal service are to be supplied, in accordance with the regulations, by the Governor-General and Governor concerned. They are to depute officials to accompany (the tribute mission), and troops to escort it to the capital. When the tribute envoy returns to his country, for

the provisions en route and the men and boats of the post service, the Board of War is to provide them with postal tallies. As to the men (of the mission) who have remained at the frontier, the local authorities concerned according to the regulations give them provisions and carefully guard them. Later when the tribute envoy returns to his country, they are sent along with him out of the frontier." [50]

Since foreign trade was technically tributary trade, we quote further the regulations of 1690 on foreign trade,[51] omitting an initial passage on commerce with Korea, and numbering the sections.

"THE TRADE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

1. ". . . In the Shun-chih period (1644-1661) it was fixed that after foreign countries bringing tribute to Court have come to the capital and their rewards have been distributed to them, a market may be opened in the Residence for Tributary Envoys, either for three days or for five days. But Korea and Liu Ch'iu need not adhere to this time limit. The Board of Ceremonies shall communicate with the Board of Revenue, which shall ahead of time detach Wu-lin men [52] to do the receiving and buying. When the despatch in reply has passed through the Board (of Ceremonies) then they shall issue a notice (of the opening of the market) and despatch officials to superintend it. They shall give orders for just and fair trade. It is altogether prohibited to collect or buy works of history. As to black, yellow, purple-black, large flowered, Tibetan, or lotus satins; together with all forbidden implements of war, saltpetre, ox-horn, and such things,—all shopmen and hongists shall bring their goods to the Residence (for sale) and exchange them justly and fairly.

2. "Dying-cloth, thin silk, and such goods shall be handed back within fixed limits. If there are any who buy on credit and intentionally delay (payment), cheating or seeking "squeeze," with the result that the foreigners wait a long time, they, together with those who trade with them in private, will be condemned; and will be put in the

[50] *Ibid. Yung-chêng hui-tien* 104. 1-3b, aside from minor textual changes, is practically identical in connect with *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 72. 1-3b, only one or two items having been added; the chief difference is that the earlier edition presents the material chronologically, the later edition under topic headings.

[51] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 73. 12-14b.

[52] 烏林人, a transliteration of the Manchu title for K'u Shih 庫使 Treasury Overseers. For this information we are indebted to Mr. S. POLEVOY.

cangue for one month in front of their shops. If there are foreigners who purposely violate the prohibitory regulations and secretly enter people's houses to trade, the goods dealt in privately will be confiscated. In the case of those who have not yet been given their (imperial) rewards (i. e. gifts), there will be consideration of a proportional diminution.

3. "All soldiers and commoners inside or outside the Residence or neighboring it on any side, who on behalf of foreigners deal in prohibited goods, will be condemned to the cangue for a month, and banished to the border for military service for life. If there are those who take contraband implements of war, copper or iron, or such things, and sell them to foreigners to get a profit, according to the law for taking military implements out of the border in secret and thereby revealing affairs (of military importance), the ringleaders' heads will be cut off and exposed as a warning to the multitude. At the time of trade, the Board of Ceremonies will issue a notice giving such official information.

4. "Whenever a foreign tributary envoy returns to his country, the officers and men who escort him on his way are not permitted to trade privately in contraband goods.

5. "In 1664 it was fixed that when a foreign country presents tribute, as to goods brought along at this opportunity, if the tributary envoy wishes himself to provide the porters and transportation in order to bring the goods to the capital for trade, he may do so. If he wishes to trade there (at the port or place of entrance) the Governor-General and Governor concerned shall select capable officers and depute them to superintend (the trade), so that no trouble may arise.

6. "In 1685 it was proposed and imperially sanctioned that, as to the goods brought in foreign tribute vessels, if there is a stoppage in the collection of their customs duties, the other (goods) brought privately for trade may be traded; and it is permitted that the officials of the Board (of Revenue) who have been deputed (to superintend), collect customs duties according to the regulations.

7. "It is also proposed and imperially sanctioned that when a foreign merchant's vessel returns to its country, in addition to contraband goods, it shall not be allowed to take people of the interior (i. e. Chinese passengers), nor to export secretly such things as big beams, iron nails, oil, or hemp for making ships. Of rice and grain it may only take (enough for) provisions; it is not allowed to carry more.

When trade is finished and it is time to return to their country, the Governor-General and Governor concerned shall select and depute virtuous and able officers who shall make a strict examination and put a stop to smuggling.

8. "Whenever people of the interior (i. e. Chinese) have strayed to foreign countries and wish to return by ship to their native place, they may be permitted to come back to their former territory; they shall report in detail to the local authorities concerned, who shall make an investigation and allow them to return to their native place.

9. "On the day when a foreign vessel completes its trade, the officers and men of the foreign country are all to be sent back; they must not linger at length within (China).

10. "Whenever a tribute vessel returns to its own country, the goods which it takes along are exempt from the collection of customs duties. It was also proposed and imperial agreement was given that 'heretofore implements of war have been prohibited and not allowed to be taken away for sale to foreign countries; but when merchants come and go on the high seas, if they have no military weapons with which to protect themselves, it is to be feared that they may be plundered; hereafter for merchants of the interior (China) engaged in trade, such things as the cannon and military implements which they carry with them, ought to be in proportion to the size of the ship and the number of men. The Governor-General and Governor concerned should deliberate and fix the number, and at the time when a voyage is begun, they should order the officers who collect customs duties on the seacoast and the officers who are defending the seaports, to examine clearly the numbers (of arms) and permit them to be taken along. When they return they shall make a further examination in comparison with the original numbers.'" [53]

The foregoing principles of administration were made more numerous and detailed in the Ch'ien-lung edition of the *Statutes*, which were thoroughly revised and expanded and set the standard for the last century and a half of the dynasty's existence. These Ch'ien-lung regulations of 1764 were in effect, for instance, at the time of the MACARTNEY and AMHERST embassies of the British and during the Dutch embassy of VAN BRAAM and TITSINGH in 1794-95. They help to explain the demands, such as that for the practice of the kotow, which so annoyed the European representatives. (For the reader's con-

[53] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 73. 12-14b.

venience we have italicized the topic headings, and given serial numbers to each section in the original text, some sections of which are omitted.)[54]

"CEREMONIAL FOR VISITORS (PIN-LI 賓禮), COURT TRIBUTE:

1. "*As to the countries of the barbarians on all sides (ssŭ-i) that send tribute to Court*, on the east is Korea; on the southeast, Liu-ch'iu and Sulu; on the south, Annam and Siam; on the southwest, Western Ocean (hsi-yang), Burma, and Laos. (For the barbarian tribes of the northwest, see under Court of Colonial Affairs.) All send officers as envoys to come to Court and present tributary memorials and pay tribute.

2. "*As to the imperial appointment of kings of (tributary) countries*, whenever the countries which send tribute to Court have a succession to the throne, they first send an envoy to request an imperial mandate at the Court. In the cases of Korea, Annam, and Liu-ch'iu, by imperial command the principal envoy and secondary envoy(s) receive the imperial patent (of appointment) and go (to their country) to confer it 奉勅往封. As for the other countries, the patent (of appointment) is bestowed upon the envoy who has come (from his country) to take it back, whereupon an envoy is sent (from that country) to pay tribute and offer thanks for the imperial favor.

3. "*As to the king of Korea*, (the patent) is bestowed upon his wife (fei 妃) the same as upon the king. When the son grows up, then he requests that it be bestowed upon him as the heir apparent. In all cases officials of the third rank or higher act as principal and secondary envoys. Their clothing and appearance, and ceremonial and retinue (i-ts'ung) in each case are according to rank. In the cases of Annam and Liu-ch'iu, officials of the Hanlin Academy, the Censorate, or the Board of Ceremonies, of the fifth rank or below, act as principal and secondary envoys; (the Emperor) specially confers upon them 'unicorn' (ch'i-lin) clothing of the first rank, in order to lend weight to their journey. In ceremonial and retinue (i-ts'ung) they are all regarded as being of the first rank. When the envoys return, they hand back their clothing to the office in charge of it.

[4. Periodicity of tribute, 5. Route of tribute envoys, see Table 3 below.]

[54] *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien* 56. 1-8b.

6 "*As to tribute objects*, in each case they should send the products of the soil of the country. Things that are not locally produced are not to be presented. Korea, Annam, Liu-ch'iu, Burma, Sulu, and Laos all have as tribute their customary objects. Western Ocean and Siam do not have a customary tribute. . . .

7. "*As to the retainers* (who accompany an envoy), in the case of the Korean tribute envoy there are one attendant secretary, three chief interpreters, 24 tribute guards, 30 minor retainers who receive rewards, and a variable number of minor retainers who do not receive rewards. For Liu-ch'iu, Western Ocean, Siam, and Sulu, the tribute vessels are not to exceed three, with no more than 100 men per vessel; those going to the capital are not to exceed 20. When Annam, Burma, and Laos send tribute, the men are not to exceed 100, and those going to the capital are not to exceed 20. Those that do not go to the capital are to be retained at the frontier. The frontier officials give them a stipend from the government granary, until the envoy returns to the frontier, when he takes them back to their country.

[8. Presentation of tributary memorials, after arrival at Peking.]

9. "*As to the Court ceremony*, when a tribute envoy arrives at the capital at the time of a Great Audience or of an Ordinary Audience, His Majesty the Emperor goes to the T'ai Ho 太和 palace and, after the princes, dukes, and officials have audience and present their congratulations, the ushers lead in the tributary envoys and their attendant officers, each of them wearing his country's court dress. They stand in the palace courtyard on the west in the last place. When they hear (the command of) the ceremonial ushers they perform the ceremony of three kneelings and nine knockings of the head [the full kotow]. They are graciously allowed to sit. Tea is imperially bestowed upon them. All this is according to etiquette (for details see under the Department of Ceremonies). If (a tribute envoy) does not come at the time of an Audience, he presents a memorial through the Board (of Ceremonies) asking for an imperial summons to Court. His Majesty the Emperor goes to a side hall of the palace (pien-tien) . . . etc.[55]

[10-13. There follow details concerning further ceremonies, with

[55] The practice of the ceremonies is charmingly described in Prof. DUYVENDAK's long article, (3) "The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court (1794-1795)."

performances of the kotow; banquets; and imperial escorts, including those provided for westerners because of their services as imperial astronomers.]

14. "*As to trade*,—when the tribute envoys of the various countries enter the frontier, the goods brought along in their boats or carts may be exchanged in trade with merchants of the interior (China); either they may be sold at the merchants' hongs in the frontier province or they may be brought to the capital and marketed at the lodging house (i. e. the Residence for Tributary Envoys). At the customs stations (lit. passes and fords) which they pass en route, they are all exempted from duty. As to barbarian merchants who themselves bring their goods into the country for trade,—for Korea on the border of Shêng-ching [Fengtien province], and at Chung-chiang 中江 [northeast of Chengtu, Szechwan], there are spring and autumn markets, two a year; at Hui-ning [southeast of Lanchow, Kansu], one market a year; at Ch'ing-yüan [in Chihli, now Chao-hsien], one market every other year,—(each) with two Interpreters of the Board of Ceremonies, one Ninguta (Kirin) clerk, and one Lieutenant to superintend it. After twenty days the market is closed. For the countries beyond the seas, (the market) is at the provincial capital of Kwangtung. Every summer they take advantage of the tide and come to the provincial capital (Canton). When winter comes they wait for a wind and return to their countries. All pay duties to the (local) officers in charge, the same as the merchants of the interior (China).

15. "*As to the prohibitions*,—when a foreign country has something to state or to request, it should specially depute an officer to bring a document to the Board (of Ceremonies), or in the provinces it may be memorialized on behalf (of the country) by the Governor-General and Governor concerned. Direct communication to the Court is forbidden. For a tribute envoy's entrance of the frontier and the tribute route which he follows, in each case there are fixed places. Not to follow the regular route, or to go over into other provinces, is forbidden. It is forbidden secretly (ssŭ 私, i. e. without permission) to buy official costumes which violate the regulations, or books of history, weapons, copper, iron, oil, hemp, or combustible saltpetre; or to take people of the interior or rice and grain out of the frontiers. There are boundaries separating the rivers and seas; to catch fish beyond the boundaries is forbidden. The land frontiers are places of

defensive entrenchments where Chinese and foreign soldiers or civilians have established military colonies or signal-fire mounds, or cultivated rice-fields and set up huts; to abscond and take shelter (on either side) is forbidden. It is forbidden for civil or military officials on the frontier to communicate in writing with foreign countries not on public business. When commissioned to go abroad, to receive too many gifts, or when welcomed in coming and going, privately to demand the products of the locality (i. e. as "squeeze") is forbidden. Offenses against the prohibitions will be considered according to law.

[16. Charity and sympathy to be shown regarding foreign rulers' deaths, calamities, etc.]

17. "*As to the rescue* (of distressed mariners),—when ships of foreign merchants are tossed by the wind into the inner waters (of China), the local authorities should rescue them, report in a memorial the names and number of distressed barbarians, move the public treasury to give them clothing and food, take charge of the boat and oars, and wait for a wind to send them back. If a Chinese merchant vessel is blown by the wind into the outer ocean, the country there can rescue it and give it aid, put a boat in order and send them (the merchants) back, or it may bring them along on a tribute vessel so as to return them. In all such cases an imperial patent is to be issued, praising the king of the country concerned; imperial rewards are to be given to the officers (of the tributary country) in different degrees."

These regulations conclude with a section on the Residence for Tributary Envoys (Hui T'ung Ssŭ I Kuan), which was organized much as in the Ming period.[56]

The two following synoptic tables present essential data showing the vicissitudes of the Ch'ing tributary system.

[56] *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien* 56. 8b-11. Cf. *Wan-li hui-tien* 109. 99b; *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 73. 14b; YANO (2) 133-150.

Table 2. Regular Ch'ing Tributaries.

Table of regular tributaries as listed in the various Ch'ing editions of the *Collected Statutes*, in the order of listing. For data regarding each country, see the Index at the end of this article and Table 3 below.

K'ang-hsi 72. 4-19b (1690)	Yung-chêng 104. 4-38b (1732)	Ch'ien-lung 56. 1 (1764)	Chia-ch'ing 31. 2-4 (1818)	Kuang-hsü 39. 2-3 (1899)
Korea	Korea	Korea	Korea	Korea
Turfan	Liu-ch'iu	Liu-ch'iu	Liu-ch'iu	Liu-ch'iu
Liu-ch'iu	Holland	Sulu	Annam	Annam
Holland	Annam	Annam	Laos	Laos
Annam	Siam	Siam	Siam	Siam
Siam	The countries of the Western Ocean (viz. Portugal, the Papacy) [b]	The countries of the Western Ocean	Sulu	Sulu
Western Ocean country (73. 1a-12a)		Burma	Holland [a]	Burma
The various monasteries of the Western Tribesmen (i. e. Eastern Tibet)	Sulu	Laos	Burma	
	Turfan		Western Ocean (Portugal, I-ta-li-ya, Portugal, England) [c]	
The Manchurian tribes (lit. the tribes of the eastern sea)	Monasteries of the Western Tribesmen (as in K'ang-hsi)		Countries having commercial relations [d]	
	Barbarian Monasteries of the border region of Szechwan province			

(a). Holland was omitted in 1764, having been inactive since 1686, but reappears in 1818.

(b). Specific European countries were not listed by name, though easily identifiable.

(c) Portugal appears as two different countries with very similar names, see Index below. I-ta-li-ya was the Papacy.

(d). For the list of countries having commercial relations with China in the Chia-ch'ing (1818) edition of the Hui-tien (ch. 31. 3-4) see part 6 below. The list included Portugal (Kan-ssŭ-la), France (Fa-lan-hsi, or Fo-lang-hsi; stated to be the same as Fu-lang-chi, Portugal), Sweden, and Denmark.

Table 3. Frequency and Routes of Embassies.

Table of the statutory frequency, and the routes of regular tribute embassies, as listed in the various Ch'ing editions of the *Collected Statutes*.

Note: the phraseology is chiefly translated from the *Statutes*; the order of the countries varies in the different editions, see Table 2.

K'ang-hsi 72. 3b-19b	Yung-chêng 104. 4-38b	Ch'ien-lung 56. 1	Chia-ch'ing 31. 4	Kuang-hsü 39. 3
Korea				
Has annual tribute and festival tribute, an annual custom; tribute route via Fêng-huang-ch'êng 鳳凰城.	Same as K'ang-hsi.	Comes annually, crossing the Yalu R. to enter the boundaries; via the land route from Fêng-huang-ch'êng, goes to Mukden, enters Shanhaikuan and proceeds to the capital.	Tribute four times a year, presented all together at the end of the year; tribute route from Fêng-huang-ch'êng to Mukden, entering Shanhaikuan.	Same as Chia-ch'ing
Liu-ch'iu				
Fixed tribute period once in two years; tribute route via Min-hsien, Fukien 閩縣.	" " "	Comes every other year via Min-an-chên, Fukien.[a]	Tribute once every other year via Min-an-chên, Fukien 閩安鎮.	" " "
Annam				
Tribute period at first fixed at once in three years; later changed to twice in six years; tribute route via P'ing-yang-chou, Kwangsi 憑祥州	" " "	Comes again after six years, via T'ai-p'ing-fu, Kwangsi 太平府.[b]	Tribute once in two years, sending an envoy to Court once in four years to present two tributes together; via P'ing-yang-chou in Kwangsi entering Chên-nan-kuan 鎮南關.	" " "
Siam				
Tribute period once in three years, tribute route via Kwangtung.	" " "	Three years, via Humên (i.e. Bocca Tigris, Canton).[a]	Tribute once in three years, via Hu-mên, Kwangtung.	" " "

K'ang-hsi	Yung-chêng	Ch'ien-lung	Chia-ch'ing	Kuang-hsü
HOLLAND				
Tribute period at first fixed at once in eight years, later changed to once in five years; tribute route via Kwangtung, recently changed to Fukien.	" " "	Omitted	Tribute at no fixed period; the old regulations were for tribute once in five years; via Hu-mên, Kwantung.	omitted
WESTERN OCEAN				
Because this place is distant, a tribute period was not fixed; tribute route via Kwangtung. Recently some of these people have remained to dwell at Macao.	The countries are distant and it is difficult to fix tribute periods; tribute objects also are not fixed in quantity; tribute route via Kwangtung.	A long route; tribute at no fixed period, via Macao, Kwangtung.[a]	Tribute at no fixed periods, via Macao, Kwangtung.	omitted
TURFAN	Same as K'ang-hsi.	omitted	omitted	omitted
Tribute period once in five years; tribute route via Shensi-Kansu.				
LAOS (Nan-chang)				
omitted	omitted	Comes once in ten years, via P'u-erh-fu, in Yunnan 普洱府.[b]	Tribute once in ten years, via P'u-erh-fu in Yunnan.	Same as Chia-ch'ing
SULU				
omitted	(tribute began 1726), tribute route via Fukien.	Five years, via Amoy.[a]	Tribute once in five years or more, via Amoy.	Tribute once in five years, via Amoy, Fukien.
BURMA				
omitted	omitted	A long route; tribute at no fixed periods, via Yung-ch'ang-fu in Yunnan 永昌府.[b]	Tribute once in ten years, via T'êng-yüeh-chou, in Yunnan 騰越州.	Same as Chia-ch'ing

(a). Regarding Liu-ch'iu, Sulu, Western Ocean, and Siam, the text reads "they all float their ships on the sea and pass through the ocean to enter the boundaries (of China)."

(b). Regarding Annam, Burma, and Laos, the text reads, "all travel by land and knock at the door (*k'uan-kuan* 款關) to enter the boundaries."

In comment on the foregoing tables it may be noted that until after 1732 relations with Turfan and certain places in E. Tibet were not yet under the jurisdiction of the Li Fan Yüan, while Russia was under it until 1858[57] and so does not appear here. Spain and America (the United States) are not listed as countries. The Western Ocean (Hsi-yang) grows from one country in 1690 to several countries in 1732, and in the latter case is treated at some length, tribute objects being listed for each of the three countries incorrectly distinguished. Western Ocean is retained as a sort of catch-all for the Europeans until after 1818. Meanwhile Holland is in high favor in the first two editions, after its naval assistance to the imperial forces in the 1660s, but is dropped in the Ch'ien-lung period and reappears in 1818 presumably because of the embassy of 1794-95. The total of countries listed[58] is markedly less than for the Ming period, even deducting for the transfer of northern and western continental places to the Li Fan Yüan.

[57] Cf. *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 52 (Li Fan Yüan). 23. The Imperial Agent at Urga was in charge of frontier affairs concerning Russia and correspondence with the Russian "Senate" (sa-na-t'ê ya-mên 薩那特衙門).

[58] See appendix 2: Additional lists of Ch'ing tributaries.

5. European Countries in the Ch'ing Tributary System.

Just as the ancient forms of tribute were adapted to provide a vehicle for Manchu-Mongol relations under the Li Fan Yüan, so a similar adaptation of the traditional system was achieved in the case of the Europeans who came by sea after 1500.[59] This modification was worked out during a period of two generations of conflict between the Ming and the Portuguese, and resulted in the middle of the sixteenth century in the Macao system whereby the Portuguese barbarians, already tributary in form, were made innocuous in fact by a sort of quarantine. They lived on the walled-off peninsula at Macao, paying a land rent to the local Chinese authorities and going to Canton only periodically to trade. Into this system the English East India Company fitted itself at the beginning of the eighteenth century, although by the end of that period Canton was becoming the real center of foreign activity. Until the third decade of the nineteenth century the effort at quarantine continued. Foreigners were restricted to the Canton factories, outside the city walls, until 1858; even the first treaties after 1842 had restricted them to the five treaty ports or a day's journey therefrom. This bare recital should suggest that the Ch'ing administration was by no means incapable of adaptation in the face of danger. Manchu foreign policy was blindly stubborn in support of the ancient system but not lacking in defensive makeshifts.

In the seventeenth century the Portuguese had been safely confined to Macao and the other western countries had not yet grown to be a menace. The K'ang-hsi edition of the *Statutes* expatiates upon their tributary activity, particularly that of Holland, with evident satisfaction. The record of European embassies is as follows; note the high degree of confusion which obtained in the case of Western Ocean country (Hsi-yang kuo).[60]

"The Country of Holland: Holland is in the southeastern sea. In 1653 it asked (the privilege of) sending tribute. In 1656 it sent tribute . . . [for periodicity and route, see Table 3].

"In 1653 the country of Holland sent an envoy sailing across the sea requesting permission to cultivate (friendly relations) by sending tribute to Court. In 1655 the Governor of Kwangtung memorialized

[59] On the treatment of Europeans as tributaries in the Ming period see the study of the *Ming History* by Chang Wei-hua.

[60] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 72.12-14.

stating that the country of Holland had sent an envoy to offer a tributary memorial and local produce, and to ask (the privilege of) presenting tribute (at Court). The Board of Ceremonies replied giving permission that the Governor-General and Governor concerned should consider deputing officials and troops to escort him to the capital; the number of men coming to the capital should not exceed twenty. It was also ordered that the Governor-General and Governor concerned should select three or four men well versed in the language of Holland, to come along with them. In 1656 the envoys of Holland, Pieter VAN GOYER (and) Jacob VAN KEYSER (Pi-li-wo-yüeh-yeh-ha (or k'a)-kuei-jo 嗶嘓嗼哦悅嘩哈哇嚟),[61] and others reached the capital. They lodged at the Residence for Tributary Envoys and presented one memorial. The Board of Ceremonies replied, giving permission that tribute be presented once in five years, the route to be through Kwangtung; each time tribute was presented, the officers and subordinates should not exceed one hundred men, and those officers and subordinates entering the capital should be only twenty men; the rest should all wait and dwell in Kwangtung; the taotai of that region should guard them with great care; when the men who had gone to the capital returned, they should all together be sent back to their native country; they must not dwell permanently on the seacoast. An imperial rescript was received (reading): 'The country of Holland reveres righteousness and pays its allegiance by sailing across the sea to cultivate tributary (relations). We are mindful that the route is dangerous and long. Let them come once in eight years to Court, thus manifesting our compassionate sympathy for men from afar.'

"In 1663 the country of Holland sent an admiral [Balthasar BORT?; 出海王 ch'u hai wang] in command of warships to Min-an-chên [near Foochow], where they helped exterminate the sea rebels, and also asked permission to trade. An imperial rescript was received: 'Let them come to trade once in two years.' In 1664 the country of Holland sent the admiral to assist the (imperial) troops in exterminating pirates; they recovered Amoy and Chin-mên 金門 [in Fukien]. Two command-edicts (ch'ih-yü) were promulgated and officials and clerks of the Board of Ceremonies were sent to go there and offer them a reward, presenting them with silver and satin. Together with the Governor-General concerned they gave (these things) to the Hollanders to take back with them.

[61] For a list of western envoys to China, see below, table 4. Cf. ROCKHILL (4) 437-442, for a brief account of the Dutch Embassy of 1656.

"In 1666 Holland [Pieter VAN HOORN?][62] presented tribute and traded. An imperial rescript was received: 'Since Holland sends tribute once in eight years, let its biennial trade be permanently suspended.' In 1667 it was memorialized and imperial agreement was received 'Holland has broken the regulations and come via Fukien to present tribute. Aside from the present occasion, which will not be discussed, hereafter in a year when they send tribute they must enter via Kwangtung; they must not be allowed to enter by other routes.'

"In 1686 it was agreed and imperially sanctioned that 'the time for Holland's presentation of tribute originally was fixed at once in eight years. Now the king of that country, having been moved by the receipt of the imperial benevolence, again asks a fixed time (for tribute). He should be permitted (to send tribute) once in five years. The places of trade may only be in the two provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. On the day when (trade) is completed, straightway order them to return to their own country.' It was further ordered that the tribute route of Holland be changed to come via Fukien. Further, it was agreed and imperially sanctioned that 'the route from Holland is dangerous and long. To navigate the seas and present tribute is grievous toil. Hereafter, as to the local produce presented as tribute, let the (fixed) amount be considered and reduced.'

"WESTERN OCEAN COUNTRY (Hsi-yang kuo): Western Ocean is in the southeastern sea . . . [for tribute period and route, see Table 3].

"In 1667 the Governor of Kwangtung memorialized stating that Western Ocean country [i.e. Portugal] had sent an official to present tribute, with one principal tribute vessel and three escorting vessels. In 1668 it was memorialized and imperially sanctioned that when Western Ocean sent tribute thereafter the ships must not exceed three, and each ship must not exceed one hundred men. In 1669 it was memorialized and imperially sanctioned to order the principal and secondary envoys and their retinue, twenty-two persons, to come to the capital. The subordinates detained at the border were to be given provisions by the local authorities concerned, and also to be carefully guarded. In 1670 the tribute envoy of Western Ocean country, Manoel DE SALDANHA (Ma-no-wu-sa-la-ta-jo 嗎呶諾吻薩喇噠嚏) arrived at the capital, presented a tributary memorial, and offered tribute. After he had been rewarded with gifts and a banquet, an Usher of the Court of Colonial Affairs (Li Fan Yüan) was deputed

[62] See table 4 below, for this and later names inserted in text.

to escort him back to Kwangtung and hand him over to the Governor-General there, who should depute an officer to escort him out of the frontier. The tributary envoy of Western Ocean country, Manoel DE SALDANHA (Ma-no-sa-erh-ta-nieh 瑪訥撒爾達聶)[63] traveled as far as the region of Shan-yang in Kiangnan [i. e. Huai-an, Kiangsu] and died of illness.[64] The Board of Ceremonies memorialized and it was imperially sanctioned that the Inner Secretariat [of the Nei San Yüan] should compose a funeral address and the local Financial Commissioner prepare the sacrificial offerings; a high official of the Board should be sent to offer sacrifices one time and also arrange a place for burial, erect a stone tablet and confer an (imperial) inscription; if the tributary envoy accompanying (the deceased) wished to take the remains back with him, he should be allowed to suit his own convenience.

"In 1678 the king of Western Ocean country, Alfonso [A-fêng-su 阿豐肅, i. e. Alfonso VI of Portugal] sent an envoy [Bento Pereyra DE FARIA] who presented a tributary memorial, offered a lion (as tribute), and came to the capital. The Board of War supplied him en route with provisions and with the men and boats of the postal stations. The Board of Ceremonies again sent an official to escort him back to Kwangtung, to hand him over to the Governor-General and Governor there, who deputed an official to escort him out of the frontier." [65]

In these accounts the manner in which the European envoys are assimilated to the traditional system, even to Confucian sacrifies for the dead Portuguese envoy, are so striking as hardly to require comment. Whatever the facts, the official record is preserved perfectly intact.

The Ch'ien-lung edition of the *Hui-tien* (1764), regulations from which were quoted in the preceding section, made no detailed reference to European countries in its section on tribute,[66] although the voluminous *Tsê-li* published simultaneously of course contain much material, into which we have gone not gone.[67]

[63] Plainly the same person as above, but here given entirely different characters, which are different again in the Yung-chêng edition 104. 30b line 6.

[64] This is in conflict with Prof. PELLIOT's statement (4) 424 that SALDANHA "mourut en revenant à Macao, à la fin de 1670 ou dans le courant de 1671." Note that this case was treated according to the regulation translated above, following note 49.

[65] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 72. 12-14. [66] *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien* 56.

[67] A great mass of material, on the subjects touched upon in the regulations translated above, is included in the *Hui-tien tsê (shih)-li*; cf. *Kuang-hsü hui-tien shih-li*

The Chia-ch'ing edition completed in 1818 is for our purposes by far the most interesting version of the *Statutes*. This formed the last real revision,—the Kuang-hsü edition of 1899 being modeled closely upon it,—and in it there is preseved the same agreement with traditional tributary forms as in the earlier editions. Here the countries of Europe which are about to beat down the gates are complacently listed alongside Sungora, Kelantan, Trengganu, Ligor, and similar small places of the Malay peninsula. European geography and peoples are still in shadowy confusion and relegated to obscurity. Perhaps we must assume that the official compilers by 1818 really knew the situation more fully but disdained to give the European invaders their due prominence. In that case we have at least an indication of stubborn prejudice and wishful thinking. At all events, these descriptions remained official, and were no doubt for a time consulted by the bureaucracy, until the publication of the last edition of the *Collected Statutes* in 1899. In the 1899 edition all reference to these western countries was omitted, although the other passages on Korea, Annam, etc., already out of date, were reprinted verbatim. We give these official summaries at length below so that the references to Europeans may be seen *in situ*.[68]

"THE COUNTRIES OF THE BARBARIANS THAT SEND TRIBUTE TO COURT ARE (AS FOLLOWS):

"KOREA (Chao-hsien): Korea is the same as ancient Kao-li (Koryŏ). During the period of Ming Hung-wu (1368-98) LI Ch'êng-kuei 李成桂 (Kor. I. Sŏnggye) established himself as king and changed the name of the country to Korea (Chao-hsien). In 1637 King LI Tsung 李倧 (Kor. I. Chong) put his whole country forward to offer its allegiance and was appointed by imperial command[69] King of

502-514, 219, 251, 307. DUYVENDAK (3) illustrates the great possibilities of this material (also JAMIESON 99-109, but quite unreliably).

[68] *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 31.2-4; except where otherwise noted, this text reads the same as *Kuang-hsü hui-tien* 39.2-3.

PAUTHIER (*Histoire* 178-182) published various extracts from this chüan in 1859. JAMIESON in 1883 in the *China Review*, 12.96-98, published a very rough translation of this passage, which was made without benefit of PAUTHIER's work, omitted or confused a number of passages, and failed in many identifications. DUYVENDAK (3) 52 translates the main headings given in *Kuang-hsü hui-tien* 39, but not this passage.

[69] Ch'ih-fêng 勅封 which we translate here and below as "appoint by imperial command," and ch'ih-yü 諭, "command-edict," used below for Laos and Sulu, both appear to correspond in a general way to the conferring of "letters patent" in the west. We avoid the western term because it would over-simplify the Chinese situation.

Korea. This country's border on the north is the Ch'ang-pai mountains, on the northwest it is the Yalu river, on the northeast it is the Tumen river, on the east, south, and west it is the seacoast.

"LIU-CH'IU: Liu-ch'iu at the beginning of the Ming consisted of Chung-shan 中山, Shan-nan 南, and Shan-pei 北 (lit. the central mountains, south of the mountains, and north of the mountains), each having a king. Subsequently Shan-nan and Shan-pei were absorbed by Chung-shan. In 1654 the eldest son of the King of Liu-ch'iu, SHANG Chih 尙質, handed in the patent and seal of the late Ming period, whereupon an imperial command appointed him King of Chung-shan. This country is in the great southeastern sea to the east of Fukien.

"ANNAM (Yüeh-nan): Yüeh-nan is the ancient Chiao-chih. Its old name was Annam. In 1666 the eldest son of (the king of) Annam, LI Wei-hsi 黎維禧, handed in the patent and seal of the Ming period, whereupon he was appointed by imperial command King of Annam. In 1789 the LI family lost the throne. The country chose JUAN Kuang-p'ing 阮光平 to be head of the country (kuo-chang). He came (lit. knocked at the gate) to offer allegiance and also asked that he might come to Court. Thereupon JUAN Kuang-p'ing was appointed by imperial command King of Annam. In 1802 JUAN Kuang-tsuan 纘 again lost the throne. The head of the state of Nung-nai 農耐 [Nung was in Tongking-Kwangsi], JUAN Fu-ying 福映, sent an envoy to present (at Court) a memorial and tribute. He also tied up and sent escaped pirates from the seas of Fukien and Kwangtung and presented the patent and seal formerly received by Annam. The Emperor Jên-tsung (Chia-ch'ing period) approved his respectful submissiveness and issued a proclamation changing the name of the country to Yüeh-nan, whereupon by imperial command he appointed JUAN Fu-ying King of Yüeh-nan. This country's northern border is Kwangsi, its western, Yunnan; on the east and south, the coast of the great sea (ta-hai). Over the sea to the south is the ancient territory of Jih-nan 日南 [southern part of Annam]; it also was absorbed in Yüeh-nan.

LAOS (Nan-chang): Nan-chang is the same as Lao-chua. In 1730 the king of the country, Su-ma-la-sa 素馬喇薩, first sent an officer to present a memorial and bring tribute. By imperial proclamation a command-edict (ch'ih-yü) was bestowed on the king of the said country. In 1795 an imperial command first appointed him King of Nan-chang. This country is beyond the frontier of the southernmost part of Yunnan.

SIAM (Hsien-lo): Siam in ancient times was two countries, Dvaravati (Lopburi, Lo-hu 羅斛) and Haripunjaya (Hsien 暹). Later Haripunjaya was absorbed by Dvaravati and thereupon they made the country of Siam. In 1653 it first sent an envoy requesting (the privilege of tribute). In 1673 an imperial command first appointed Sên-lieh-p'o-la-chao-ku-lung-p'o-la-ma-hu-lu-k'un-ssŭ-yu-t'i-ya-p'u-ai 森列拍臘照古龍拍臘馬嘩陸坤司由堤雅普埃 King of Siam.[70] In 1766 (the country) was crushed by Burma. In 1781 a native of the country, CHÊNG Chao 鄭昭, recovered the territory and took revenge. The king of the country had no progeny and chose CHÊNG Chao to be head of the country. He sent an envoy to present tribute. In 1786 an imperial command appointed CHÊNG Hua 華 king of the country. This country is south of Burma, cut off from China. Its southern coast is on the great sea, and all intercourse with it is by the sea-route.

SULU: Sulu in 1726 first sent an envoy to present tribute. In 1727 by imperial proclamation a command-edict [71] was conferred on the king of that country. It is in the southeastern sea.

HOLLAND: [72] Holland, also called the red-haired barbarians (hung-mao fan) in 1653 first communicated a tribute.[73] In 1664 they assisted the imperial troops in attacking and capturing Chin-mên [outside Amoy]. An edict was imperially proclaimed to praise them. This country is in the southwestern sea. Later they seized Java (Ka-la-pa) and thereupon divided their people and inhabited it, but still governed at a distance through Holland.

BURMA: Burma (Mien-tien) is the same as Ava (A-wa). In 1750 the king, Mang-ta-la 蟒達喇, first sent an officer to present a memorial and offer tribute. In 1790 an imperial command appointed Mêng-yün 孟隕 King of Ava and Burma (a-wa mien-tien). This country is beyond the frontier barriers of T'ien-ma 天馬 and Hu-chü 虎踞 in the department of T'êng-yüeh, Yunnan.

WESTERN OCEAN: (Hsi-yang): [74] the countries of the Western Ocean consist of:

PORTUGAL (po-êrh-tu-chia-li-ya): In 1670 the king Alfonso [A-,

[70] Unidentified.

[71] Note that appointment is conferred on the rulers of Laos and of Sulu by a less exalted form of document (ch'ih-yü).

[72] This section was omitted from the Kuang-hsü edition.

[73] Evidently refers to preliminary correspondence regarding the embassy of 1656, cf. the K'ang-hsi account translated above.

[74] Omitted from Kuang-hsü edition. Paragraphing inserted by us under this heading.

fêng-su, Alfonso VI] first sent an officer [Manoel DE SALDANHA] to present a memorial and bring tribute.

I-TA-LI-YA: In 1725 the king, Benedict [Po-na-ti-to 伯納第多, Pope Benedict XIII at Rome] first sent officers [GOTHARD and ILDEPHONSE] to present tribute.

PORTUGAL (po-êrh-tu-ka-êrh): In 1727 the king, John [Jo-wang 若望, John V] first sent an officer [A. M. DE SOUZA Y MENEZAS] to present tribute.

ENGLAND: In 1793 sent an officer [Lord MACARTNEY] to present tribute. In each case an imperial proclamation was conferred on the kings of the said countries. These countries all are in the southwestern sea.

"The remaining countries have commercial intercourse (with China):[75] The trading countries are as follows: JAPAN, that is, the dwarfs (wo-tzŭ). It is in the eastern sea and trades with China at the island of Nagasaki in that country; it and P'u-t'o [i. e. Puto shan, the sacred Buddhist site in the Chusan Archipelago] are opposite peaks on east and west. From here (Puto) to there the water route is forty watches. From Amoy to Nagasaki, with a north wind one enters via the Goto Archipelago (wu-tao), with a south wind one enters T'ien-t'ang.[76] The water route is seventy-two watches.

CHIANG-K'OU KUO (Siam?) is in the southwestern sea. It has traded since 1729. From that country one traverses the Paracel Islands (and the ocean?)[77] to arrive at Lu-wan-shan,[78] and entering port via the Bocca Tigris one reaches the border of Kwangtung. The route is estimated at 7200 li; from Amoy the sea route is 160 watches. CAMBODIA, the ancient Chên-la, is in the southwestern sea between Annam and Siam. The route from the Bocca Tigris into port is the same

[75] All this section was omitted from the Kuang-hsü edition.

[76] 天堂. Hsü Chi-yü's atlas of 1848, *Ying-huan chih-lüeh* 1. 15b (map), in a highly abstract manner shows Nagasaki behind an island, evidently the Goto Archipelago; the southern entrance so formed is labelled Wu-tao mên, "Goto Archipelago entrance," and the northern is labelled T'ien-t'ang mên.

[77] 七洲大洋. FUJITA (WANG 66) identifies Ch'i-chou as the Paracel Is. off the east coast of Indo-China. *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* 41b (map) shows 七州洋 off the southeast tip of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Perhaps this phrase should be taken as the "great ocean of the Paracels."

[78] 魯萬山. Lu Wan Shan, according to the *Hai-lu* 1. 1, is the same as Wan Shan, a mountainous island in the sea outside Canton which served as the navigator's final landmark on the voyage home. *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* 2. 55 (map) shows Lao Wan Shan 老 in the sea south of Lintin Is. between the present Hongkong and Macao.

as for the country of Chiang-k'ou. The water route from Amoy is 170 watches. Adjoining (Cambodia) is the country of YIN-TAI-MA (Chantebun?). The water route to it from Amoy is 140 watches. The country of SUNGORA is in the southwestern sea. It is a dependency of Siam and has traded (with China) continuously since 1729.[79] The water route to this country from Amoy is 180 watches. Adjoining Sungora are the three countries of JAYA (Ch'ih-tzŭ), LIGOR, and PATANI. Jaya borders upon Sungora on the northeast. The water route from Amoy to this country is the same as to Sungora. Ligor on the east borders upon Jaya. The water route from Amoy is 150 watches. Patani (Ta-ni) is also called Ta-nien. On the northeast it borders upon Ligor. The water route from Amoy is the same as for Ligor. These three countries have all traded (with China) continuously since 1729. JOHORE is in the southwestern sea. It has traded continuously since 1729. Across the ocean it is 9,000 li to the border of Kwangtung; they enter port through the Bocca Tigris. From Amoy the water route is 180 watches. Dependencies of Johore are the three countries of TRENGGANU, TAN-TAN, and PAHANG. From Trengganu to the border of Kwangtung the route is estimated at 9,000 li. From Amoy to Tan-tan by sea is 130 watches. Pahang and Johore adjoin one another. ACHIN is in the southwestern sea. It is traditionally said to be the old country of Samudra. The country of LÜ-SUNG (lit. Luzon, i. e. the Philippines) is situated in the southern sea, southeast of Fêng-shan sha-ma-chi,[80] Formosa. The water route to Amoy is 72 watches. In the Ming period it was taken by the Fo-lang-chi [Spanish or Portuguese]. The name of the country was retained (by them). In 1717 an edict was handed down putting a stop to trade with the southern (? text blurred) ocean. After 1727 there was trade as before. The country of MANG-CHÜN-TA-LAO (Mindanao?) is in the southeastern sea. It has traded continuously since 1729. The water route from Amoy is 150 watches. The country of KA-LA-PA originally was the old land (? text blurred) of Java. It was taken over by Holland; the

[79] The reference here and below to the official resumption of trade with southeast Asia about 1729 adds one more question to the many that already present themselves concerning administrative reforms in the Yung-chêng period. The era 1723-35 stands out as one of reorganization along many lines; and deserves intensive study.

[80] 在台灣鳳山沙馬崎東南. *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* 1.60 (map of T'ai-wan) shows Fêng-shan on the west coast near the south tip and Sha-ma-ch'i-t'ou 沙馬崎頭 at the south tip; WADA 153-4 (quoting *T'ai-wan-fu chih*) gives Sha-ma-chi-t'ou 磯 shan as equivalent to the present Mao-pi-t'ou Cape.

name of the country was retained. It is in the southern sea, and has traded continuously since 1727. The water route from Amoy is 280 watches. PORTUGAL (Kan-ssŭ-la) is in the northwestern sea near England. FRANCE (Fa-lan-hsi 法蘭西), also called Fu-lang-hsi 弗郎西 is the same as the Portugal (Fo-lang-chi 佛郎機) of the Ming period, in the southwestern sea; after absorbing the Philippines (Lü-sung), they divided their people and lived there, still governing it at a distance from France (Fa-lan-hsi). Also the people of this country from the late Ming period have come in and lived at Macao in Heung-shan. The present dynasty continued the previous arrangement and every year orders them to pay a land-rent in silver. But their people are forbidden to enter the provincial capital (Canton). The sea route from this country to China is more than 50,000 li. SWEDEN (Jui-kuo) is in the northwestern sea; the sea-route is calculated to be over 60,000 li to Kwangtung. They have traded since 1732. DENMARK (Lien-kuo) is in the northwestern sea. The route to Kwangtung is the same as for Sweden. After they came to Kwangtung for trade in the Yung-chêng period (1723-1735), it became an annual affair." [81]

The amazing confusion exhibited in these entries was nothing new and had come down from the eighteenth century or earlier, when the Franks, the Portuguese, the French, Italy, the Spanish, the Philippines, and even Holland in the course of time had all become pretty thoroughly mixed up together in Chinese geographical writings. The important thing is not that such errors had arisen but that they persisted so long in the Ch'ing period. The degree of confusion existing in the middle of the eighteenth century is well illustrated in the *Illustrations of the Regular Tributaries of the Imperial Ch'ing (Dynasty)*, a compilation of drawings of barbarians of all countries, with explanatory text, illustrating the costume of the sexes and of various social classes in each case.[82] The material for this imperial work was collected by the high provincial authorities and sent to the Grand Council for presentation to the Emperor. Yet in the explanatory text the following statements occur: 1.23, I-ta-li-ya presented tribute in 1667 (actually Holland) and the Pope came to do so in 1725; 1.47, England is a dependency of Holland; 1.49, France is the same as Portugal; 1.51, Sweden is a dependency of Holland; 1.61, Sweden

[81] *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 31.3-4.

[82] *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* compilation imperially ordered 1751, Palace edition 1761, 9 chüan.

TABLE 4. EARLY EUROPEAN EMBASSIES TO THE COURT OF PEKING.

Note: dates refer to western calendar years in which an embassy was in Peking. Unless otherwise noted, all these embassies appear actually to have arrived at the capital and to have had audience of the Emperor. For each embassy we have tried to note the chief research recently published with reference to it. Lists of embassies, none completely accurate, are given by PAUTHIER, L. PFISTER (*Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jesuits . . .*, p. 506, also p. 610, completed by Havret), and S. COULING (*The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, p. 160, from PFISTER).

PORTUGAL	HOLLAND	RUSSIA [8]	PAPACY [9]/BRITAIN
1520-21 Thomé Pires sent by Emmanuel [1]	1656 Pieter van Goyer and Jacob van Keyser	1656 Féodor Isakovitch Baikov by Alexis I Mikhailovitch	
1670 Manoel de Saldanha by Alfonso VI [2]	1665? Pieter van Hoorn [5]		
1678 Bento Pereyra de Faria [3]	1686 [6]	1676 Nicolas G. Spathar Milescu by Alexis I	
		1689 Féodor Alexiévitch Golovin by regent Sophia (to Nerchinsk, not to Peking)	
		1693-94 Isbrand Ides by Peter I	1705 Patr. T. Maillard de Tournon by Clement XI
1727 A. Metello de Souza y Menezas by John V [4]		1720-21 Leon Vassiliévitch Izmailov by Peter I	1720 Patriarch Mezzabarba by Clement XI
		(1721-25 Laurent Lange trading agent)	1725 PP. Gothard and Ildephonse by Benedict XIII
		1726-27 Sava Vladislavitch ("Raguzinski") by Catherine I	.....
1753 F.-X. Assis Pacheco y Sampayo by Joseph I	1795 Isaac Tithsing [7]	1767 Capt. I. Kropotov by Catherine II	1793 Lord Macartney by George III [10]
		1805-6 Count Golovkin by Alexander I (turned back at Urga)	
		1808, 1820 (no audiences)	1816 Lord Amherst by George III

[1] CHANG T'ien-tsê 43-44 states that the King left the choice of an ambassador to the Governor of India, who chose PIRES; see also CHANG Wei-hua 張維華, *P'u-t'ao-ya ti-i-tz'ŭ lai-hua shih-ch'ên shih-chi k'ao* 葡萄牙第一次來華使臣事蹟考 "The First Portuguese Embassy to China," *SHNP* 1 no. 5 (Aug. 1933). 103-112; YANO (2).

[2] PELLIOT (4).

[3] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 72. 18b cites this embassy as sent by Alfonso (A-fêng-su). (Although Alfonso VI had been exiled in 1667, his brother Pedro ruled in his name until 1683.)

[4] PFISTER 610 gives data concerning the arrival of this embassy.

[5] DUYVENDAK (5) 337 n. 4, 338 n. 1 states that this embassy was in 1665 and that references to 1666 in a Chün Chi Ch'u memorandum of 1794 and to 1667 in the *Kuang-hsü hui-tien shih-li,* are incorrect. Similarly the *Ch'ing-shih kao, pên-chi,* records the embassy under 1667, the *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* under 1666 (see text above), and COULING p. 150 as of 1668. Prof. DUYVENDAK's masterly treatment of the last Dutch embassy naturally arouses the hope that he will deal similarly with these early ones.

[6] *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 72. 13b (see text above after note 62), and DUYVENDAK (5). 337-8 refer to this embassy, but we have not noticed much material concerning it. *Ch'ing-shih kao* also lists it, as from William of Orange.

[7] DUYVENDAK (3), (4), and (5).

[8] A number of minor Russian emissaries reached Peking whom we have not listed, some of them, like BAIKOV, being merely "agents." COULING 160, following PFISTER, lists 11 Russian embassies; but on pp. 491-2 for the same period COULING lists a total of 18 "Russian representatives and envoys to China." The latter list, obviously from a different (though unnamed) source, includes a mission "received by the Chinese emperor" (MILOVANOV and KOBIAKOV 1670) which is *not* in PFISTER's list; and at the same time it omits embassies of 1808 and 1820 which *are* listed by PFISTER. Meanwhile both lists omit a certain BRATISHCHEV, cited by STANTON, who was sent to seek a treaty in 1754, and actually received a letter from the Li Fan Yüan. Much further work along the lines laid down by Dr. STANTON is plainly required. On the whole subject see J. F. BADDELEY, *Russia, Mongolia, China . . .*, London 1919; G. CAHEN, *Histoire des relations de la Russie avec la Chine . . . (1689-1730)*, Paris 1911; J. W. STANTON, "Russian Embassies to Peking during the eighteenth century," *University of Michigan Historical Essays (1937)*, pp. 97-112; and LIU Hsüan-min, "Russo-Chinese Relations up to the Treaty of Nerchinsk," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 23 (1940). 391-440.

[9] Papal relations are referred to by PFISTER, passim, among others.

[10] E. H. PRITCHARD, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750-1800,* Pullman 1936, ch. 5-10 gives an invaluable treatment from the British records.

(Jui) and England (Ying-chi-li) are shortened names for Holland; 1.71, the Spanish in the Philippines (Lü-sung) are the Portuguese (Fo-lang-chi) who took Malacca and Macao. (This exaggerated impression of Holland evidently stems from the seventeenth century.)

As the most striking commentary on this persistent confusion it may be noted finally that in November 1844 the Imperial Commissioner Ch'i-ying 耆英, who had just finished the negotiation of treaties with Great Britain, the United States, and France and was presumably the highest authority in China on the subject of western countries, reported to the Emperor that France (Fo-lan-hsi 叶佛嚭哂) was the Fo-lang-chi (Portugal) of the Ming period, whence derived the French interest in Christianity; after the arrival of Matteo Ricci, he explained, "the Frenchmen suddenly yielded Macao to Portugal, themselves returning to their own country; that those barbarians should be ten times as powerful as Portugal and yet willingly give up the place was (due to) their submission to the teaching of Matteo Ricci." [83] Plainly the ideology of the tributary system with all its implications survived in the nineteenth century in large part because of pure ignorance,—an ignorance so profound that the growth of a conscious Chinese foreign policy was seriously inhibited.

The above table of European embassies to Peking, in compiling which we are much indebted to the assistance of Prof. C. S. Gardner, is offered here as an aid to further study. These embassies illustrate all the problems of the tributary system in its decline,—the growth of trade unconnected with formal tribute, the European dislike of the kotow and demand for equal status, the tragic Chinese ignorance of the west. It is amazing that a larger number of systematic studies have not been made of these successive experiments in Sino-western relations.

6. Ch'ing Tribute Embassies and Foreign Trade.

The successive editions of the *Collected Statutes* reflect a changing situation but do not reveal its realities in any detail. As a first step toward the study of the real activity of individual tributaries we submit the following table of embassies recorded in the period 1662-1911. The years 1644-1661 are omitted because in that period are recorded well over a hundred Mongol tribes and others, many of which we

[83] *IWSM-TK* 73.3b.

have been unable to identify, and almost none of which are recorded after the beginning of the K'ang-hsi period in 1662,—evidently because their activity under the Li Fan Yüan by that time was considered as in a different category from that of the traditional tributaries remaining under the Board of Ceremonies.

No one source, unless it be the 1200 odd unindexed volumes of the *Ch'ing shih-lu*,[84] gives a complete list of tribute embassies to the Court of Peking under the Manchus. The following table has been compiled from the annals of the *Draft History of the Ch'ing* (*Ch'ing-shih kao, pên-chi*) and the *Tung-hua lu*.[85] Both these sources at the end of each annual section usually give a list of tribute embassies, and usually they agree, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century (Chia-ch'ing and Tao-kuang periods, excepting 1829-31). But sometimes one records embassies which the other does not, and sometimes embassies are recorded in the text of an annual section in either work but not in the summary list at the end of the section. Thus embassies from Nepal and the Dzungars are often recorded only in the text, not at the end. We have distinguished among these sources within sources by numerals:

1 = recorded at the end of the annual section of the *Ch'ing-shih kao, pên-chi.*
2 = at the end of *Tung-hua lu.*
3 = in the text of the *Ch'ing-shih kao.*
4 = in text of *Tung-hua lu.*

We have searched 3 (the text of the *Ching-shih kao*) during most of the period covered, particularly for the Ch'ien-lung era when summaries at the end were usually omitted in both sources. The more extensive text of the *Tung-hua lu* (4) has been searched only for the first decade after 1662 and elsewhere spasmodically. Each item represents a reference to actual tribute (kung 貢) and has been checked,

[84] *Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu* 大清歷朝實錄, Tokyo (1937), 1220 vols. Cf. K. BIGGERSTAFF, Some Notes on the Tung-Hua Lu and the Shih-Lu, *HJAS* 4.101-115. Prof. BIGGERSTAFF 112 points out that even this collection is by no means complete in its coverage of edicts.

[85] *Shih-i-ch'ao tung-hua lu* 十一朝東華錄, compiled by WANG Hsien-ch'ien and P'AN I-fu (cf. BIGGERSTAFF *loc. cit.*), Kuang-pai-sung-chai 廣百宋齋 edition, Shanghai 1891. Our copy of the *Ch'ing-shih kao* contains prefaces by CHAO Êrh-hsün dated 1927 and by CHIN Liang dated 1928, making it of the first or Peking edition [cf. C. H. PEAKE, A comparison of the various editions of the *Ch'ing Shih Kao, TP* 35 (1940). 354-363].

although not double-checked; further references can doubtless be found in these sources but not, we believe, in numbers sufficient to change the general picture here presented.

On the other hand, the more complete record available in the mountain of documents compiled to form the *Ch'ing shih-lu* upsets to some degree calculations based upon the *Ch'ing-shih kao*; for the *Shih-lu* contains numerous annual references to the presentation of tribute (from Mongol tribes, Tibet, and such places) not mentioned in the *Ch'ing-shih kao*. This appears from an examination of the *Shih-lu* for 1644, 1654, 1664, and so on at ten year intervals through 1834. This discrepancy might be explained on the theory that reference to ordinary tribute from places under the jurisdiction of the Li Fan Yüan came to be regularly excluded from the *Ch'ing-shih kao*. But it appears that the exclusion went even further, and sometimes applied to embassies from the south and east. Thus the *Shih-lu* for 1664 (3rd year of K'ang-hsi, ch. 11.3b, 12.24b) records tribute from Annam and Liu-ch'iu, while the *Ch'ing-shih kao, pên-chi*, for the same year, does not. The *Shih-lu* for 1674 (13th year of K'ang-hsi, ch. 45.10b) records tribute from Annam, while the *Ch'ing-shih kao, pên-chi*, for the same year, does not. Other examples could be cited to indicate that the annals of the *Ch'ing-shih kao* present an incomplete record of tribute embassies.[85a] It is hardly surprising that the compilers of the Ch'ing history, working in the twentieth century, should give an imperfect record of the functioning of an institution which really perished long before the dynasty itself. As a result it would appear that a relatively complete record of Ch'ing tribute embassies can be secured only through a page by page examination of the twelve hundred odd volumes of the *Ch'ing shih-lu*. This we have not attempted, but we hope someone else will do so. Until this happy event, the data given below appear to be the best available.

[85a] For example, Ch'i Kun 齊鯤 and Fei Hsi-chang 費錫章, *Hsü Liu-ch'iu kuo chih-lüeh* 續琉球國志略 (Supplement to the Brief Gazetteer of Liu-ch'iu), latest date in text 1809, dated in Harvard catalogue 1808, in ch. 2 for the period 1757-1809 record tribute sent from Liu-ch'iu for ten years not recorded in our table; the latter, on the other hand, records tribute from Liu-ch'iu in six years not recorded in this work. Again, the *Yüeh-hai-kuan chih* 21.17-45 during the period 1665-1839 refers to the tributary activity of Siam in a score of years in which Siamese tribute is not recorded in our table, while the latter records tribute in a dozen years when this work does not. Some of these discrepancies may of course be explained by the difference in place of the variant observers; tribute recorded at Canton or Liu-ch'iu may have reached Peking in a different year or not at all.

TABLE 5. TRIBUTE EMBASSIES 1662-1911.

Reign Title	Reign Year	Calendar Year	KOREA 朝鮮	LIU-CH'IU 琉球	ANNAM 安南	SIAM 暹羅	BURMA 緬甸	LAOS 南掌	SULU 蘇祿	NEPAL 廓爾喀	DZUNGARS 準噶爾	RUSSIA 俄羅斯	(EUROPEAN)	(MISC.)
K'ang-hsi	1	1662	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	1663	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*34[a] HOLL.	...
	3	1664	*12	*2	*4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	1665	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5	1666	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	6	1667	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*12 HOLL.	...
	7	1668	*12	...	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	8	1669	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	9	1670	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*24 PORT.	...
	10	1671	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	11	1672	*12	...	...	*4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	12	1673	*12	...	*1	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*4[b]
	13	1674	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	14	1675	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15	1676	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*34	...	...
	16	1677	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	17	1678	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*12 PORT.	...
	18	1679	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	19	1680	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20	1681	*12	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	*13[c]	...	...	...
	21	1682	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	22	1683	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	23	1684	*12	*2	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	24	1685	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	*1[c]	...	...	...
	25	1686	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*12 HOLL.	*12[b]
	26	1687	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	27	1688	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	28	1689	*12	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	29	1690	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30	1691	*12	*12	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	31	1692	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	32	1693	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	33	1694	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	34	1695	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35	1696	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	36	1697	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	37	1698	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	38	1699	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	39	1700	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	40	1701	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	41	1702	*12	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[a] "The country of Holland sent an envoy who presented tribute and requested permission to assist the imperial army in carrying on the war against Formosa; an exceptional reward was bestowed upon him." Presumably refers either to BORT or to VAN KAMPEN and NOBEL, none of whom reached Peking?

[b] Turfan.

[c] O-lu-t'ê 厄魯特, i.e. Oëlot (Western Mongols), later followed by the Dzungars. M. COURANT, *L'Asie Centrale aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris 1912, summarizes Manchu-Mongol relations in this period as recorded in the *Tung-hua lu*.

Reign Title	Reign Year	Calendar Year	Korea	Liu-ch'iu	Annam	Siam	Burma	Laos	Sulu	Nepal	Dzungars	Russia	(European)	(Misc.)
K'ang-hsi	42	1703	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	43	1704	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	44	1705	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45	1706	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	46	1707	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	47	1708	*12	...	...	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	48	1709	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	49	1710	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	50	1711	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	51	1712	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	52	1713	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	53	1714	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	54	1715	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	55	1716	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	56	1717	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	57	1718	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	58	1719	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	59	1720	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60	1721	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	61	1722	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Yung-chêng	1	1723	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	1724	*1	...	*1	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3	1725	*1	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*12 Pope	...
	4	1726	*1	*1	...	...	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...
	5	1727	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*1	....	...
	6	1728	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	7	1729	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	8	1730	*1	...	*12	...	...	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	9	1731	*1	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10	1732	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*1[d]
	11	1733	*1	...	*1	...	...	...	*1	...	...	...	...	...
	12	1734	*1	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	13	1735	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...
Ch'ien-lung	1	1736	*12	...	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	1737	*12	*12	*23	...	...	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3	1738	*23	*23	*23	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...
	4	1739	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3[g]
	5	1740	*23	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	6	1741	*2	*23	...	...	...	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...
	7	1742	*23	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...
	8	1743	*23	*23	*23	...	...	...	*23	...	*3	...	...	...
	9	1744	*23	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10	1745	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...
	11	1746	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...
	12	1747	*2	...	...	...	...	...	*3[e]	...	...	...	...	...
	13	1748	*23	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	14	1749	*2	...	...	*2	...	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15	1750	*23	*2	...	...	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	16	1751	*2	*2	...	...	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[d] Pa-pu-êrh kuo 巴布爾國. Cf. 巴布 Parbuttiya, i.e. Nepal, Brunnert 907.
[e] Presentation of tribute not specifically mentioned.

Reign Title	Reign Year	Calendar Year	Korea	Liu-ch'iu	Annam	Siam	Burma	Laos	Sulu	Nepal	Dzungars	Russia	(European)	(Misc.)
Ch'ien-lung	17	1752	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	*3	...	*3 Port.	*3[g]
	18	1753	*2	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	*3[f]	...	*3 Port.	...
	19	1754	*2	*23	*23	...	...	...	*23	...	...	...	...	...
	20	1755	*23	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21	1756	*2	*2	...	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	22	1757	*123	*123	...	*123	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3[h]
	23	1758	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3[h]
	24	1759	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25	1760	*12	...	...	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...
	26	1761	*2	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	27	1762	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	....	*13[i]
	28	1763	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	29	1764	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30	1765	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	31	1766	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	32	1767	*2	...	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	33	1768	*2	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	34	1769	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35	1770	*2	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	36	1771	*2	...	...	...	...	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	37	1772	*2	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	38	1773	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	39	1774	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	40	1775	*2	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	41	1776	*2	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	42	1777	*2	...	...	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	43	1778	*23	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	44	1779	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45	1780	*23	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	46	1781	*23	...	*2	*23	...	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...
	47	1782	*2	*2	...	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	48	1783	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	49	1784	*12	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	50	1785	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	51	1786	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	52	1787	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	53	1788	*2	*2	...	...	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	54	1789	*2	...	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	55	1790	*23	*23	*23	*3	*23	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...
	56	1791	*23	...	*2	*2	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	57	1792	*2	...	*23	*2	...	...	...	*23	...	...	...	*3[k]
	58	1793	*2	*2	*23	...	*2	...	...	...	...	...	*23 Eng.[j]	...
	59	1794	*2	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	*23 Holl.	...
	60	1795	*2	*12	*12	*12	*12	*12	...	*1	...	...	*12 Eng.[j]	...

[f] Tribute ordered permanently stopped; in the following year the Dzungars surrendered.

[g] 布魯克巴之額爾德尼第巴 The Erdeni Regent of the Sakya, or Brugba, i. e. Tibet. Cf. Brunnert 906.

[h] Kirghiz (Ha-sa-k'o).

[i] 庫爾勒伯克 K'u-êrh-lê Beg; and also Afghanistan (Ai-wu-han).

[j] 1792: permission for tribute embassy (Macartney) given; 1793: embassy; 1795: tribute not presented at Court.

[k] 霍罕額爾德尼伯克那爾巴圖 The Ho-han Erdeni Beg, Na-êrh-pa-t'u?

[l] Annam (An-nan) became Yüeh-nan.

Reign Title	Reign Year	Calendar Year	Korea	Liu-ch'iu	Annam	Siam	Burma	Laos	Sulu	Nepal	Dzungars	Russia	(European)	(Misc.)
Chia-ch'ing	1	1796	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	1797	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3	1798	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	1799	*12	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5	1800	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	6	1801	*12	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	7	1802	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	8	1803	*12	...	*12[1]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	9	1804	*12	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10	1805	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*123 Eng.	...
	11	1806	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	12	1807	*12	*12	...	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...
	13	1808	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	14	1809	*12	*12	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15	1810	*12	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	16	1811	*12	*12	...	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	17	1812	*12	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	18	1813	*12	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	19	1814	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20	1815	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21	1816	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*123 Eng.	...
	22	1817	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	23	1818	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	24	1819	*12	*12	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25	1820	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tao-kuang	1	1821	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	1822	*12	*12	...	*123	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3	1823	*12	*12	...	*12	*12	...	...	*3[e]	...	...	...	...
	4	1824	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5	1825	*12	*12	...	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	6	1826	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	7	1827	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	8	1828	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	9	1829	*23	*2	*2	*2	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10	1830	*2	*2	...	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	11	1831	*23	*2	*2	*23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	12	1832	*12	*12	...	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...
	13	1833	*12	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	14	1834	*12	*12	...	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15	1835	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	16	1836	*12	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	17	1837	*12	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	18	1838	*12	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	19	1839	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20	1840	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21	1841	*12	*12	...	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...
	22	1842	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	*1	...	...	...	...
	23	1843	*12	...	...	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	24	1844	*12	...	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25	1845	*12	...	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	26	1846	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	27	1847	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	28	1848	*12	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	29	1849	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30	1850	*14	*14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Reign Title	Reign Year	Calendar Year	Korea	Liu-ch'iu	Annam	Siam	Burma	Laos	Sulu	Nepal	Dzungars	Russia	(European)	(Misc.)
Hsien-fêng	1	1851	*1	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	1852	*1	...	...	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3	1853	*1	*1	*1	*1	*1	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	1854	*14	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5	1855	*1	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	6	1856	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	7	1857	*1	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	8	1858	*14	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	9	1859	*1	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10	1860	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	11	1861	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
T'ung-chih	1	1862	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	1863	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3	1864	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	1865	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...	...
	5	1866	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	6	1867	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	7	1868	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	8	1869	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	9	1870	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10	1871	*12	*12	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*2[m]
	11	1872	*12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	12	1873	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	13	1874	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kuang-hsü	1	1875[p]	*1	*1	...	...	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2	1876	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3	1877	...	*3[n]	*3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4	1878	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	*1	...	...	...	...
	5	1879	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	*1	...	...	...	...
	6	1880	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	*1	...	...	...	*3[o]
	7	1881	*1	...	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	8	1882	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	9	1883	*1	...	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10	1884	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	11	1885	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	12	1886	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	13	1887	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	14	1888	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15	1889	*13	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	16	1890	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	17	1891	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	18	1892	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	19	1893	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20	1894	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	21	1895[r]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	34	1908	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*3	...	...	...	...
Hsüan-t'ung	1	1909	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[m] Japan.

[n] Liu-ch'iu tribute to China stopped by Japan; tribute envoy to China sent back.

[o] 察木多帕克巴拉胡土克圖. The Po-k'o-pa-la Living Buddha of Chamdo, Tibet.

[p] Only sources 1 and 3 are used after 1874.

[q] Three khans from Tibet 西藏巴爾布部庫庫木顏布葉楞三汗.

[r] Nothing recorded from here through 1907.

The picture presented above in Table 5 may be summarized as follows for the two centuries from 1662 to 1860:

Korea—tribute embassies every year with only one or two exceptions;

Liu-ch'iu—embassies every other year on the average, actually in some 115 years out of the two centuries mentioned, and annually in the period 1813-1835,—this has significance for the trade between China and Japan;

Annam—some 45 years in the two centuries mentioned, of which 24 were in the second century,—a slight (recorded) increase in the latter part of the period;

Siam—some 48 years during the two centuries mentioned, of which 11 were in the first century and 37 in the period from 1780 to 1860,—a marked (recorded) increase in the latter part of the period;

Burma—some 16 years between 1750 and 1853, of which 12 were after 1789,—i. e. chiefly in the nineteenth century;

Laos—some 17 years between 1730 and 1853, rather evenly scattered about ten years apart;

Sulu—some 7 years between 1726 and 1754.

The remaining tributaries listed after 1662 are either European, or from the north or west; the latter total a dozen miscellaneous items, including Nepal (the Gurkas) on ten occasions between 1792 and 1908, the Western Mongols (Oëlots, Dzungars) on at least ten occasions, and Tibet, Turfan, and certain tribes, all very occasionally. Nepal sent tribute before the 1818 edition of the Statutes but was not regularly enrolled in it.

From these indications, such as they are, it would appear that, in the latter of the two centuries between 1662 and 1860, embassies from Korea continued regularly, those from Liu-ch'iu and from Annam increased in frequency, and those from Siam and Burma showed a marked increase. According to this table, recorded embassies totalled 216 in the first century and 254 in the second (1762-1860 inclusive). Leaving Korea out of account, as a constant factor, the average number of embassies per year 1662-1761 was 1.16, whereas in the years 1801-1860 it was 1.68. It therefore appears that embassies increased as the dynasty grew older,—that the height of Ch'ing power in the eighteenth century saw less tributary activity than the period of decline in the first half of the nineteenth century.

There is as yet no way of passing final judgment upon the completeness of the references recorded in the sources upon which this conclusion is based. It is conceivable that as the dynasty grew weaker an effort was made to maintain prestige by recording tributary embassies more completely. Judging by the regularity of the bureaucratic scribal activity under the Ch'ing, so far as we know it, this seems unlikely. In any case this evidence, even if it be a mere selection of data, must be reckoned with as it stands until an index has been made for the *Shih-lu*, and it or other sources have yielded further references. What are we, then, to make of this evidence?

The most obvious suggestion is that this increase in the sending of embassies was prompted by commercial motives. The alternative explanation would seem to lie in the realm of international politics. Under the latter heading, if it can genuinely be separated from economic interests, might lie the increase of Burmese and Nepalese activity, following the Chinese campaigns against these countries in 1765-69 and 1792, respectively. The activity of Sulu and of Laos do not seem to fit any particular pattern of explanation. That of Siam and of Liu-ch'iu, however, particularly the latter, might be tentatively ascribed to an increased interest in commerce. Whether the embassies were themselves commercial or merely auxiliarly to trade remains to be investigated. But at least in the case of Liu-ch'iu a strong argument may be advanced for the commercial explanation, since Liu-ch'iu was the entrepôt for Sino-Japanese trade; and as a matter of fact a good deal (almost a third) of the recorded increase in the total of embassies is due to Liu-ch'iu. By statute this kingdom should have sent tribute every second year, but it was recorded in 45 years between 1806 and 1860. We summarize below a rather interesting report written by the British Vice-consul at Foochow in 1851 describing at first hand the process of tributary trade.[85b]

[85b] For the conduct of the Liu-ch'iu trade at Foochow, ten Chinese brokers were named for life, being collectively responsible for each other like the old Cohong at Canton. These monopolists similarly had a semi-official status, which was practically hereditary; they reported to the government on the trade and through their monopoly were able to profit extensively from it.

The procedure was described as follows: the tributary envoy from Liu-ch'iu on his arrival called on the Taotai and Financial Commissioner of the province and was in turn given an entertainment, which the Financial Commissioner did *not* attend, the Marine Magistrate (Hai-fang?) usually doing the honors. He then handed in a list of the tribute presents and of the import cargo and the armament of his two vessels,—which being approved, he started on his journey to Peking under official escort and

The suggestion that embassies, at least in some cases, increased in number to provide a vehicle for an expanding commerce naturally raises the whole question of the relation between trade and tribute in the modern period. Having already raised a good many more problems

his ships were allowed to break bulk. After examining the list of imports, the official brokers, each undertaking to dispose of a certain share of the total, would state to the Liu-ch'iu traders the prices they were prepared to give for imports and to demand for exports. The Liu-ch'iu traders on their part brought specie to cover the extra cost of their exports; this was in the form of small Japanese gold coins containing a good deal of alloy, which the Chinese brokers could easily transport to Canton or Soochow for sale if it could not be converted into sycee locally. The Liu-ch'u traders' sole compensation while in the hands of the monopolists was the fact that they were freed from all official customs duties, although not from the unavoidable presents to Chinese officials.

The Liu-ch'iu trade flourished because at least one half of it was for re-export to Japan on the occasion of the annual Liu-ch'iuan tribute missions there, and goods were brought to Foochow from Liu-ch'iu on credit repayable in two to five months, after transfer of goods to the Japanese trade could be completed. Even though freed from customs duties, the Liu-ch'iu cargoes were not accurately reported to the Foochow customs; following "old custom" the same imports would be reported year after year with but slight variation, so that less than half the cargo was really reported, most of it being smuggled by the brokers with the knowledge of the authorities. The Consul suspected that this was done to obviate some statutory limit placed upon the size of the trade.

When the tributary envoy returned from Peking, all accounts were closed. The envoy again called on the Financial Commissioner and received another entertainment under the heading, says the Consul, of "tender mercies and hospitality to strangers from afar" which the Chinese were so fond of quoting. The envoy also received Tls. 500 from the Financial Commissioner to defray the expenses of his late journey to Peking. Finally as a parting ceremony, dressed in full Liu-ch'iu costume, he performed a grand kotow to the Emperor on an elevated platform at the custom house, in gratitude for the exemption of his ships from duty.

The Liu-ch'iuans like all foreigners were classed as I, barbarians. At Foochow they were restricted to the suburbs, where the residence for the tributary envoy was situated, and they were not allowed without authorization to enter the city walls or the interior. In 1851 the new King of Liu-ch'iu was still a minor, aged 17, his father having died two or three years before, and was due to be installed in his kingship in the following year (1852), when an imperial commissioner would be sent to Liu-ch'iu with an imperial document and presents of silks and satins. Customarily this high official was selected from Fukien and departed from Foochow with 500 picked troops in two large war junks. "It is calculated, what with presents to the Ambassador and his escort, their maintenance, and the cargo which the Loochooans are forced to purchase at heavy prices from the members of the Embassy, that it will cost Loochoo no less than thirty thousand Taels of silver." (Vice-consul SINCLAIR, Foochow, no. 26 to Sir George BONHAM, June 18, 1851, *British Consular Archives,* Foochow.)

than have been solved, we venture to put forward a brief interpretation of tributary trade in general.

1. It is a truism that in the modern period Chinese exclusiveness was broken down by maritime trade with the west, which increased to a point where it could not be confined within tributary channels. This process was most spectacular in the case of the opium trade in the nineteenth century which provided the lubrication for the entire Anglo-American commercial penetration, and which rapidly increased the flow of Sino-western commerce built up by the eighteenth century tea trade under the East India Company. It was this continued growth of trade which brought on the fatal trial of strength between the tributary system and Great Britain, from which stemmed the débacle of the later nineteenth century. The subject has already been much studied.

2. By contrast, the expansion of Chinese native trade in the Ch'ing period has been relatively neglected. The junk trade from Amoy and Canton to the East indies and Malaya [86] has been tacitly accepted as the logical background of the spectacular Ming expeditions under CHÊNG Ho, but scholarly studies of that period of Chinese imperial expansion have been largely devoted to unavoidable textual problems rather than to its economic history. After the expeditions ceased in 1433 Chinese commerce with Southeastern Asia remains obscure until after the arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca in 1511, when the story of European penetration begins as noted in the preceding paragraph.

It is generally accepted that the Portuguese at Malacca, in the Moluccas, and elsewhere entered into an east-west trade which had previously been flourishing under Arab domination. It is an obvious next step to posit that the Portuguese and their successors the Dutch and English also entered into a north-south trade, which was already

[86] The existence of this great southern trade of Chinese junks from Canton and Amoy was recognized in the following passage in *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 31.15 (omitted in Kuang-hsü edition), in a section listing native products of trading countries: "As to the various countries which are near the northwest, such as Portugal (Kan-ssŭ-la), Sweden, and Denmark, in all cases the barbarian merchants of those countries come to China (nei-ti) to trade. They come in summer and go back in winter. As to the various countries in the southeastern sea,—Cambodia, Sungora, Johore, Trengganu, Achin, and so on,—and the countries in the South Sea,—the Philippines (Luzon) and others,—in all cases the merchants of our own harbors of Kwangtung and the merchants of Chekiang and Fukien in the winter and spring go to these various countries to trade, and in summer and autumn then come back. . . ."

flourishing beteen China and Southeastern Asia and was conducted largely by the Chinese. This may be taken as a truism. A recent student of the Spanish in the Philippines,[87] for example, points out that Manila prospered chiefly as an entrepôt between China and America, the China-Manila trade being conducted by the Chinese. In other words, early European trade with eastern Asia was grafted onto the Chinese junk trade which already flourished there. Native Chinese commercial expansion stemming from the Mongol period, or probably much earlier, paved the way for the European invasion of China by sea. Should we not assume that it also for a time kept pace with the growth of western Commerce?[88]

3. The vitality of the Chinese junk trade with Malaya in the early nineteenth century is clearly reflected in the list of countries recorded in the 1818 edition of the *Collected Statutes* as having commercial rather than tributary intercourse with China. From the account of these countries, translated in section 4 above, the following table may be constructed:

TABLE 6. NON-TRIBUTARY TRADING COUNTRIES 1818.

Place	No. of "watches" (ching 更)[89] distant from Amoy	No. of li distant from Canton; remarks
Siam? (Chiang-k'ou)	160 to Amoy	7200 to Canton
Cambodia (Tung-pu-chai)	170 " "	same route to Canton as Chiang-k'ou
Yin-tai-ma (Chantebun?)	140 " "	(adjoins Cambodia)
(Malay Peninsula begins here?)	.....	.....
Ligor	150 " "	(adjoins Jaya)
Jaya (Ch'ih-tzŭ)	same as Sungora (180)	(adjoins Sungora)

[87] W. L. SCHURZ, *The Manila Galleon*, New York, 1939.

[88] This early Sino-western commercial competition in Malaya is touched upon in an article by Prof. CHANG Tê-ch'ang 張德昌, Ch'ing-tai ya-p'ien chan-chêng ch'ien chih Chung-hsi yen-hai t'ung-shang 清代鴉片戰爭前之中西沿海通商 (Sino-western coastal trade in the Ch'ing period before the Opium War), *CHHP* 10 (1935), 97-145.

[89] The length of one sea watch (kêng, Pek. ching) appears to be as uncertain as the length of one li on land. WANG Ta-hai (*Hai-tao i-chih*, see under section 7 below) 479 gives one watch as 50 li 每更五十里, while a nineteenth century source, YEH Ch'iang-yung (*Lü-sung chi-lüeh*) 3, states flatly that one ching is 100 li 凡海中記里, 以一百里爲一更. At this rate he figures 124 ching as 12,400 li and estimates the distances Shanghai-Ningpo as 12 ching, Ningo-Amoy as 40, Amoy-Lü-sung as 72. For the Ming period 300 to 400 years earlier, however, MILLS 7 describes a "Kêng"

Place	No. of "watches" (ching)[89] distant from Amoy	No. of li distant from Canton; remarks
Sungora	180 to Amoy	.....
Patani	same as Ligor (150)	(adjoins Ligor?)
(Siamese-Malayan border comes here?)	.....	.....
Trengganu	.....	9,000 to Kwangtung border
Tan-tan	130 to Amoy	.....
Pahang	.....	(adjoins Johore)
Johore	180 to Amoy	9,000 li to Kwangtung border
(end of Malay peninsula)	.....	.....
(revert to eastern route)	.....	.....
Lü-sung (P. I.)	72 to Amoy	.....
Mang-chün-ta-lao (Mindanao?)	150 to Amoy	.....
Java (Batavia?)	280 to Amoy	.....

A glance at the *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland,* Blad. 10b, or any good map of the region[90] will show how plainly these places form a chain of ports of call on the coastal trade route from Amoy to the Straits. That this list is an accurate contemporary record is confirmed in a pleasantly unexpected manner by the report of a British empire-builder, Captain Francis LIGHT, the chief founder of Penang, who sent home about the year 1788 a list of places in Malaya entitled "A Brief Account of the several countries surrounding Prince of Wales's Island with their production."[91] The places of trade listed by Capt. LIGHT are as follows; note the nearly perfect correspondence with the Chinese

(ching) or watch as 2.4 hours in Chinese navigation; and WADA 152 states that one ching equalled 60 li, say 20 miles, 10 ching being covered in 24 hours with a favorable wind. These statements demand careful investigation of nineteenth century practice. MILLS' calculations are of course borne out by the facts.

MILLS 43 calculates that Chinese junks of the Ming period according to the sailing directions used by them appear to have traveled 2.93 miles an hour in shore waters, and to have averaged 6.25 miles an hour in open waters; whereas a modern junk might go at most 8.5 miles an hour.

[90] Hsü Chi-yü's geography of 1848, 1.23b, 2.1b (maps of S. E. Asia), gives nearly all this list of places.

[91] Communicated by C. E. WURTZBURG (originally enclosed in CORNWALLIS to DUNDAS, Jan. 7, 1789), *J. of the Malayan Branch of the R. A. S.,* vol. 16 part 1 (July 1938). 123-126.

list published 30 years later: Siam, Chantebon, Chia, Sangora, Pattany, Ligore, Tringano, Pahang, Jahore, Rheo, . . . (5 items) . . . Acheen. . . .

Considering the wealth of place names and points of trade recorded in Malaya at earlier periods, the relatively close correspondence of these two sources would indicate that they mirrored the same situation, i. e. that the Chinese list of 1818 was based on fact. Confirmation may be found in other Chinese works.[92]

4. The most important thing about this list is the fact that it was frankly labelled " trading countries " 互市諸國, not " tributaries." In the Ming period Kelantan, Pahang, and Johore had been officially enrolled as tributaries. Now they were not. Evidently this was a tardy acknowledgment of the situation created in the fifteenth century when tribute embassies from Southeastern Asia, with the chief exception of Malacca, ceased to arrive at Peking just as soon as CHÊNG Ho stopped coming to get them,—although trade with Southeast Asia continued.

In this context the voyages of CHÊNG Ho may be regarded as an effort to bring the sources of Chinese maritime trade into the formal structure of the tributary system. Foreign places communicating by land were by official tradition regarded as tributary and were so enrolled, as were those foreigners who came by sea. But the effort to extend this system to keep up with the expansion of Chinese maritime trade was too costly and after 1433 it was given up. The tributary system no longer worked by sea, and the compilers of 1818 finally acknowledged the fact.

5. It is not difficult to see why this should be so. Like the Chinese state as a whole, the tributary system had developed upon the land without experience of the sea; and in accord with the position of the Middle Kingdom as the center of eastern Asiatic civilization, it had functioned passively. The barbarians came to China, the Chinese had no reason to go abroad. During the first two millennia of Chinese history the tributary system had continued to be based upon land frontiers, and whenever the government was even moderately strong the trade which crossed these territorial boundaries could be controlled. The Jade Gate was merely the most notable of many points of control.

[92] Cf. the following passage from the *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* (block print ed., preface 1730, 1.25b; we quote SCHLEGEL's translation in *TP* [1898].298): " South from Siam are Chaya, Lakon (Ligor) and Sungora which are all tributary states of Siam. Patani, Kelantan, Tringano, and Pahang all follow each other in succession along the (central) mountainridge."

On the land frontiers there appears to be ample evidence that the traditional system functioned, in its own peculiar way, down to the end of the Ming period and even later. The " tributary envoys " who came to China from the defunct Kingdom of Rum in 1618 may have been great liars but they did no more violence to the system than their ancestors from " Constantinople " had done.

Moreover, the ancient caravan trade across Central Asia had been necessarily limited in volume and inclined to concentrate upon luxury goods of little weight and high value. Such goods could find their best market at the capital. Merchants bound for the metropolis found it easy to come in the train or in the guise of a tribute embassy. Even if they stopped at the frontier, they could still be enrolled as part of an embassy. Similarly trade and tribute from a state like Korea, coming by land over a fixed route to the market and the throne at Peking, retained a natural connection,—particularly when the foreign ruler himself monopolized the trade.

6. It was far different with sea trade, which presented new problems of regulation. Staple cargoes reaching a southern Chinese port could not possibly be transported to Peking and only a token or luxury trade accompanied the envoy to the capital. The development of a staple trade, made possible by the use of ships, obliged foreign merchants to reside in the seaports of South China, and resulted in the Arab communities at Zayton and Canton. This called forth an adaptation of the tributary system which has already been noted. The foreign community was quarantined in its own quarter under its own headman. The adaptation was successful and was applied after 1500 to Macao and the Thirteen Factories, the theoretical connection between trade and tribute being kept alive spasmodically by embassies from some of the new maritime trading countries. Like the Russians in the north, the Europeans and their trade who came to the south were kept under control at certain places on the frontier for the cognate purposes of safety and profit.

The real problem was presented by the expansion of maritime trade in Chinese hands to which we have already referred. The junk fleets of Amoy and Canton conducted a foreign trade not only outside the capital but even outside the frontiers of China, quite beyond control through tributary forms. Countries which remained passively abroad while the Chinese went to them could no longer be enrolled as tributaries attracted irresistibly by the civilization of the Middle Kingdom. Finally the connection of foreign trade and tribute, always

an idea but not always a fact, was dealt another blow when countries like the United States, Sweden, and Denmark began to trade prosperously at Canton without ever sending to Peking anything that could be called a tribute embassy. Tribute had at last been eclipsed by trade.

7. If in these circumstances our suggestion is correct, that embassies grew more frequent in the early nineteenth century in order to facilitate a generally expanding trade in eastern Asia, then the tributary system had indeed fallen upon evil days and was being prostituted by the tributaries and no doubt by Chinese merchants as well. This had happened before, but now it served most inopportunely to increase the inadaptibility of the Chinese state and preserve a useless official myth. For insofar as the traditional system seemed to be confirmed by these embassies, the Chinese were left to face the western maritime invasion with an outmoded foreign policy suited only to the land and the far past.

This interpretation points to two lines of study, in the history of trade and of ideas, as most pressingly needed to explain the dichotomy in China's reaction to the west a century ago,—on the one hand, the intellectual inadaptability of the Chinese scholar-bureaucracy; on the other, the activity of Chinese merchants as abettors of the western invasion. Source materials for these lines of study are suggested below.

7. A Selected List of Ch'ing Works (1644-1860) on Maritime Relations.

This selection is arranged in a roughly chronological order and includes official compilations, gazetteers, and private works and essays, all of which provide source material for one or both of two main types of investigation: for students of economic history, information as to maritime trade routes, ports, ships, goods, and trading places; for students of intellectual history, examples of Chinese thought and knowledge concerning the maritime countries and their trade in the period covered. Within the limits of this period,—that is, the Ch'ing dynasty before the Westerners had penetrated inland to dwell at Peking and in the Yangtze valley and so become known at first hand, —we have tried to indicate certain works of primary and certain others of typical value. We have excluded works on Japan, Liu-ch'iu, and land-frontier countries; works written by foreigners in Chinese, including primarily those of western missionaries; works referring nominally to an earlier period, like the *Ming History* or the *Hsü wên-hsien*

t'ung-k'ao;[93] and works containing material drawn from the period but compiled later, such as the *Kuo-ch'ao jou-yüan chi* 國朝柔遠記 of WANG Chih-ch'un 王之春 (1896). It need hardly be remarked that no study of Chinese knowledge of the west can be conducted without reference to Matteo RICCI and his successors among the Jesuits at Peking. The declining influence of RICCI's world-map has been studied in a very interesting article by Mr. Kenneth CH'ÊN,[94] following the lead of Prof. HUNG.[95] Several items by Jesuits or showing such influence may be found in the huge and fundamental collection of Ch'ing works on geography compiled by WANG Hsi-ch'i in 84 volumes.[96] Aside from one or two illustrative items, we have excluded materials to be found in this collection, which fortunately has been indexed in the new classified catalogue of the Chinese-Japanese Library of the Harvard-Yenching Institute (Cambridge 1938—).[97]

In the Ch'ing period three works on the maritime nations and their trade, judging by the quotations of other scholars, appear to have had more than usual influence. They were compiled at intervals of a little

[93] For a bibliography of Ming works on barbarian relations, cf. CHU Shih-chia 朱士嘉, Ming-tai ssŭ-i shu-mu 明代四裔書目, *Yü-kung* 5 no. 3-4 (April 11, 1936). 137-158.

[94] Kenneth CH'ÊN, "Matteo Ricci's contribution to, and influence on, geographical knowledge in China," *JAOS* 59 (1939). 325-359; refers to a number of early Ch'ing works, several of which are included in the present list. For the original Chinese version of this article see CH'ÊN Kuan-shêng 陳觀勝 in *Yü-kung* 5 no. 3-4. 51-72.

[95] HUNG Wei-lien 洪煨蓮 (William HUNG), K'ao Li-ma-tou ti shih-chieh ti-t'u 考利瑪竇的世界地圖 (A study of the world-map of Matteo RICCI), *Yü-kung* 5. no. 3-4 (April 11, 1936). 1-50.

[96] WANG Hsi-ch'i 王錫祺 *Hsiao-fang-hu-chai yü-ti ts'ung-ch'ao* 小方壺齋輿地叢鈔 (Collected copies of works on geography, from the Hsiao-fang-hu study), preface dated 1877, type print, Shanghai; second supplement preface dated 1897. Contains a total of 1438 titles, including the two supplements, in 84 volumes (ts'ê), some 6000 pages. Cited below as *Hsiao-fang-hu-chai* with number of chih 帙, ts'ê, and page where possible.

[97] Another important collection from which we cite several works is the *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書 originally compiled by CHANG Ch'ao 張潮, enlarged by YANG Fu-chi 楊復吉 and revised by SHÊN Mou-tê 沈楙德, first pub. 1697, revised ed. 1833, re-printed 1876.

Several items in this list are also noted in A. WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature* . . . , London 1867, with which our findings sometimes differ.

Since completing this article, we have seen the valuable contribution of Mr. Fêng-t'ien CHAO, An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Works on the First Anglo-Chinese War, *Yenching Journal of Social Studies*, 3 no. 1 (October 1940). 61-103, which gives further data concerning half a dozen of the items listed below.

over a century. The first was the *Tung-hsi-yang k'ao* 東西洋考 of CHANG Hsieh 張燮 completed in 1617,[98] sections from which are translated by GROENEVELDT and which has more recently been studied by WADA. The other two, which fall within the period here considered, were the *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* completed in 1730 (no. 8 below) and the *Hai-kuo t'u-chih* completed in 1842-52 (no. 32 below). Both these works deserve monographic attention.

For the study of Chinese maritime trade the materials appear to become unusually rich in the early nineteenth century just before the crisis over foreign trade at Canton. The brief first-hand account of a blind linguist entitled simply *Hai-lu*, "A record of the sea" (no. 20), was taken down in 1820; the enlargement of the gazetteer of Kwangtung province, edited by the great scholar JUAN Yüan, was completed about the same time (no. 21); a nautical guidebook, *Hai-wai chi-yao*, was completed in 1828 (no. 23); Prof. HSÜ Ti-shan has unearthed at Oxford a manuscript describing the Chinese side of western trade up to 1832 (no. 24); the gazetteer of Amoy (no. 25), home port of Chinese junk trade with the Straits, was completed in the 1830's followed by the valuable gazetteer of the Canton maritime customs (no. 26). All of this was done before the hectic awakening precipitated by the first war with England and these works must in some sense be regarded as forbears of the famous geographies of the world compiled in the 1840's by WEI Yüan (no. 32) and HSÜ Chi-yü (no. 33). If to such sources as these there could be applied the same high scholarship which has been bestowed upon earlier and more fashionable periods, one main door to the understanding of modern Chinese economic history could be unlocked. Though recent, these materials do not lack for textual conundrums and problems of identification. These geographical works in turn are no more than background material for the study of Chinese policy as reflected in the collected writings of officials (see, e. g., no. 29).[99]

1. KU Yen-wu 顧炎武, **T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping shu** 天下郡國利病書 (A critical account of the divisions and states of the Empire), 120 chüan, author's preface dated 1662, republished 1816, later editions 1831, 1879.

[98] (A study of the eastern and western ocean [routes]), 12 chüan, in the *Hsi-yin-hsien ts'ung-shu*, ts'ê 18-21.

[99] See appendix 3 for an author and title index to the following list, which is itself arranged roughly chronologically.

A critical geographical work by an outstanding Ch'ing scholar. Ch. 119 is devoted to the various barbarians beyond the seas (Hai-wai chu-fan) and discusses Japan, Liu-ch'iu, and countries of the southeast including Fo-lang-chi. Ch. 120 discusses the tribute and trade of these maritime countries (Ju-kung hu-shih), including reference to trade routes and to the history of the administration of foreign trade, down through the Ming and in some cases into the Ch'ing period.

2. CHANG Yü-shu 張玉書 (1642-1711), **Wai-kuo chi** 外國紀 (A record of foreign countries), pp. 13, in *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu*, ts'ê 104; and *Chang Wên-chên Kung chi* 張文貞公集 (Block-print edition of 1792) 8.19-29. (Reference to 1675 in text).

By a famous scholar, editor-in-chief of the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* and the *P'ei-wên yün-fu* and one of the editors of the *Ming History*. Deals with various tributary tribes in Manchuria and Mongolia, plus Korea, Russia, Siam, Holland, Liu-ch'iu, Annam, and Hsi-yang, with references to Christianity.

3. Yu-t'ung 尤侗 (1618-1704), **Wai-kuo chu-chih tz'u** 外國竹枝詞 1 chüan (29 pp.), n. d., in *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu*, ts'ê 3, and *T'an-chi ts'ung-shu*, ts'ê 11.

This is a verse narration, with notes in prose, of the usual Ming list of countries and places; about one page or less to an item, rather miscellaneously arranged, e. g. Europe succeeds Hami. Does not appear important, except to indicate the knowledge possessed by a famous essayist concerning foreign countries.

4. LU Tz'ŭ-yün 陸次雲, **Pa-hung i-shih** 八紘繹史 4 chüan, 2 ts'ê, author's preface dated 1683. Published separately, as well as in the *Lung-wei mi-shu* 龍威祕書, ts'ê 75, and *Shuo-k'u* 說庫, ts'ê 44.

Deals with more than a hundred tributary or trading countries or places, grouped (often incorrectly) by the four points of the compass. Ch. 2 includes references to several European countries. In several cases includes transliterations of native languages.

Note also by the same author: **I-shih chi-yü** 譯史紀餘 4 chüan, n.d. Usually published together with the preceding.

Supplementary to the *Pa-hung i-shih*, including descriptions of seas and their products, poems of Chinese envoys, illustrations of foreign coins, and copies with translations of the credentials (kuo-shu) of Korean and Mohammedan envoys.

5. Lu Ying-yang 陸應暘 (original author), **Kuang-yü chi 廣輿記** (A record of the broad world), revised edition by Ts'ai Fang-ping 蔡方炳, 24 chüan, 7 ts'ê, preface by Ts'ai dated 1686, block-print edition 1707.

A systematic survey of the provinces, which in chüan 24 takes up the conventional Ming list of tributaries but appears to add little if anything from the Ch'ing period.

6. Lan *Ting-yüan* 藍鼎元 (1680-1733), **Lun Nan-yang shih-i shu 論南洋事宜書** (A discussion of a proper policy regarding the Southern Ocean), in his *Lu-chou ch'u-chi* 鹿洲初集 3. 1-6 (first published 1732, republished 1880), also in Chu K'o-ching 朱克敬, *Jou-yüan hsin-shu* 柔遠新書 3. 14-17, and in *Hsiao-fang hu-chai*, ts'ê 54. Arranged by the compiler as of 1724.

A brief note by a well-known scholar urging abolition of the ban on maritime trade. He argues that trade with the Southern Ocean would benefit China, ridicules the ignorance of his contemporaries, and gives a brief survey of foreign countries.

7. **Ch'in-ting ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'êng 欽定古今圖書集成** 10,000 chüan, presented to the Emperor in 1725.

The great Ch'ing encyclopaedia, in the geography section on border barbarians, *Fang-yü hui-pien, Pien-i tien* 方輿彙編, 邊裔典, chüan 83-106 in particular, contains material on southern and western places. Thus chüan 85, 97-101, 103-6 include tributaries of the Ming period, maritime and continental mixed together. Ch. 87 under "unidentified countries" (wei-hsiang 未詳) includes Spain, America, and others like Damascus (?), while ch. 108 lists also as "unidentified countries" I-ta-li-ya, Sicily, Mexico, and Banjermassin among others,—all of which raises the question of the influence of Ricci.

8. Ch'ên Lun-ch'iung **陳倫炯, Hai-kuo wên-chien lu 海國聞見錄** (A record of things seen and heard among the maritime nations), 1 chüan, maps 1 chüan, author's preface 1730, other prefaces 1743, 1744, wood-block reprint 1793; also in *I-hai chu-chên* 藝海珠塵, ts'ê 10, and *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu*, ts'ê 55.

A well-known and systematic treatment of the maritime nations. The author's father had had experience in the Southern Ocean on missions in search of Koxinga's remnants after the subjugation of Formosa, and finally became Manchu Brigade General at Canton in 1718. The author himself became a Brigade General in Formosa

after 1721, traveled in Japan, and made extensive inquiries. The maps, old style, are of value, and the book appears to have remained a standard work down into the nineteenth century.

9. YIN Kuang-jên 印光任 and CHANG Ju-lin 張汝霖, **Ao-mên chi-lüeh 澳門紀略** (A brief record of Macao), 2 chüan, prefaced dated 1751, reprinted 1800.

The authors were successively officials in the Macao area. In ch. 2 they first describe the maritime trading countries of the southeast for some 15 pages, including the rivalry of the Portuguese and the Dutch, and then concentrate upon the Portuguese at Macao, their way of life in much detail, concluding with accounts of the western calendar and language.

10. **Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung t'u 皇清職貢圖**, 9 chüan, (Illustrations of the regular tributaries of the Imperial Ch'ing) compiled by TUNG Kao 董誥 and others under imperial auspices: ordered 1751, completed 1760, Palace edition 1761.

Illustrations of some 300 aboriginal or border tribes or countries, with explanatory text; ch. 1 refers to several European countries. See above, note 82.

11. **Ta-ch'ing i-t'ung chih 大清一統志** (Gazetteer of the Ch'ing Empire), compiled by CHIANG T'ing-hsi 蔣廷錫 and others under imperial auspices, imperial preface dated 1744, slightly revised in 1764, reprinted in 1849.

Chüan 353-356 at the end deal with tributary states. See App. 2.

12. **T'ai-wan-fu chih 臺灣府志** (Gazetteer of T'ai-wan-fu, Formosa), 26 chüan, first compiled 1694, revised 1741 and 1774. Harvard has a block-print edition of 1888 reprinted from the 1872 edition.

Ch. 19. 37-49 on foreign islands (wai-tao) refers to Liu-ch'iu, Japan, Java (Ka-la-pa), Western Ocean, Holland, Siam, etc., and sea-routes and trade regulations.

13. **Ch'ing t'ung-tien**: *Huang-ch'ao t'ung-tien* **皇朝通典**, 100 chüan, ordered compiled under imperial auspices in 1767. Covers the period 1644-1785.

Chüan 97-99 on border defense, Pien-fang 邊防, discuss the tributaries in general plus Japan and Liu-ch'iu, the maritime nations of the south, and those of the west, respectively. Several identifications of countries (e. g. Chêng-ch'ien, Ching-hai, and Hu-lu, 98. 18b-20b) are recorded.

14. **Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao**: *Huang-ch'ao wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 皇朝文獻通考 compilation ordered 1747, completed 1786 or 1787, covering material to 1785, Chekiang Shu-chü edition 1882.

Ch. 293-300 describe the barbarians at length. See App. 2.

15. WANG Ta-hai 王大海, **Hai-tao i-chih** 海島逸誌 (A treatise on the islands of the sea), 6 chüan, pub. 1791, in *Hsiao-fang-hu-chai*, ts'ê 54, chih 10, pp. 479-489.

Describes a score or more of the islands in the Southern Ocean, Chinese immigration, products, etc. The author had made a voyage to some of the islands he describes.

16. **Fu-chien t'ung-chih chêng-shih-lüeh** 福建通志政事略 (A survey of administrative affairs, for the Gazetteer of Fukien province), bound MSS., 15 chüan in 17 ts'ê, n. d., worm-eaten and with some marginal corrections; the text refers to the year 1794, if not later.

Ch. 14 gives a brief survey of the regulation of foreign trade since the Sung and the countries concerned. Ch. 15 consists of 8 pages on barbarian trade, referring to Liu-ch'iu, Sulu, and Holland, i.e. those tributary via Foochow.

17. HUNG Liang-chi 洪亮吉 (1746-1809), **Ch'ien-lung fu-t'ing-chou-hsien t'u-chih** 乾隆府廳州縣圖志 (Gazetteer of administrative areas, Ch'ien-lung period) 50 chüan, completed 1803.

A private compilation similar to the *Ta-ch'ing i-t'ung chih* but more condensed. Tributary and trading countries are described in the last chüan, classified by location. The author was well known as a historian. See App. 2.

18. YEH Ch'iang-yung 葉羌鏞, **Lü-sung chi-lüeh** 呂宋紀略 (A brief description of the Philippines), 3½ pp., in *Hsiao-fang-hu-chai*, ts'ê 76, chih 10, chüan 8, item 5 from end.

Notes on the customs, products, language, and commerce of the Philippines. One date in the text refers to 1812.

19. **Chia-ch'ing ch'ung-hsiu i-t'ung chih** 嘉慶重修一統志 (Gazetteer of the empire, revision of the Chia-ch'ing period), 560 chüan, a revision under imperial auspices of the *Ta-ch'ing i-t'ung chih* of the Ch'ien-lung period, (q. v.), the material extending to 1820; lithophotographic edition from the Palace manuscript, published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1934.

The last few chüan deal with 43 foreign countries from Korea to

France, touching upon their location, history, products, and relations with China.

20. HSIEH Ch'ing-kao 謝清高 (1765-1821), **Hai-lu 海錄** (A maritime record), 2 chüan.

(1) Wood-block edition, preface by YANG Ping-nan 楊炳南, T. Ch'iu-hêng 秋衡, of Chia-ying 嘉應 (Kwangtung), as author, describing how he obtained the information in 1820 from HSIEH, who had traveled abroad for 14 years, learned the languages and customs of the Southern Sea, and finally lost his eyesight and became an interpreter at Macao,—an unusual repository of first-hand information. (WYLIE 53 makes no reference to HSIEH by name and gives the publication date as 1842).

(2) Another edition in the Chinese-Japanese Library at Harvard, revised and with notes by Lü T'iao-yang 呂調陽, preface by him dated 1870, is assigned to HSIEH as author without reference to YANG Ping-nan. This later edition appears to be the better known, e. g. CHANG Wei-hua 109. It differs from the former in having western style maps and extensive notes, largely condensed from the original edition.

This work merits extensive attention as a first-hand source on Chinese southern trade in the early nineteenth century. It gives sailing directions for and brief descriptions of more than 60 countries or places, from the Malay peninsula around to the coasts of India, and through the East Indies, including references to Europe. Its eye-witness quality is indicated, for example, when the writer, YANG, states that Japan is omitted because the narrator, HSIEH, had not gone there on his travels. A work entitled *Hai-lu chu* 注 by FÊNG Ch'êng-chün has been advertised. Note also Prof. FÊNG's discussion of this work in *Yü-kung* 6 (no. 8-9). 113-114.

21. **Kuang-tung t'ung-chih 廣東通志** (Gazetteer of Kwangtung province), WYLIE 36 refers to a first edition of 1683;

(1) Yung-chêng edition: 64 chüan, preface dated 1731.

Ch. 58 on the outer barbarians (wai-fan) gives an historical survey and an orthodox Ming list of 31 countries with comments.

(2) JUAN Yüan 阮元 edition: 334 chüan, compiled in 1818, JUAN being editor-in-chief as well as then Governor-General at Canton, published 1822, reprinted 1864, the blocks having been burned in 1857.

Ch. 170. 36-42 lists Siam, Holland, Western Ocean, England, etc.

as tributaries, the account being based partly on the archives (tang-ts'ê). Ch. 180 gives an historical summary of maritime trade and customs administration. Ch. 330. 32-62 discusses some 90 maritime countries or places, including the Europeans, using both standard accounts and local records, e. g. 61b the country of Pi-li-shih 吡唎嘶時 (Britain?) is recorded simply as having "entered port" (chin-k'ou) in 1752. (A common source can no doubt be established for parts of this work and of the *Yüeh hai-kuan chih*.) Ch. 100. 52b has a passage on Macao. The high scholarship of the chief editor, as well as its extensive detail, make this a work of importance.

22. Ho Chang-ling 賀長齡), compiler, **Huang-ch'ao ching-shih-wên pien 皇朝經世文編** (A collection of essays of the reigning dynasty, of practical value), 120 chüan, compiler's preface 1826.

Ch. 83. 37-39 contains Lan Ting-yüan's essay on southern maritime trade (noted above, no. 6), followed by a similar item, and others on coastal defense, Formosa, suppression of piracy, and the like. These essays have value as reflecting the thought of the times. Unfortunately a supplementary collection (*Huang-ch'ao ching-shih-wên hsü-pien*) compiled by Ko Shih-chün 葛士濬 and published in 1888 contains material chiefly post-1860.

23. Li Tsêng-chieh **李增階, Hai-wai chi-yao 海外紀要** (A record of essentials concerning the outer seas), postface 1828, in Ch'ên K'un **陳坤**, compiler, *Ts'ung-chêng hsü-yü-lu* **從政緒餘錄**, 7 chüan, preface 1881, forming ts'ê 19-22 in *Ju-pu-chi chai hui-ch'ao* **如不及齋彙鈔**

A handbook of information and advice for sailing captains, divided into 23 sections on sheltered harbors (23 places listed); on the armament of ships, choice of pilots, and sea-fighting; on the itineraries for sailing vessels from Canton up the coast to Shanghai, from Amoy to Formosa and the Philippines, and from Amoy to the Straits and beyond, with times required (e. g. 12-13 days to Palembang); plus extensive tables for use in navigations, calculation of tides, and the like. Careful study of this work should yield invaluable conclusions regarding Chinese maritime (junk) trade in the early nineteenth century.

24. Hsü Ti-shan **許地山** ed., **Ta-chung-chi 達衷集**, Commercial Press, Peiping, 1931, pp. 237.

A valuable collection of documents transcribed by Prof. Hsü from

a MSS. found in the Bodleian Library, dealing (1) with the voyage of the East India Company ship *Lord Amherst* up the China coast in 1832 under H. H. LINDSAY to test out the market (petitions to the local authorities and proclamations and replies from them); and (2) correspondence at Canton between the Chinese authorities, the Hong merchants (HOWQUA and others), and the English, dating from the late XVIII and early XIX centuries. This material is of first rate value as illuminating the Chinese side of the correspondence summarized in Dr. H. B. MORSE'S *Chronicles of the East India Company*.

25. **Hsia-mên chih 廈門志** (Gazetteer of Amoy), compiled by CHOU K'ai 周凱 and others, 16 chüan, completed 1832, last preface 1839.

Ch. 5 contains interesting details regarding shipping, including Chinese vessels in oceanic trade (yang-ch'uan, p. 27) and barbarian vessels of various types (31-5). Ch. 6-7 on Formosan imports and customs administration are followed in ch. 8 by a systematic discussion of 31 maritime trading nations, their location, harbors, products, etc. evidently based in part on original data in addition to such works as the *Tung-hsi-yang k'ao* and *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu*; Amoy being a chief port in southern trade, the use of this material should yield unusually valuable results.

26. LIANG T'ing-nan 梁廷枏, **Yüeh-hai-kuan chih 粵海關志** (Gazetteer of the maritime customs of Kwangtung), 30 chüan, reference to 1839 in text; Ch. 1-4, 21-25, and 26-30 (ts'ê 1, 7, and 8) reprinted Peiping 1935 et seq. in the *Kuo-hsüeh wên-k'u* 國學文庫 series.

Of the three volumes of this rare work so far published, the second and third deal with tributary trade and the barbarian merchants at Canton, ch. 21-24 in particular describing tributary relations with Siam, Liu-ch'iu and European states, and trade relations with 24 maritime countries including America and certain obscure places recorded as having " entered port " at one time. A valuable primary source based partly on archives.

27. LIN Tsê-hsü 林則徐, trans., **Hua-shih i-yen 華事夷言** (Barbarian statements concerning Chinese affairs), 1 chüan, 3 pp., *Hsiao-fang-hu chai* ts'ê 77, chih 11, ch. 9, item 3.

Evidently a fragment of the work done by Commissioner LIN'S corps of Chinese translators at Canton, probably in 1839 (cf. Gideon CH'ÊN, *Lin Tsê-hsü*, Peiping 1934, pp. 7-10). Miscellaneous content

including references to the Thirteen Factories, Hong Merchants, interpreters, Russia, Chinese population, opium, currency, etc. The western originals should not be hard to find, perhaps in the *Chinese Repository*.

28. Ho Ta-kêng 何大庚, **Ying-i shuo 英夷說** (A treatise on the English barbarians), in *Hsiao-fang-hu-chai*, ts'ê 77, chih 11, chüan 9, item 4. Follows LIN Tsê-hsü's *Hua-shih i-yen* and consists of five lines expatiating on the danger of British expansion in Malaya. N. d., post 1819 by reference to Singapore in text.

29. CHANG Shu-shêng 張樹聲, **Yang-wu ts'ung-ch'ao 洋務叢鈔** (A miscellaneous collection on foreign affairs) pub. 1884.

Contains 11 works on military and foreign affairs, chiefly post-1860 but including LIN Tsê-hsü on Russia, and YAO Ying 姚瑩 (1785-1853) on Anglo-Russian relations. The papers of YAO Ying (*Chung-fu-t'ang ch'üan-chi* 中復堂全集 pub. 1867) contain a work reflecting his experience as an official in Formosa during 1838-1843 and his views on foreign policy (ts'ê 5-9, entitled *Tung-ming wên hou-chi* 東溟文後集, 14 chüan). This is of course but one of many such collections.

30. WANG Ch'ing-yün 王慶雲 (1798-1862), **Shih-ch'ü yü-chi 石渠餘紀** also entitled **Hsi-ch'ao chi-chêng 熙朝紀政**, 6 chüan, 6 ts'ê, n. d., 1890 wood-block edition.

Useful notes on various aspects of administration by an official who rose to be President of the Board of Works. Ch. 6 contains material on maritime trade (shih-po), plus edicts on the MACARTNEY and AMHERST embassies.

31. *Fu-chien t'ung-chih* 福建通志 (Gazetteer of Fukien province), 278 chüan, first compiled 1737, revised several times, particularly in 1835 (date of preface); published with some further revision (material dated 1842) in 1871.

Ch. 269 discusses the barbarians tributary through Foochow,—Liu-ch'iu, Holland, Sulu,—with Japan also. Ch. 270 surveys the official regulation of maritime trade, quoting edicts, from the Sung down to 1842, followed by a list of foreign trading countries (pp. 18-19).

32. WEI Yüan 魏源, **Hai-kuo t'u-chih 海國圖志** (An illustrated gazetteer of the maritime countries), 100 chüan; the preface to the 1876

and referring to Soma, for "Soma being the Breath" (*prāṇaḥ*), he thus introduces Breath into the effused seed and so quickens it (ŚB. VII. 3. 1. 12, 45, 46); the verses (VS. XII. 112, 113) concluding "growing, O Soma, unto immortality, gain thou thy highest glory in the Sky," i. e. that of the Moon (ŚB. III. 4. 3. 13).

This introduces us to "Soma," of whom we shall have much to say. For he too, King Soma, is the victim: Agni the eater, Soma the food here below, the Sun the eater, the Moon his food and oblation above (ŚB. XI. 1. 6. 19, X. 6. 2. 1-4 and passim). We cannot pursue this relationship here at full length except to say that "when eater and food (*adya* = *puroḍāśa*, sacrificial cake) unite (*ubhayaṁ samāgacchati*), it is called the eater, not the food" (*ib.* 1), i. e. there is an assimilation in both senses of the word; that this assimilation is also the marriage effected on the night before the new moon's rising (*amāvāsya*, "cohabitation,"[12] Pāṇini III. 1. 122) when she enters into (*praviśati*) him (JUB. I. 33. 6); that the Sun and Moon are the divine and human worlds, Oṁ and Vāc (JUB. III. 13, 14), and again, that the Sun is Indra, the Moon Vṛtra, whom he swallows on that night, before the new moon appears (ŚB. I. 6. 4. 18, 19). It appears, indeed, from a correlation of this passage with *ib.* II. 4. 4. 17-19, that Vṛtra is the solar Indra's bride, cf. RV. X. 85. 29 where the Sun's bride, who enters into him (*viśati patim*) is originally ophidian, acquiring feet only on her marriage (as in the marriage of a mermaid to a human); and that there are more ways than one of "killing" a dragon. All this expresses the relationship of the Breath to the "elemental self," Eros to Psyche, the "Spirit" to the "soul" and is paralleled in Meister Eckhart's "The soul, in hot pursuit of God, becomes absorbed in him, just as the Sun will swallow up and dout the Dawn" (EVANS ed. I. 292, cf.

ŚB. I. 6. 4. 18) "because Indra smote Vṛtra with the full moon offering. In that they have references to waxing at the new moon offering, it is because then the moon passes away (*kṣapaṁ . . . gacchati*) and verily thus does he cause it to grow and wax" (KB. III. 5).

[12] Sun and Moon, Breath and Substance, are a progenitive pair (Praśna Up. I. 4, 5, cf. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 368 D). Their marriage is probably implied in RV. X. 85. 18, 19 (cf. MACDONELL, *Vedic Index*, s. v. *candra*), and by the word *amāvāsya* itself. For comparative material cf. SIECKE, *Liebesgeschichte Himmels*, 1892. Love and Death are one person. There are inseparable connections between initiation, marriage and death and assimilation; the word "marriage" itself seems to contain **mer* (Skr. *mṛ*, to die, cf. *maryaḥ*, marriageable youth); and very many of the words used in our texts with respect to the unification of the many in the one imply both death and marriage, e. g. *api-i*, *eko bhū*, *sambhū*, *saṁgam*, *samdhā*; cf. τελέω to be perfected, be married, die.

ports in that province and became governor of it in 1847 (cf. *IWSM-TK* 78). Other high officials lent their names to the title page, the plates were preserved at the (Governor's) yamen 本署藏板 and the work is plainly an invaluable reflection of the knowledge possessed by the Chinese authorities appointed after the first treaties to stem the western invasion. Chüan 1-3 concern Asia, 4-7 Europe, and 8-10 Africa and America. Hsü confesses in the directions to the reader (fan-li) that "place names of foreign countries are very difficult to distinguish; if ten persons make translations, all ten will be different." Hsü made careful use both of Chinese works, such as the *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* of a century before, and of western maps, noting many differences in transliteration between the two. His text is punctuated, place names are marked, and sources cited.

Hsiao-fang-hu-chai contains several brief items by Hsü Chi-yü 徐繼畬, e.g. (1) **Wu-yin-tu lun 五印度論** (ts'ê 54, chih 10, p. 413). Deals briefly with the British in India.

(2) **Ti-ch'iu chih-lüeh 地球誌略** (A general description of the earth), two pages (ts'ê 1, chih 1, p. 7-8). Largely geographical, concerning the poles, equator, continents, etc; references to Antarctic explorations conducted two years previously by France, England, Spain, and the United States,—evidently those of D'Urville (1837-40), Wilkes (1839-40), and Ross (1841-43),—date this fragment as probably just previous to Hsü's universal geography of 1848.

34. Hsia Hsieh 夏燮, pseud. Chiang-shang-chien-sou 江上蹇叟 (lit. "the lame old man on the river"), **Chung-hsi chi-shih 中西紀事** (A record of Sino-western affairs), 24 chüan in 8 ts'ê, first preface 1851 (Tao-kuang 30th year, 12th month), second preface to revised edition 1859, last preface 1865; extra title-page bears date Oct. 1868.

An important survey of Chinese relations with the West, throughout the modern period down to the 1860's (in the later editions); apparently well based on documents, contemporary sources, and even some western books, with chapters divided according to periods, concentrating on the post-treaty era.

Material of probable value, which we have not been able to examine: **Hai-wai fan-i lu 海外番夷錄**, compiled by Wang Yün-hsiang 王蘊香 and published in a wood-block edition in 1844 by the Ching-tu shu-liu-hsüan 京都漱六軒, Peking, 4 ts'ê.

This collection contains an item by WANG Wên-t'ai 汪文泰, **Hung-mao-fan Ying-chi-li k'ao-lüeh** 紅毛番英吉利考略 (A study of the red-haired English barbarians?), listed by WYLIE 53 as published in 1841.

8. INDEX OF TRIBUTARIES LISTED IN SIX EDITIONS OF THE COLLECTED STATUTES

The identification of places mentioned above is concentrated here in order to disencumber the text and to provide a minimum reference list of places important in Ch'ing economic relations, also to indicate certain places still requiring identification. A number of items from the Ming period are obscure and probably unimportant, others have been recognized and discussed at length by scholars of several generations. Ming names of course frequently persist in the Ch'ing literature, such as that noted in the preceding section, at the same time that new forms are recorded. It is much to be hoped that expert attention will be devoted to the place names appearing in texts of the modern period down to 1860. No doubt many items not traced by us can be elucidated by workers better versed in this difficult specialty.

Note: This list includes all places listed as tributary in the following: *Wan-li hui-tien* 105. 80-107. 88b (Li-Pu, chüan 63-65); *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 72. 4-19b; *Yung-chêng hui-tien* 104. 4-38b; *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien* 56. 1; *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 31. 2-4; *Kuang-hsü hui-tien* 39. 2-3; a few items are added. Nearly all these tributaries are listed as countries (kuo) in the sources. Variants are noted but not indexed unless they appear in the above sources; cross references are suppressed when they would form an adjoining item. Authorities are cited by abbreviations, as in Appendix 1 below. Note that the Mongol tribes and others under the Court of Colonial Affairs (Li Fan Yüan) in the Ch'ing period, and a few Tibetan monasteries in *Wan-li hui-tien* 108 are omitted.

Abbreviations: B = BRUNNERT (see App. 1 below), H = HERMANN, P = PLAYFAIR. Ctry. = country, Tn. = Town, Tr. = Tribe. ** = listed as tributary in one or more editions of the *Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien*. * = listed as having commercial relations in the 1818 edition.

Arrangement: place-name, location, *Hui-tien* reference, identification.

***ACHIN** (Acheen, Acheh, Atjeh): Ya-chi 亞齊. No. tip of Sumatra. *Wan-li* 106. 84b; *Chia-ch'ing* 31. 3b.

GROENEVELDT 92 gives Atjeh, corrupted by Europeans to Achin or Acheen. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 297. 17b follows the *Ming History* in stating that this was the name given in the Wan-li period to what was formerly called Su-mên-ta-la; but the latter is now identified by PELLIOT (3) 214, also MILLS 11, as "Samudra harbour, near Pasai on the north coast of Sumatra; this port (says MILLS) was also the

starting point of the voyage to the Nicobar Islands and Ceylon." See under Lambri below, also Samudra.

ADEN: A-tan 阿丹. Arabia. *Wan-li* 106. 84b.
Rockhill (1) 76.

AFGHANISTAN: Ai-wu-han 愛烏罕 (Mod. A-fu-han). *Kuang-hsü* 68. 8.

ALANI (Aas, Aorsi): A-su 阿速. Tr., in the Caucasus. *Wan-li* 107. 87b.
Bretschneider 2. 84-90; H: 50D2.

ALMALIK?: An-li-ma 俺力麻. Tn., in No. Sinkiang. *Wan-li* 107. 87b.
Cf. Bretschneider 2. 33-39; Fêng (2) 2: A-li-ma-li 阿力麻里.

A-LU KUO see Aru

ANDIJAN (Andedjan): An-chi-yen 安集延. Anc. Ferghana. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 299. 7b.
Fêng (2) 2; H: 17 II C½.

ANDKHUI (Andkhoi): An-tu-huai 俺都淮. Tn., W. of Balkh, Bukhara. *Wan-li* 107.88b.
Bretschneider (2) 275: P: 119.

AN-LI-MA see Almalik?

AN-CHI-YEN see Andijan

****ANNAM** (Yüeh-nan): An-nan 安南. Ctry. *Wan-li* 105. 81b; *K'ang-hsi* 72. 14; *Yung-chêng* 104. 24; *Ch'ien-lung* 56. 1; *Chia-ch'ing* 31. 2a; *Kuang-hsü* 39. 2a. Name changed officially to Yüeh-nan in 1803.

AN-TING 安定. District in Kansu. *Wan-li* 107. 87.
Ts'ên 166: modern Harashar (Ha-la-sha-erh); Bretschneider 2. 205-208.

AN-TU-HUAI see Andkhui

ARABIA (1): T'ien-fang 天方. *Wan-li* 107. 88a.
Duyvendak (1) 9: Mecca; H: 54D3: Arabia; Pelliot (2) 296: Arabie, La Mecque.

? (2): Hsia-la-pi 夏剌比. *Wan-li* 106. 84b.
(?) Ting 28: same as Arabia.

ARU: A-lu 阿魯 also 亞魯. Ctry., N. E. coast of Sumatra. *Wan-li* 106. 84.
H: 54F4; Rockhill (1) 75.

A-SU see Alani

A-TAN see Aden

A-TUAN see Khotan?

A-WA see Burma

BADAKSHAN (Badakashan): (1) Pa-ta-hei-shang 八答黑商. Ctry. and Tn., No. of Kabul, C. Asia. *Wan-li* 107. 88b.
BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 276-8; Fêng (2) 4.
(2) Pa-tan-sha 把丹沙. *Wan-li* 107. 87b.
BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 272.

BALKH: Pa-li-hei 把力黑. Tn., So. C. Asia. *Wan-li* 107. 87b.
BRETSCHNEIDER 100; Fêng (2) 4.

BANJERMASSIN: Ma-ch'ên 馬辰. So. coast Borneo. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 293. 1b.
Cf. Hsü Chi-yü 2. 2 (map): Ma-shên 神; *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* 1. 55: same as Wên-lang-ma-shên in the southeastern sea 文郎馬神,—a scribal error for Wên-chi-ma-shên 卽.

BARAWA: Pu-la-wa 不剌哇. Tn., So. of Mogadisho, Africa. *Wan-li* 106. 84b.
H: 54D4; FÊNG (2) 6.

BASHIBALIK: Pieh-shih-pa-li 別失八里. Tn., ancient Urumtsi (Ti-hwa), Sinkiang; anc. country of Moghulistan. *Wan-li* 107. 87b.
BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 225-244.

BENGAL: (1) Pang-ko-la 榜葛剌. Ctry. *Wan-li* 106. 84.
ROCKHILL (1) 436; FÊNG (1) 12.
(2) P'êng-chia-na 彭加那. *Wan-li* 106. 84b.
ROCKHILL (1) 68, 435: P'êng-chia-la 剌; FÊNG (2) 5.

BILLITON: Ma-yeh-wêng 麻葉甕. Island E. of Sumatra. *Ch'ing i-t'ung chih,* Ch'ien-lung ed., 356. 36.
WU Han 174; FÊNG (1) 15.

BOLOR: Po-lo-êrh 博羅爾. Tn. and Ctry., E. of Badakshan in the Hindu Kush. HUNG Liang-chi 50. 18b.
FÊNG (2) 6. 洛.

BORNEO: So-lo 娑羅, presumably a scribal error for P'o-lo 婆, mod. form 婆羅洲 P'o-lo-chou. (P'o-lo does not appear in the *Hui-tien* text). *Wan-li* 107. 84: "In 1406 the eastern king and the western king each sent an envoy to present tribute at Court."
GROENEVELDT 101: Borneo.

BRUNEI (Bornui): (1) P'o-ni (Sung-Yüan form) 渤泥 Ctry., N. W. Borneo. *Wan-li* 105. 82b.
ROCKHILL (1) 66. Also written 渤.

(2) Wên-lai 文萊 (Ming form)

Wu Han 137; *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* 1.57 identifies Wên-lai with P'o-lo (Borneo), erroneously, as do Chang Hsieh and the *Ming Shih*; Wada 127-8 suggests that P'o-ni was recorded from the western (hsi-yang) trade route while Wên-lai (or P'o-lo) came through the eastern (tung-yang) route.

BUKHARA?: Pu-ha-la 卜哈剌. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

Fêng (2).6 from the *Yüan* History quotes 卜哈兒 and 不花剌.

****BURMA**: (1) A-wa 阿哇. Ctry. *Wan-li* 106.84b. (2) A-wa 瓦; *Kuang-hsü* 39.2b: same as Mien-tien. (3) Mien-tien 甸緬; *Ch'ien-lung* 56.1; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3; *Kuang-hsü* 39.2b.

BURUT (Black Kirghiz, Kara-Kirghiz): Pu-lu-t'ê 布魯特. Tr., No. C. Asia. Hung Liang-chi 50.17.

Mayers no. 532; H: 66CD2/3; *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 299.3, 5: moslem tribe S. W. of the Dzungars, with Eastern (Tung) and Western (Hsi) divisions.

CAIL: Chia-i-lê 加異勒. So. India, opposite Ceylon. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

Duyvendak (2) 386.

CALICUT: Ku-li 古里. Ctry., S. W. coast of India. *Wan-li* 106.83b.

Groeneveldt 44; H: 54E4: Ku-li-fo

***CAMBODIA**: (1) Chên-la 眞臘; *Wan-li* 105.81b. (2) Chien-pu-chai (sai) 柬埔寨; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3. (3) Tung-pu-chai 東, common error for Chien-pu-chai; e.g. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 293.1. This variant is discussed by Pelliot (Memoires sur les coutumes de Cambodge), BEFEO 2.127.

CANANORE (Jurfattan): Sha-li-wa-ni 沙里灣泥. S. E. Coast India, No. of Calicut. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

Fêng (1) 12, 16; Wu Han 168: Jurfattan; *ibid.* 174: Sha-li-pa-tan 八丹 Jarfattan, mod. Cananore. Pelliot (2) 287: Jurfattan?

CEYLON: Hsi-lan-shan 錫 (or 細) 蘭山. *Wan-li* 106.84.

H: no. 927-28

CHALISH: Ch'a-li-shih 察力失. Tn., near Ilibalik, Sinkiang. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

H. 55F2.

CHAMPA: Chan-ch'êng 占城 (Variants: Chan-pu-lao 占不勞, Chan-po 波, Chan-la 臘). *Wan-li* 105.82.

Pelliot (3) 216: Chinese name for native Chan 佔

CHAO-HSIEN see Korea

CHAO-NA-P'U-ERH see Jaunpur

CHAO-WA see Java

CHÊNG-CH'IEN 整欠.(?). HUNG Liang-chi 59.9. *Ch'ing t'ung-tien* 98.18b: located 1000 *li* outside P'u-êrh fu (Yunnan), sent tribute in 1775.

CHÊN-LA see Cambodia

CHIA-I-LÊ see Cail

***CHIANG-K'OU** see Siam

CHIEN-CHOU 建州. District in E. Manchuria. *Wan-li* 107.86b.
H: 55H2; T. C. LIN (2) 867: a center of the Jurchen.

CH'IEN-LI-TA 千里達. *Wan-li* 106.84b.
Cf. ROCKHILL (1) 67: Ch'ien-li-ma 馬. Unidentified; possibly near northern Maldive Is.

CHIEN-PU-CHAI see Cambodia

CH'IH-CHIN-MÊNG-KU 赤斤蒙古. Milit. district in Kansu (Yü-mên hsien 玉門縣). *Wan-li* 107.87b.
BRETSCHNEIDER 2.211-215; P: 995

***CH'IH-TZŬ** see Jaya

CH'I-LA-NI 奇剌泥. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

CHI-LAN-TAN see Kelantan

CHING-HAI 景海. (?). HUNG Liang-chi 50.9b.
Ch'ing t'ung-tien 98.19: sent tribute 1775 with Chêng-ch'ien, q.v.

CHIU-CHIANG see Palembang

CHOLA: (1) So-li 瑣里. Ctry., on the Coromandel coast, S. E. India. *Wan-li* 105.83.
PELLIOT (1) 328-329: same as (2).
(2) Hsi-yang so-li 西洋. *Wan-li* 105.83: a country on the seacoast near So-li.
GROENEVELDT 44 gave W. Soli; CHANG Wei-hua 175-6 shows the two to be identical.

CH'Ü-HSIEN 曲先. District in Kansu. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
H: 55F3; BRETSCHNEIDER 2.210

COCHIN: K'o (Ko)-chih 柯枝. Ctry. on the Malabar coast, S. W. India. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

COIMBATORE see Coyampadi

COYAMPADI (Coimbatore): (1) K'an-pa-i-t'i 坎巴夷替. S. E. India, No. of Cochin. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

FÊNG (1) text 42.

(2) Kan-pa-li 甘把（or 巴）里.

DUYVENDAK (2) 386 suggests "Coyampadi?"; PELLIOT (2) 290, 296: probably "Koyampadi (Coimbatore)"; FÊNG (1) 11.

*DENMARK: Lien-kuo 嗹國. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.4.

DJOFAR (Dufar, Zufar): Tsu-fa-êrh 祖法兒. Tn., So. Arabia or Tso-fa-êrh 左. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

ROCKHILL (1) 611n.

Ê-CHI-CHIEH 額卽叱. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.88b.

**ENGLAND: Ying-chi-li 英吉利. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3.

Ê-LO-SSŬ see Russia

EUROPE: Not formally listed, see Western Ocean

FA-LAN-HSI (France) see under Portugal

*FRANCE: Fa-lan-hsi, confused with Portugal, q.v.

FU-LIN see Syria

FU-LO-CHÜ 芙洛居, presumably an error for Mei-lo-chü, see Molucca.

FU-YÜ see To-yen

HA-HSIN 哈辛. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.88b.

TING Chien 2.30: in W. Persia

HA-LIEH see Herat

HA-LIEH-ERH: 哈烈兒. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

TING Chien 2.28b: same as Ha-lieh (Herat)

HAMI: Ha-mi 哈密. Tn., Sinkiang. *Wan-li* 107.87.

P: 1907

HA-SAN 哈三. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

TING Chien 2.28b.

HAN-TUNG 罕東. District in Kansu (Tun-huang hsien). *Wan-li* 107.87b.

P: 1980; BRETSCHNEIDER 2.218

HA-SHIH-HA-ERH see Kashgar

HA-TI-LAN 哈的蘭. (?). *Wan-li* 107.87b.

BRETSCHNEIDER 2.315: probably Khotelan

HEI-KA-TA 黑葛達. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

HEI-LOU see Khorassan

HERAT: Ha-lieh 哈烈. Tn., Afghanistan. *Wan-li* 106.87b.

P: 1906; BRETSCHNEIDER 2.278-290; FÊNG (2) 13.

**HOLLAND: Ho-lan 荷蘭. *K'ang-hsi* 72.12a; *Yung-chêng* 104.22; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3.

Popularly known as the "Red-haired foreigners (barbarians)," Hung-mao fan 紅毛蕃, a term also used for the English, cf. CHANG Wei-hua 107-8. In the Ming period written 和蘭, cf. DUYVENDAK (3). 30n.4.

HO-MAO-LI or **HO-MAO-WU**, see Marinduque

HORMUZ (Ormuz): Hu-lu-mo-ssŭ 忽魯謨斯 or Hu-lu mu-ssŭ 母思 Tn., Persian Gulf. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

GROENEVELDT 44.

HSIA-LA-PI see Arabia?

HSIAO-KO-LAN see Quilon

HSIEN-LO see Siam

HSI-LAN-SHAN see Ceylon

HSI-PAN-YA see Spain

HSI-PU-LU-T'Ê see Burut

HSI-YANG see Western Ocean.

HSI-YANG SO-LI see Chola

HSÜ-WÊN-TA-NA see Samudra

HU-LU: 胡盧 or **葫蘆**. HUNG Liang-chi 50.8b.

Lit. "bottle-gourd country"? Cf. ROCKHILL (1) 91 under Chan-ch'êng; *Ch'ing t'ung-tien* 98.20b: located 18 stages outside Yung-ch'ang fu, Yunnan,—sent tribute in 1746.

HU-LU-MO-SSŬ see Hormuz

HUNG-MAO FAN see Holland

HUO-CHAN see Khodjend

HUO-CHOU see Karakhodjo

HUO-T'AN see Khodjend

ILIBALIK: I-li-pa-li 亦力把力. Sinkiang near mod. Kuldja. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

H: 55F2; BRETSCHNEIDER 2.225: later name for Bashibalik.

ISFAHAN (Ispahan): I-ssŭ-fu-han 亦思弗罕. Tn., Persia. *Wan-li* 107.88b.

**I-TA-LI-YA see under Portugal

*JAPAN: Jih-pên 日本 or Wo-nu 倭奴. *Wan-li* 105.80b; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3.

JAUNPUR: Chao-na-p'u-êrh 沼納撲兒. Mid-India near Benares. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

Fêng (1) 17-18. Same as old Fo-kuo 佛國.

***JAVA**: (1) Shê-p'o 闍婆, Chinese pre-Mongol transcription; (2) Chao-wa 爪哇, post-Mongol (Fukien) transcription, Groeneveldt 45. *Wan-li* 105.82.

Rockhill (1) 66: Majapahit.

(3) Ka-la-pa 噶喇吧 or 葛剌. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b.

Wang Kuo-wei 54; Chang Wei-hua 110: old Chinese name for Batavia, hence for Java as a whole.

***JAYA** (Chaya, Jaiya): Ch'ih-tzŭ 坧仔. W. Siam. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b. *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* 1.25b gives 斜 Hsieh (hsia)-tzŭ, translated by Schlegel 298 as Chaya. Captain Francis Light, quoted above part 6, between Chantebon and Sangora (sic) listed "Chia—Province West of Siam—produces Cotton, Dyes, Birdsnest, Salt Fish, Dryed Shrimps,—Manufactures Silk and Cotton Clothes—Plundered and destroyed by the Burmers 1787" (C. E. Wurtzburg, "A Brief Account of the several countries surrounding Prince of Wales's Island . . .", *J. Mal. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. 16 part 1 (July 1938). 123-126). W. Linehan, "A History of Pahang," *J. Mal. Br. R. A. S.* 14 part 2 (June 1936). 9 refers to Jaiya or Chaiya as near Ligor.

JIH-LO-HSIA-CHIH 日羅夏治. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

JIH-LO 日落. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.88b.

Bretschneider 2.314.

JIH-PÊN-KUO see Japan

***JOHORE**: Jou-fo 柔佛. Ctry., So. Malay penin. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b. Groeneveldt 135.

JUI KUO see Sweden

JUNG 戎. "Western barbarians." Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b. *Tao-i chih-lüeh* (Wang 30) has a Jung on the Malay Peninsula.

JURFATTAN see Cananore

KA-LA-PA see Java

K'AN-PA-I-T'I see Coyampadi

KAN-PA-LI see Coyampadi

KAN-SHIH 幹失. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

Ting Chien 2.29 line 4.

KAN-SSŬ-LA see Portugal

KARAKHODJO: Huo-chou 火州. Tn., E. of Turfan, Sinkiang, *Wan-li* 107.88.
P: 1900: ancient Kao-ch'ang; BRETSCHNEIDER 2.186-8.

KASHGAR: Ha-shih-ha-êrh 哈失哈兒. Tn., Sinkiang. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
P: 3224.

KASHMIR: K'o-shih-mi-êrh 克失迷兒. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
FÊNG (2) 18.

KELANTAN: Chi-lan-tan 急蘭丹. Ctry., E. coast Malay penin. No. of Trengganu. *Wan-li* 106.84b.
ROCKHILL (1) 65, 121; CHANG Wei-hua 109; KUWABARA 7.86: same as Ki-lan-i-tai 闌亦帶 of the Yüan period.

KHODJEND: (1) Huo-chan 火占. Tn., in Kokand, C. Asia. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
P: 2414.
(2) Sha-liu-hai-ya 沙六海牙. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
TING Chien 2.29b: Sha-lu-hai-ya 鹿, ancient name for above; confirmed by BRETSCHNEIDER 2.253, who calls it Shahrokia.
?(3) Huo-t'an 火壇. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
TING Chien 2.29b; no confirmation found.

KHORASSAN: Hei-lou 黑婁. Afghanistan. *Wan-li* 107.88b.
BRETSCHNEIDER 2.272-3; FÊNG (2) 13: same as Herat.

KHOTAN: (1) Yü-t'ien 于闐. Tn., in Sinkiang. *Wan-li* 107.88b.
Ancient name of Khotan, mod. Ho-t'ien 和; cf. P: 2058.
?(2) A-tuan 阿端. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

KIRGHIZ (Cossacks): Ha-sa-k'o 哈薩克. Tr., No. C. Asia.
B863a. Divided into Eastern (Tso 左) and Western (Yu 右).

K'O-CHIEH 克𠯿. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
Cf. TING Chien 2.29b.

KO-CHIH see Cochin

****KOREA**: (1) Kao-li 高麗. (Koryŏ) pre-Ming; (2) Chao-hsien 朝鮮. *Wan-li* 105.80; *K'ang-hsi* 72.3b; *Yung-chêng* 104.4; *Ch'ien-lung* 56.1; *Chia-ch'ing* 32.2; *Kuang-hsü* 39.2.

K'O-SHIH-MI-ERH see Kashmir

KOYAMPADI see Coyampadi

KUANG-NAN see Quang-nam

KUCHA: K'u-hsien 苦先. Tn., Aksu district, Sinkiang. *Wan-li* 107.87.

Ts'ÊN Chung-mien 152-153; H: 55F3.

K'U-CH'A-NI 窟察尼. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

K'U-HSIEN see Kucha

KU-LI see Calicut

KU-LI-PAN-TSU see Pansur

KU-MA-LA 古麻剌. Ctry. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.83b.

K'UN-CH'ÊNG see Kunduz?

K'UNG-KA-ERH 控噶爾. Unidentified. HUNG Liang-chi 50.21.

KUO-SA-SSŬ 果撒思. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

KUNDUZ?: K'un-ch'êng 坤城. Possibly the Tn. and Ctry. in N. E. Afghanistan? *Wan-li* 107.87b.

TING Chien 2.28b; cf. H: 60B3.

LACON see Ligor

LAMBRI: (1) *Nan-p'o-li* 南渤利. Ctry., No. tip of Sumatra, mod. Achin. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

GROENEVELDT 44, 89; ROCKHILL (1) 67.

(2) Nan-wu-li 巫 same place; cited as different country in Ming History [PELLIOT (1) 327; (2) 288].

LAN-PANG 覽邦. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 105.83.

TING Chien 15: island group east of Singapore.

LAO-CHUA see Laos

****LAOS** (Lao-chua): Nan-chang 南掌. Ctry., No. Indo-Chinese penin. *Ch'ien-lung* 56.1; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.2b; *Kuang-hsü* 39.2b.

Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao 296.28: Nan-chang is the name first used in the Chia-ching period (1522-65) for the Lao-chua 老撾 tribes, situated between the borders of Annam, Siam, and Yunnan; cf. H: 56B4: Laotien. MAYERS no. 329 states that Lao-chua is the designation attributed in Chinese literature to the Shan tribes, q. v.; CHANG Ch'êng-sun 69: Lao-chua is the popular name, Nan-chang the official one (kuo-hao). Cf. SOULIÉ and TCHANG, "Les barbares soumis du Yunnan," *BEFEO* 8.155-6.

LA-SA 剌撒. Tn., Arabia or Africa. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

ROCKHILL (1) 616: probably on Somali coast of Africa; WU Han 168: the *Wu-pei-chih-t'u* 武備志圖 puts La-sa in Arabia N. W. of Aden. Cf. PELLIOT (2) 287 n. 3.

LIEN-KUO see Denmark

***LIGOR** (Lacon): Liu-k'un 六崑 (or 坤). Ctry., on E. coast Malay penin. No. of Sungora (now in Siam). *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b.

KUWABARA (1) 280; CHANG Wei-hua 109. ROCKHILL (1) 109 identifies Lo-wei 羅衛 as "Ligor (?)."

LIU-CH'ÊN 柳陳. Tn., E. of Karakhodjo, Sinkiang. *Wan-li* 107.88. BRETSCHNEIDER 2.31: Lukchak; FÊNG (2) 24: Lukchun.

****LIU-CH'IU** 琉球. Ctry., E. China sea. *Wan-li* 105.81; *K'ang-hsi* 72.10; *Yung-chêng* 104.16b; *Ch'ien-lung* 56.1; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.2; *Kuang-hsü* 39.2.

ROCKHILL (1) 64: N. W. Formosa; PELLIOT (1) 332 n.7: much debated by Japanese scholars as to whether this is mod. Ryukyu Is. or Formosa. Ming sources distinguish Greater (Ta) and Lesser (Hsiao) Liu-ch'iu, e.g. WU Han 149. Presumably Liu-ch'iu throughout the Ch'ing period is the modern Ryukyu Is., although earlier the name referred to Formosa, cf. WADA 131.

LIU-K'UN see Ligor

LIU-SHAN see Maldive Is.

LU-MI see Rum

LÜ-SUNG see Philippines

MA-CH'ÊN see Banjermassin

MALACCA: Man-la-chia 滿剌加. Ctry., S. W. coast Malay penin. *Wan-li* 106.83b.

Many variants: Ma-la-chia 馬, Ma-liu-chia 嘛六甲.

MALDIVE ISLANDS: Liu-shan 溜山. S. W. of Indian penin. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

ROCKHILL (1) 82, 387.

MA-LIN see Melinde

***MANG-CHÜN-TA-LAO** 莽 (GILES 7667) 均達老. ? *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b. Possibly for Magindanao i.e., Mindanao? (cf. WADA 135, 157, 160-161 where various forms are given; none are the same as this).

MAN-LA-CHIA see Malacca

MARINDUQUE?: Ho-mao-li 合貓里 or Ho-mao-wu 物 or 務. P. I., So. of Luzon. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

WADA 156 quoting CHANG Hsieh, *Tung-hsi-yang k'ao*: same as Mao-li-wu (Marinduque); probably in fact indicating the adjacent island of Camarine, according to WADA 157.

MA-YEH-WÊNG see Billiton

MECCA see Arabia (T'ien-fang)

MEDINA: Mo-tê-na 默德那. Tn., Arabian coast of Red Sea. *Wan-li* 107.88b.

MEI-(MI)-LO-CHÜ see Molucca

MELINDE: Ma-lin 麻林. Tn., E. coast of Africa, No. of Mombasa. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

ROCKHILL (1) 83.

MIEH-K'O-LI see Nieh-k'o-li

MIEN-TIEN see Burma

MINDANAO see Mang-chün-ta-lao?

MOGADISHO (Mogedoxu, etc.): Mu-ku-tu-tz'ŭ 木骨都束. Tn., E. coast Africa. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

GROENEVELDT 44.

MOLUCCA: Mei-lo-chü 美洛居.

Correct form for 芙 Fu-lo-chü.

HUNG Liang-chi 50.5: 芙; Cf. *Ch'ing i-t'ung chih* 356.7 美.

WADA 161; WU Han 183.

MO-TÊ-NA see Medina

MU-KU-TU-TZ'Ŭ see Mogadisho

NAN-CHANG see Laos

NAN -P'O-LI see Lambri

NAN-WU-LI see Lambri

NIEH-K'O-LI 乜克力. Tr., E. of Hami, Sinkiang? *Wan-li* 107.87b.

TING Chien 2.2b; cf. BRETSCHNEIDER 2.178.

NISHAPUR: Ni-sha-wu-erh 你沙兀兒. Tn., in Persia, province Khorassan. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

P: 4555, 4665.

OIRAT: Wa-la 瓦剌. Tr., Mongols. *Wan-li* 107.85.

BRETSCHNEIDER 2.159-173 confuses Oirat with the later Oëlot.

***PAHANG**: P'êng-hêng 彭亨. Ctry., E. coast Malay penin. *Wan-li* 105.82b.

ROCKHILL (1) 65: P'êng-k'êng; WU Han 149: another Ming name P'ên-hêng 溟.

PAI 白. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

BRETSCHNEIDER 2.315: probably the city of this name in E. Turkestan. Cf. also under Shan below.

PAI (PO)-HUA 百花. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 105.82b. Cf. LU Tz'ŭ-

yün (*Pa-hung i-shih* 2.26): same as ancient Chu-nien 注輦, mod. Coromandel.

PAI-I see Shan tribes

PAI-KA-TA: 白葛達. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.
TING 1.28b, 2.19 suggests that this maritime tributary is Bukhara.

PAI-YIN 擺音. Tr., unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
Listed as in the Western Regions. Cf. also under Shan.

PA-K'O-I 八可意. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

P'A-LA 怕剌. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.
Cf. old kingdom of Pala, N. E. India, H: 39F2?

PA-LA-HSI 巴喇西. Unidentified. *Hsü wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 239.24b.

PALEMBANG: (1) San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊. E. Sumatra, anc. Srivijaya. *Wan-li* 105.82b.
GROENEVELDT 62, 73. KUWABARA 7.17 and FÊNG (4) 228 agree in identifying it with Palembang.
(2) Chiu-chiang 舊港, later name (for a smaller area?)
ROCKHILL (1) 66; FÊNG (1) 11.

PA-LI-HEI see Balkh

PANG-KO-LA see Bengal

PANSUR: Ku-li-pan-tsu 古里班卒. W. coast of Sumatra near Bārūs (Baroes). *Wan-li* 106.84b.
FUJITA (WANG 60): identifies Pan-tsu as given in *Tao-i chih-lüeh* with Pin-su 賓窣, and the "Pansur, Fansur" of the Arabs, ku-li meaning "island" (cf. ibid. 63b quoting GERINI).

PA-TA-HEI-SHANG see Badakshan

***PATANI**: Ta-ni 大泥 (also Ta-nien 年). Ctry., So. of Sungora, E. coast Malay penin. (now in Siam). *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b.
CHANG Wei-hua 109; WANG Kuo-wei 43b: also by error identified by Ming writers with Brunei (P'o-ni). WADA 128 n. 3 suggests this was because the name P'o-ni came through the western (hsi-yang) trade route. KUWABARA 7.83 suggests the identity of Patani (Ta-ni) with the Ta-li 大力 country of the Yüan period.

PA-TAN-SHA see Badakshan

P'ÊNG-CHIA-NA see Bengal

P'ÊNG-HÊNG see Pahang

***PHILIPPINES** (Luzon): Lü-sung 呂宋. Ctry. *Wan-li* 106.84b; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b.

CHANG Wei-hua 73-4: Lü-sung was the pre-Spanish name, later applied to Spain as "Great Luzon" Ta-lü-sung 大. For example see IWSM-TK 76.16 (July 1846); by contrast Hsiao-lü-sung 小 came to be used for the Philippines (Manila), e.g. *ibid.* 71.23b (May 1844). The Fukien authorities in Feb. 1847 identified Hsi-pan-ya (Spain) as Ta-lü-sung (*ibid.* 77.14b).

PIEH-SHIH-PA-LI see Bashibalik

P'O-LO see Borneo

PO-LO-ERH see Bolor

P'O-NI see Brunei

****PORTUGAL**: Portugal, Spain, Italy, and France were constantly confused for one another, or not distinguished.

(1) Fo-lang-chi 佛朗機 i.e. Franks, originally derived by the Chinese from the Arabs as a term for the West in the period of the Crusades; revived for the Portuguese after 1500. Also used for the Spanish and later confused with France, see (2). Cf. CHANG Wei-hua 5-6. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 298.31b: same as Ho-lan-hsi 和蘭西, capital Pa-li-shih 巴離士 (Paris); occupied and traded at Macao (sic).

(2) Fa-lan-hsi (France) 法蘭西 or Fu-lang-hsi 弗朗. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.4: same as the Fo-lang-chi of the Ming period; occupied the Philippines (Lü-sung), lived at Macao (sic). CHANG Wei-hua 5 gives half a dozen variants of Fa-lan-hsi; Ho-lan-hsi, noted above, tends to confuse it with Holland.

(3) I-ta-li-ya (Rome or Italy, also Portugal) 意達里亞. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3: the king, Po-na-ti-to (Pope Benedict XIII) sent tribute in 1725. Cf. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 298.6-8: a peninsula in the Mediterranean, capital Rome, etc., in 1670 and 1678 the king, A-fêng-su (Alfonso VI of Portugal), sent tribute, etc. CHANG Wei-hua 155-6: early used for Europe (Rome) and in the Ming History for Catholic missionaries. In early nineteenth century documents the Portuguese at Macao were referred to as I-ta-li-ya kuo (lit. the country of Italy), e.g. *IWSM-TK* 71.1 (Mar. 1844); but it was explained that while this name had been given the Jesuit missionaries and so applied to Macao, the country really involved at Macao was Ta-hsi-yang, see below. Meanwhile when an Italian missionary was seized it was stated in June 1848 that Italy (I-ta-li kuo) on its part had no headman in Kwangtung 查意大理國並無夷目在粵 (*ibid.* 79.17), i.e. it was an entirely new country.

(4) Ta-hsi-yang 大西洋. A general term for Europe as opposed to the Indian Ocean (Hsiao-hsi-yang), see under Western Ocean; but

also used for Portugal as a single country, e. g. *IWSM-TK* 70. 1b (Dec. 1843), 72. 3 (July 1844).

(5) Po-êrh-tu-chia-li-ya (Portugal) 博爾都嘉利亞 *Chia-ch'ing* 31. 3: the king, A-fêng-su (Alfonso VI) first sent tribute in 1670.

(6) Po-êrh-tu-ka-êrh (Portugal) 博爾都噶爾. *Chia-ch'ing* 31. 3: first sent tribute in 1727.

(7) Kan-ssŭ-la 干絲臘. *Chia-ch'ing* 31. 4: near England in the northwestern sea. CHANG Wei-hua 69: used for the Portuguese by error, being derived from "Castilla," the Spanish in the Philippines; this accords with the suggestion of PELLIOT (5) 69 n. 3 where other transcriptions for Portugal are also mentioned.

PU-HA-LA see Bukhara

PU-LA-WA see Barawa

QUANG-NAM: Kuang-nan 廣南. E. coast of Indo-China. *Wan-li* 107. 87b.

Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao 196. 30: anc. Nan-chiao 交, bounded by Annam, Champa, Burma, and Siam; MASPERO ("Royaume de Champa," *TP* 11. 195): an old capital of Champa; cf. KUWABARA 7. 19; and L. AUROUSSEAU in *BEFEO* 22. 158-160. *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* 19b: the same as Annam.

QUILON (Kulam): Hsiao-ko-lan 小葛蘭. S. W. tip of India. *Wan-li* 106. 84.

ROCKHILL (1) 67: Hsiao-chü-nan 唔喃, Kain Colam; cf. *ibid.* 76, 83, 425.

RUM: Lu-mi 魯迷 or 密. Ctry., E. Asia Minor. *Wan-li* 107. 88.

H: 54C3; BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 306-8.

RUSSIA: Ê-lo-ssŭ 俄羅斯.

Not listed in the sources here covered; in the Ch'ing under the Li Fan Yüan (see part 3 above). BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 73-81 summarizes *Yüan History* references.

SAIRAM: Sai-lan 賽蘭. Tn., N. E. of Tashkent, C. Asia. *Wan-li* 107. 87b.

P: 5347; FÊNG (2) 31.

SAMARKAND: Sa-ma-êrh-han 撒馬兒罕. Tn., C. Asia. *Wan-li* 107. 88.

P. 5342.

SAMUDRA: (1) Hsü-wên-ta-na 須文達那. E. coast Sumatra. *Wan-li* 105. 83: "it is said to be the same as" (2). (2) Su-mên-ta-la 蘇門答剌. *Wan-li* 105. 83; *Chia-ch'ing* 31. 3b.

Translated by earlier writers as Sumatra and identified with Achin (q. v.) following Chinese sources. PELLIOT (3) 214 now concludes that it corresponds to the present village of Samudra on the Pasai River, and MILLS 6n. works out the probable location from a Chinese sailing chart as "near Meraksa about 5 miles west of the Pasai River."

SAN-FO-CH'I see Palembang

SAO-LAN: 掃蘭. ? *Wan-li* 107. 87b.

Variant for Sairam? This is another guess by Mr. TING.

SHA-LI-WAN-NI see Cananore

SHA-LIU-HAI-YA (Shahrokia) see Khodjend

SHAN TRIBES: Pai-i 擺夷. No. Indo-China penin.

MAYERS no. 329: "The Shans of the border-land between Yunnan and Burmah term themselves, and are commonly known as, Pai I 百. Chinese official writers, however, describe them as Lao Chua (Laos), and the designation Pai I is applied in the description of the tribes of Yunnan (*Nan Man Chih* 南蠻志. Book III . . .) to the aborigines of the Kuangsi frontier . . . ." SOULIÉ and TCHANG, in *BEFEO* 8. 352 quoting *Nan tchao ye che,* identify the 白人 Po-jen with the 百夷 "Pai-yi" and 擺夷 "Pa-yi," all being of Thai race. J. SIGURET, *Territoires et populations des confins du Yunnan* (Peiping 1937) 137 classes the Pai-i 擺夷 as a Shan tribe in Yunnan.

SHA-TI-MAN: 沙的蠻. ? *Wan-li* 107. 87b.

Lit. "Barbarians of the desert." Cf. BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 315.

SHÊ-HEI 捨黑. Tn., So. coast Arabia? *Wan-li* 107. 87b.

TING Chien 2. 29b: in Arabia, same as Sha-ha 沙哈; cf. H: 50D4 Escier, (No. 2113) 施曷 Shih-ho, Shihr.

SHÊ-LA-CH'I 捨剌齊. Shulistan? *Wan-li* 106. 84b.

BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 127-8

SHÊ-P'O see Java

SHIRAZ: Shih-la-ssŭ 失剌思. Tn., Persia. *Wan-li* 107. 87b.

P: 5677; BRETSCHNEIDER 2. 292-4, 128

****SIAM**: (1) Hsien-lo 暹羅. Ctry. *Wan-li* 105. 81b; *K'ang-hsi* 72. 16; *Yung-chêng* 104. 27; *Ch'ien-lung* 56. 1; *Chia-ch'ing* 31. 2b; *Kuang-hsü* 39. 2b. ?(2) Chiang-k'ou 港口. *Chia-ch'ing* 31. 3: a country, 160 watches from Amoy.

Hai-kuo wên-chien lu (a work completed in 1730, see under part 7

above) 1.25, in describing the sailing route from Amoy to Siam, gives its destination as Hsien-lo chiang-k'ou, translated by Schlegel 197 as " the estuary of Siam," 188 watches from Amoy; to enter port (ju-chiang) it is 40 watches more. *Hai-lu* (a work completed about 1820) 1.2 likewise refers to Hsien-lo chiang-k'ou as the end of the sea route to Siam. In the list quoted above (part 5) from the 1818 edition of the *Hui-tien*, Chiang-k'ou kuo occupies the place where one would necessarily expect to find Siam, which on its part is not listed; the identification of Chiang-k'ou kuo as identical or connected with Siam should be easily proved by further research. For example, the *Ch'ing t'ung-tien* 98.13 states that the king is named Chêng 鄭. The contemporary king of Siam had this same surname.

SO-LI see Chola

SO-LO see Borneo

SPAIN: Hsi-pan-ya 西班牙. Not formally listed in the *Hui-tien*, confused with Portugal, q. v.; see Philippines.

****SULU**: Su-lu 蘇祿. Sulu Archipelago. *Wan-li* 106.83b; *Yung-chêng* 104.36; *Ch'ien-lung* 56.1; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.2b; *Kuang-hsü* 39.2b.

ROCKHILL (1) 66; UCHIDA 32 gives variants.

SUMATRA see Samudra

***SUNGORA** (Sunkla): Sung-chü-lao 宋屈勝. Ctry., on E. coast Malay penin., No. of Patani (now in Siam, mod. Sunkla). *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b.

CHANG Wei-hua 109: same as Sung-ch'ia 卡 or Sung-chiao 脚, Sawng Kia or Sungora; KUWABARA (1) 280.

SYRIA: Fu-lin 拂菻. E. coast of Mediterranean, incl. Palestine. (originally the Byzantine empire). *Wan-li* 106.84b.

HERRMANN 38 distinguishes between Greater Fu-lin as the E. Roman Empire, and Sham, Smaller Fu-lin 臨, in Syria.

***SWEDEN**: Jui-kuo 瑞國. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.4.

TABRIZ: T'ieh-pi-li-ssŭ 帖必力思. Tn., Persia. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

FÊNG (2) 35.

TA-HUI 打回. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

T'AI-NING, district of, see To-yen

TA-NI see Patani

TA-NIEN see Patani

TAN-PA 淡巴. ? *Wan-li* 105.83. LU Tz'ŭ-yün (*Pa-hung i-shih*

2.26b): same as ancient Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙修; cf. FÊNG (4) 226: Laṅkāsuka, on the northern Malay peninsula.

*TAN-TAN 單呾. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b (text indistinct): dependency of Johore, listed between Trengganu and Pahang. Cf. FÊNG (4) 221: 丹丹, 單單, and 旦旦 (241 n.1) all appear to refer to the same place on the Malay peninsula. This seems more probable than the early suggestion of FERRAND 13.299-300 that Tan-tan might be "dans la partie orientale de la mer de Java."

TASHKENT: T'a-shih-kan 塔什干. C. Asia. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 299.12b.

P: 154

TIBET: Wu-ssŭ-tsang 烏思藏. *Wan-li* 108.88b; *K'ang-hsi* 73.1; *Yung-chêng* 105.1.

Also T'u-fan, Hsi-tsang, etc., cf. B: 906; and P: 2502 for variants.

TIEH-LI 碟里. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

T'IEH-PI-LI-SSŬ see Tabriz

T'IEN-FANG see Arabia (Mecca)

TING-CHI-NÜ see Trengganu

TOGMAK: T'o-hu-ma 脫忽麻. C. Asia. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

BRETSCHNEIDER 2.161; cf. H: 69C2 Tokmak.

TO-YEN: the districts of To-yen 朶顏, Fu-yü 福餘, and T'ai-ning 泰寧 in So. Manchuria. *Wan-li* 107.86b.

H: 55GF2

*TRENGGANU: Ting-chi-nü 丁機奴. Ctry., E. coast Malay penin. No. of Pahang. *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b.

ROCKHILL (1) 65, 118; CHANG Hsieh 4.11b gives Ting-chi-i 宜 as a dependency of Java, adjacent to Johore; WANG Kuo-wei 29b gives Ting-chia-lu 家廬 as Tringganu; *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* 297.16-17: a dependency of Johore. KUWABARA 7.85 identifies it as Ting-ko-êrh 丁呵兒 of the Yüan period.

TSO-FA-ERH see Djofar

TSO-HA-SA-K'O see Khirgiz

TSO-FA-ÊRH see Djofar

T'U-LU-FAN see Turfan

TUNG-PU-LU-T'Ê see Burut

TUNG-YANG see under Western Ocean

**TURFAN (anc. Kao-ch'ang): T'u-lu-fan 土魯番. Tn., Sinkiang.

Wan-li 107.88; *K'ang-hsi* 72.8b; *Yung-chêng* 104.37b.

P: 6670.

TURGUT: T'u-êrh-ku-t'ê 土爾古特. Tr. C. Asia. *Ch'ing i-t'ung chih* 355.34.

Cf. B: 864, 903

URIANGHAI: Wu-liang-ha 烏梁海. District in E. Inner Mongolia and So. Manchuria. *Wan-li* 107.85.

P: 7182; T. C. Lin (2) 867.

WA-LA, the three princes of the, see Oirat

WÊN-LAI see Brunei

WÊN-TU-SSŬ-T'AN 溫都斯坦. Unidentified. Hung Liang-chi 50.21.

****WESTERN OCEAN COUNTRY(IES)**: Hsi-yang(chu)-kuo 西洋(諸)國. *K'ang-hsi* 72.18; *Yung-chêng* 104.30; *Ch'ien-lung* 56.1; *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3: at first (1690) singular, later a generic term for European countries. Cf. Chang Wei-hua 155-6: Ta-hsi-yang for Europe; Hsi-yang in the early Ming meant the So. Sea and Indian Ocean west of Borneo, as opposed to Tung-yang from Borneo east (quoting Chang Hsieh, *Tung-hsi-yang k'ao*); see also the more full (and earlier) discussion in Wada 123-5: Hsi- and Tung-yang originally referred to the trade routes along (Hsi) the Indo-Chinese-Malayan coast and (Tung) to the Philippines, Molucca, etc., respectively. Ta-hsi-yang was also used for Portugal (q. v.) in particular.

WO-NU see Japan

WU-LUN 兀倫. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

Cf. Rockhill (1) 238: Wu-lun 巫崙, a dependency of Java.

WU-SHÊ-LA-T'ANG 烏涉剌踢. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 106.84b.

WU-SSŬ-TSANG see Tibet

YA-CHI see Achin

YA-ÊRH-KAN see Yarkand

YA-HSI: 牙昔. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

Ting Chien 2.29b gives Aksu

YARKAND: (1) Ya-êrh-kan 牙兒干. Tn., Sinkiang. *Wan-li* 107.87b. (2) Yeh-êrh-ch'in (Hui-hui kuo) 葉爾欽. *Ta-Ch'ing i-t'ung chih* 355.36

Cf. Fêng (2) 41: Yeh-êrh-ch'iang 羌, Ch'ing name for Yarkand.

YEH-SSŬ-CH'ÊNG 耶思成. Unidentified. *Wan-li* 107.87b.

YING-CHI-LI see England

***YIN-TAI-MA 尹代嗎**. Unidentified, near Cambodia; possibly Chantebun? *Chia-ch'ing* 31.3b: listed between Cambodia and Ligor. Cf. *Hai-kuo wên-chien lu* 196: K'un-ta-ma 崑大嗎 between Cambodia and Siam.

YÜEH-NAN see Annam

YU-HA-SA-K'O see Kirghiz

YÜ-T'IEN see Khotan

APPENDIX 1

Bibliographical note: Research on various aspects of this enormous and ramified subject has accumulated to a point where general surveys should be of value. At the same time, most of the work done has been on the Ming period, leaving a gap between it and the nineteenth century. The following modern writings relating to maritime relations and/or the tributary system, although largely concerned with the Ming or earlier periods, are selected as essential background materials for the study of the Ch'ing period. They are arranged alphabetically by author and are so cited in the article, particularly in the index of place names, section 8. For analytical purposes they may be classified under five heads:

(1) On administration: KUWABARA's masterly study of Sung and Yüan foreign trade has not been equalled for a later period; CHANG Tê-ch'ang, T. C. LIN, YANO, and UCHIDA, among others, describe the Ming organs of administration dealing with foreigners.

(2) On sea-routes and the Ming expeditions: WADA discusses the route via the Philippines and MILLS that via Malaya; GROENEVELDT, HIRTH and ROCKHILL, and ROCKHILL, among others, translate valuable texts while the expeditions under CHÊNG Ho first studied by ROCKHILL and his predecessors are dealt with in an important series of monographs by PELLIOT, DUYVENDAK, and FÊNG, which revise previous work while not supplanting it.

(3) On relations via Central Asia: BRETSCHNEIDER is still a chief work for the Ming period; the immense volume of Ch'ing materials concerning the Li Fan Yüan appear hardly to have been touched.

(4) On the Europeans: CHANG Wei-hua has done a valuable study of the sections on European countries in the *Ming History*, and CHANG T'ien-tsê a study of Macao (note PELLIOT's review); for this type of work see under table 4 below, and the bibliography given in PRITCHARD; this article does not attempt to refer to the work done on the Jesuit missions.

(5) On Ch'ing relations with neighboring states: ROCKHILL (on Korea and Tibet), CHANG Ch'êng-sun and YANO (1) (on Burma), and DEVÉRIA (on Annam, inadequate) barely enter upon this vast subject.

This cursory survey reveals many lacunae in our knowledge of Ch'ing foreign relations: Manchu administration in Central Asia; Sino-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century; tributary relations with Siam, Laos, and Liu-ch'iu; the Chinese side of foreign trade in general. Studies such as those of Prof. DUYVENDAK on the last Dutch em-

bassy are much needed. In section 7 above we attempted to list some of the Ch'ing sources which await critical use. In the list which follows, some items are included as worthy of avoidance.

Abbreviations:

B = H. S. BRUNNERT and V. V. HAGELSTROM, *Present Day Political Organization of China,* trans. from Russian by A. BELTCHENKO and E. E. MORAN, Shanghai, 1912.

H = A. HERRMANN, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China,* Cambridge, 1935.

P = G. M. H. PLAYFAIR, *The Cities and Towns of China, A Geographical Dictionary,* Shanghai, 1910 (1879).

IWSM-TK is used below for *Ch'ou-pan i-wu shih-mo* 籌辦夷務始末 Tao-kuang 道光 section, 80 chüan, Peiping 1930.

Atlas van Tropisch Nederland, Batavia 1938 (cf. Blad. 10b, Earlier History).

BRETSCHNEIDER, E., *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources . . .* London 1910 (1888), reprint 1937. Note that the section based on *Ming-shih* and *Ta-Ming i-t'ung-chih* appeared *with characters* in *China Review* 5 (1876-7).

CHANG Ch'êng-sun 張誠孫, *Chung-Ying Tien-Mien chiang-chieh wên-t'i* 中央滇緬疆界問題 (Sino-Burmese Frontier Problems), *YCHP monograph series no. 15,* Peiping 1937; espec. pp. 85-91.

CHANG Hsi-lun 張錫綸, *Shih-wu-liu-ch'i shih-chi chien Chung-kuo tsai Yin-tu-chih-na chi Nan-yang-ch'ün-tao ti mao-i* 十五六七世紀間中國在印度支那及南洋羣島的貿易 (Chinese trade in Indo-China and the Southern Sea archipelago in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries) *Shih-huo* 食貨 2 no. 7 (Sept. 1935). 22-30. A brief survey based on the *Ming History*; interesting suggestions and bibliography.

CHANG Tê-ch'ang 張德昌, Ming-tai Kuang-chou chih hai-po mao-i 明代廣州之海舶貿易 (Maritime trade of Canton in the Ming period), *CHHP* 7 no. 2 (June 1932). 1-18. English version: "Maritime Trade at Canton during the Ming Dynasty," *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 17 (1933). 264-282. See also note 88 below.

CHANG T'ien-tsê 張天澤, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644, a synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese sources,* Leyden 1934. Equally important review by PELLIOT (5).

CHANG Wei-hua 張維華, Ming-shih Fo-lang-chi Lü-sung Ho-lan I-ta-li-ya ssŭ-chuan chu-shih 明史佛朗機呂宋荷蘭意大里亞四傳註釋 (A Commentary of [sic] the four chapters on Portugal, Spain, Holland and Italy in the History of the Ming Dynasty), *YCHP monograph series no. 7,* Peiping 1934. A valuable study which makes good use of the findings of PELLIOT and others.

DEVÉRIA, G., *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec l'Annam-Vietnam du XVI^e au XIX siècle, d'après des documents chinois,* Paris 1880. Not of much use.

DUYVENDAK, J. J. L., (1) *Ma Huan re-examined,* Amsterdam 1933.

———, (2) The true dates of the Chinese maritime expeditions in the early fifteenth century, *TP* 34 (1939). 341-412.

———, (3) The last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court (1794-95), *TP* 34 (1938). 1-137.

—, (4) The last Dutch Embassy in the "Veritable Records," *TP* 34 (1938). 223-227.

DUYVENDAK, J. J. L., (5) Supplementary Documents on the last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court, *TP* 35 (1940). 329-353.

"Embassies to the court of Peking . . .," *The Chinese Repository* 14 (1845). 153-6. Extracts from *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 31, which reproduce, with some inaccuracies, part of the data presented in tables 2 and 3 below.

FÊNG Ch'êng-chün 馮承鈞, (1) *Ying-yai shêng-lan chiao-chu* 瀛涯勝覽校注 [Critical notes on the Ying-yai shêng-lan (1451)] Shanghai 1935. Reviewed by PELLIOT (3); our citations are from introduction.

———, (2) *Hsi-yü ti-ming* 西域地名 (Place names in the Western Regions), pub. by Hsi-pei k'o-hsüeh k'ao-ch'a-t'uan 西北科學考察團, n. p. 1930. A useful list but gives only general source references.

———, (3) *Hsi-yü nan-hai shih-ti k'ao-chêng i-ts'ung* 西域南海史地考證譯叢 (Collected translations of critical studies of historical places in the Western Regions and the Southern Sea); and *ibid.* . . . . *hsü-pien* (supplement), both Commercial Press 1934. Translates 25 articles, 17 of them by Prof. PELLIOT; a useful collection, even though translated.

———, (4) *Chung-kuo nan-yang chiao-t'ung shih* 中國南洋交通史 (History of Chinese intercourse with the Southern Sea), Shanghai 1937. An annotated collection of sources, up into the Ming period. Perhaps the most useful single work so far available.

FERRAND, G., "Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du sud," *JA* ser. 11, tome 13 (1919). 239-333, 431-492, tome 14. 5-68, 201-241. Based on pre-Ch'ing bibliography, like most items here listed; strikingly illustrates the phonetic problems presented by Asiatic place names.

FUJITA Toyohachi 藤田豐八, *Tōsei kōshō shi no kenkyū* 東西交涉史の研究 (A study of the history of relations between East and West), 2 vols. Tōkyō 1932-33. Vol. 2 contains a useful index of place names. See also under WANG Kuo-wei.

GROENEVELDT, W. P., *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources,* n. p. 1876. Includes translated extracts from the *Ming History, Tung-hsi-yang k'ao,* etc.

HIRTH, F., and ROCKHILL, W. W., trans., *Chau Ju-kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi,* St. Petersburg 1911. Like the preceding item, must of course be used in conjunction with the more recent work of PELLIOT, DUYVENDAK et al.

HOU Hou-p'ei 侯厚培 Wu-k'ou t'ung-shang i-ch'ien wo-kuo kuo-chi mao-i chih kai-k'uang 五口通商以前我國國際貿易之概況 (General condition of our country's international trade before the opening of the treaty ports, i. e. before 1843), *CHHP* 4 no. 1 (June 1927). An early study, now quite superseded by other work.

JAMIESON, G., "The tributary nations of China," *China Review* 12 (1883). 94-109. Translates extracts from *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 31 and *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 392-3 which require careful and extensive checking. Used as the basis for the chapter "China and her tributaries" (reprinted from the *National Review,* June 1884) in R. S. GUNDRY, *China and Her Neighbors,* London 1893.

K. (pseudonym), "Audiences granted by the Emperors of China to western envoys," *China Review* 3 (1874). 67-83. A pot-pourri quoting chiefly western sources; no longer of value.

KUO Yu-i 郭有義, trans., MOMOSE Hiroshi 百瀨弘, Ming-tai Chung-kuo chih wai-kuo mao-i 明代中國之外國貿易 (China's foreign trade in the Ming period), *Shih-huo* 4 no. 1 (June 10, 1936). 42-51. Japanese original in *Tōa* 東亞 8 no. 7 (1935). 95-110.

KUWABARA Jitsuzō 桑原隲藏, On P'u Shou-kêng, a man of the Western Regions . . . , *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko,* no. 2 (Tōkyō 1928). 1-79; 7 (1935). 1-104.

LIN, T. C., (1) Manchuria in the Ming Empire, *Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly,* 8 no. 1 (April 1935). 1-43.

———, (2) Manchurian Trade and Tribute in the Ming Dynasty: a study of Chinese theories and methods of control over border peoples, *ibid.* 9 no. 4 (Jan. 1937). 855-892.

MAYERS, W. F., *The Chinese Government* . . . , 3d edition, revised by G. M. H. PLAYFAIR, Shanghai 1897 (1878).

MILLS, J. V., Malaya in the Wu-Pei-Chih Charts, *J. of the Malayan Branch of the R. A. S.,* 15 part 3 (Dec. 1937). 1-48. A work of great value, on a subject first developed by PHILLIPS. Conclusions given in part in DUYVENDAK, Sailing Directions of Chinese Voyages, *TP* 34 (1938). 230-237.

MOMOSE Hiroshi see KUO Yu-i, trans.

MORRISON, Rev. R., *A View of China for philological purposes* . . . , Macao 1817, 80-86, gives a rather miscellaneous list of 30 tributaries "as they stand on the records of the Board of Rites and Ceremonies"; exact source not stated. An interesting compilation rather than a translation, including the principal maritime tributaries of the early Ming.

PAUTHIER, G., *Histoire des relations politiques de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales* . . . , Paris 1859. Translates, not impeccably, the section on tributary ritual in the 1824 edition of the *Ta-Ch'ing t'ung-li,* noting certain differences with the edition of 1756 previously translated by PAUTHIER as "Documents officiels chinois sur les ambassades étrangères, envoyés près de l'empereur de la Chine," *Revue de l'Orient* 2 (1846). 1-22.

PELLIOT, P., (1) Les Grands Voyages Maritimes Chinois au Debut du XV^{e} Siècle, *TP* 30 (1933). 237-452.

———, (2) Notes Additionelles sur Tcheng Houo et sur ses voyages, *TP* 31 (1935). 274-314.

———, (3) Encore à propos des voyages de Tcheng Houo, *TP* 32 (1936). 210-222.

———, (4) L'Ambassade de Manoel de Saldanha à Pékin, *TP* 27 (1930). 421-424. Gives evidence for 1670 as the date rather than 1667.

———, (5) Un ouvrage sur les premiers temps de Macao, *TP* 31 (1934). 58-94. A review of CHANG T'ien-tsê, giving new material as well as corrections.

PRITCHARD, Earl H., *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750-1800,* Pullman 1936; pp. 403-430 give a useful bibliography of western materials on early modern relations and includes a list of Chinese materials.

For other items relating to European embassies, Russian relations, and the like, see under table 4 above.

ROCKHILL, W. W., (1) Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coasts of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century, *TP* 14-16 (1913-1915). passim; sep. pub. Leiden 1915.

ROCKHILL, W. W., (2) *China's intercourse with Korea from the XVth century to 1895*, London 1905.

———, (3) *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644-1908*, Leyden 1910; from *TP* 11 (1910) 1-104.

———, (4) Diplomatic Missions to the Court of China: the Kotow question, *American Historical Review* 2 (1897).427-442, 627-643. Revised and extended as *Diplomatic Audiences at the Court of China*, London, 1905.

SCHLEGEL, G., Geographical Notes, *TP* 9 (1898).177-200, 273-298. Not reliable but has a few useful references.

TING Ch'ien 丁謙, Ming-shih ko wai-kuo chüan ti-li k'ao-chêng 明史各外國傳地理考證 (A critical study of the geography of the *Ming History* chapters on foreign countries), in the *Chê-chiang t'u-shu-kuan ts'ung-shu* 浙江圖書館叢書 (Collectanea of the Chekiang Library), ts'ê 8 (1915). Certain of Mr. TING's errors are indicated in CHANG Wei-hua 102-103 and in WADA 157. His work contains a plethora of unsupported guesses; it is cited below in section 8 only for suggestive value.

TS'ÊN Chung-mien 岑仲勉, Ming-ch'u Ch'ü-hsien A-tuan An-ting Han-tung ssŭ-wei k'ao 明初曲先阿端安定罕東四衞考 (A study of the four districts of Ch'ü-hsien . . . at the beginning of the Ming period), *Chin-ling hsüeh-pao* 金陵學報 6 no. 2 (Nov. 1936).151-172.

UCHIDA Naosaku, see WANG Huai-chung trans.

WADA Sei (和田清), "The Philippine Islands as known to the Chinese before the Ming Period," *Memoirs of . . . the Tōyō Bunko* (*The Oriental Library*) no. 4 (Tōkyō 1929).121-166. Makes extensive critical use of CHANG Hsieh, *Tung-hsi-yang k'ao*.

WANG Huai-chung 王懷中, trans., UCHIDA Naosaku 內田直作 Ming-tai ti ch'ao-kung mao-i chih-tu 明代之朝貢貿易制度 (The system of Court tribute and trade in the Ming period), *Shih-huo* 3 no. 1 (Dec. 10, 1935).32-37. Published originally in *Shina kenkyū* 支那研究 37 (1935).91-101.

WANG Kuo-wei 王國維 trans., FUJITA Toyohachi author, *Tao-i chih-lüeh chiao-chu* 島夷誌略校注 [Critical notes on the Tao-i chih-lüeh (Brief Gazetteer of the Island Barbarians, by Wang Ta-yüan 汪大淵 1349] in *Hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-k'o* 雪堂叢刻 ts'ê 10. Synthesizes modern critical work on an important Yüan text.

WU Han 吳晗, Shih-liu shih-chi ch'ien chih Chung-kuo yü Nan-yang 十六世紀前之中國與南洋 "China and South Sea Islands [sic] before 16th Century," *CHHP* 11 no. 1 (Jan. 1936).137-186.

YANAI Watari 箭內亙, *Tōyō tokushi chizu* 東洋讀史地圖 (Far Eastern historical atlas), revised edition Tōkyō 1926.

YANO Jinichi 矢野仁一, (1) Biruma no Shina ni taisuru chōkō kankei ni tsuite 緬甸の支那に對する朝貢關係に就いて (On Burmese tributary relations with China), *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報 17 (1928).1-39.

———, (2) *Shina kindai gaikoku-kankei kenkyū* 支那近代外國關係研究 (A study of modern Chinese foreign relations), Kyōto 1928. This volume is centered upon Ming and Ch'ing relations with the Portuguese and discusses each of their embassies.

Yü-kung pan-yüeh k'an 禹貢半月刊 "The Chinese Historical Geography, Semi-monthly Magazine" (Peiping 1934-1937). A chief repository of recent Chinese

research on its subject, containing articles too numerous to list here. Cf. in particular vol. 6 no. 8-9 (Jan. 1, 1937), a special research number on the South Sea area 南洋研究專號.

For Chinese works not in this list see above under section 7.

APPENDIX 2

A note to page 177.

With the lists of tributaries from the Ch'ing editions of the *Hui-tien* may be compared certain others:

(1) a list of 57 tribes or states given by HUNG Liang-chi in his *Ch'ien-lung fu-t'ing-chou-hsien t'u-chih* (see under part 7 above), ch. 50;

(2) a list of 31 tributaries in the Ch'ien-lung edition of the *Ta-ch'ing i-t'ung chih* (completed 1764), 353-356;

(3) a list of 43 such places in the revised edition of this gazetteer, *Chia-ch'ing ch'ung-hsiu i-t'ung chih* (covering material to 1820), 550-560; and

(4) a list of 32 tributaries in the *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao* (covering the period from the beginning of the Ch'ing to 1785), 293-300. We take HUNG Liang-chi's list as a framework because it is both analytically arranged and the most extensive.

Key: O = not listed, + = listed, * = not in the lists of six editions of the *Hui-tien* given above.

1. HUNG Liang-chi	2. *I-t'ung chih* (1764)	3. *I-t'ung chih*. (Chia-ch'ing)	4. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao*
EASTERN BORDER:			
Korea (Chao-hsien)	+	+	+
Liu-ch'iu	+	+	+
Japan	+	+	+
Sulu	+	+	0
Marinduque? (Ho-mao-wu)	(Ho-mao-li)	+	0
*Molucca	+	+	0
Brunei (P'o-lo, Wên-lai)	+	+	0
SOUTHERN AND SOUTHEASTERN BORDER:			
Annam (An-nam)	+	(Yüeh-nan)	(An-nan)
Laos (Nan-chang)	+	+	+
*Kuang-nan	0	+	+
Burma (Mien-tien)	0	+	+
*Hu-lu	0	+	+
*Chêng-ch'ien	0	+	0
*Ching-hai	0	0	0
Siam	+	+	+
Chiang-k'ou (Siam?)	0	+	+

1. Hung Liang-chi	2. *I-t'ung chih* (1764)	3. *I-t'ung chih* (Chia-ch'ing)	4. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao*
Southern and southeastern border:			
Cambodia (Tung-pu-chai)	0	(Chien-pu-chai)	+
Sungora	0	+	0
Johore	0	+	+
Achin	0	+	0
Philippines (Lü-sung)	+	+	+
Mang-chün-ta-lao	0	0	0
Java (Ka-la-pa)	(Chao-wa)	(Ka-la-pa)	+
I-ta-li-ya	0	0	+
Portugal (Po-erh-tu-ka-erh-ya)	0	0	+
Portugal (Fo-lang-chi)	+	0	+
Western Ocean	+	+	0
Lambri	+	+	0
Champa	+	+	0
Cambodia (Chên-la)	+	0	0?
Brunei (P'o-ni)	+	+	0
*Billiton	+	+	0
Palembang (San-fo-ch'i)	+	0	0
Western and northwestern border:			
*Eastern Burut	0	0	+
*Western Burut	0	0	+
*Andijan	0	0	+
Badakshan	0	0	+
*Bolor	0	0	+
*Afghanistan	0	0	+
Bengal (Pang-ka-la)	+	+	0
Syria (Fu-lin)	+	+	0
Calicut	+	+	0
Cochin	+	+	0
Ceylon	+	+	0
Chola (Hsi-yang-so-li)	+	+	0
*Wên-tu-ssŭ-t'an	0	0	0
*K'ung-ka-erh	0	0	0
England	0	+	+
Portugal (Kan-ssŭ-la)	0	0	+
Holland	+	+	+
Sweden	0	+	+
Denmark	0	+	+
*Tashkent (following Badakshan)	0	0	+
Northern border:			
*Russia	+	+	+
*Turgut	+	0	0
*Eastern Kirghiz	0	0	+

1. HUNG Liang-chi	2. *I-t'ung chih* (1764)	3. *I-t'ung chih* (Chia-ch'ing)	4. *Ch'ing t'ung-k'ao*
NORTHERN BORDER:			
*Western Kirghiz	0	0	+
0	Yarkand	0	0
	(Yeh-êrh-ch'in, Moslems)		
0	Samudra	0	0
	(Su-mên-ta-la)		
0	0	Pahang	+
0	0	*Banjermassin	0
		(Ma-ch'ên)	
0	0	Trengganu	0
0	0	Malacca	0
		(Ma-liu-chia)	
0	0	Palembang	0
0	0	France	0

It is apparent that even officially published lists of tributaries had no fixed membership. Since countries that made contact by trade almost necessarily attained a nominal tributary status, such lists are of greater value for economic than for political history. Yet even for this purpose they hark back so plainly to the bygone glories of the Ming (e. g. Ceylon, Chola, Calicut) that their value is dubious.

APPENDIX 3

99. Author and title index to section 7.