

## PART I.

### *Description of China, and of the Court of the Emperor Kublai.*

Kublai, Great Khan of the Tartars, and Emperor of China—His War with Nayan—Favour for the Christians—Description of Kambalu (Pe-king)—An Insurrection there—Great Festivals celebrated by the Emperor—Their Order and Pomp—His extensive Hunting Expeditions—Leopards, Falcons, and other Animals employed—Mode of pursuing and taking the Game—Hunting Palace at Shandu in Tartary—At Cianganor—Paper Money—Large Revenue—Arrangement of his Government and Officers—Bounty towards the People—Manners and Superstitions of the Chinese—Marco Polo's Journey through the Western Provinces—Thibet, Bengal, and the neighbouring Countries—Return to the Vicinity of Pe-king—Journey through the Eastern Provinces—The Yellow River—Manji or Southern China—Its Conquest by Kublai—Character of the deposed King—Nan-king and other great Cities—The Kiang—Its immense Trade and Shipping—Kin-sai, the Capital—Its extraordinary Extent and Magnificence—Splendour of its Palace—Journey through Tche-kiang and Fo-kien—The Porcelain Manufacture—Arrival at Zai-tun or Amoy.

#### I.—Power and Magnificence of Kublai.

Now I am to give you a wonderful account of the greatest king of the Tartars, still reigning, named Kublai, or lord of lords. That name is assuredly well merited, since he is the most powerful in people, in lands, and in treasure, that is, or ever was, from the creation of Adam to the present day; and by the statements to be made in this book, every man shall be satisfied that he really is so. Whosoever descends in the direct line

from Gengis is entitled to be master of all the Tartars, and Kublai is the sixth great khan. He began to reign in the year of our Lord 1256,\* and maintained the dominion by his valour, address, and wisdom. His brothers sought to oppose his succession, but by bravery and right he triumphed over them.† From the beginning of his reign, forty-two years have elapsed to the present day, in the year 1298. He is now full eighty-five years old, and before his accession commanded many armies, when he approved himself good at weapons, and a brave captain. But since that time he has joined the army only once, which was in the year 1286, and I will tell you on what occasion.

## II.—Insurrection raised by Nayan.

You must understand that a certain cousin‡ of his, named Nayan, who, like his ancestors, was his vassal, yet had many lands and provinces of his own, and could raise 400,000 horsemen, being thirty years old, refused to remain longer in subjection, and assumed the whole sovereignty to himself. He sent to a certain great lord, named Kaidu, a nephew of that monarch, but in rebellion against him, and desirous of doing him the greatest injury. To him Nayan proposed to attack the monarch on one side, while he himself advanced on another, so that they might acquire the dominion over his whole territory. Kaidu declared himself well pleased, and promised to be ready at the time appointed. He could bring into the field 100,000 cavalry; and those two assembled a mighty army

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\* Ramusio makes him only twenty-seven years old at his accession, which Mr Marsden (p. 265) admits to be very improbable. The statement here given from the Paris editions makes him forty-three, which agrees with the best authorities. He was not the *sixth* but only the *fifth* of this line of sovereigns. We shall afterwards see how Marco fell into this error.

† His brother, Artigbuga, after Mangou's death, was proclaimed at Karakorum; nor was it till after a severe struggle, that Kublai prevailed.—Marsden, p. 265.

‡ In all the editions he is called uncle, which does not at all agree with their respective ages. Mr Marsden (p. 266) shows that he must have been a more distant relative.

on horseback and foot, and marched against the great khan.

### III.—Kublai prepares to meet him.

When Kublai learned these things, he was not at all alarmed, but declared, that he wished he might never wear a crown, nor hold sway over a kingdom, if he did not bring the traitors to an evil death. He therefore made his whole army be prepared in twenty-two days, and so secretly, that nothing was known beyond his own council. He raised full 360,000 mounted soldiers, and 100,000 infantry ; and the reason of their number not being greater, was, that they consisted only of his huntsmen, and those immediately round his person, the rest being employed in carrying on distant wars ; for if he could have assembled his whole host, the multitude would have been such as no man could have numbered. He then called his astrologers, and asked of them if he would be victorious ; they answered, that he would do to his enemies according to his pleasure.\*

### IV.—Description of the Battle.

The great khan having assembled these forces, took his departure, and in twenty days came to a vast plain, where Nayan had assembled all his troops, amounting to 400,000 warriors. The khan took much care to scour the paths, and intercept all who could have carried the intelligence ; so that when he approached at dawn of day, the rebel was lying asleep in bed with a favourite wife, not having the least dread of his arrival, and, consequently, no guard on any side of the camp. Kublai then advanced, having a tower fixed upon four elephants, whereon were placed his ensigns, so that he could be seen by the whole army.

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\* In Ramusio *only*, there is a sentence intimating that this was a mere manœuvre to encourage his men. This reflection was, we are convinced, interpolated in a more enlightened age than that of the traveller. The two Paris, the Crusca, Pipino, and all the early editions, mention it as real information obtained from those personages.

His men, divided into bands of twenty thousand, surrounded in a moment the adverse force, each soldier having a footman on the crupper behind him, with a bow in his hand. When Nayan and his men saw their camp thus encircled by the khan and his host, they were seized with amaze ; yet they ran to arms, formed themselves in order of battle, and were soon prepared to strike. Then began the beating on many instruments, and singing with loud voices ; for it is the custom of the Tartars, that until the horn termed *naccar* is winded the troops do not engage. But when that grand trumpet of the great khan was sounded, all the other performers began playing, and raising their voices very loud, making a noise that was truly most wonderful. Then the two armies rushed against each other with sword, spear, and lance, while the footmen were prepared with bow and quiver. The battle was fierce and cruel ; the arrows filled the air like rain ; horses and horsemen were seen falling to the ground ; and the tumult was such, that if Jove had thundered, he could not have been heard. Nayan was a baptized Christian, and therefore had the cross upon his standard.\* Never, in our day, was there so hard and terrible a combat, nor so many assembled on one field, especially of horsemen ; and the number who fell on both sides was fearful to behold. The battle continued from nine in the morning till mid-day ; but the great khan at last remained master of the field. When Nayan and his men saw that they could hold out no longer, they betook themselves to flight ; but it availed them nothing ; he was taken, and all his troops surrendered.†

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\* We have had ample occasion to observe, that a certain form of Christianity having, during that age, made considerable progress in Central Asia, was embraced by several monarchs. Others who did not go so far, yet courted the good opinion of its professors, and sought from them omens and imaginary means of success.

† This war of Kublai with Nayan and Kaidu is related by De Guignes, from oriental authorities, with a few variations, usual in different narratives of such events.

## V.—The Death of Nayan.

When that great monarch heard that Nayan was taken, he ordered him to be put to death in the manner I am now to tell you. He was wrapped in a carpet, and violently tossed to and fro till he died. This mode was adopted, that, being of imperial lineage, his blood might not be shed on the ground, nor his cries ascend into the air. When that battle was gained, four of his provinces paid tribute and homage to the great khan. These were Cicorcia, Cauli, Bastol, and Suchintin.

## VI.—Kublai silences the Mockery of the Jews and Saracens.

When the monarch had achieved this triumph, the Saracens, Pagans, Jews, and other generations of men who believe not in God, expressed wonder at the cross which the vanquished leader had carried on his standard, and said in derision of the Christians,—“see how the cross of your God has aided Nayan and his people.” They made such a noise on this subject, that it came to the ears of the prince, who was much displeased, and sending for the Christians, said to them,—“if your God did not assist Nayan, he acted with great justice, because he is a good and righteous God. Nayan was a traitor and rebel against his lord, and therefore God did well in not assisting him.” Then the Christians replied,—“O, great sire! thou hast spoken the truth, for the cross will aid nothing unjust, and he met only what he well deserved.” Having gained this victory, the great khan returned to his capital, Kambalu, with much festival and rejoicing. When the other king, named Kaidu, heard how his ally had been worsted, he was struck with fear, and did not attempt to lead his army against the monarch.\* Now you have seen how that prince went to battle, and for what cause, while on all other occasions he sent his son and his barons; but this

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\* Kaidu, however, continued to maintain his independent rule over a great part of Turkestan. We shall hear more of this prince towards the end of the narrative.

war was of such magnitude that it seemed to deserve his own immediate presence.

VII.—His Opinions as to the Christian Religion.

The grand khan, having obtained this splendid victory, returned with great pomp and triumph to his capital of Kambalu. He arrived there in November, and remained till after March, in which month our festival of Easter occurred. Aware that this was one of our most solemn periods, he commanded all the Christians to attend him, bringing with them their book containing the four gospels. He caused it, in a very respectful manner, to be repeatedly perfumed with incense, ordering all his nobles present to do the same. Such was the custom upon each of the two great festivals of Easter and Christmas ; and he followed the same course as that pursued by the Saracens, Jews, and idolaters. Being asked the reason of this conduct, he replied,—“ there are four great prophets revered and worshipped by different classes of mankind. The Christians hold Christ as their divinity ; the Saracens, Mohammed ; the Jews, Moses ; and the idolaters, Sogomombar Khan, their most distinguished idol. I honour and respect all the four, and seek aid from them, as any one of them may really be supreme in heaven.” Yet, from the behaviour of his majesty towards the Christians, he evidently believed their faith the best and truest ; observing, that it enjoined nothing on its professors that was not full of virtue and holiness. He would not indeed allow the cross to be borne before them in processions, because, as he said, on it so exalted a person had been nailed and put to death. Some may ask, why if thus partial to the true faith, he did not openly embrace it ? He stated his reason to Nicolo and Maffio Polo, when, on his sending them ambassadors to the Pope, they ventured to address to him a few words on the subject. “ Why,” said he, “ should I become a Christian ? You must yourselves see that the professors of that faith now in this country are ignorant and weak, unable to do any thing extraordinary, while the idola-

ters have power to do whatever they please. While I am seated at table, the cups, filled with wine or other beverage, come to me from the middle of the hall spontaneously, without being touched by any human hand. They are able to control bad weather, and force it to retire to any quarter of the heavens; they can perform other wonderful things of the same nature. You have witnessed their idols exercising the faculty of speech, and predicting whatever events are inquired into. Should I become a convert and profess Christianity, the nobles of my court, and others disinclined to the faith, will ask what adequate motives have induced me to be baptized. What wonders, what miracles, they will say, have its ministers performed? But the idolaters declare, that their exhibitions are made through their own holiness and the might of their idols. To this I shall be unable to make any answer, and be considered as labouring under a grievous mistake, while the heathen teachers, by the profound art which they display, may easily accomplish my death. Return, however, to your pontiff, and present to him my request, that he would send a hundred persons learned in your law, who, when confronted with the others, will be able to control them, and while proving themselves endowed with similar skill, shall render their antagonists unable in their presence to carry on these practices. On witnessing this, I will interdict the exercise of their religion, and suffer myself to be baptized. This example will be followed by all my nobility, and by my subjects in general; so that the Christians in these regions will become more numerous than those inhabiting your own country." From this language it evidently appears that had the pope sent out persons duly qualified to preach the gospel, the great khan would have embraced that faith, for which he certainly entertained a strong predilection.\*

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\* This curious chapter is one of those found only in Ramusio. There is no decided internal proof against its being genuine, and the conduct of Kublai sufficiently accords with that usually held by Tartar monarchs. Yet there is, I think, clear evidence

## VIII.—Rewards bestowed on his Soldiers.

Now let us tell of the officers and barons of the great khan, and how he rewarded those who fought with him in the battle against Nayan. To those who commanded 100 men, he gave the command of 1000, and to those of 1000 that of 10,000 ; and he bestowed, according to their rank, tablets of gold or of silver, on all of which was written,—“ By the might of the great God, and by the favour which he gave to our emperor : may that prince be blessed, and may all those who do not obey him die and be destroyed.” Those who hold these documents enjoy certain privileges, with written instructions how they are to exercise their authority. He who commands 100,000 men receives a golden one, weighing 300 saggi, under which is sculptured a lion on one side, and on the other the sun and moon. Those who bear these noble tablets have instructions, that whenever they ride they should bear above their head an umbrella of gold, and as often as they are seated, it should be upon silver. There are also tablets whereon is sculptured a gerfalcon, which he gives to three great barons, who have then equal authority with himself. They can take, whenever they please, and lead from place to place, the troops and horses of any prince or king ; and whoever dares to disobey in any thing their will and mandate, must die as a rebel to the sovereign.\* Now let us speak of the outward form and manners of this mighty prince.

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of interpolation. The following chapter, in all the early editions, states the amount of the rewards which the sovereign gave to the officers who had distinguished themselves in the battle against Nayan. In Ramusio, dropping all allusion to that event, it states those which he *usually gives* on such occasions. The change is obviously made, because the insertion of the present chapter broke the connexion, a blemish that would have become evident had the subject been treated in the first manner, which yet is doubtless the natural and original one.

\* It is still the practice of the Chinese government to indicate rank by richly ornamented tablets, which, in the vulgar language of Canton, are called *chops*. They are now of cloth ; but the Tartars, a people of a different genius, might very pos-



## IX.—The Person of Kublai—His Wives, Concubines, and Sons.

The great khan, lord of lords, named Kublai, is of a fine middle size, neither too tall nor too short; he has a beautiful fresh complexion, and well-proportioned limbs. His colour is fair and vermeil like the rose, his eyes dark and fine, his nose well formed and placed. He has four ladies, who always rank as his wives; and the eldest son, born to him by one of them, succeeds as the rightful heir of the empire. They are named empresses; each bears his name, and holds a court of her own; there is not one who has not 300 beautiful maidens, with eunuchs, and many other male and female attendants, so that some of the courts of these ladies contain 10,000 persons; and when he wishes to visit any one, he makes her come to his apartment, or sometimes goes to hers. He maintains also a number of concubines. There is a race of Tartars who are called Migrat or Ungrat,\* and are a very handsome people. From them are selected 100 girls,† the most beautiful in all their country, who are conducted to court. He makes them be guarded by the ladies of the palace; and they are examined if they have a sweet breath, and be sound in all their limbs. Those that are approved in every respect wait upon their great lord in the following

sibly prefer the precious metals. The Venetian *saggio* is the sixth part of an ounce, making thus the largest tablet fifty ounces. The term Mandarin, being modern and Portuguese, could not be expected here.

\* Ungut, *Ramusio*. This appears to be the country of the Eighurs or Uighurs, inhabiting Turfan and Hami, to the west of China. They are of the Turkish race, and noted for the beauty of their persons.—Marsden, p. 284.

† *Ramusio* says that they are valued at from sixteen to twenty or twenty-one *carats*, the highest number being required in the case of his majesty. Mr Marsden (p. 285), considering the term as meaning four grains of gold, laments that the most brilliant of these beauties should be reckoned worth only 13s. 4d. The carat, however, is used also in estimating the diamond, when it bears surely a higher value. Considering, however, that the term is entirely European, and the statement found in no early edition, I incline to reject it altogether.

order : six of them attend every three days, then other six come in their place, and so on throughout the year. It may be asked, if the people of this province do not feel aggrieved by having their children thus forcibly taken away. Assuredly not : on the contrary, they regard it as a favour and an honour ; and the fathers feel highly gratified when their daughters are thus selected. If, says one, my daughter is born under an auspicious planet, his majesty can best fulfil her destiny by marrying her more nobly than I can do. On the contrary, if the young lady, by bad conduct or any misfortune, be found disqualified, he attributes the disappointment to her malignant stars.\* Know, too, that the great khan has by his wives twenty-two sons ; the elder was named Gyngym Khan, and was to be lord of all the empire after his father ; but he died, leaving a son named Temur, who in time will succeed ; he is a wise and good man, tried in many battles.† The monarch has also twenty-five sons by his concubines ; and each is a great baron ; and of the twenty-two sons by his four wives, seven reign over large kingdoms, like wise and good men, because they resemble their father,—and he is the best ruler of nations and conductor of wars in the world. Now I have told you about himself, his wives, sons, and concubines ; next I will relate how he holds his court.

#### X.—His magnificent Palace in Kambalu.

He resides in the vast city of Kambalu, three months in the year, December, January, and February, and has here his great palace, which I will now describe.

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\* The reader has already seen this tyrannical custom even in the rude court of Mangou Khan. It is proper to notice that this satisfaction of the people in having their daughters thus taken from them is found only in Ramusio, not in any of the early editions.

† Temur actually succeeded his grandfather in 1294, and is celebrated in the Chinese annals as a mild, upright, intelligent, and liberal prince. Boni, vol. ii. p. 167.

It is a complete square, a mile long on every side,\* so that the whole is four miles in circuit; and in each angle is a very fine edifice, containing bows, arrows, cords, saddles, bridles, and all other implements of war. In the middle of the wall between these four edifices are others, making altogether eight, filled with stores, and each containing only a single article. Towards the south are five gates, the middle one very large, never opened nor shut unless when the great khan is to pass through; while on the other side is one by which all enter in common.† Within that wall is another, containing eight edifices similarly constructed; in which is lodged the wardrobe of the sovereign. These walls enclose the palace of that mighty lord, which is the greatest that ever was seen. The floor rises ten palms above the ground, and the roof is exceedingly lofty. The walls of the chambers and stairs are all covered with gold and silver, and adorned with pictures of dragons, horses, and other races of animals. The hall is so spacious that 6000 can sit down to banquet; and the number of apartments is incredible. The roof is externally painted with red, blue, green, and other colours, and is so varnished that it shines like crystal, and is seen to a great distance around. It is also very strongly and durably built. Between the walls are pleasant meadows filled with various living creatures, as white stags, the musk animal, deer, wild goats, ermines, and other beautiful creatures. The whole enclosure is full of animals, except the path by which men pass. On the other side, towards the south, is a magnificent lake, whither many

\* Ramusio has *eight* miles on each side. This immense extent is not supported by the Paris editions, the Crusca, and Pipino, which are according to the text. The French edition of 1556 has two leagues in circuit. Astley (vol. iv. p. 11) has collated the modern descriptions, which agree closely with that of Polo, and make the whole circuit only fifteen li, or four miles and three quarters. Count Boni points out that Oderic, in about 1330, states only four miles. There seems no doubt, therefore, of the corruption of Ramusio's text.

† The reader will recollect the same arrangement described by Carpini in the great orda or tent of Cuyne Khan.

kinds of fish are brought and nourished. A river enters and flows out ; but the fish are retained by iron gratings. Towards the north, about a bowshot from the palace, Kublai has constructed a mound, full a hundred paces high and a mile in circuit, all covered with evergreen trees which never shed their leaves. When he hears of a beautiful tree, he causes it to be dug up, with all the roots and the earth round it, and to be conveyed to him on the backs of elephants, whence the eminence has been made verdant all over, and is called the green mountain. On the top is a palace, also covered with verdure ; it and the trees are so lovely that all who look upon them feel delight and joy. In the vicinity is another palace, where resides the grandson of the great khan, Temur, who is to reign after him, and who follows the same life and customs as his grandsire. He has already a golden bull and the imperial seal ; but he has no authority while his grandfather lives.

#### XI.—Description of the City of Kambalu.

Having described to you the palaces, I will tell you of the great city of Cathay, which contains them. Near it is another large and splendid one, also named Kambalu, which means in our language city of the lord ; but the monarch, finding by astrology that this town would rebel, built another near it, divided only by a river, and bearing the same name, to which its inhabitants were compelled to remove.\* It forms a regular square, six miles on each side, and thus twenty-four miles in circumference. It is surrounded by walls of earth, ten paces thick and twenty in height ; yet the upper part becomes gradually thinner, so that at top the breadth is

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\* This is the statement in the two Paris editions, and in the *Crusca*, which calls it *Camblau* ; but in *Ramusio* the new city is named *Tai-du*, more properly *Ta-tou* or the great court ; and there are oriental accounts of its bearing this name. Here, therefore, as on other occasions, though we may doubt that the statement came from Marco, it appears to be from some well-informed quarter.—Marsden, p. 300.

only three paces. There are twelve gates, each containing an edifice, making one in each square of that wall, and filled with men, who guard the place. The streets are so broad and so straight that from one gate another is visible. It contains many beautiful houses and palaces, and a very large one in the midst, containing a steeple with a large bell, which at night sounds three times; after which no man must leave the city without some urgent necessity, as of sickness, or a woman about to bear a child. At each gate a thousand men keep guard, not from dread of any enemy, but in reverence of the monarch who dwells within it, and to prevent injury by robbers.\*

#### XII.—The Suburbs—Merchants.

When the monarch comes to his chief city, he remains in his noble palace three days and no more, when he holds a great court, making high festival and rejoicing with his ladies. There is a vast abundance of people through all the suburbs of Kambalu, which are twelve in number, one corresponding to each gate; no one can count the number of residents; and they contain as stately edifices as any in the city, except the king's palace. No one is allowed to be buried within the city; and no females of bad character can reside there, but must have their dwellings in the suburbs, where there are said to be no fewer than 20,000. There are brought also to Kambalu the most costly articles in the world, the finest productions of India, as precious stones and

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\* Kambalu is not a Chinese term, but is a corruption of that of Khan-baligh, "the City of the Khan," used by the Arabians and Persians. There is no doubt of its being that now called Pe-king. The square form, the breadth of the streets, and their stretching in a direct line, have been observed by all travellers, and indeed generally characterize Chinese cities. The lofty structures rising above the gates, and filled with armed troops, are noticed by Le Comte and Staunton. The shutting of these is still announced by the sound of a bell, and that of Pe-king is said to be the largest in the world, weighing 120,000 lbs. There is no mention of it in Ramusio.—Marsden, pp. 300, 305, 306. Astley, vol. iv. p. 8-10.

pearls, with all the produce of Cathay and the surrounding countries, in order to supply the lords and the barons and ladies who reside there. Numerous merchants, likewise, bring more than a thousand wagons laden with grain; and all who are within a hundred miles of the city come thither to purchase what they want.\*

### XIII.—Wicked Administration of Achmac—Insurrection.

I will hereafter particularly mention a council of twelve persons, having power to dispose at will of the lands, governments, and all things belonging to the state. One of these, a Saracen, named Achmac, had acquired an extraordinary influence with the great khan; indeed his master was so infatuated with him that he allowed him the most uncontrolled license. It was even discovered after his death that he had employed spells to fascinate the khan, and compel him to give full credit to what was told him by his favourite, who was thus enabled to conduct public affairs according to his pleasure. He disposed of all the commands and public offices; passed sentence upon offenders; and when desirous to inflict an injury on any one whom he hated, needed only to go to the emperor and say, "such a man has been guilty of an offence against your majesty, and deserves death." The monarch usually replied, do as you judge best, and Achmac then ordered him to be immediately executed. So manifest were the proofs of his influence, and of the sovereign's implicit reliance on his statements, that no one dared to contradict him on any occasion; even those highest in office stood in awe of him. Any one charged by him with a capital offence, whatever means he might employ to justify himself and refute the accusation, could not find an advocate; for none dared to oppose the purpose of Achmac. Thus

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\* Marsden, pp. 307, 308, quotes good authorities for the suburbs being twelve in number, and very extensive. From Staunton's account, however, they appear to be now less considerable. The influx of foreigners, welcomed under the Mongol dynasty, must be much diminished under the present exclusive system.

he caused unjustly the death of many, and was also enabled to indulge his unlawful propensities. Whenever he saw a woman who pleased him, he contrived either to add her to the number of his wives, or to lead her into a criminal intimacy. On receiving information of any man having a beautiful daughter, he despatched emissaries with instructions to say to him, "what are your views with regard to this handsome girl? the best thing you can do is to give her to the lord-vicegerent;" for so they termed Achmac, implying that he was his majesty's representative; "we will induce him to appoint you to a certain government or office for three years." The father was thus tempted to give away his child; and as soon as the affair was arranged, the other went and informed the emperor that a government was vacant, or would become so on a particular day, and recommended the parent as well qualified to discharge its duties. His majesty consented; and the appointment was immediately made. Thus, either through ambition to hold high office, or dread of his power, he obtained possession of the fairest females, under the denomination of wives or of concubines. Besides, he had twenty-five sons, who held the highest offices in the state, and, availing themselves of his authority, were guilty of similar violent and licentious proceedings. He had likewise accumulated great wealth, since every one who obtained an appointment found it requisite to make him a liberal present.

During a period of twenty-two years, he exercised this absolute authority. At length the Kataians, natives of the country, unable to endure longer his multiplied acts of injustice and violation of domestic rights, began to devise means of bringing about his death and the overthrow of the government. Among the leading persons in this plot was Chenuku, a commander of 6000 men, in whose family his dissolute conduct had spread dishonour. He proposed the measure to one of his nation, named Vanku, who commanded 10,000 men, and suggested for its execution the period when the great khan, having completed

his three months' residence in Kambalu, should have departed for his palace at Shandu, while his son Gengis had also retired to the place usually visited by him at that season. The charge of the city was then intrusted to Achmac, who communicated all affairs that occurred during his master's absence, and received the necessary instructions. Vanku and Chenku, having thus consulted together, imparted the design to some leading persons among the Kataians, and also to their friends in various other cities. They formed an agreement, that on a certain day, immediately on perceiving a signal made by fire, they should rise and put to death all persons wearing beards. This distinction was made because they themselves naturally wanted this appendage, which characterized the Tartars, the Saracens, and the Christians. The grand khan, having acquired the sovereignty of Kataia, not by any legitimate right, but solely by force of arms, placed no confidence in the natives, and therefore intrusted all the provincial governments to Tartars, Saracens, Christians, and other foreigners belonging to his household. From this cause his reign was universally detested by the people, who found themselves treated as slaves by the Tartars, and still worse by the Saracens.

Vanku and Chenku, having thus arranged their plans, succeeded at night in entering the palace; when the former placed himself on one of the royal seats, made the apartment be lighted up, and sent a messenger to Achmac, then residing in the old city. He professed to come from Gengis, the emperor's son, who, he said, had unexpectedly arrived, and required his immediate attendance. The viceroy was much surprised by this intelligence; but, as he stood in awe of the prince, he presently obeyed. On passing the gate of the new city, he met the Tartar officer named Kogatai, who commanded the guard of 12,000 men, and who asked him whither he was going at that late hour. He stated his intention of waiting upon Gengis, whose arrival had just been announced to him. "It is very surprising," said the officer,



“how he should have come so secretly that I was not apprized of it, so as to send a party of guards to attend him.” The two Kataians, meantime, felt confident, that if they could succeed in despatching Achmac, they had nothing farther to fear. On entering the palace, and seeing so many lights blazing, he prostrated himself before Vanku, whom he supposed to be the prince, when Chenku, who held a sword ready in his hand, severed his head from his body. Kogatai had stopped at the door ; but, seeing this catastrophe, he exclaimed that treason was at work, and presently discharged an arrow, which slew Vanku as he sat upon the throne. He then caused his men to seize the other, and despatched an order to the city to kill every one who should be found abroad. The Kataians, however, seeing the conspiracy discovered, one of their chiefs killed, and the survivor a prisoner, remained in their houses, and could not make the concerted signals to the other towns. Kogatai lost no time in sending messengers with a particular relation of these events to the khan, who, in reply, ordered him diligently to investigate the conspiracy, and to punish according to the degree of their guilt those found implicated in it. Next day, after receiving this command, he examined all the Kataians, and inflicted the punishment of death on the ringleaders. Other cities known to have participated in the guilt suffered similar inflictions.

When his majesty returned to Kambalu, he inquired eagerly into the cause of this disturbance, and learned that the infamous Achmac and seven of his sons (the others being less culpable) had committed several enormities. He gave orders that the treasure, which he had accumulated to an incredible amount, should be removed from his place of residence to the new city, where it was lodged in his own treasury. He directed even that his corpse should be disinterred, and thrown into the street, where the dogs might tear it in pieces. The sons, who had pursued the same criminal course with their father, were ordered to be flayed alive. Considering also the principles of the accursed sect of the

Saracens, which allow them to indulge in the commission of every crime, and even to murder those who differ from them on points of belief, whence even the detestable Achmac and his sons might have imagined themselves guiltless, he regarded the whole body with contempt and abomination. Summoning them to his presence, he forbade the continuance of many practices enjoined in their law, ordering that in future their marriages should be arranged according to the Tartar custom ; and that, in killing animals for food, instead of cutting their throats, they should rip open the stomach. Marco Polo was on the spot when these events took place.\*

#### XIV.—Guards of the Great Khan.

When the great khan holds a court, he is guarded, on account of his excellency and honour, by 12,000 horsemen, who are called *quiesitan*, that is, faithful servants of their lord ; and this he does not from fear but regard to his high dignity. Over these 12,000 are four captains, so that each commands 3000 ; and they keep guard in turn three days and three nights, eating and drinking at the expense of the prince. Then they

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\* This is the most important of the chapters found exclusively in Ramusio. Mr Marsden proves the correctness of the main facts by a quotation from De Guignes, who relates them with such variations as prove him to have drawn from an independent Oriental source. Count Boni has also found a similar account in the Chinese history translated by Mailla. The minister is there called Achma ; but the real name is the common Turkish one of Achmed or Achmet. Although this chapter is evidently written by one possessing information on Chinese affairs, yet the complete contrast between the tone in which the khan is mentioned here and in every other place, makes it impossible to believe that it could have come from the same quarter. The peculiar bitterness with which the Saracens are mentioned seems to confirm the suggestion formerly made that the writer was a churchman. It may easily be supposed that the event might give Kublai a prejudice against the sect, yet we can scarcely believe that he showed it by such childish enactments as those here stated. De Guignes represents him as having ordered the goods of the guilty minister to be given up to plunder. Mr Marsden urges, with some reason, that the statement in the text, of his having taken them to himself, is the more probable one.

go away, and another party comes ; and so they proceed throughout the whole year.

XV.—The Magnificence of his Festivals.

When the khan wishes to celebrate a splendid festival, the tables are so arranged that his is much higher than the others, and he sits on the north, with his face toward the south. His first wife is seated beside him on the left, while, on the right, are his sons and nephews, and all those of imperial lineage, who are so stationed that their head is on a level with the feet of the monarch. The barons sit still lower ; while the ladies, daughters, and female relations of the khan are placed beneath the queen on the left side, and under them all the wives of the barons ; every class knows the spot where they ought to sit. The tables are so arranged that the monarch can see all the company, who are very numerous ; and outside of that hall there eat more than 40,000 persons, who have come with presents or remarkable objects from foreign parts, and attend on the days when he holds a court or celebrates a marriage. In the midst of this hall is a very large vessel of fine gold, containing wine, and on each side two smaller ones, whence the liquor is poured out into flagons, each containing fully enough for eight men ; and one of these is placed between every two guests, who have besides separate cups of gold to drink out of.\* This supply of plate is of very great value, and indeed the khan has so many vessels of gold and silver that none without seeing could possibly believe it.

At each door of the great hall, or of any part of the palace occupied by his majesty, stand two officers of gigantic height, holding in their hands staves, to prevent persons who enter from touching the threshold. If any one chances to commit this offence, they take from him

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\* In Ramusio it is said that the large vessel with wine is equal to a tun, and that, beside it, there are two equal to hogsheads filled with milk. This last article is not mentioned in any early edition.

his garment, which he must redeem by a payment, or if they spare his dress, inflict at least a number of blows fixed by authority. As strangers may not be aware of this prohibition, officers are appointed to warn them of it at the time of introduction. Since, however, some of the company, on leaving the hall, may be so affected with liquor as to be unable to guard against the accident, it is not then severely punished. Those who serve the khan at table are great barons, who hold their mouths carefully wrapped in rich towels of silk and gold, that their breath may not blow upon the dishes. When he begins to drink, all the instruments, which are very numerous, are sounded, and while the cup is in his hand, the barons and others present fall on their knees, and make signs of great humility ; this is done every time he drinks, or when new viands are brought in. These I shall not attempt to recount, since any one may believe that he will have the greatest variety of beasts and birds, wild and domestic, and of fishes in their season, and in the greatest abundance, prepared most delicately in various modes suitable to his magnificence and dignity. Every baron or knight brings his wife, and she sits at table along with the other ladies. When the great sire has eaten, and the tables are removed, a number of jesters, players, and other witty persons perform various pieces, exciting much mirth and pleasure among the company, who then all depart and go to their homes.\*

#### XVI.—Great Festival at the King's Birthday.

The Tartars celebrate a festival on the day of their

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\* The reader may compare this festival with those celebrated by the khans in the wilds of Tartary. See pages 70, 72, 79. The mode of arranging the company continues the same. The number and variety of dishes formed a natural improvement in this more plentiful region. The performance of the jesters and actors is a Chinese amusement, of which no mention is made in that rude country. It is only in one sentence from Ramusio that allusion is made to that tendency to intoxication which was there so recklessly indulged, and was not probably here altogether unusual.

nativity. The birthday of the khan is on the 28th September, and is the greatest of all, except that at the beginning of the year. On this occasion he clothes himself in robes of beaten gold, and his twelve barons and 12,000 soldiers wear like him dresses of a uniform colour and shape; not that they are so costly, but similarly made of silk, gilded, and bound by a cincture of gold. Many have these robes adorned with precious stones and pearls, so as to be worth 10,000 golden bezants. The great khan, twelve times in the year, presents to those barons and knights robes of the same colour with his own; and this is what no lord in the world can do. On the day of his nativity, all the Tartars from every province of the world, who hold lands under him, celebrate a festival, and bring presents suited to their station. The same is done by every individual who asks from him any favour or office. He has twelve barons who bestow commands on such persons as they think proper. On that day, the Christians, Saracens, and all the races of men who are subject to him, make prayers to their gods that they will preserve, and grant him a long, healthy, and happy life. I will tell you no more of this festival, but of another which they celebrate at the beginning of the year, called the White Feast.

#### XVII.—Festival of the New Year.

The Tartars begin their year in February,\* when the khan and his people celebrate a feast, where all, both men and women, are clothed in white robes. They consider these as signifying joy and good fortune, and that hence all prosperity will happen to them throughout the year. On that day, all who hold land or any dominion under him, make the most magnificent presents in their power, consisting of gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, and rich white cloths; so that,

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\* It appears by the Tables of Ulugh Beig that the Chinese really begin their year in February, on the day when the sun reaches the middle point of Aquarius. Mr Marsden, p. 331, confirms this by other authorities.

during the whole year, he may have abundance of treasures, and of the means of enjoying himself. They present also more than 5000 camels, with about 100,000 beautiful white horses. On that day, too, he is gratified with at least 5000 elephants covered with cloths of silk and gold, finely wrought with figures of beasts and birds, and each having on his back a box filled with vessels of gold and silver, and other things necessary for the feast. They all pass before the great khan, and form the most brilliant spectacle ever seen in this world. In the morning of that festal day, before the tables are spread, the kings, generals, counts, astrologers, physicians, falconers, and many other officers and rulers, repair to the hall of the sovereign, and those who are not admitted remain without the palace in a place where the monarch can fully see them. They are in the following order :—Foremost, his sons, nephews, and others of his lineage, then kings, generals, and others according to their rank. As soon as each has taken his place, a great prelate rises and says, with a loud voice, “incline and adore ;” and presently all bend down, strike their foreheads on the earth, and make prayers to their master, adoring him as a god.\* This they do four times, and then go to an altar, on which is written the name of the great khan. Then, out of a beautiful box, they pour incense on that table in reverence of him, and return to their place ; they next make those rich and valuable presents which I have described. When all these things have been done, and the prince has seen them all, the tables are placed, and they sit down, when the feast is ordered and celebrated in the manner already explained. Now that I have described to you the joy of the White Feast, I will tell you of a most noble thing done by this monarch ; for he has ordered vestments to be bestowed upon the barons there present.

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\* We find here described that servile homage, called *kotou*, the existence of which is too well known to require any confirmation.

## XVIII.—Robes bestowed by the Great Khan.

He has twelve barons, who are called *quiesitan*, or the faithful men of the supreme lord. He gives to each thirteen vestments, differing in colour, and adorned with precious stones, pearls, and other great and most valuable articles; also a golden girdle, and sandals worked with threads of silver, so that each, in these several dresses, appears like a king; and there is a regulation what dress ought to be worn at each of the feasts. The monarch has thirteen robes of the same colour with those of his barons, but more costly.\* And now I will relate a most wonderful thing, namely, that a large lion is led into his presence, which, as soon as it sees him, drops down, and makes a sign of deep humility, owning him for its lord, and moving about without any chain. Now you shall hear of the great huntings made by this powerful ruler.

## XIX.—Profusion of Game supplied to his Court.

He resides in the city of Cathay, that is Kambalu, three months, December, January, and February, and has commanded that, for forty days' journey round, all the people should engage in hunting and falconry. The various lords of nations and lands are ordered to bring to him large beasts, stags, boars, wild-goats, and other animals. Those at the distance of thirty days' journey send the bodies preserved with the entrails taken out, while those at forty send only the skins, which are employed as furniture for his army.

## XX.—Leopards and other wild Animals kept for Hunting.

Now let us tell of the beasts which his majesty keeps for hunting. Among these are leopards and lynxes, or stag-wolves, well fitted for that purpose. He

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\* The bestowal of robes upon courtiers, however foreign to our customs, is shown by Mr Marsden to be a usual bounty at oriental courts.

has also many lions larger than those of Babylon, of a beautiful hair and colour, striped lengthways, black, red, and white, and trained to catch stags, wild-oxen, hogs, wild-goats, and asses; and it is delightful to see one of these chases, where the hunters go out, carrying the lion in a cage, and with him a small dog.\* They have likewise abundance of eagles, with which they capture hares, foxes, and even wolves; those which are trained to catch these last are very large, and of great weight, so that no wolf can escape them.

XXI.—His numerous Dogs and splendid Hunting Expeditions.

Now let us speak of the dogs kept by this monarch. He has two barons who are brothers, named Bayam and Migam; they are called *cinuci*, that is, the keepers of mastiff dogs, and each commands a party of 10,000 men, one clothed in vermillion, and the other in blue; whenever they go out with the monarch they are dressed in these vestments. In each party there are 2000 of the men, who guide respectively one, two, or more large mastiffs, making altogether a vast multitude. When his majesty goes to hunt, these two brothers attend him on opposite sides, each with 10,000 men and 5000 dogs; and they hunt thus a day's journey distant from each other, and never pursue any animal which is not captured. It is indeed beautiful to see the speed of these dogs

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\* The lion here and elsewhere described by our author is manifestly the tiger. See Mr Wilson's remarks in Account of China, Edinburgh Cabinet Library, vol. iii. p. 393. Mr Marsden (p. 339) observes, that the Asiatics generally make little distinction between the two species. The tiger, I imagine, was unknown in Europe when Marco left it, and seeing it the only wild animal similar in size and strength, he might readily view it as merely a variety of the lion. Mr Marsden (p. 338) mentions, that the Moguls of Hindostan employ small leopards for hunting. There is no doubt, especially after what we have seen done by Mr V. Amburgh, that if no pains are spared, as would be the case here, the strongest and fiercest animals may be brought under complete control. The lion itself, in Bornou, is tamed into a domestic favourite; for which purpose the sultan sent a present of one to Major Denham, who, wisely I think, declined the compliment.



and the hunters, for when the prince goes out with his barons, boars and other animals are running on every side, and the dogs pursuing.

#### XXII.—Falconry and the Chase after Birds.

When the monarch has remained in Kambalu these three months, he departs and goes southward\* to the ocean two days' journey distant. He leads with him 10,000 falconers, conveying full 5000 gerfalcons, peregrine falcons in abundance, and also many vultures; but do not imagine that these are all kept in one place; there are 200 here, 300 there, and so on. The birds caught are mostly presented to the great sire, and when he goes to hunt with his gerfalcons, vultures, and falcons, 10,000 men are ranged, two together, so as to enclose much ground; these are called *toscaor*, meaning in our language men who remain on the watch, and each has a call and a hood to invite the birds. And when any

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\* As the direction here assigned bears upon what Mr Marsden considers the most serious objection to our traveller's authenticity, a few observations may be proper. The two Paris editions, the Crusca, and the earliest English one (by Framp-ton), all make it *south*. The Latin ones by Pipino and Gryneus give no direction. Ramusio alone has *Greco*, which Mr M. translates north-east; but the term, meaning a wind blowing from Greece into Italy, could imply only a small declination northwards. Besides, the station is said to be only two days' journey from Pe-king, which Mr Marsden insists must be a gross error; "for the whole context shows that he is speaking of one of the emperor's distant progresses through the Mantchoo country." I cannot discover any expression that involves such a meaning. It seems to have become fixed in the mind of the learned author, that because the present emperors have their summer residence in that quarter, Kublai must have had his also. He forgets that the former circumstance is owing to their being of Mantchoo origin, and consequently attached to that region, while the Mongol dynasty had not the slightest tie to it. There appears, then, no ground to suppose that the station here described was beyond the limits of China, or that Marco, in visiting it, must have crossed or seen the great wall. Since writing the above, I have had the satisfaction to find my opinion coincide with the conclusion of Count Boni (*Il Millione*, vol. ii. p. 193), who, moreover, judiciously observes, how very unsuitable the beginning of March would have been for an excursion into the frozen mountains of Tartary.

falconer, by order of his majesty, sends forth a falcon, he has no need to follow it, because wherever it may go, it is watched by the men ranged in double order, who can either catch it again, or if necessary afford it succour. Each of the birds belonging to the sovereign and barons has a tablet of silver on its feet, with its name and that of the owner inscribed, so that wherever caught, it can be returned to him. If he is unknown, the animal must be carried to a chief named *bulangazi*, or guardian of things that are lost, who stands with his flag on an elevated spot, and all who have missed any thing go to him and recover it. Whoever finds a horse, a bird, a sword, or any thing else, and does not carry it to the owner or to this officer, is treated as a robber; thus scarcely any thing is ever lost. When the monarch goes upon these excursions, he has with him four elephants, and a chamber prepared, covered within with cloth of beaten gold, and outwardly with lions' skins, where he keeps twelve of his very best gerfalcons, with twelve barons to amuse him by their society. As the falconers ride by, they call, "Sire, the birds are passing," when he throws open the chamber, and seeing the object, selects the gerfalcons that please him, and sends them forth against the birds, few of which ever escape. Lying on his couch, he can view and enjoy the chase. Thus, I think, there is not, and never will be, any lord in the world, who has or can have so much diversion as the great khan.

#### XXIII.—Magnificent Tents of the Great Khan.

When this mighty monarch comes to one of his places, named Chaccia, he causes his tents to be pitched, with those of his sons and barons. These exceed 10,000 in number, and are very beautiful and rich. That in which he keeps his court is so large that 1000 knights can dwell in it; this is for his nobles and other attendants. He himself resides in another, looking westward, where those to whom he wishes to speak are introduced; while there is an interior chamber in which

he sleeps. The two halls have each three fine columns of aromatic wood, and are covered outwardly with beautiful lions' hides, all striped with black, white, and vermillion, so that water cannot enter. The inside is lined with skins of ermine and zibelline, of the highest value, especially the latter, of which a robe suitable for a man would be worth 2000 golden bezants, while a common one would be worth 1000. The Tartars call them royal skins, and they are as large as those of a fawn; the whole hall is covered with them, worked most delicately in intaglio. These apartments contain furniture of such value that a little king could not purchase them. Around are large tents for his ladies, and for his gerfalcons and other beasts and birds; for he brings all his train, doctors, astronomers, hunters, and other officials, so that the whole appears a large and crowded city. He remains there till the feast of the Resurrection, during which time he does nothing but chase cranes, swans, and other birds, when those who catch any bring them to him, and thus the sport is beyond what any one can describe. No baron, nor lord, nor husbandman, can keep a dog or falcon for twenty days' journey round his residence; beyond that distance they may do what they please. No person, too, of whatever condition, must, from March to October, take any game, but leave them to multiply their kind; so that hares and stags become so fearless as frequently to come up to men, yet are not taken. The great khan then returns to the city of Kambalu by the same road, hawking and sporting.

#### XXIV.—Hunting Palace at Shandu in Tartary.\*

At Shandu in Tartary, near the western frontier of China, he has built a very large palace of marble

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\* This and the following chapter are usually inserted in a different place, at the close of the journey through Central Asia. It appeared to us that it would be interesting to introduce them here, and thus complete the account of Kublai's huntings, and his mode of spending the year. The places will be afterwards noticed in the itinerary order, and an attempt made to fix their position.

and other valuable stones. The halls are gilded all over and wonderfully beautiful, and a space sixteen miles in circuit is surrounded by a wall, within which are fountains, rivers, and meadows. Here he finds stags, deer, and wild-goats to give for food to the falcons and gerfalcons, which he keeps in cages, and goes out once a-week to sport with them. Frequently he rides through that enclosure, having a leopard on the crupper of his horse, which, whenever he is inclined, he lets go, and it catches a stag, deer, or wild-goat, which is given to the gerfalcons in the cage. In this park, too, the monarch has a large palace framed of cane, the interior gilded all over, having pictures of beasts and birds most skilfully worked on it. The roof is of the same material, and so richly varnished that no water can penetrate. I assure you these canes are more than three palms thick, and from ten to fifteen paces long. They are cut lengthways, from one knot to the other, and then arranged so as to form the roof. The whole structure is so disposed that the khan, when he pleases, can order it to be taken down, for it is supported by more than 200 cords of silk. His majesty remains there three months of the year, June, July, and August, the situation being cool and agreeable; and during this period his palace of cane is set up, while all the rest of the year it is down. On the 28th of August, he departs thence, and for the following purpose:—There are a race of mares white as snow, with no mixture of any other colour, and in number 10,000, whose milk must not be drunk by any one who is not of imperial lineage. Only one other race of men can drink it, called Boriats, because they gained a victory for Gengis Khan. When one of these white animals is passing, the Tartars pay respect to it as to a great lord, standing by to make way for it. The astrologers and idolaters, too, have told the khan, that on the 28th August this milk must be sprinkled through the air, and over the earth, that the spirits may drink plentifully, and may preserve all that belong to him, men, women, beasts, birds, and other things. But

there is a wonderful circumstance that I had forgotten. When the monarch remained in that palace, and there came on rain, fog, or any bad weather, he had skilful astronomers and enchanters, who made these mischiefs fly away from his palace, so that none of them could approach it. These wise men are called Tebet and Quesmur;\* they are idolaters, and more skilful in diabolical arts and enchantments than any other generation; and though they do it by the art of the devil, they make other men believe that it is through their great sanctity and by the power of God.† I must tell you, too, another of their customs, that when any man is judged and condemned to death by his lord, they cook and eat him, but not when he dies a natural death.‡ I will tell you, too, a great wonder which these *baksi* do by their enchantments. When the monarch sits at table in his hall of state, and the cups are ten paces distant, full of wine, milk, and other beverages, they cause them, by their magical spells, to rise from the pavement and place themselves before the prince, without any one touching them; this is done in the presence of 10,000 men; and the fact is real and true, without any lie.§

\* Meaning that they come from the countries of Thibet and Cashmere. This clearly marks the disciples of Boodh, who have their chief seat in the former region.

† Ramusio has the following passage:—"They exhibit themselves in a filthy and indecorous manner, regardless of their character and the respect due to others. They suffer their faces to remain unwashed, and their hair uncombed, living in a state altogether squalid." Mr Marsden admits that this passage applies to the Indian yogis, and in no degree to the priests of Boodh. It seems a blundering interpolation by one who had some knowledge, but confused and indistinct, of Eastern affairs.

‡ It is difficult to imagine what can have induced the author to make this extraordinary statement. Probably the enmity of a hostile sect may have led them to impute this enormity to their adversaries.

§ The advanced state which the mechanical arts have long attained in China might easily enable the priests to produce this deception. A connexion with some court grandees might permit them to introduce the requisite machinery; for one can scarcely think with Mr Marsden that the khan was privy to it. If there be any truth at all in the conversation he is made to hold, pp. 112, 113, he certainly was not.

These baksi, when the festivals of their idols come round, go to his majesty and say, "Great sire, you know the feast of such an idol approaches, and are aware that he can cause bad weather and much mischief to your cattle and grain. We pray, therefore, that you will give us all the sheep with black heads, also incense, aloe-wood, and such and such other things." This they tell to the barons, who repeat it to the khan, and he gives what they demand. Then they go to the image and raise in his presence a delicious fragrance, with incense and spices, cook the flesh, and place it with bread before him. Thus every god has his day of commemoration in the same manner as our saints. They have also extensive abbeys and monasteries, one of which here resembles a little city, containing upwards of 2000 monks, who are clothed in a particular dress, which is handsomer than that of other men. They worship their idols by the grandest feasts, songs, and lights that ever were seen. And I may tell you that many of these baksi, according to their order, may take wives, do so, and have a number of children. Yet there is another kind of religious men called *sensi*, who observe strict abstinence ; they eat nothing but the husks of corn boiled in warm water, fast often in the course of the year, have many large idols, and sometimes adore fire. Their observances differ from those of every other sect ; they would not take a wife for any thing in the world. They shave the head and beard, wear black and blue dresses of coarse canvass, sleep upon mats, and lead the hardest life of any men on earth. Their monasteries and their idols all bear the names of women.\*

#### XXV.—Palace at Cianganor.

At Cianganor, too, three days' journey distant, the khan has a large palace, where he is fond of residing, because there are many lakes and rivers, as well as fine plains, abounding in cranes, pheasants, part-

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\* The extensive monasteries here described are common in Tangut, upon which this residence bordered. Mr Marsden, pp. 260, 261, has shown that the observances here described are usually practised by the votaries of Fo.

ridges, and other birds. Here, therefore, he has delightful hawking, and abundant exercise for his falcons and gerfalcons. There are five kinds of cranes which I must describe. The first are black like crows, and very large. The second are white, and very beautiful, for all the feathers are full of round eyes, like those of the peacock, and glitter like gold. The head is white, black, and red all round, and they are larger than any of the others. The third species resemble ours. The fourth are small, and have in their ears very magnificent red and black feathers. The fifth are all gray, with handsome red and black heads, and are very large. Near this city is a valley where the khan has ordered the erection of various small houses, in which are kept flocks of partridges, and he employs a number of men to guard these birds, so that they are in abundance ; and whenever he comes into this palace, he finds as many as he desires.

XXVI.—Paper Money—Immense Wealth of the Great Khan.

With regard to the money of Kambalu, the great khan may be called a perfect alchymist, for he makes it himself. He orders people to collect the bark of a certain tree, whose leaves are eaten by the worms that spin silk. The thin rind between the bark and the interior wood is taken, and from it cards are formed like those of paper, all black. He then causes them to be cut into pieces, and each is declared worth respectively half a livre, a whole one, a silver grosso of Venice, and so on to the value of ten bezants. All these cards are stamped with his seal, and so many are fabricated, that they would buy all the treasures in the world. He makes all his payments in them, and circulates them through the kingdoms and provinces over which he holds dominion ; and none dares to refuse them under pain of death. All the nations under his sway receive and pay this money for their merchandise, gold, silver, precious stones, and whatever they transport, buy, or sell. The merchants often bring to him goods worth 400,000 bezants, and he pays them all in these cards, which they willingly accept,

because they can make purchases with them throughout the whole empire. He frequently commands those who have gold, silver, cloths of silk and gold, or other precious commodities, to bring them to him. Then he calls twelve men skilful in these matters, and commands them to look at the articles, and fix their price. Whatever they name is paid in these cards, which the merchant cordially receives. In this manner the great sire possesses all the gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones in his dominions. When any of the cards are torn or spoiled, the owner carries them to the place whence they were issued, and receives fresh ones, with a deduction of 3 per cent. If a man wishes gold or silver to make plate, girdles, or other ornaments, he goes to the office, carrying a sufficient number of cards, and gives them in payment for the quantity which he requires.\* This is the reason why the khan has more treasure than any other lord in the world; nay, all the princes in the world together have not an equal amount.

#### XXVII.—The Twelve Governors of Provinces and their Duty.

He has appointed twelve very great barons, who hold command over all things in the thirty-four provinces. They reside in a palace within the city of Kambalu, large and beautiful, containing many halls and apartments; and for every province there is an agent and a number of writers or notaries, having each a house to

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\* The use of paper money at this period is fully confirmed by Chinese history (Marsden, pp. 356, 357). It is said to have been first introduced by Hong-vou, of the dynasty which preceded the Mongol conquest, and to have been adopted by Okkoday, the immediate successor of Gengis. Kublai seems to have carried it to a greater extent than any of his predecessors; and the Yuen dynasty, who expelled the Tartars, attempted to continue the practice; but it has been long since disused, and only detached remnants are preserved as curiosities, or as amulets.—Account of China, Edinburgh Cabinet Library, vol. ii. p. 247. Count Boni mentions, that the *morus papyrifera* (paper-bearing mulberry) is a peculiar species lately introduced into Italy, though used only for common purposes, and no trial, he regrets, has yet been made of producing from it that article.—Il Millione, i. 89.



himself. They manage all the provincial affairs according to the will and pleasure of the twelve barons. The latter have power to appoint the lords of the provinces above mentioned ; and having chosen the one whom they judge best qualified, they name him to the great khan, who confirms him, and bestows a golden tablet corresponding to his command. These twelve barons are called in the Tartar language *scieng*, that is, the greater officers of state. They order the army to go where and in what numbers they please, but all according to the commands of the great sire ; and they do every other thing necessary for the provinces. The palace in which they dwell is called *scien*, and is the largest in all the court ; they have the power of doing much good to any one whom they favour.

XXVIII.—The Couriers of the Great Khan and their Stations.

I must now inform you, that from the city of Kam-balu, many messengers are sent to divers provinces, and on all the roads they find, at every twenty-five miles, a post called *jamb*, where the imperial envoys are received. At each is a large edifice, containing a bed covered with silk, and every thing useful and convenient for a traveller ; so that if a king were to come, he would be well accommodated. Here, too, they find full 400 horses whom the prince has ordered to be always in waiting to convey them when sent into any quarter, along the principal roads. When they have to go through any district where there is no habitation, the monarch has caused such edifices to be reared at the distance of thirty-five or at most forty miles ; thus they go through all the provinces, finding every where inns and horses for their reception. This is the greatest establishment that ever was kept by any king or emperor in the world ; for at those places there are maintained more than 200,000 horses.\* Also the edifices, furnished and

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\* Here follows a long passage (exclusively in Ramusio) accounting for the great population of the country ; but it bears so apocryphal a character, asserting that every man has from six to ten wives, and owns six or eight horses, that, in the

prepared in the manner now described, amount to more than 10,000.\* Moreover, in the intervals between these stations, at every three miles, are erected villages of about forty houses, inhabited by foot-runners, also employed on these despatches. They wear a large girdle, set round with bells, which are heard at a great distance. When one of them receives a letter or packet, he runs full speed to the next village, where his approach being announced by the bells, another is ready to start and proceed to the next, and so on. By these pedestrian messengers the khan receives news in one day and night from places distant ten days' journey; in two, from those distant twenty; and in ten, from those distant a hundred.† From them he exacts no tribute, but gives them horses and many other things. When his messengers go on horseback to carry intelligence into the provinces or bring tidings from distant parts, and, more especially, respecting any district that has rebelled, they ride in one day and night 200, 250, or even 300 miles;

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absence of any early authority, I have determined to reject it. It mentions, however, correctly, the great care with which the land is cultivated.

\* Government posts for the conveyance of intelligence and messengers have been long and generally employed by Asiatic monarchs. Count Boni even finds them mentioned in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon. We have seen Carpini and Rubruquis thus conveyed across the whole breadth of Tartary. I cannot but think, however, that the numbers here, as in other instances, are much exaggerated. If we suppose 20,000 miles of road thus provided, the stages would still be short of 1000. I doubt, however, if we can adopt Mr Marsden's conjecture of a cipher too much; for in early MSS. the numerals are always Roman. It is also absurd to suppose such a number of horses kept in waiting at every stage; but the author might be misled by the circumstance, that any large mission passing to or from court is supplied with the number wanted by impressment among the farmers. The word *jamb* seems to be the Persian *yam* or *iam*.

† It seems difficult to understand why these foot-runners should have been employed on the same roads with the horse-couriers, who would surely travel more quickly. I cannot but suspect that the former were confined to those barren tracts which did not afford the requisite forage. Mr Marsden quotes Bell of Antermony for the modern practice; his journey lay through the great desert.

and when there are two, they receive two good horses, bind themselves round the head and body, and gallop full speed from one station to the next at twenty-five miles' distance, where they find two others fresh and ready harnessed, on which they proceed with the same rapidity. They stop not for an instant day nor night, and are thus enabled to bring news in so short a period. Now, I will tell you the great bounty which the monarch bestows twice in the year.

XXIX.—The Care and Bounty of the Monarch towards his Subjects.

He sends his messengers through all his kingdoms and provinces, to know if any of his subjects have had their crops injured through bad weather or any other disaster; and if such injury has happened, he does not exact from them any tribute for that season or year; nay, he gives them corn out of his own stores to subsist upon, and to sow their fields. This he does in summer; in winter he inquires if there has been a mortality among the cattle, and in that case grants similar exemption and aid. When there is a great abundance of grain, he causes magazines to be formed, to contain wheat, rice, millet, or barley, and care to be taken that it be not lost or spoiled; then when a scarcity occurs, this grain is drawn forth, and sold for a third or fourth of the current price.\* Thus there cannot be any severe famine; for he does it through all his dominions; he bestows also great charity on many poor families in Kambalu; and when he hears of individuals who have not food to eat, he causes grain to be given to them. Bread is not refused at the court throughout the whole year to any who come to beg for it; and on this account he is adored as a god by his people. His majesty pro-

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\* The formation of public granaries to be opened in times of scarcity is common. The same may be said of the remission of taxes in unfavourable seasons. Besides motives of humanity, these measures are prompted by the dread of insurrection, which is often excited in this empire by intervals of severe dearth.—Marsden, p. 371.

vides them also with raiment out of his tithes of wool, silk, and hemp. These materials he causes to be woven into different sorts of cloth, in a house erected for that purpose, where every artisan is obliged to work one day in the week for his service. Garments made of the stuffs thus manufactured are given to destitute families for their winter and summer dresses. A dress is also prepared for his armies; and in every city a quantity of woollen cloth is woven, being defrayed from the tithes there levied. It must be observed, that the Tartars, according to their original customs, when they had not yet adopted the religion of the idolaters, never bestowed alms; but when applied to by any necessitous person, repelled him with reproachful expressions, saying,—begone with your complaints of a bad season, God has sent it to you, and had he loved you, as he evidently loves me, you would have similarly prospered. But since some of the wise men among the idolaters, especially the baksi, have represented to his majesty, that to provide for the poor is a good work and highly grateful to their deities, he has bestowed charity in the manner now described, so that, at his court, none are denied food who come to ask for it.\* He has also so arranged that in all the highways by which messengers, merchants, and other persons travel, trees are planted at short distances on both sides of the road, and are so tall that they can be seen from a great distance. They serve thus both to show the way and afford a grateful shade. This is done whenever the nature of the soil admits of plantation; but when the route lies through sandy deserts or over rocky mountains, he has ordered stones to be set up, or columns erected, to guide the traveller. Officers of rank are appointed, whose duty it is to take care that these matters be properly arranged, and the roads kept constantly in good order. Besides other motives, the

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\* The last three sentences are in Ramusio alone, and from their tendency to depreciate the khan, I cannot help suspecting them to be the production of the same pen which narrated the rebellion of Achmac.

great khan is influenced by the declaration of his soothsayers and astrologers, that those who plant trees receive long life as their reward.

XXX.—Liquor used for Wine in Cathay.

You must know that the greater part of the people of Cathay drink a wine made of rice and many good spices, and prepare it in such a way that it is more agreeable to drink than any other liquid. It is clear and beautiful, and it makes a man drunk sooner than any other wine, for it is extremely hot.\*

XXXI.—Stones which are burnt instead of Wood.

It may be observed, also, that throughout the whole province of Cathay, there are a kind of black stones cut from the mountains in veins, which burn like logs. They maintain the fire better than wood. If you put them on in the evening, they will preserve it the whole night, and will be found burning in the morning. Throughout the whole of Cathay this fuel is used.† They have also wood indeed; but the stones are much less expensive.

XXXII.—The Astrologers of Kambalu—the Tartar  
Computation of Time.

The city of Kambalu contains, inclusive of Christians, Saracens, and Kataians, about 5000 astrologers and soothsayers, whom the emperor provides with food and clothing, as he does the poor families; and they

\* It is well known that the Chinese distil a spirit from rice, of which they drink plentifully. Yet, from the mention of spices, which they do not mix with it, I incline strongly to believe that tea entered partly into our author's idea, and that, being little familiar with Chinese customs, he confounded the two together.

† This is evidently coal, which abounds in China, but was then unknown in the part of Europe from which the traveller came. If I remember right, Æneas Sylvius, when relating his journey in Scotland, uses the very same expression, describing the weekly distribution among the poor of stones for the purpose of fuel.

are constantly practising their art. They have astrolabes, on which are delineated the planetary signs, the hours of passing the meridian, and their successive aspects during the whole year. The astrologers of each separate sect annually examine their respective tables, to ascertain thence the course of the heavenly bodies, and their relative positions for every lunation. From the paths and configurations of the planets in the several signs, they foretell the state of the weather and the peculiar phenomena which are to occur in each month. In one, for instance, there will be thunder and storms ; in another earthquakes ; in a third violent lightning and rain ; in a fourth pestilence, mortality, war, discord, conspiracy. What they find in their astrolabes they predict, adding, however, that God may at his pleasure do either more or less than they have announced.

Their annual prophecies are written on small squares called *takuini*, which are sold at a moderate price to all persons anxious to search into futurity. Those whose announcements prove more generally correct are accounted the most perfect masters of their art, and consequently held in the highest honour. When any one projects a great work, a long journey for commercial purposes, or any other undertaking, the probable success of which he is desirous to learn, he goes to one of these astrologers, informs him of the time at which he intends to set out, and inquires what aspect the heavens then exhibit. The astrologer replies, that before he can answer, he must be informed of the year, month, and hour of his nativity, on learning which he examines how the constellation that was then in the ascendant corresponds with the aspect of the celestial bodies at the time of the inquiry. Upon this comparison he founds his prediction as to the favourable or unfavourable issue of the enterprise.

The Tartars compute time by a cycle of twelve years, the first of which they name the lion ; the second, the ox ; the third, the dragon ; the fourth, the dog ; and so on till all the twelve have elapsed. When any one,

therefore, is asked the year in which he was born, he answers, it was in that of the lion, on such a day, and at such an hour and minute; all of which had been carefully noted in a book. When the years of the cycle are completed, they begin again with the first, and constantly go over the same round.\*

XXXIII.—Religion and Customs of the Tartars (Chinese).

These people are idolaters, and each person has, for the object of worship, a tablet fixed against an elevated part of the wall of his apartment, having a name written on it which denotes the high, heavenly, and mighty God, and this they daily worship, burning incense before it. Raising their hands, and beating their faces three times against the floor, they entreat from him the blessings of sound understanding and bodily health, addressing no other petition. Below, on the floor, they have a statue named *Natigai*, considered as the god of terrestrial objects, or of whatever is produced on the earth. They suppose him to have a wife and children, and worship him in the same manner with incense, lifting their hands, and bending to the ground. They pray to him for good weather, plentiful crops, increase of family, and other such objects. They believe the soul to be so far immortal, that immediately after death it enters another body, and according as a man's actions in this life have been virtuous or wicked, his future state will be progressively more or less fortunate. If he has been poor, yet acted worthily and respectably, he will be born anew, first of a lady, becoming himself a gentleman; then of a woman of rank, becoming a nobleman, and he will continually ascend in the scale of existence till he becomes united with the divinity. On the contrary, if a gentleman's son have acted unworthily,

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\* The Tartars really have a cycle of twelve years,—marked by names of animals; but there seems to be a mistake in those here given. The most correct list is said to be the rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, and hog.—Marsden, p. 380.

he will, at his next birth, become a clown, and at length a dog ; descending always to a condition more vile than the former.

They converse courteously, accosting each other with politeness and with countenances expressive of pleasure ; they have a well-bred air, and a manner of eating particularly cleanly. The utmost reverence is shown to parents ; and should any child treat his with disrespect, or neglect to assist them, there is a public tribunal having for its especial object to punish the crime of filial ingratitude. Malefactors, when found guilty, after being apprehended and thrown into prison, are strangled ; but such as remain till the expiry of three years, a time appointed by his majesty for a general release, are set at liberty, having however a brand fixed on one of the cheeks, by which they may be recognised.

The great khan has prohibited all gambling and other species of fraud, to which this people are addicted beyond any other upon earth ; and as a reason for this prohibition, he tells them in his edict, “ I subdued you by the power of my sword, and consequently whatever you possess belongs of right to me ; in gambling, therefore, you sport with my property.” Yet he does not, by the right thus claimed, take any thing on an arbitrary principle. The orderly and regular manner in which all ranks present themselves before him deserves notice. On approaching within half a mile of his residence, they testify their reverence for his exalted rank by an humble, subdued, and quiet demeanour, so that not the least noise is heard, nor does any one call, or even speak aloud. Every man of rank carries with him, while he continues in the hall of audience, a vessel into which he spits, that he may not soil the floor ; and having done so, he replaces the cover, and makes a bow. They usually take with them handsome buskins of white leather, and on reaching the court, before entering the hall, where they wait to be summoned by his majesty, put them on, giving those worn in walking to the care of the servants. This precaution is taken that they may



not sully the beautiful carpets, curiously wrought with silk and gold, and exhibiting a variety of colours.\*

XXXIV.—Marco Polo's Journey—The River Pulisangan and its beautiful Bridge.

I have now to inform you that the great khan having sent Messer Marco as his ambassador into the western provinces, he departed from Kambalu, and travelled in that direction full four months. You shall now hear all that he saw on that journey going and returning. When a man leaves Kambalu and has gone ten miles, he finds a river called Pulisangan, which flows on to the ocean, and is crossed by many merchants with their goods. Over it is a grand stone bridge, which has not its equal in the world ; it is 300 paces long and eight broad, and ten horsemen can ride abreast over it. It has twenty-four arches, supported by piers in the water, and is wholly of marble, finely wrought into columns in the manner that I will tell you. At the head of the bridge is a column of marble, above and beneath which are beautifully carved lions of the same material, and about a pace distant is another column, with its lions, and between the two are slabs of gray marble, to secure passengers from falling into the water ; and the whole bridge thus formed is the most magnificent object in the world.†

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\* These two chapters are found in Ramusio only. They are evidently written by one who had considerable knowledge of China. The prevalence of astrology, and the sanction of it by government, the polite and ceremonious behaviour, the tenets of Fo, and the rage for gambling, are all correctly stated. There is, however, a want of distinctness, particularly in the Tartars and Chinese being confounded together. The title of the second chapter refers to the former, while its contents relate entirely to the latter. On the whole there is nothing in them absolutely to negative their being composed by Marco; yet they appear written in a different tone, and considering their absence in all the early editions, I am strongly inclined to believe, that like others they have been inserted by a different pen.

† Magalhaens describes a similar bridge, and agrees in thinking it perhaps the finest in the world, though he insists that it is not exactly on the site indicated by Marco. It was destroyed

## XXXV.—The great City of Geo-gui.

After leaving that bridge a man travels thirty miles westward, finding every where fine trees, villages, and inns, and then comes to a city which is named Geo-gui.\* The country is rich in grain, the people are all idolaters; they live by merchandise and the arts, making cloth of gold, as well as silk, and beautiful linen. There are also numerous houses for the reception of strangers. A mile beyond that city are two roads, one leading westward through Cathay, the other southward to the great province of Manji. In riding westward through Cathay full ten days,† you find always handsome cities and castles, abundance of arts and merchandise, fine inns, trees, vines, and a civilized people.

## XXXVI.—The Cities of Ta-in-fu and Pi-an-fu.

At the end of this journey is a kingdom named Ta-in-fu,‡ with a capital of the same name. It contains many arts and much merchandise, with a large supply of stores necessary for the imperial army. The district presents numerous vineyards, and being the only part of

by a flood in 1668, and not replaced by one of equal beauty. The Crusca and Paris Latin make thirty-four arches; but the French and Ramusio (in accordance with Magalhaens) only twenty-four.

\* This place, called by Ramusio, Gouza, seems correctly fixed by Marsden (p. 392) at Tso-tcheou, not a city of the first magnitude, but exhibited in D'Anville's map of Pe-che-lee, as the point at which the two great roads here mentioned diverge.

† The distances are all given in journeys. Each of these, according to the best estimate the editor can form, may be reckoned at about fourteen miles in a direct line; but this is not quite uniform. The direction is always given towards a cardinal point, without noticing pretty extensive deviations from it. With these allowances, the itinerary will, it is believed, be found extremely correct.

‡ Tai-yuen-fou, capital of the province of Shan-see. Being the residence of the Tay-ming dynasty, it contains splendid palaces, now in ruin; and it is still very populous. Arms in this less warlike age are no longer fabricated; but the neighbouring mountains abound with iron, and works are carried on in that metal.—Astley's *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 52.

Cathay where wine is made, supplies it to the surrounding provinces. It yields also much silk, abounding in the trees on which the worms are fed. A degree of civilisation prevails among all the people of this country, in consequence of their frequent intercourse with the numerous towns which lie very near each other. The merchants are constantly carrying their goods from one to another, as fairs are successively held at each. Five days' journey beyond the ten already mentioned, there is said to be another city still larger and handsomer, named Achbaluch, where are the limits of his majesty's hunting-ground, within which no person must sport, except princes of his family, and others whose names are inscribed on the grand falconer's list; beyond, all persons qualified by their rank have that liberty. The khan scarcely ever follows the chase in this quarter; hence the wild animals, especially hares, multiply to such a degree, as to cause the destruction of all the growing corn. This having come to his knowledge, he was induced to repair thither with his whole court, and prodigious quantities of game were then taken.\* Leaving Ta-in-fu, and riding westward full seven days through very fine districts, amid numerous merchants, you find a large town, named Pi-an-fu,† supported by commerce and the silk manufacture.

XXXVII.—The Castle of Caya-fu—Story of its King and Prester John.

Two miles west of Pi-an-fu is a famous castle, named Caya-fu,‡ built anciently by a king named Dor. In this castle is a very beautiful palace, with a great hall, containing portraits, beautifully painted, of all the kings

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\* This account of Achbaluch and the hunting is exclusively in Ramusio.

† Pin-yang-fou, the second city of Shan-see, not inferior to the capital.—Astley, vol. iv. p. 52.

‡ This place is called variously Chin-cui, Cay-cui, and in Ramusio Chai-cui. Mr Marsden supposes, probably enough, Kiai-tcheou. Count Boni suggests Tai-ping-hien; but we cannot find this place on the Jesuits' or any other map.

who formerly reigned in these provinces. Having mentioned this King Dor, I will tell you a curious story of what passed between him and Prester John. The two sovereigns being at war, Dor was in so strong a situation that the other could not reach him, and was therefore much chagrined ; upon which seven of his servants said that they would bring before him his adversary, and if he wished even alive. He said he should be very much obliged to them. Having obtained this permission, they went to the king and presented themselves as strangers desirous to serve him. He gave them an honourable welcome, and they began their duties with the utmost zeal, rendering themselves extremely acceptable. After they had remained two years, he became greatly attached to them, and confided in their love as if they had been his sons. Now hear what these wicked fellows did, and how difficult it is to find defence against a traitor. The king happened to go out on an excursion with a small number of persons, among whom were these seven. When they had passed a river distant from the palace, seeing that the king had not attendants enough to defend him, they laid hands on him, drew their swords, and threatened to kill him unless he instantly went along with them. He was greatly surprised, and said to them,—“ What mean you by this, my sons !—what are you saying—whither do you wish me to go ?” They replied :—“ We wish you to come with us to Prester John, who is our master.” When Dor heard this, he almost died with grief, and said,—“ ha ! my good friends, have I not honoured and treated you as children ; why will you betray me into the hands of my enemy ! This would be a most wicked and disloyal action.” They replied that it must be so. They led him to their sovereign, who rejoiced greatly, and addressed the king in very rough language. He made no reply, not knowing what to answer ; upon which, the other set him to keep his cattle, as a mark of disgrace and contempt, and during two years he performed this menial office. After that

time Prester John was appeased, and resolved to spare his captive. He bestowed on him splendid regal vestments, paying him great honour, and saying,—“Now own you were not a man capable of making war against me.” The king then replied,—“Sire, I always knew that I was unable to contend with you; I repent much of my former bad conduct, and promise faithfully that I will always be your friend.” Then said the christian prince,—“I will impose upon you no more hardship and grief; you shall receive favour and honour.” Having then supplied him with many horses handsomely equipped, and a numerous attendance, he permitted him to go. Dor then returned to his kingdom, and from that time was a faithful friend and servant of Prester John.\*

XXXVIII.—The great River Kara-moran, and the City Ca-cian-fu.

Twenty miles westward from that castle is a river called Kara-moran,† so large and broad that it cannot be crossed by a bridge, and flows on even to the ocean. On its banks are many cities and castles, likewise many merchants and manufactured goods; and in the country around ginger grows in great abundance. The number of birds is wonderful, so that for a Venetian grosso one can buy three pheasants; and after travelling three days, you

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\* This story is of course given by the traveller on hearsay; yet there seems nothing in it very improbable. With regard to the name Dor (absurdly converted in the Latin versions into Darius), Mr Marsden makes an ingenious and very probable conjecture, that it is applied to the dynasty of Kin, a word in Chinese signifying gold. These princes of Tartar origin had, previous to the Mongol invasion, occupied all this part of Asia. See Account of China, Edinburgh Cabinet Library, vol. i. p. 100. Prester John, an odd and celebrated name, is understood to apply to Ouang Khan, who at the same period reigned at Karakorum and the adjacent part of Eastern Tartary.—See Introduction to the Missions; the Travels of Carpini and Rubruquis.

† This term, signifying in China the Black River, is applied here to the great stream of the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, the second in magnitude of the inland currents which water the empire.

find a noble city named Ca-cian-fu.\* The people are idolaters, as likewise those of Cathay. It is a city of great merchandise and many arts. They have abundance of silk, with cloth of gold of all fashions. I will go on to tell you of the capital of the kingdom.

### XXXIX.—The City of Quen-gian-fu.

When a man has left the city of Ca-cian-fu, and travelled eight days westward, he finds always cities and castles, merchandise and arts, pleasure-grounds and houses; and the whole country is full of mulberries, producing abundance of silk. The men are idolaters and live by labouring the ground, hunting, and hawking. At the end of the eight days he comes to the noble city of Quen-gian-fu,† capital of a kingdom anciently magnificent and powerful, and which had many noble and valiant kings. At present the crown is held by Mangalu, a son of the great khan. That city is rich in merchandise and manufactures, particularly of implements for the supply of an army; likewise every thing necessary for the subsistence of man. The people are all idolaters. Westward is a beautiful palace of King Mangalu, which I will describe to you. It lies in a great plain watered by a river, as also by many lakes and fountains. A wall five miles in circuit, surrounded with battlements, and well built, encloses this splendid edifice, having halls and chambers adorned with beaten gold. Mangalu exercises his dominion with great justice, and is much beloved

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\* Mr Marsden is unable to find any large city on this line. Count Boni suggests Hoa-tcheou, which indeed had occurred to me; but it will not accord with the eight days to Si-ngan-fou. I would suggest Tong-tcheou; for there is no reason to suppose that the river may not have been crossed before its bend to the eastward. \*This site would nearly correspond to all the *data*.

† Ken-zan-fu, *Ramusio*. This is Si-ngan-fou, capital of Shen-see, the residence of the three imperial dynasties, Chen, Sin, and Han. A large palace, and walls four leagues in compass, still attest its former grandeur.—(Astley, vol. iv. pp. 53, 54.) Count Boni thinks it Han-tchong fou; but the eight days from Hoa-tcheou would be quite inadequate to reach that city. He forgets, too, that he would then have forty days to spend between it and Tching-tou-fou, a period much too large.

by his people ; the residents in the district enjoy great amusement in hawking and hunting.\*

XL.—The Province of Cun-chin.

A man departing from this palace travels three days westward through a very fine plain, always finding villages and castles, with men living by merchandise and rearing silk in great abundance. He then comes to great mountains and valleys belonging to the province of Cun-chin;† the people are all idolaters, and subsist by agriculture and hunting, having many forests full of various wild animals. Thus a man rides for twenty days through mountains, valleys, and woods, always finding cities, castles, and good inns.

XLI.—The Province of Achalech-Manji.

After this journey, he enters a province named Achalech-Manji, entirely level, and full of cities and castles. The people are all idolaters, and live by merchandise and art, and the province yields such a quantity of ginger, that it is distributed throughout Cathay, to the great profit of the inhabitants. The land also yields rice, wheat, and other grain, and is rich in all productions. The principal country is called Achalech-Manji, which means in our language one of the borders of Manji. This plain lasts for two days, and we then travel twenty through mountains, valleys, and woods, seeing many cities and castles. These people are idolaters, and live on the fruits of the earth and the flesh

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\* This agrees with De Guignes' statement, quoted by Marsden, that *Mangkola*, a son of Kublai, was governor of Shen-see, Se-tchuen, and Thibet, and resided at Si-ngan-fou.—Marsden, p. 406.

† This province, called in other editions Kun-kin, Chin-chin, Chym, is considered by Mr Marsden (p. 408) to be Se-tchuen; but the distances compared with the map will show evidently that it is still only the southern part of Shen-see, which bears in fact the rude and mountainous character here ascribed to it (Astley, vol. iv. p. 54). This part of China seems then to have been differently and more minutely subdivided than at present.

of birds and beasts ; for there are abundance of lions, bears, wolves, stags, deer, and particularly of those animals which yield the musk.\*

XLII.—The Province and City of Sin-din-fu.

When a man has left this country and travelled twenty days westward, he approaches a province on the borders of Manji named Sin-din-fu. The capital, bearing the same name, was anciently very great and noble, governed by a mighty and wealthy sovereign. He died, leaving three sons, who divided the city into three parts, and each enclosed his portion with a wall, which was within the great wall of twenty miles in circuit. They ranked still as kings, and had ample possessions ; but the great khan overcame them, and took full possession of their territory. Through the city, a large river of fresh water, abounding with fish, passes and flows on to the ocean, distant eighty or a hundred days' journey ; it is called Quian-su. On that current is a very great number of cities and castles, and such a multitude of ships, as no one who has not seen could possibly believe. Equally wonderful is the quantity of merchandise conveyed ; indeed it is so broad as to appear a sea and not a river. Within the city, it is crossed by a bridge, wholly of marble, half a mile long and eight paces broad ; the upper part is supported by marble columns, and richly painted ; and upon it are many houses where merchants expose goods for sale ; but these are set up in the morning and taken down in the evening. At one of them, larger than the others, stands the chamberlain of the khan, who receives the duty on the merchandise sold, which is worth annually a thousand golden bezants.†

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\* Mr Marsden is unable to identify this district. It appears to us that of Han-tchong-fou, which lay exactly in the route of the traveller, whose description very closely corresponds with that given by good authorities.—Astley, vol. iv. p. 54.

† Sin-din-fu is evidently Tching-tou-fou, anciently one of the greatest cities of the empire, though nearly destroyed during the civil war in the sixteenth century. Mr Marsden (pp. 411, 412) is embarrassed by the river, flowing near and even through



The inhabitants are all idolaters ; and from that city a man goes five days' journey through castles, villages, and scattered houses. The people subsist by agriculture, and the tract abounds with wild beasts. There are also large manufactures of gauzes and cloth of gold. After travelling these five days, he comes to Thibet.

XLIII.—The Province of Thibet.

This is a very large province ; the men have a language of their own, and are idolaters. They border upon Manji and many other countries, and are very great robbers ; the extent is such, that it contains eight kingdoms and many cities and castles. There are also extensive rivers, lakes, and mountains, where is found a vast quantity of gold. Cinnamon and coral occur, which last is very dear, because they place it round the neck of their women and their idols, and hold it as a precious jewel. Here are made camlets, and other cloths of silk and gold. There are very skilful enchanters and astrologers, but extremely wicked men, who perform works of the devil, which it were unlawful to relate, they would strike with such amazement. They have mastiff dogs as large as asses, and excellent in taking wild animals. This province was entirely destroyed by Mangou, the fifth great khan, in his wars ; and its many villages and castles are all demolished.\* Here grow large canes, fifteen paces long and four palms thick, while from one knot to the other is full three palms. The merchants and travellers, who pass through that country in the night, take these canes and set them on fire, when they make

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it, being identified with the grand stream of the Yang-tse-kiang. Yet this is supported by the best editions, and even the word *terra* is commonly used in this journal as synonymous with city. The case we take to be, that the inhabitants mistook this important tributary for the main stream, whose early course through the wilds of Tartary was probably unknown to them.

\* This accords with De Guignes, who says : " Mangou Khan named the general Holitai to go and subject Thibet. All the country was desolated, its cities and its castles rased."—Marsden, p. 416.

such a loud crackling noise that lions, bears, and other destructive animals are terrified, and dare not approach. They also split them in the middle, and produce thus so mighty a sound, that it would be heard in the night at the distance of five miles ; and the explosion is so alarming, that horses unaccustomed to it often break their reins and harness, and take to flight. For this reason, travellers, riding such horses, bind them by the feet, and stop their eyes and ears.\* A man travels twenty days through these countries without finding either inns or victuals ; he must therefore carry with him food for himself and his cattle during the whole of that space, meeting always, too, ferocious wild beasts, which are very dangerous.

#### XLIV.—Another Part of Thibet.

The traveller then comes to a part of Thibet where there are houses and castles ; but the people have a bad custom. None of them for the whole world will marry a virtuous maiden, saying that she is worth nothing without having had many lovers. When strangers, therefore, pass through, and have pitched their tents, or taken their lodging in inns, the old women bring their daughters, often to the number of thirty or forty, and offer them as wives during their stay ; but they must not carry them thence, either back or forward. When the merchant is about to depart, he gives to the lady some toy or jewel as a testimony that she has lived with him. These jewels she hangs to her neck, and is anxious to have at least twenty ; for the more she can show, the higher is she valued, and the more readily obtains a husband. After being married, she is strictly watched, and any infidelity is deeply resented. These people are idolatrous and wicked, not holding it sinful to commit wrong and robbery ; in short, they are the greatest thieves in the world. They live on the fruits

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\* Mr Marsden, p. 416, mentions, as well known in India, the great noise made by houses of cane, when set on fire, and which resembles the discharge of musketry.

of the earth, but mostly by hunting and falconry ; and the country contains many of those animals which produce musk, and are called in the Tartar language *gudderi*. That sinful people have many good dogs,\* which they employ in the pursuit of wild animals. They have neither the cards nor money circulated by the great khan, but make money of salt. They are poorly clad with the skins of beasts, canvass, and buckram ; they have a language of their own, which they call Tebet.† Now I will tell you of Kain-du.

XLV.—The Province of Kain-du.

This is a province lying to the west, having only one king, the inhabitants idolaters, and subject to the great khan. It contains a number of cities and castles, with a lake, in which are found many pearls ; but the monarch forbids them, under a severe penalty, to be removed except for his own use ; because, if any one were allowed to take them, they would become worth almost nothing. There is also a mountain, whence are quarried turquoise stones in great abundance, very large and beautiful ; but he does not allow them to be removed unless by his mandate. In this province they have a strange and base custom, that a man thinks there is no disgrace in an improper intimacy between his wife or sister and a stranger or other person. On the contrary, when such a one comes to reside in his house, the master presently goes out, and leaves him with his wife. The visiter remains often three days, and places a hat or something else at the window

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\* Hamilton particularly observes that the dogs of Thibet are very stout and ferocious.—Description of Hindostan, 2 vols 4to, vol. ii. p. 570.

† The country here described is the north-eastern part of Thibet, inhabited by the people called Si-fan. It is extremely little known, but there is every reason to believe it to correspond with our author's description. There is understood to be considerable laxity in regard to the virtue of females before marriage ; but the extreme ill-conduct here stated is probably confined to the great routes, where the resort of caravan-merchants affords temptation to such irregularities.

as a signal ; and the husband never returns till he sees this taken away. This is said to be done in honour of their idols, who on that account bestow on them many blessings. Their gold is in small rods,—the value being determined according to the weight, and not marked by any stamp. The small money is thus made : they take salt, form it into a shape, so that it weighs about half a pound, and eighty of these are worth a rod of gold. They have a very great number of the animals which yield the musk ; likewise fishes from the same lake whence the pearls are drawn ; also the usual kinds of wild birds and beasts. No wine is obtained from vines, but it is made from grain or rice with many spices, which makes a good liquor. In that province also grows a tree called *garofol* ; it is small, with leaves like a laurel, but longer and narrower ; it bears a small white flower.\* It yields ginger, cinnamon, and other spices, which come into our country ; but I have now said to you enough of Kain-du. After travelling ten days you come to a river which bounds it, named Brius. In it is found a great quantity of gold dust ; and on its banks abundance of cinnamon ; it flows on to the ocean. Now let us tell you of Caraian.†

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\* The clove is here evidently described,—a statement which Mr Marsden considers as reflecting beyond any other on the traveller's accuracy. We cannot, however, help observing, that the *flora* of this country is wholly unknown ; and there is every reason to suppose it rich and peculiar. From Turner's account it appears that varieties of cinnamon and of other aromatic plants abound in Thibet ; and there seems no reason why the clove or some plant resembling it should not occur. Count Boni quotes Bissachere for its existence in Tonquin.—Il Millione, vol. ii. p. 260.

† I reluctantly feel obliged to differ from my predecessors as to the course followed in the subsequent chapter. Mr Marsden, with Gaubil and De Guignes, considers Kain-du as Yung-ning-tou, and the route thence to be through Yun-nan to Yong-tchang, on the borders of Ava. Count Boni states, that after much hesitation he yielded to this opinion. I am persuaded, on the contrary, that it lay through Thibet, and then down the highest steep of the Himalaya. The route from Tching-tou to Yung-ning through Thibet would form a great circuit, with the sole

## XLVI.—The Province of Caraian.

When a man has departed and crossed the river, he enters this province, which is large, and contains seven kingdoms extending westward. The people are all idolaters, and under the dominion of the great khan. The king is a son of his, named Essetemur, and is great, rich, and powerful. He is also brave and upright, ruling his country with much justice.\* When the traveller has crossed the river, he passes, during a journey of five days, through a country where there is abundance of cities and castles, with many very good horses; and the people are supported by cattle and the produce of land. Their language is extremely difficult to understand. At the end of these five days, he comes to the capital of the country, named Yaci,† which is particularly great and

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apparent view of passing through that wild country, while there was a direct and shorter route through the interior of China. Between the latter place and Yong-tchang, thirty days are spent, corresponding to above 400 miles, and in which the traveller passes through three countries, one of them containing seven kingdoms; yet the actual distance is only 200 miles. The deflection westward is very small; yet the general line of route is nearly north-west. The rugged character of the country, the stupendous mountains, the abundance of gold and salt,\* the superstitious priesthood, all agree with Thibet. There is, doubtless, reason to think that Yun-nan may in these respects resemble it; yet by no means on so vast a scale. I shall not be able to identify the names of places; but as little has Mr Marsden on his route been able to do so. Generally, they are uncouth and dissimilar to Chinese terms. We shall soon come to a stupendous descent, occupying two days and a half, exactly agreeing with that from Thibet to the plain of India; while Yun-nan, though mountainous, is never described as a table-land. Lastly, we shall see the traveller passing through the very part of Yun-nan here supposed, yet not recognising it as ever seen before, but describing it as altogether a new country.

\* There are no means of identifying this sovereign, whom we cannot suppose to be the son and successor of Kublai; but De Guignes mentions Yeson-timour, a nephew of that prince, who may possibly have ruled in this district.

† This place is considered by Mr Marsden and Count Boni as Tali-fou in Yun-nan, but without any correspondence of name

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\* Hamilton, Description of Hindostan, vol. ii. p. 568.

noble, with many merchants and numerous arts. There are here various sects, Saracens, idolaters, and Nestorian Christians. There is a good deal of grain and rice, yet the country is not very fertile. They make a drink of the latter which intoxicates like wine. Money is formed of porcelain, such as is found in the sea,\* and eighty pieces are worth one bar of gold, or eight of silver. They have pits whence they draw vast quantities of salt, from which the king derives a great revenue.† Adultery is not considered as a crime, unless when accompanied with violence. There is a lake here extending a hundred miles, and containing many large fishes, the best in the world. They use the raw flesh of all fowls and beasts; for the poor people go to the market and get it newly taken from the animal, put it in garlic sauce, then eat it; the rich likewise eat it raw, but previously cut into small pieces, and the sauce mixed with good spices.‡

XLVII.—The Province of Karazan and its great Serpents.

When a man leaves Yaci, or Chiaci, and goes ten days westward, he finds the province of Karazan, with a capital of the same name. The people are all idolaters, and subject to the great khan; the king is a son of that monarch, named Kogatin. Gold dust is found in the river, and on the mountains in large pieces so abundantly that a bar is given for six of silver. The porcelain, too, formerly described circulates for money, but is procured from India. Here are snakes and serpents so huge as to strike all men with astonishment; they are ten paces long, ten palms broad, and have no feet, but only a hoof like that of the lion; the

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or description. One of the appellations given to it in the French edition is Chiaci. I would point out Chiaki in Thibet, which would be reached soon after passing the San-pou, and has near it the great lake of Palté.

\* These are cowries, found chiefly in the Maldives, but also abundantly in Silhet, a district of Bengal. Marsden, p. 427.

† The abundance of rock-salt in Thibet is well known.

‡ Mr Marsden, p. 429, has collected full evidence of the custom of eating raw flesh in Thibet.

nose is like a loaf of bread, the mouth so huge that it would swallow at once a man whole; the teeth are immense, nor is there any wild beast whom they do not strike with terror. There are smaller ones eight paces long and six palms broad. The mode of catching them is this :—They remain during the day in great caverns under the earth, to avoid the heat, but at night go out to feed, and seize all the animals whom they can reach; they also seek drink at the rivers, fountains, and lakes, and then make a deep track in the sand, as if a barrel had been dragged through it. In it the people fix a stake, fasten to it a steel instrument sharpened like a razor, and cover it over with sand. When the serpent comes through the track, and strikes against the steel, he is pierced with such violence, that his body is divided from one side to the other, as high as the umbilical cord, and he presently dies. They then take the body and extract the gall-bladder, which they sell very dear, being an excellent medicine for the bite of a mad dog, when administered in small dozes. It is also valuable in childbirth, and when given to the woman, a safe delivery immediately follows. The flesh also is sold at a high price, being considered delicate food.\* The serpent also enters the dens of lions, bears, and other fierce animals, and devours their whelps, when he can get at them. Here, too, are very large horses, which are carried into India to be sold. They cut two or three nerves from the tail, so that they may not strike with it the man who rides, which is considered disgraceful. These people ride like the French, with long staffs, have arms covered with buffalo hide, and carry lances, spears,

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\* This account of the alligator is by no means strictly accurate; but as the animal was probably not seen but described upon the hearsay of not very intelligent informants, this cannot be considered wonderful. The eating of the flesh of the serpent tribe, even as a delicacy, is by no means uncommon among rude Asiatics. Nor is the superstitious value attached to the gall-bladder without example among ignorant tribes.—Marsden, pp. 432, 433.

and poisoned arrows. Before the great khan conquered them they had a wicked custom, that when any stranger came to lodge with them who was agreeable, wise, and opulent, they killed him during the night by poison or some other mode. This was not out of enmity or with the view of taking his money, but because they imagined that his wisdom and other good qualities would thus remain with them. However, about thirty-five years ago, after that monarch conquered the country, he prohibited this crime, which, from fear of him, they no longer commit. Now let us tell of another province called Kardandan.

XLVIII.—The Province of Kardandan.

When a man departs from Karazan, and travels to the westward, he enters a province named Kardandan, inhabited by idolaters, and subject to the great khan. The chief city is called Vociam. All the people have their teeth, both upper and lower, covered with gold, which thus appear to be made of that metal.\* The men are soldiers, and regard nothing but war; the women, with the slaves, perform all the work. When any lady has been delivered of a boy, the husband goes to bed, taking the child with him, and remains there forty days. He thus allows rest to the mother, who is only obliged to suckle the infant. All his friends then come and make a festival, when the wife rises, manages the domestic affairs, and serves her husband, still lying in bed. They eat all kinds of flesh, both raw and cooked, and rice dressed along with it, and make a very good wine of rice and spices. They have money of gold and porcelain, and give a bar of gold for five of silver, having no mines of the latter metal within five days' distance; by this exchange the merchants make great profit. This people have neither idols nor churches, but adore the master of the house, and say of him, "we are his; and he is our god." They

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\* Count Boni quotes from Martini the account of a country north of Yun-nan, and consequently Thibet, where this practice prevails.—Il Millione, ii. 269.



have neither letters nor writing, which is not wonderful, because they live in an unfrequented place, that cannot be visited in the summer on account of the air, which is then so corrupted and pestilent that no foreigner can live there. Whenever they have dealings together, they select a piece of timber, square or round, cleave it in the middle, and each takes a half; this must be done before two, three, or four witnesses. When the payment comes to be made, the one receives the money and gives his half of the wood.\* In all those provinces there is no physician, but when any one is sick, doctors and exorcists of evil spirits are sent for, who, on coming to the patient, begin their incantations, beating instruments, singing and dancing. In a short time one of them falls to the ground, foams at the mouth, and becomes half-dead, when the devil enters into his body. The other magicians then ask the half-dead man what is the cause of the patient's illness. The demon answers from his mouth that the sufferer has given displeasure to such or such a spirit, who is therefore tormenting him. They then say, "we beseech you to pardon him, and take in compensation for his blood the presents which we now exhibit." Then if the sick man is to die, the fiend in the body of the magician says,—"the spirit has been wronged and displeased to such a degree, that he will not spare him for any thing in the world." If on the contrary a cure is to take place, the devil from the body says, "take so many sheep and so many dishes of rich pottage, and make a sacrifice of them to the angry spirit." The relations of the patient do every thing thus ordered, killing the sheep, sprinkling the blood, and preparing the dishes of pottage. A great assemblage is made of men and women, who hold a joyous feast, dancing and singing songs in praise of the spirit. They burn incense and myrrh, with which they fumigate and illuminate the whole house.

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\* Mr Marsden, p. 440, gives other examples of this rude mode of bargaining.

When they have acted thus for about an hour, the first magician again falls down, and they inquire if the sick man is now pardoned and will be cured. It is then answered that he is not yet pardoned, but something more must be done, after which forgiveness will be granted. This order is obeyed, when he says, "he is pardoned, and will be immediately cured." The company then exclaim, "the spirit is on our side," and having eaten the sheep and drunk the pottage with great joy and festivity, they return to their homes.\*

XLIX.—Of the great Battle fought between the Tartars and the King of Mien.

Now I must mention a very great battle which was fought in the kingdom of Vociam, and you shall hear all how it happened. In the year of our Lord 1272, the great khan sent a mighty captain, named Nescardin, with 12,000 men, to defend the province of Caraian. He was a prudent man, very strong in arms and skilful in war; and the soldiers with him were good and very brave warriors. Now the King of Mien and of Bangala† were afraid lest he should invade their territory; yet they thought they were able to overcome and destroy the whole army in such a manner that the

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\* The precise position of this country cannot be identified; but it is evidently situated on the most rugged heights of the great mountain-chain, inhabited by a demi-savage people. The fantastic conduct ascribed to the husband on his wife's accouchement is very positively stated in regard to certain South American tribes; and it is not altogether impossible that it may exist in some corners of Asia; but it seems more probable that the traveller was misled by false reports. The enchantments described are those usually practised by the priests of Fo, who have their central seat in Thibet.

† The versions present a curious difficulty, whether one or two kings are here meant. The Paris Latin is clear: "Rex Mien et Rex Bangilla *audientes*." The Basle edition is similar. Ramusio seems to make only one, and Mr Marsden considers this confirmed by the context. Nothing can be made of the French edition: "Le roi de Mien et de Bangala ke molt estoit poissant *rois*,—ceste *roi*,—quant il soit," &c. My impression is that the two kings united their forces, but only that of Mien came forward in the combat.

great khan might never feel inclined to send another into the same quarter. They assembled, therefore, 60,000 horse and foot, with 2000 elephants, each of which had on its back a castle well fortified and defended by twelve, fourteen, or sixteen men. The King of Mien came with the above army to the city of Vociam, where was the array of the Tartars, and took post in a plain at the distance of three days' journey. Nescardin was somewhat alarmed, considering how small a force he had in comparison with the host of the King of Mien; but he took courage, reflecting that his troops were brave and most valiant warriors. He therefore marched to meet them in the plain of Vociam, and pitched his camp near a great forest, filled with lofty trees, into which he was aware that elephants could not enter. The King of Mien, seeing the army of Nescardin, advanced to attack it. The Tartars went with great boldness to meet them, but when their horses saw the elephants with the wooden castles upon them, stationed and arranged in the first line, they were struck with such terror that the riders could not, either by force or any contrivance, make them approach. They, therefore, immediately alighted, and tied them to the trees, when the infantry returned to the line of elephants, and began to discharge their arrows with the utmost violence. Those who were on the backs of the animals fought bravely; but the Tartars were stronger, and more accustomed to battle. They wounded very severely with these missiles a multitude of the elephants, which, being terrified, took to flight and rushed with violence into the adjacent wood. As they could not be restrained from entering, and rushing backward and forward through the thick trees in confusion, they broke the wooden castles on their backs, and destroyed all their equipments. When the Tartars saw these animals disposed of, they ran to their horses, which were bound to the trees, mounted them, and rushed upon the warriors of the King of Mien. They began the attack with a shower of arrows, but as the king and his troops still defended themselves

valiantly, they drew their swords, and rushed into close combat. Now mighty blows were struck ; swords and spears were fiercely thrust on both sides ; heads, arms, and hands were struck off ; and many warriors fell to the earth dead and dying. The noise and cries would have drowned the loudest thunder. At length, after mid-day, the host of Mien gave way ; and the king, with all who survived the battle, took to flight, pursued by the Tartars, who killed many of the fugitives.\* When satisfied with pursuit, they returned to the wood to catch the elephants. They endeavoured to stop the flight of these animals by cutting down the trees and laying them across ; yet they are so intelligent, that the soldiers would not have succeeded but for the aid of some of the captives taken in battle, through whose means they were able to recover two hundred. From this time the great khan began to employ elephants in his army, which he had not hitherto done. Afterwards that monarch conquered the lands of Mien, and added them to his dominion.

L.—Of the great Descent.

When you have departed from the said province of Caraian, there begins a great descent, which continues for two days and a half;† and in all this journey nothing occurs worthy of notice, except that there is a great space in which a market is held on certain days of the year. Thither come many merchants from divers countries and districts, some of whom bring gold and silver to exchange ; and they give an ounce of

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\* Ramusio has here several sentences of criticism upon the military conduct of the King of Mien ; but they are not supported by any early edition, and such discussion is quite unusual with our traveller. They conclude also with the erroneous statement that the great khan subdued, in consequence, the whole territories of the King of Bengal and Mien. I have not, therefore, inserted them.

† This immense descent without any previous rise is quite what might be expected from the table-land of Thibet. There is no reason to suppose any thing similar in Yun-nan, which, though mountainous, is nowhere described as a table-land.

the former for five of the latter. None but those who bring the gold can penetrate into the countries where it is produced, so difficult and intricate are the roads. When a man has travelled these two days and a half, he comes to a district which is called Anniz, on the borders of India, towards the south, and then he goes for fifteen days through a region covered with woods filled with elephants, unicorns, and other savage beasts, but not containing any human habitation.

LI.—Of the City of Mien, and the most beautiful Tomb of the King.

At the termination of these wild and pathless tracts is a large and noble city called Mien, the capital of the province.\* The people are all idolaters, with a language peculiar to themselves, and are subject to the great khan.

\* De Guignes and Gaubil think that Mien is Pegu, which, by d'Anville's map of Yun-nan, really appears to bear that name in China, and to this Count Boni assents. Marsden (p. 445), sensible that this would derange the whole itinerary, fixes it in the capital of Ava. I cannot, however, see that such a position is consistent with the data in the travels. In the following chapter, Bengal, in reference to Mien, is said to be, in Ramusio, "*posta ne' confini dell' India verso mezo di*," which Mr Marsden translates "on the southern confines of India," an expression to which it seems here impossible to attach any distinct idea. But the two Paris editions state its position *to the south* quite distinct, and in a different place from its relation to India. The Italian MS. in the Museum says, "*una provincia posta verso mezodi*," Pipino: "*ad meridiem in confinio Indiæ*." There seems thus a complete agreement that Bengal lay south of Mien, which must then lie between it and the Himmalehs. A probable place seems to be Beyhar, always a separate kingdom, and in the 16th century very powerful, till it was taken and its temples demolished by the Mohammedans in 1661. (Hamilton, vol. i. p. 216.) Turner describes the country north of it as singularly desolate. The position of Silhet might perhaps agree still better as to distance from the Himmalehs. These gilded structures, as a new object, struck the Tartars with astonishment; but Mr Marsden (p. 450) shows them to be common even in small cities of the north of India. Those here described are on a very small scale, compared with similar ones in the capitals of Pegu and Ava. No one, I think, who reads Major Symes' description of the variety and magnificence of the gilded edifices in the Burmese metropolis, can suppose the present account applicable to it.

About this city I will tell you a thing very remarkable. There was anciently in it a rich and powerful king, who, being about to die, commanded that on his tomb should be erected two towers, one of gold, and the other of silver. They are full ten paces high, and of a suitable thickness ; the first, being composed of stone, is covered all over with gold to the thickness of a finger, so that to the spectator it appears wholly of that metal. The summit is round, and filled with little golden bells, which the wind, whenever it strikes them, causes to ring. The other tower is similarly formed, but is coated with silver, and has silver bells. By these buildings the king intended to display his greatness and dignity, and they are the most beautiful and valuable to be seen in the world. Between them he caused the sepulchre to be constructed, where he is now buried. When the great khan conquered that city, he desired all the players and buffoons, of whom there were a great number in his court, to go and achieve the conquest, offering them a captain and some warlike aid.\* The jesters willingly undertook the affair, and setting out with the proffered assistance, subdued this province of Mien. When they came to that noble city, and saw these splendid edifices, they admired exceedingly, and sent to the great khan an account of their beauty, and of the manner in which they were constructed, asking if he wished them to be demolished, and the gold and silver sent to him. The monarch, on hearing this, commanded that they should not be destroyed, since the king had erected them to commemorate his greatness, and no Tartar touches any thing belonging to a dead man. They were therefore to continue in the same condition as they now stood. This province contains elephants,

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\* Mr Marsden (p. 450) is much scandalized at this idea of an army of jesters, and endeavours to believe that sorcerers and jugglers were rather intended. The jesters, however, have all the manuscripts in their favour ; and the whole appears to us to have been a frolic, including a display of the facility with which the conquest could be achieved. Care would of course be taken, and is indeed intimated, to support them by more experienced warriors.

wild oxen large and beautiful, stags, deer, and other animals. Now, let me tell you of another which is called Bangala.

### LII.—Of the Province of Bangala.

This is a province towards the south, which, in the year 1290, while I, Marco, was at the court of the great khan, was not yet conquered, but the army was there, ready to march for that purpose. It has a king and languages of its own, and the people are most wicked idolaters. They are on the confines of India.\* The barons and lords of that country have oxen as tall as elephants, but not so weighty; and live on flesh and rice. They have great abundance of silk, with which they carry on extensive manufactures; also ginger, sugar, and many other costly spices. This place is visited by numerous merchants, who purchase slaves, make them eunuchs, and then either sell or convey them to other places.†

### LIII.—Of the Province of Kangigu.

Kangigu‡ is a province towards the east, subject to a king; the people are all idolaters; have a language of their own; and owning the supremacy of the great khan, they pay him an annual tribute. The king is so luxurious as to have 300 wives, for as soon as he hears of a beautiful woman in the country he takes her to himself. The people have much gold and many precious spices; but being far from the sea, their commodities do not bring the full value. They have many elephants and beasts of various other kinds. All the men and

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\* We may again observe that Bengal is not considered here as part of India.

† It seems from this imperfect account of Bengal, and no itinerary being given to it, that Marco did not actually visit the country, which indeed, in its existing relation to his master, he could scarcely have done with safety.

‡ The route here evidently lies across Assam, Cashgar, and Cassay, rude territories to the north of the Birman empire, which has exercised over them a precarious rule; but part has been recently annexed to British dominion. The practice of tattooing is known to prevail in some of these districts.

women paint their bodies, the colours being worked in with the claws of lions, dragons, and eagles, and thus never effaced. In this manner they stain their neck, breast, hands, limbs, and indeed their whole person. This is considered extremely genteel, and the more any one is painted, the higher is his rank considered. Now let us tell you of another province named Amu.

#### LIV.—Of the Province of Amu.

Amu\* is also a province towards the east, subject to the great khan. The people are idolaters, live by pasturage and agriculture, and have a language of their own. The ladies wear on their arms and legs valuable bracclets of gold and silver, and the men have these still finer and rarer. They have good horses in considerable numbers, many of which the Indians purchase and sell again to much advantage. They have also abundance of oxen and buffaloes, because they have extensive and good pastures; in short, they have plenty of the means of subsistence. From Amu to Kangigu, are fifteen days, and thence to Bangala, which is the third province behind, are thirty days. Now let us come to another province, which is called Tholoman, and lies eight journeys from this to the east.

#### LV.—Of the Province of Tholoman.

Tholoman† is a third province towards the east. All the people are idolaters, have a language of their own, and are under the great khan. They are handsome, of rather a brown complexion, good men at arms, and have a number of cities, castles, and forts, on the top of very high

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\* Bamoo, or Bharno, a province known to lie south-east of Ava; but we have very little information respecting it.

† Mr Marsden is at a loss respecting this name, and his suggestion of its application to the Birman empire generally is quite untenable. There seems no reason for not acquiescing in the idea thrown out in Astley's *Voyages* (vol. iv. p. 596) of its being the part of Yun-nan inhabited by the Lolos, governed by brave feudal chiefs, nearly independent, though owning the supremacy of the court of China.—See *Account of China*, Edinburgh Cabinet Library, vol. iii. p. 46.



mountains. When they die, the bodies are burned, and the bones which cannot be consumed are placed in chests and carried to the caverns of high mountains, where they are kept suspended, so that neither man nor beast can touch them. Gold is found here ; but the small money is of porcelain, which circulates in all these provinces. The merchants, though few, are rich ; the people live on flesh and rice, and have many good spices.

LVI.—Of the Province of Cyn-gui and its Lions.

Cyn-gui is a province likewise situated towards the east, and when a man leaves Tholoman, he goes twelve days along a river, where there are towns and castles, but nothing else worth mentioning. At the end of these twelve days, he finds the city Sinugul, very large and noble. The inhabitants are all idolaters, and subject to the great khan. They live by merchandise and arts, and weave cloths of the bark of trees, which make fine summer dresses. They are good men at arms ; but they have no money except paper. There are in this country so many lions, that if a man were to sleep out of doors, he would presently be killed and eaten by them ; and at night, when a bark sails along the river, if it were not kept at a good distance from the bank, they would rush in and carry off the crew. However, though these animals be so large and dangerous, the natives have a wonderful manner of defending themselves ; for the dogs of that country are so daring, that they will assault a large one, and, seconded by a man, will kill him. I will tell you how : when a man is on horseback with two of these dogs, as soon as they see a lion, they throw themselves behind him, and bite his thighs and body. The lion turns furiously round, but they wheel about with him so swiftly, that he cannot reach them. He then retreats till he comes to a tree, against which he places his back, and turns his face to the dogs ; but they continue always biting him from behind, and making him turn round and round. Meantime the man

discharges arrows without ceasing, till the animal falls down dead, and thus one man and two spirited dogs are sufficient to kill a large lion. The inhabitants of this province have a good deal of silk, and a great trade is carried on to all quarters along the river.

LVII.—Arrival at Sin-din-fu, and Journey back to Gin-gui.

Continuing to journey on its banks for twelve days more, we discover a number of cities and castles. The people are idolaters, subject to the great khan, and use paper money. Some are good at arms, others are merchants and artificers. At the end of the twelve days, the traveller comes to Sin-din-fu,\* of which mention has been made above. He then rides seventy days through provinces and lands which we formerly went over, and have already described. At the end of that period, he comes to Gin-gui, where we formerly were.†

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\* Mr Marsden complains here of a perplexity for which there does not appear the slightest ground. He is, indeed, partly confused by a blunder of Ramusio, who speaks of the twelve days as if they were the same as the twelve days in the last chapter; but the French edition distinctly states it as a second journey. Now we have the ascertained points of Bamoo on one side, and on the other Sin-din-fu, which the reader may recollect as identified with Tching-tou-fou; and we have thirty-two days' journey, which agrees with the distance; while intervening branches and tributaries of the Yang-tse-kiang amply furnish the rivers. Every thing agrees most distinctly; and how the learned writer could fly off to Koei-tcheou I cannot conceive. The only difficulty respects the precise position of Sinugul, called by Ramusio Cintigui. I have little hesitation in agreeing with Count Boni, who considers it Sou-tcheou, at the junction of the Kiang with the river from Tching-tou-fou; for the last syllable pronounced hard and guttural, is always made *gu* by our traveller. Here, too, on examining the map, we shall see clearly that, in going from Bamoo to Tching-tou-fou, he must have passed through Yun-nan, and even near Yong-tchang. Yet he in no degree recognises it, and describes it in terms wholly different from what he did in his former (supposed) passage. Is not this a strong proof that his route then was wholly through a different country?

† Mr Marsden (p. 462) yields here to complete despair, and conceives that any attempt to connect this with the remainder of the route as constituting one journey would be quite fruitless. It appears to him that there must be two itineraries, one

## LVIII.—Cities of Ca-cian-fu, Cian-glu, and Cian-gli.

From Gin-gui or Geo-gui a man travels four days, finding a variety of cities and castles. The people are great artificers and merchants, subject to the mighty khan, and use paper money. At the end of the four days you come to Ca-cian-fu,\* a large and noble city, lying to the south, in the province of Cathay. The inhabitants are subject to the same monarch, are all idolaters, and burn the bodies of their dead. They have a good supply of silk, which they make into different kinds of cloth. A large river flows past it, along which great abundance of merchandise is conveyed to Kambalu, with which it is made to communicate by the digging of many canals. Now let us pass to another city called Cian-glu. The natives are idolaters, subject to the khan, use paper money, and burn the bodies of their dead. In that city, salt is made very extensively, and I will tell you how. There is a species of earth full of it, and they pile it up in heaps, upon which they throw a great quantity of water, to satu-

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broken off and the other begun in a manner equally abrupt. The confusion has arisen altogether from the gross corruption of Ramusio's and all the other texts to which the learned writer had access. In the French edition, every thing is connected in the most distinct manner. He arrives at Tching-tou-fou, which he notices as having been formerly visited. He then travels *seventy* days' journey back along the route he had come, and notices having already given a description of it, which he has of course no occasion to repeat. He then arrives at Gin-gui, the same as Geo-gui or Gouza, already mentioned as the point where the two routes divide, one leading south-west, the other south-east. Having completed the former, he now enters upon the latter. Ramusio gives only twenty days from Sin-din-fu, a period quite inadequate. The Italian MS. does the same, though Mr Marsden has not understood its almost illegible characters. Pipino and the Basle editor have made a strange blunder indeed. They have imagined the Cyn-gui mentioned in the last chapter to be the same as Gin-gui, though the places are a thousand miles distant, and all the intermediate itinerary is therefore expunged as an excrescence.

\* Pa-zan-fu, *Ramusio*. This appears to be Ho-kien-fou, a large city of Pe-che-lee, with walls four miles in circuit. It has a river on each side, but at a little distance; these may probably be connected with it by canals.—Marsden, p. 463.

rate it with the mineral. They next boil it in large cauldrons of iron, till it evaporates, and leaves a white and minute salt, which is exported to all the countries round.\* Five days' journey from Cian-glu is Cian-gli,† where are many cities and castles. It is a town of Cathay, and the whole people are idolaters, subject to the khan, and use paper money. Through the middle of that territory flows a great river, on which is conveyed much merchandise of various kinds.

LIX.—Condi-fu—Rebellion against the Great Khan.

In departing from Cian-gli, we come in six days to Condi-fu, a great city, which the khan conquered by force of arms, but still it is the noblest in the province.‡ There is a wonderful abundance of silk, as well as orchards with many delicate fruits, and the situation is delightful; it has also under it fifteen other cities of great importance and commerce, whence it derives high honour and dignity. In the year 1273, the khan gave to Litan, one of his barons, 70,000 horse to defend and secure that city; but when the said baron had remained some time in the country, he arranged with certain men to betray it, and rebel against his lord. When the khan knew this, he sent two of his commanders, Aguil and Mongatai, with many troops, against the traitor. On their approach, the rebel went forth to meet them with his forces, consisting of a hundred thousand cavalry and many infantry, both of the country and of

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\* Cian-glu or Chan-glu, is Tsan-tcheou, a considerable town, still in Pe-che-lee. Mr Marsden (pp. 464, 465) seems to prove that the salt here mentioned is nitre or saltpetre. Count Boni (vol. ii. pp. 294, 295) identifies the two last places with Poo-ling-fou and Moantchin; but we incline to prefer Mr Marsden's sites.

† Though there is no resemblance of name, this appears to be Te-tcheou, on the river Eu-ho, and at the entrance of the province of Shan-tung.—Marsden, p. 466.

‡ Tudinfu, *Ramusio*; Tsi-nan-fou, capital of Shan-tung, and of a kingdom long independent. It contains very fine buildings, and modern travellers agree with our author in describing the environs as particularly fertile and beautiful.

those he had brought with him ; and there was a very great battle between him and those two chiefs. Litan was killed, with many others ; and the khan caused all those who had been guilty to be put to death, and spared the lives of the rest.\* Now let us tell of another country named Sin-gui.

LX.—Cities of Sin-gui, Lin-gui, Pin-gui, and Cin-gui.

When a man has gone south from Condi-fu, he finds cities and castles, many animals of the chase and birds, with a vast abundance of all productions, and then comes to Sin-gui,† which is noble, great, and beautiful, with much merchandise and many arts ; the whole people are idolaters, subject to the khan, and use paper money. They have a river which is of great utility, because the people of the country have divided the stream which comes from the south into two parts ; one goes eastward towards Manji, the other westward towards Cathay ; and the land has thus a wonderful number of ships, though not of large size, with which they convey goods to other provinces, and bring thence an almost incredible quantity of merchandise. When a man departs from Sin-gui and goes eight days to the south, he finds many rich cities and castles. The people are idolaters, subject to the khan ; they burn the bodies of their dead, and use paper money. At the end of eight days he arrives at a town named Lin-gui,‡ great and noble, with men-at-

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\* This revolt is recorded with nearly the same circumstances in the Chinese annals. The name there given to the leader is Litan, with which the French version agrees, while in Ramusio it is corrupted into Lucansor.—Marsden, p. 468.

† I cannot but much wonder that Mr Marsden (p. 470, and Count Boni, vol. ii. p. 299) should place Sin-gui at Lin-tsin-tcheou, which lies *north* of Tsi-nan, instead of *south*, and would be going completely backwards. It appears quite clearly to be Tsi-ning-tcheou, a town agreeing in name and situation, and placed on a central part of the great canal. Though holding only the second rank, the traffic derived from this situation raises it to a level with great cities.

‡ J. Arrowsmith has here Lin-tching-hien, for placing which he had doubtless good authority, though I cannot find it on any other map.

arms, and also arts and merchandise. Here are wild animals and every kind of provision in abundance. When he departs from Lin-gui, he goes three days to the south, finding cities and castles under the powerful khan; the people idolatrous, and burning the bodies of their dead. There is much excellent hunting of birds and beasts. At the end of these three days, he discovers a very good city named Pin-gui.\* The people have all things necessary for subsistence, raise much silk, and pay a large revenue to the sovereign. A great quantity of merchandise is laden here for the province of Manji. When a man has departed from Pin-gui, and travelled two days with his face to the south, through beautiful and rich countries, he finds the city of Cin-gui,† very large, and full of merchandise and arts. The people are wholly idolatrous, burn the bodies of their dead, their money is paper, and they are under the khan. They have much grain and grass. When a man leaves Cin-gui, he finds cities, villages, and castles, with handsome dogs and good pasturage; the people being such as are above described.

#### LXI.—Of the great River Kara-moran.

At the end of two days a man finds the great river called Kara-moran, coming from the lands of Prester John. It is full, broad, and so deep that a large ship can pass through its channel; and there are on it full 15,000 vessels, all belonging to the khan, meant for conveying his goods when he goes to the islands of the sea, which is distant about a day's journey. And each of these ships requires fifteen mariners, and carries fifteen horses with their riders, provisions, and every thing else necessary for them.‡ When a man passes

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\* Evidently Pi-tcheou, a considerable city of the second rank.

† Sut-zi-hien, in the Jesuits' map, agrees as to situation, and has some resemblance of name. It is curious that these three last places are not in Ramusio, nor indeed any other edition, except the two Paris and the Crusca.

‡ This is evidently the great stream of the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, the second in China. The vessels are doubtless

that river, he enters the province of Manji, and I will tell you how it was conquered by the khan.

LXII.—Of the Province of Manji, and how it was made subject to the Great Khan.

In the extensive province of Manji there was a lord and king named Facfur, who, excepting the great khan, was the mightiest sovereign in the world, the most powerful in money and people ; but the men are not good at arms, nor have horses trained to war, nor experience in battle and military operations, otherwise they would never have lost so strong a country. All the lands are surrounded by waters so deep that they cannot be passed unless by bridges, and the chief cities are encompassed by broad ditches filled with water. The khan, however, in the year of our Lord 1273, sent one of his barons, Bayam Cinqsan, which means Bayam with the Hundred Eyes : for the King of Manji had found out by astrology, that he could lose his kingdom only by a man having a hundred eyes. This Bayam marched with a very great force, many ships, horse and foot, and came to the first city of Manji, called Koi-gan-zu, which we will presently describe. He called upon it to surrender ; but the people refused. He then went to another city, which also refused, and so he passed five, leaving them behind, because he knew that the khan was sending a large additional force. He took, however, the sixth by storm, and then successively reduced other twelve ; after which he marched direct to the capital of the kingdom, called Kin-sai, where the king and queen resided. When the monarch saw this great army, he was struck with such terror that he fled from the continent with many of his people, having 1000 ships, and sought refuge among the islands. The queen, however, remained and defended herself as well as she could against Bayam. But having at length asked what was the name of that commander,

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exaggerated, as indeed numbers generally are in this and other works of that age. Mr Marsden conjectures that in transcribing a cipher has been added, and that it should have been 1500.

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and being told it was Bayam with the Hundred Eyes, she remembered the prophecy mentioned above, and immediately surrendered the city to him.\* Presently all the cities of Manji yielded, and the whole world does not contain such a kingdom, and I will now describe its magnificence.

LXIII.—Of the Piety and Justice of the King towards his Subjects.

This King Facfur maintained 15,000 poor children, because in that province many are exposed as soon as they are born by parents who cannot support them; so, when a rich man had no issue, he went to the king and got as many as he pleased. And when the boys and girls came of age, the king married them together, and gave them the means of living; and thus were educated 20,000 males or females annually. He did another thing: when he went through any place and saw two fine houses, and by the side of them a small one, he inquired why the first were greater than the other; and being told that it belonged to a poor man, who could not afford to build one larger, presently he gave him money enough to enable him to do so. He made himself be served by more than 1000 domestic servants of both sexes. He maintained his kingdom in such justice, that no evil was done, and all commodities could be left unguarded except by the royal equity. Now I have given you an account of the king; I will tell you of the queen. She was led to the great khan, who made her be honoured and served as a powerful sovereign; but the king, her husband, never came out of the islands of the ocean, and died there, and thus

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\* The Chinese annals generally agree with this narrative, though with some difference of circumstances. Considering the firmness displayed by the unfortunate queen, we may infer that she had more cogent motives for surrender than the above ridiculous superstition. She does appear to have made little or no resistance. Her honourable captivity, and the attentions paid to her by Kublai's queen, are recorded by other authorities.—Marsden, p. 479-481.



the whole kingdom remained with the khan.\* Now let us tell of the province of Manji, and the manners and customs of the people ; beginning with the city of Koi-gan-zu.

LXIV.—Of the Cities of Koi-gan-zu, Pau-chym, and Chaym.

Koi-gan-zu is a great, rich, and noble city, at the entrance of the province of Manji, lying to the south. The whole people are subject to the khan ; they are idolaters, and burn the bodies of their dead. It lies on the river Kara-moran, and hence is full of ships ; for many merchants bring their commodities thither to be distributed throughout other cities. It is the capital of the province. Here is made a very great quantity of salt, which is supplied thence to forty different towns ; the khan has a large revenue from this and other trades here carried on.† And now let me tell you of another city called Pau-chym.

When a man departs from Koi-gan-zu, he goes a whole day along a causeway finely built of stone, and on each side is a large water, so that it is impossible to enter the province unless by this causeway. He then finds a city called Pau-chym ;‡ all the people are idolaters, burn

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\* It seems somewhat odd, that Marco should adopt so panegyric a tone towards a prince whom he might have been supposed to view from a hostile position, especially as the Chinese annals represent him voluptuous and dissolute. He may have had amiable qualities, and the tone in Kublai's court seems to have been that of kindness towards the fallen dynasty. During the long voyage, too, which the Poli made with the Princess of Manji, and the consequent intimacy, she may have inspired them with favourable impressions respecting her father. Ramusio only has one or two sentences of a different tendency, but they ill accord with the rest, and the facts are more fully brought forward afterwards. The collecting of exposed children, and educating those that survive, is still a practice of the Chinese government.

† This is Hoai-ngan-fou, which quite answers the description here given. The salt is drawn from saline marshes in its vicinity. It is not the capital of Kiang-nan, but, as already observed, the provinces were then differently and more minutely subdivided.—Marsden, p. 482.

‡ Called Pao-yng-shien by Sir George Staunton, who observed it scarcely rising above the level of the waters.

the bodies of their dead, and are under the great khan. They are artificers and merchants, have abundance of silk, and make much cloth of it mixed with gold, and thus earn a sufficient livelihood. Through all that country the paper money of the khan is circulated.

When a man sets out from Pau-chym, he travels a day and discovers a very large city named Chaym.\* There is great abundance of the necessaries of life; fish beyond measure, beasts and birds for sport in great numbers, so that for a Venetian silver grosso you may purchase three pheasants.

LXV.—Of the City of Tin-gui, and its great Saltworks.

Tin-gui† is a pretty agreeable city, a full day's journey from Chaym. The people are idolaters, subject to the khan, and use paper money; they have merchandise and arts, and numerous ships belonging to them. It lies to the south-east, and on the left, nearly three days' journey to the eastward, is the ocean, where salt is made in great quantities. Here is a city named Cyn-gui, large, rich, and noble, to which all the salt is brought, and the khan draws from it a revenue so wonderful that it could not be believed.‡

LXVI.—Of the great City of Yan-gui.

When a man leaves Tin-gui he proceeds a day towards the south-east,§ through a very fine country, finding

\* Kain, *Ramusio*; Kao-yeou, a considerable town on the banks of the lake of the same name, and reaching also to the canal.

† Mr Marsden (p. 485), imagines this to be Tai-tcheou, a place considerably to the eastward; but there appears no ground for going so far out of the route; besides that the number of vessels seems clearly to fix it as still on the banks of the lake.

‡ *Ramusio* causes a strange confusion by making Cyn-gui or Chin-gui part of the route, thus breaking up all the distances and directions in the itinerary. The French version here followed quite clears up the difficulty. The saltworks on the ocean, and Cyn-gui, the shipping port, form no part of the route, but are mentioned as important particulars heard of at Tin-gui.

§ The points of the compass, says Mr Marsden, p. 486, must here be strangely perverted. It is only, however, by his own unauthorized excursion to Tai-tcheou, and the errors of Ramu-

towns and castles, and then comes to Yan-gui,\* a large and beautiful city, which has under it twenty-four, all good and of great trade. Its affairs are administered by one of the twelve barons of the khan; Messer Marco Polo, of whom this book treats, governed it three years. Here are made many arms and other equipments for knights and men of war; for in this place and around it numerous troops are quartered. I will now tell you of two great provinces lying to the west, and as I shall have much to say, I will begin with Nan-ghin.

LXVII.—Of the great City of Nan-ghin.

Nan-ghin† is a province towards the west, belonging to Manji, and is very noble and rich. The people are idolaters, use paper money, and are subject to the great khan. They live by merchandise and arts, have silk in abundance, and make cloths of it interwoven with gold, in all fashions. They have an ample supply of every kind of grain and provisions; for the land is very fruitful. There are also lions and animals for hunting. There are many rich merchants who carry on much trade, and pay a large revenue to the great sire. But I will now go to the noble city of Sa-yan-fu, respecting which I shall have much to say.

LXVIII.—Of the City of Sa-yan-fu, and how it was taken.

Sa-yan-fu is a large and magnificent city, having under it twelve others also great and noble; it is the seat of many valuable arts and of much merchandize.‡

sio's version. The route, as we have shown, lay throughout along the eastern shore of the Kao-yeou lake, which, especially in this last part, runs exactly in the direction stated in the text. —(See Du Halde's Map of Kiang-nan.)

\* Yang-tcheou-fou, an ancient city still described as large and flourishing, though it has only ten others under it. Le Comte was told it contained two millions of people; doubtless a vast exaggeration.

† Nan-king, a vast city, considered as a rival capital to Peking, and even as containing a larger population. It does not seem in our author's time to have been quite so great, Hang-tcheou-fou being then the chief city of the south.

‡ This is Siang-yang-fou, a large city in Hou-quang, having

The inhabitants are idolaters ; they use paper money, are subject to the khan, and burn the bodies of their dead. This city held out three years after all the rest of the province had yielded to the conqueror, who besieged it with a mighty army ; but he could approach it only on the side which lies to the north, because it was elsewhere surrounded by a large and deep lake, by which the besieged obtained abundance of provisions. The army was therefore about to abandon the siege in much grief and wrath, and this news was just brought to the khan, when Messeri Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco Polo said,—"we shall find a way by which the city shall be made to surrender." The monarch, who was most eagerly bent on its capture, readily listened. Then said the two brothers and their son Marco,—“Great sire, we have with us in our train men who will make such an engine as will discharge large stones, which the citizens will not be able to endure, and will be obliged to yield.” The khan was much rejoiced, and desired that they should execute their plan as soon as possible. Now, they had in their company a German and a Nestorian Christian who were skilful in such works, and made two or three machines sufficient to throw stones of 300 pounds weight. When these were conveyed to the army and set up, they appeared to the Tartars the greatest wonder of the world. They then began discharging stones into the city, which struck the houses, broke and destroyed every thing, and caused the utmost noise and alarm. When the inhabitants saw a calamity such as they had never witnessed before, they knew not what to think or say. They met in council, and concluded that they must be all killed, unless they submitted. They therefore intimated to the lord of the host that they would surrender on the same terms that others had done. This was agreed to, and Sa-yan-fu came under the power of the great khan, through the interposition of Messeri Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco ; and it was not

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others under its jurisdiction. The author evidently goes a good deal off his way in order to introduce the achievement of himself and his relatives.

a small service, for this town and province are among the best in his possession, and he draws from them a great revenue.\* Now, we shall leave this subject and treat of a city called Sin-gui.

LXIX.—Of the City of Sin-gui and the River Kiang, and the Multitude of Cities on that River.

When a man leaves Yan-gui and goes fifteen miles south-east, he perceives a certain city named Sin-gui, which is not very extensive, but has great merchandise and much shipping. The people are idolaters, use paper money, and are subject to the khan. That city stands upon a river, named Kiang, which is the largest in the world ; being in some places ten miles broad, and upwards of a hundred days' journey in length. Through it the inhabitants have a lucrative trade, which yields a large revenue to the khan. And on account of the many cities on it, the ships navigating and the goods conveyed by means of it are more numerous and valuable than in all the rivers of Christendom and the adjacent seas beside. I tell you I have seen at that city no fewer than 5000 ships sailing at once on its stream.† For that river

\* The Chinese histories mention this mode in which the city was taken, and that the engineers were persons from Western Asia, but say nothing of the Poli. If, however, as in the French text here followed, they merely pointed out the persons by whom these machines could be constructed, this was a private transaction, which might easily escape the notice of these writers. It were more difficult if, as represented in Ramusio's text, they invented and superintended the whole transaction ; but this we have no doubt is a corruption.

† All the editions, except the Paris, make this journey from Sa-yan-fu. Mr Marsden (p. 495) justly observes that this place is far more distant from the Kiang, and insists that the true reading must be *days*. He even asserts that this is supported by Ramusio and the Museum Italian MS. ; but it is odd that he is mistaken in both points, being misled in the last by the very obscure handwriting. The French edition, I apprehend, again lets us into the real state of the case, by making the departure from An-gui (Yang-tcheou-fou). The descriptions of Nan-king and Siang-yang form no part of the itinerary, but are extraneous objects introduced on account of their great importance. The traveller is supposed to have been all the while at Yang-tcheou, and thence to continue his route.

‡ Strong as these expressions are, they scarcely exceed those

flows through sixteen provinces, and has more than two hundred great towns on its banks. The ships are covered, and have only one mast ; yet they are of heavy burden, and carry each from 4000 to 12,000 cantars. They have ropes composed of cane for drawing them through the water ; those belonging to the larger vessels are thick, and fifteen paces in length, being cloven at the end, and bound together in such a way as to make a cord 300 paces long.

#### LXX.—Of the City of Cai-gui.

Cai-gui is a small city towards the south-east,\* situated upon the bank of the above-mentioned river ; all the people are idolaters, subject to the khan, and use paper money. Here are collected large quantities of corn and rice ; and there is a passage by water to the city of Kambalu and the court of the khan ; grain from this place forms a considerable part of the provision required by his court. The monarch made this communication by digging long and deep canals from one river to another, and from lake to lake, so that a large ship may pass through. And by the side of this water-channel goes a road, so

used by the most sober modern travellers, on viewing the immense multitude of vessels upon this mighty river, which is evidently the Kiang or Yang-tse-kiang, the greatest in the empire.

\* There is some intricacy here. Mr Marsden (p. 498) places Cai-gui on the southern bank ; but to support this, he has altered the text even of Ramusio, which merely states that it lay to the south-east (we apprehend of Yang-tcheou). Both the Paris editions, after describing it, say, " Now, let us cross the river." This plainly implies that it was on the northern bank, which is corroborated by its being the key of the communication along the canal with Pe-king. I have no doubt it is Quatcheou or Koua-tcheou, a large and flourishing place, though not of the first magnitude, and in the precise situation indicated. There remains some difficulty as to Sin-gui. My impression is, that it is the place mistaken by Mr Marsden for Cai-gui, viz. a suburb of Tching-kiang-fou, lying on the river, yet described as at some distance from the main body of the place (see Le Comte in Astley, vol. iii. p. 522). In this case, the route of fifteen miles must have crossed the river to Sin-gui, and then returned to take a view of Cai-gui. In fact, the French edition, after describing Sin-gui, says, " Now let us return to Cai-gui."

that you may take either the one or the other, as is most convenient. In the middle of that river, opposite the city, is an isle of rocks, on which is a monastery of idolaters, where there are 200 monks, who serve a very great number of gods. Now, let us cross the river, and tell of a city named Cin-ghian-fu.\*

LXXI.—Of the City of Cin-ghian-fu.

Cin-ghian-fu is a city of Manji, and the people are such as we have already described, idolaters, and subjects of the great khan. They are artificers, merchants, and hunters, raise much grain, and make cloths of silk and gold. Here are two churches of Nestorian Christians, formed in the year 1278 ; which happened because at that time the governor under the khan was a Nestorian, named Marsarchis, and he caused these two edifices to be built. Now, let us go to the great city of Cin-ghin-gui.

LXXII.—Of the City of Cin-ghin-gui, and of a dreadful Slaughter.

When a man leaves Cin-ghian-fu, and travels three or four days south-east, he always discovers cities and castles, with much merchandise ; the people are all idolaters, subject to the khan, and use paper money. Then he comes to the city of Cin-ghin-gui† great and noble, the people idolaters, and subject to the khan ; they have abundance of provisions, produce and manufacture a vast quantity of silk. And here I will tell you a wicked thing which the people of this city did, but it cost them dear. When Bayam, called the chief of the Hundred Eyes, conquered all the province, and took the capital itself, he sent a body of troops to reduce this place. It surrendered, and the soldiers entered and found such good wine, that they drank till they were intoxicated, and became quite insensible. When the men of the

\* This seems to be the main body of the city Tching-kiang-fou, and therefore treated as an inland city. The proximity of all the three places last named seems proved by no distance being stated between them.

† Tchang-tcheou-fou, near the line of the canal, a large and flourishing city.

city saw them in this condition, that very night they slew them all, so that not one escaped. When Bayam the commander heard of this disloyal conduct, he sent an army who took the town, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Now, let us go on, and I will tell you of another named Sin-gui.

LXXIII.—Of the City of Sin-gui, of Un-gui, and of Ughim.

Sin-gui is a very great and noble city. The people are idolaters, subject to the great khan, and use paper money. Most of them live by merchandise and arts, raise much silk, make cloths of it interwoven with gold very costly and fine. The town is forty miles in circuit, and the number of inhabitants is so great, that no person can count them, and if they were men-at-arms, those of the province of Manji would conquer the whole world; they are not so, however, but prudent merchants, and, as already observed, skilful in all the arts. They have also many persons learned in natural science, good physicians, and able philosophers. The city has 1600 stone bridges under which a galley might pass; and in the mountains adjacent grow rhubarb and ginger in such abundance, that for a Venetian grosso you may buy forty pounds of the latter, fresh and good. Sin-gui has under it sixteen large cities of arts and trade. Its name signifies the earth, and another large town near it is called heaven, and these appellations they derive from their great nobleness.\* Now, let us depart from this place, and I will tell you of another city called Un-gui.† It is a day's journey from Sin-gui, and is large and good, with merchandise and arts; but there is nothing so remarkable about it as to be worth describing; therefore we shall go on to delineate another called Ughim.

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\* This is Sou-tcheou-fou, which all travellers unite with our author in describing as one of the largest and most beautiful cities of the empire. It seems, indeed, to have improved in modern times, and now in gayety and splendour to eclipse Hang-tcheou-fou, since the latter ceased to be a seat of empire.

† Mr Marsden (p. 508) thinks this Kia-hing a town on the canal between the two great cities. Ramusio calls it Va-giu.



It is great and rich ; the men are idolaters, subject to the great khan, use paper money, and have abundance of all things. There is nothing else worth mentioning ; therefore I will go on to tell you of the noble city of Kin-sai, which is the capital of the kingdom of Manji.

LXXIV.—Of the most noble and wonderful City of Kin-sai ; and of its Population, Trades, Lake, Villas, and splendid Palace.

When a man leaves Ughim, and goes three days, he observes many noble and rich cities and castles, with great merchandise. The people are all idolaters, subject to the khan, use paper money, and have abundant means of subsistence. At the end of these three days, he finds a very noble city named Kin-sai,\* which means in our language the city of heaven. And now I will tell you all its nobleness ; for without doubt it is the largest city in the world. And I will give you the account which was written by the Queen of Manji to Bayam, who conquered that kingdom, to be transmitted to his master, who thereby might be persuaded not to destroy it. And this letter contained the truth, as I Marco saw with my own eyes.† It related, that the city of Kin-sai is 100 miles in circumference, and has 12,000 stone bridges ; and beneath the greater part of these a large ship might pass, and beneath the others a smaller one. And you need not wonder there are so many bridges ; because the city is wholly on the water, and surrounded by it like

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\* This is undoubtedly Hang-tcheou-fou. The term here used means capital city.

† This letter of the queen is found only in the French edition. The Paris Latin and the Crusca make it the king ; but, besides their inferior authority, that prince had fled before Bayam came up. Perhaps it was a mistake in translating the French *roine*. There is nothing of the kind in any other edition except Ramusio's, where it is said that Marco made notes of every particular ; but we have already intimated strong scepticism as to the existence of any such documents. The description, therefore, not being by our traveller himself, may form some excuse for its exaggerations. He guarantees it, indeed ; but this can only mean that he saw all the objects to be on an immense scale, as they really were.

Venice. It contains twelve arts or trades, and each trade has 12,000 stations or houses; and in each station there are of masters and labourers at least ten, in some fifteen, thirty, and even forty, because this town supplies many others round it. The merchants are so numerous and so rich, that their wealth can neither be told nor believed. They, their ladies, and the heads of the trades do nothing with their own hands, but live as cleanly and delicately as if they were kings. These females also are of angelic beauty, and live in the most elegant manner. But it is established that no one can practise any other art than that which his father followed, even though he were worth 100,000 bezants. To the south of that city is a lake, full thirty miles in circuit; and all around it are beautiful palaces and houses, so wonderfully built that nothing can possibly surpass them; they belong to the great and noble men of the city. There are also abbeys and monasteries of idolaters in great numbers. In the middle of the lake are two islands, on one of which stands a palace, so wonderfully adorned that it seems worthy of belonging to the emperor. Whoever wishes to celebrate a marriage or other festival, goes thither, where he finds dishes, plates, and all implements necessary for the occasion. The city of Kin-sai contains many beautiful houses, and one great stone tower, to which the people convey all their property when the houses take fire, as often happens, because many of them are of wood. They are idolaters, subject to the great khan, and use paper money. They eat the flesh of dogs and other beasts, such as no Christian would touch for the world. On each of the said 12,000 bridges, ten men keep guard day and night, so that no one may dare to raise a disturbance, or commit theft or homicide. I will tell you another thing, that in the middle of the city is a mound, on which stands a tower, wherein is placed a wooden table, against which a man strikes with a hammer, so that it is heard to a great distance; this he does when there is an alarm of fire, or any kind of danger or disturbance. The great khan

causes that city to be most strongly guarded, because it is the capital of all the province of Manji, and he derives from it vast treasure and revenue ; he is likewise afraid of any revolt. All the streets are paved with stones and bricks ; and so are the high roads of Manji, on which account men may travel very pleasantly either on horseback or on foot. In this city, too, are 4000 baths, in which the citizens, both men and women, take great delight, and frequently resort thither, because they keep their persons very cleanly. They are the largest and most beautiful baths in the world, insomuch that 100 of either sex may bathe in them at once. Twenty-five miles from thence is the ocean, between south and east ; and there is a city named Gan-fu,\* which has a very fine port, with large ships, and much merchandise of immense value from India and other quarters. Past this city to the port flows a stately river, by which the ships can come up to it, and which runs thither from a great distance. The khan has divided the whole province of Manji into nine large kingdoms, all of which pay him annual tribute. In Gan-fu resides one of the kings, who has under him 140 cities. I will tell you a thing you will much wonder at, that in this province there are 1200 towns, and in each a garrison amounting to 1000, 10,000, 20,000, and in some instances to 30,000 men. But do not suppose these are all Tartar cavalry ; for part are infantry and sent from Cathay. But the riches and profit which the khan derives from the province of Manji is so great that no man could dare to mention it, nor would any one believe him ; and therefore I shall be silent. I will tell you, however, some of the customs of Manji. One is, that whenever a boy or girl is born, the day, hour, and minute are written down, also the sign and planet under which the birth takes place, so that all may know their nativity. And when any one

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\* This is undoubtedly Ning-po, near the mouth of the river on which Hang-tcheou-fou stands, and opposite to the Tchu-san islands. It and Amoy are the two chief seats of foreign trade on the eastern coast of China.

wishes to undertake a journey, or do any thing else of importance, he repairs to the astrologer, states these particulars, and asks if he should go or act otherwise. And they are often thus diverted from their journeys and other designs ; for these astrologers are skilful in their arts and diabolical enchantments, and tell them many things which they implicitly believe. Another custom is, that when a body is to be burned, all the relations dress themselves in canvass to express grief, and go with the corpse, beating instruments, and making songs and prayers to their idols. When they come to the place where the ceremony is to be performed, they frame images of men, women, camels, horses, clothes, money, and various other things, all of cards. When the fire is fully lighted, they throw in all these things, saying that the dead will enjoy them in the other world, and that the honour now done to him will be done there also by idols. In this city of Kin-sai is a palace of the king who fled, which is the noblest and most beautiful in the world. It is a square, ten miles in circuit, surrounded by a lofty wall, within which are gardens abounding in all the most delicate fruits, fountains, and lakes supplied with many kinds of fish. In the middle is the edifice itself, large and beautiful, with a hall so extensive that a vast number of persons can sit down at table. That hall is painted all over with gold and azure, representing many stories, in which are beasts, birds, knights, ladies, and various wonders. Nothing can be seen upon the walls and roof but these ornaments. There are twenty others of similar dimensions, such that 10,000 men can conveniently sit at table ; and they are covered and worked in gold very nobly. This palace contains also 1000 chambers. In the city are 160 toman of fires, that is, of houses ; and the toman is 10,000, making 1,600,000 houses,\* among which

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\* This statement, allowing five inhabitants to a house, would make 8,000,000, which must, no doubt, be a great exaggeration. We are to consider, however, that Hang-tcheou-fou is represented even now as little inferior to Pe-king, which it much surpasses in industry and commerce,—and that it was then, in addition, the seat of the most splendid court in the East. Probably,

are many great and rich palaces. There is only one church of Nestorian Christians. Each man of that city, as also of the others, has written on his door the name of his wife, his children, of his sons' wives, his slaves, and of all his household; and when any one is born, he adds the name, and when he dies, takes it away. Thus the governor of each city knows the names of every person in it; and this practice is followed in all the towns of Manji and Cathay. The same account is given of the strangers who reside for a time in their houses, both when they come and when they go; and by that means the great khan knows whoever arrives and departs, which is of great advantage.\*

LXXXV.—Farther Particulars of that City.

There are within the city ten principal squares or market-places,† besides which, numberless shops run along the streets. These squares are each half a mile in length, and have in front the main street, forty paces wide, and reaching in a straight line from one end of the city to the other. Thus they are, altogether, two miles in circuit, and four miles distant from each other. The street is crossed by many low and convenient bridges. Parallel to it, but on the opposite side to the squares, is a very large canal, and on its bank capacious warehouses, built of stone, to accommodate the

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therefore, it was the greatest city that ever existed, and contained not much fewer than half the number now stated. The printed edition of Pipino has only 1,060,000 houses; but, as it gives the same number of toman with the others, this appears an error of the press; and it is otherwise in the MS. The Basle edition has only 600,000; but it cannot be received against all the others.

\* Mr Marsden mentions having been informed by Mr Reeves of Canton that this arrangement is still practised.

† The additional matter in Ramusio relating to Kin-sai being particularly copious, it has been thought advisable to collect it into one chapter, so that the reader may see it distinct from that included in the early editions, and which forms the preceding chapter. At the end, some inquiry will be made whether it really was written by the traveller himself. Meantime, it may be observed, that there is no reason to doubt the information being generally authentic.

merchants from India and other countries, and receive their goods; this situation being chosen as convenient with regard to the market-squares. Each of these, on three days in every week, contains an assemblage of from 40,000 to 50,000 persons, who bring for sale every desirable article of provision. There appears abundance of all kinds of game, roebucks, stags, fallow-deer, hares, and rabbits, with partridges, pheasants, francolins, quails, common fowls, capons, ducks and geese almost innumerable; these last being so easily bred on the lake, that for a Venetian silver grosso you may buy a couple of geese and two pairs of ducks. In the same place are also the shambles, where cattle, as oxen, calves, kids, and lambs, are killed for the tables of the rich and of magistrates. These markets afford at all seasons a great variety of herbs and fruits; in particular, uncommonly large pears, weighing each ten pounds,\* white in the inside like paste, and very fragrant. The peaches also, both yellow and white, are in their season of delicious flavour. Grapes are not cultivated, but very good ones are brought dried from other districts. Wine is not esteemed by the natives, who are accustomed to their own liquor, prepared from rice and various spices. From the sea, twenty-five miles distant, a vast supply of fish is conveyed on the river; and the lake also contains abundance, the taking of which affords constant employment to numerous fishermen. The species vary according to the season, and the offal carried thither from the city renders them large and rich. In short, the quantity in the market is so immense, that you would think it impossible it could find purchasers; yet in a few hours it is all disposed of, so many inhabitants are there who can afford to indulge in such luxuries. They eat fish and flesh at one meal. Each of the ten squares is surrounded with lofty dwelling-houses; the lower part being made into shops, where manufactures of every kind are carried on, and imported

\* Mr Marsden (p. 157) quotes authorities in favour of this enormous size, particularly Van Braam, who was served with one 16 inches long and 14 thick.

articles are sold, as spices, drugs, toys, and pearls. In some shops is kept only the country wine, which is constantly made fresh, and served out at a moderate price. In the several streets connected with the squares are numerous baths, attended by servants of both sexes, to perform the functions of ablution for the male and female visitors, who from their childhood are accustomed to bathe in cold water, as being highly conducive to health. Here, too, are apartments provided with warm water for the use of strangers, who, from want of use, cannot endure the shock of the cold. All are in the daily habit of washing their persons, especially before meals.

In other streets reside the females of bad character, who are extremely numerous ; and not only in the streets near the squares, which are specially appropriated to them, but in every other quarter they appear, highly dressed out and perfumed, in well furnished houses, and with a train of domestics. They are perfectly skilled in all the arts of seduction, which they can adapt to persons of every description ; so that strangers who have once yielded to their fascination are said to be like men bewitched, and can never get rid of the impression. Intoxicated with these unlawful pleasures, even after returning home, they always long to revisit the place where they were thus seduced. In other streets reside the physicians and the astrologers, who also teach reading and writing, with many other arts. On opposite sides of the squares are two large edifices, where officers appointed by his majesty promptly decide any differences that arise between the foreign merchants and the inhabitants. They are bound also to take care that the guards be duly stationed on the neighbouring bridges, and in case of neglect, to inflict a discretionary punishment on the delinquent.

On each side of the principal street, mentioned as reaching across the whole city, are large houses and mansions with gardens ; near to which are the abodes and shops of the working artisans. At all hours you observe such multitudes of people passing backwards and

forwards on their various avocations, that it might seem impossible to supply them with food. A different judgment will, however, be formed, when every market-day the squares are seen crowded with people, and covered with provisions brought in for sale by carts and boats. To give some idea of the quantity of meat, wine, spices, and other articles brought for the consumption of the people of Kin-sai, I shall instance the single article of pepper. Marco Polo was informed by an officer employed in the customs, that the daily amount was forty-three loads, each weighing 243 pounds.

The houses of the citizens are well built, and richly adorned with carving, in which, as well as in painting and ornamental buildings, they take great delight, and lavish enormous sums. Their natural disposition is pacific, and the example of their former unwarlike kings has accustomed them to live in tranquillity. They keep no arms in their houses, and are unacquainted with their use. Their mercantile transactions are conducted in a manner perfectly upright and honourable. They also behave in a friendly manner to each other, so that the inhabitants of the same neighbourhood appear like one family. In their domestic relations, they show no jealousy or suspicion of their wives, but treat them with great respect. Any one would be held as infamous that should address indecent expressions to married women. They behave with cordiality to strangers who visit the city for commercial purposes, hospitably entertain them, and afford their best assistance in their business. On the other hand, they hate the very sight of soldiers, even the guards of the great khan; recollecting, that by their means they have been deprived of the government of their native sovereigns.

On the lake above mentioned are a number of pleasure-barges, capable of holding from ten to twenty persons, being from fifteen to twenty paces long, with a broad level floor, and moving steadily through the water. Those who delight in this amusement, and propose to enjoy it, either with their ladies or companions, engage



one of these barges, which they find always in the very best order, with seats, tables, and every thing necessary for an entertainment. The boatmen sit on a flat upper deck, and with long poles reaching to the bottom of the lake, not more than two fathoms deep, push along the vessels to any desired spot. These cabins are painted in various colours, and with many figures; the exterior is similarly adorned. On each side are windows, which can at pleasure be kept open or shut, when the company seated at table may delight their eyes with the varied beauty of the passing scenes. Indeed, the gratification derived from these water-excursions exceeds any that can be enjoyed on land; for as the lake extends all along the city, you discover, while standing in the boat, at a certain distance from the shore, all its grandeur and beauty, palaces, temples, convents, and gardens, while lofty trees reach down to the water's edge. At the same time are seen other boats continually passing, similarly filled with parties of pleasure. Generally, indeed, the inhabitants, when they have finished the labours of the day, or closed their mercantile transactions, think only of seeking amusement with their wives or mistresses, either in these barges or driving about the city in carriages. The main street already mentioned is paved with stone and brick to the width of ten paces on each side, the interval being filled up with small gravel, and having arched drains to carry off the water into the canals, so that it is always kept dry. On this road the carriages are constantly driving. They are long, covered at top, have curtains and cushions of silk, and can hold six persons. Citizens of both sexes, desirous of this amusement, hire them for that purpose, and you see them at every hour moving about in vast numbers. In many cases the people visit gardens, where they are introduced by the managers of the place into shady arbours, and remain till the time of returning home.

The palace already mentioned had a wall with a passage dividing the exterior court from an inner one, which formed a kind of cloister, supporting a portico

that surrounded it, and led to various royal apartments. Hence you entered a covered passage or corridor, six paces wide, and so long as to reach to the margin of the lake. On each side were corresponding entrances to ten courts, also resembling cloisters with porticos, and each having fifty private rooms, with gardens attached,—the residence of a thousand young females, whom the king maintained in his service. In the company either of his queen or of a party of those ladies he used to seek amusement on the lake, visiting the idol-temples on its banks. The other two portions of this seraglio were laid out in groves, pieces of water, beautiful orchards, and enclosures for animals suited for the chase, as antelopes, deer, stags, hares, and rabbits. Here, too, the king amused himself,—his damsels accompanying him in carriages or on horseback. No man was allowed to be of the party, but the females were skilled in the art of coursing and pursuing the animals. When fatigued they retired into the groves on the margin of the lake, and, quitting their dresses, rushed into the water, when they swam sportively in different directions,—the king remaining a spectator of the exhibition. Sometimes he had his repast provided beneath the dense foliage of one of these groves, and was there waited upon by the damsels. Thus he spent his time in this enervating society, profoundly ignorant of martial affairs; hence the grand khan, as already mentioned, was enabled to deprive him of his splendid possessions, and drive him with ignominy from his throne. All these particulars were related to me by a rich merchant of Kin-sai, who was then very old; and, having been a confidential servant of King Facfur, was acquainted with every circumstance of his life. He knew the palace in its former splendour, and desired me to come and take a view of it. Being then the residence of the khan's viceroy, the colonnades were preserved entire, but the chambers had been allowed to go to ruin,—only their foundations remaining visible. The walls, too, including the parks

and gardens, had been left to decay, and no longer contained any trees or animals.\*

LXXVI.—Revenues of the Great Khan from Kin-sai and Manji.

I will now tell you of the large revenue which the khan draws from this city, and the territory under its jurisdiction, which is the ninth part of the province of Manji. The salt of that country yields to him in the year eighty tomans of gold, and each toman is 70,000 saiks, which amount to 5,600,000, and each saik is worth more than a gold florin; and is not this most great and wonderful! In that country, too, there grows more sugar than in the whole world besides, and it yields a very large revenue. I will not state it particularly, but remark that, taking all spices together,

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\* At the close of this large mass of information, the curious question arises, whether we are really indebted for it to the traveller himself. I have already noticed the complete contrast between the character of the king here given and that found in Chapter LXII., which is sanctioned by all the editions. We may observe, also, that the *present* tense, used in the early versions to describe the palace, evidently as in full splendour, is here changed to the *past*, and only part is represented in repair, the rest being allowed to go to ruin. Yet Marco's visit there could be only a few years after the conquest, when so great a change would have been very improbable. This half-stealthy mode of visiting it with an old merchant of Kin-sai seems to accord very ill with his official situation, which would have opened to him regular access. He would doubtless, indeed, visit the governor, and probably be accommodated within the edifice. The hatred of the Chinese towards the Tartar guards, though probably true, would not we think have been mentioned by him. On the whole, we feel persuaded that he had no concern with any of these passages, and that they were inserted by some private traveller, who visited the city at a considerably later period. There is no doubt it was one who had good opportunities of observation; indeed, his character of the king accords better with Chinese history than that of Marco's, who, as formerly observed, had been somehow biassed on this subject. Former insertions seemed to bear the marks of a churchman; but this, we think, comes from a merchant,—a peculiarly copious detail being given both of the transactions and social habits of that class. We know not even if there be elsewhere so full an account of the mode of spending life among the most opulent class of the Chinese.

they pay  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., which is levied too on all other merchandise. Large taxes are also derived from wine, rice, coal, and from the twelve arts, which, as already mentioned, have each twelve thousand stations. On every thing a duty is imposed; and on silk especially and other articles is paid ten per cent. But I, Marco Polo, tell you, because I have often heard the account of it, that the revenue on all these commodities amounts every year to 210 tomans, or 14,700,000 saiks, and that is the most enormous amount of money that ever was heard of, and yet is paid by only the ninth part of the province of Manji.\* Now let us depart from this city of Kin-sai, and go to another called Tam-pin-gui.

LXXVII.—Tam-pin-gui and other Cities.

When a man departs from Kin-sai, and goes a day to the south-east, he finds always most pleasant houses and gardens, and all the means of living in great abundance. At the end of the day he discovers the city already named,† which is very large and beautiful, and is dependent on Kin-sai. The people are subject to the khan, use paper money, are idolaters, and burn the bodies of their dead in the manner already described. They live by merchandise and arts, and have an ample supply of provisions. And when a man goes three days to the south-east, seeing very large

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\* The florin being estimated by Mr Marsden at ten shillings sterling, this makes £7,350,000. Both Du Halde and Macartney reckon the present amount at about £66,000,000 (*Account of China*, Edinburgh Cabinet Library, vol. ii. p. 183); and as the southern provinces are much the most productive, and Kin-sai doubtless superior to any other, there appears no very great exaggeration. The amazement with which the traveller is struck, and which was equally felt in Europe, may be understood, when we consider that the revenues of its greatest princes were in that age very slender, perhaps in few cases amounting to a million sterling.

† Mr Marsden is unable to find a city on this site, and I cannot concur with Count Boni in thinking it Fu-yang, which is much more than a day's journey from the capital. The Jesuits' map has the mark of a town at the proper place, but without any name.

cities and castles, and much trade, he comes to the city of Un-gui,\* under the government of Kin-sai, and otherwise like the former. When he departs from Un-gui and goes two days south-east, he every where perceives towns and castles, so that he seems to be going through a city. Every thing is in abundance ; and here are the largest and longest canes in all the country, for know that some are four palms in circuit and fifteen paces long.† At the end of the two days he comes to Chen-gui,‡ which is large and beautiful. The people, who are idolaters, are under the great khan and the jurisdiction of Kin-sai, and have abundance of silk and provisions. In going four days south-east he finds cities and castles, and all things in the utmost plenty. There are birds and beasts for the chase, with lions very large and fierce. Throughout all the province of Manji there are neither sheep nor lambs, but oxen, goats, and hogs in great variety. At the end of the four days he finds Cian-cian,§ a town situated on a mountain, which divides the river into two parts, each flowing in a different direction. The people are like the former ; and, at the end of three days more we reach the city of Can-giu,|| large and beautiful ; and

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\* U-gui, *Ramusio*. Mr Marsden, again at a loss, suggests Hou-tcheou, at which the Count justly wonders, it being in the completely opposite direction ; but I am convinced that this is Fu-yang.

† Martini and Du Halde agree as to the luxuriance of the canes which grow in Tche-kiang. Marsden, p. 548. Boni, vol. ii. p. 344.

‡ Gen-gui, *Ramusio*. Mr Marsden thinks it Tchu-ki ; but it appears to me clearly Yen-tcheou-fou. Both the name and position closely agree. Further remarks will be made in the next note.

§ Zen-gian, *Ramusio*. Mr Marsden considers it clear that this is Yen-tcheou-fou. We would observe, however, that ten days have been spent in coming from the capital,—a distance on this supposition of only seventy miles. On the other hand, the journey hence to Kien-ning-fou is about 220 miles, yet occupies only nine days. If we are to attach any credit then to our traveller's statements, this place must be Kiu-tcheou, which the French name resembles, and Z in the Venetian dialect is identical with G or K.

|| Gie-za, *Ramusio*. This, I apprehend, must be one of the frontier-places between Kiu-tcheou and Fo-kien ; perhaps Kiang-

this is the last under the jurisdiction of Kin-sai ; for now commences another kingdom, which is one of the nine parts of Manji, and is called Fu-gui.

#### LXXVIII.—The Kingdom of Fu-gui.

When a man goes from the last-mentioned city of Kin-sai he enters the kingdom of Fu-gui ;\* and, after travelling seven days, he finds houses and villages, the inhabitants of which are all idolaters, and under the jurisdiction of Fu-gui. They have provisions in great abundance, with numerous wild beasts for hunting ; also large and fierce lions. They have ample supplies of ginger and galanga, so that for a Venetian grosso you can buy eighty pounds. And there is a fruit or flower having the appearance of saffron, and though not really so, yet of equal value, being much employed in manufacture. They eat the flesh of the filthiest animals, and even that of a man, provided he has not died a natural death ; but if he has been killed, they account his flesh extremely delicate. When they go to war they cut their hair very close, and paint their faces an azure colour like the iron of a lance. They fight all on foot except their chief ; and are the most cruel race in the world, because they go about the whole day killing men, drinking their blood, and eating their flesh.†

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chan-fui, which much resembles the French name. Mr Marsden maintains that it must be Kiu-tcheou itself, as being a frontier-city ; but he forgets that it borders on Kiang-see ; while Fo-kien is the province now to be entered.

\* This is the French name and the most correct, while Ramusio has Concha ; and it is curious that the former version gives it that name in a subsequent chapter.

† Mr Marsden is appalled at the mention of such a people in the most civilized part of China, and has recourse to his favourite hypothesis of a transposition of notes, causing to be applied to them what was true only of certain tribes of Sumatra. He does not seem aware that some parts of Fo-kien rank with the rudest portions of the empire, in whose weakened state it was not unlikely that such races might still find harbour there. We shall soon see how difficult even Kublai found it to keep them in subjection. They still bear a rude, bold, independent character, quite unlike that of the other Chinese (Account of China, Edinburgh Cabinet Library, vol. ii. pp. 368, 369). The

## LXXIX.—Of the Cities of Que-lin-fu and Un-quem.

In the middle of these seven days you come to a city called Que-lin-fu,\* which is very large and beautiful, subject to the great khan. It has three bridges, the largest and most magnificent in the world; for each is a mile long and ten paces broad, and all supported by columns of marble. The people live by merchandise and arts, and have abundance of silk and ginger. The ladies here are very beautiful. They have another strange thing, hens that have no feathers, but skins like a cat.† They lay eggs like those of our hens, and are very good eating. And in the remainder of the seven days' journey we discover many cities and castles, merchants and merchandise, and men of art. There are lions, great and fierce, doing much injury to the passengers, who on this account cannot travel without imminent danger. At the end of the journey is found a city called Un-quem,‡ where there is made such a quantity of sugar, that the whole court of the khan is thence supplied, which is worth a vast treasure. Beyond it is the large city of Fu-gui, capital of this kingdom.

## LXXX.—Of the City of Fu-gui.

Fu-gui,§ as just stated, is the capital of the kingdom of

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asserted cannibalism was probably an exaggeration, suggested by the fears of the people.

\* Kien-ning-fou, on the river Min, which Martini describes as equal in magnitude to the capital, though much injured during the recent wars. He notices, too, its magnificent bridges.

† It has been impossible to find any confirmation of this account; though Du Halde mentions a small species in Se-tchuen (probably the same) with a woolly covering similar to that of sheep.

‡ Commentators have not been able to find this city. Ming-tsing agrees very exactly as to site, and we imagine must be the place, though there is no resemblance of name.

§ Instead of this Ramusio has Kan-giu, which, as our traveller's *giu* corresponds with *tcheou*, is just the Chinese name for Canton, thus strangely confounded with Fou-tcheou-fou. I have no doubt it is a gross modern interpolation, after the Portuguese had brought the former place strongly to the view of Europeans. Some one then thought it would improve the

Con-cha, which is one of the nine parts of Manji. In that city is much merchandise and art ; the people are idolatrous, and subject to the great khan. He keeps there a strong army, because the towns and castles often revolt, and whenever they do so the troops hasten thither, take, and destroy them. Through the middle of that city flows a river a mile broad ; here much sugar is made, and an extensive trade is carried on in precious stones and pearls, which are brought by merchants from India and its isles. It is also near the port of Zai-tun on the ocean, whither come many ships from Hindostan with much merchandise ; and they ascend by the great river to Fu-gui. The people have abundance of all things necessary for subsistence ; fine gardens, with good fruit ; and the city is wonderfully well ordered in all respects. But we will now go on to other matters.

LXXXI.—Of the most noble Port of Zai-tun, and of Ti-min-gui.

When one departs from Fu-gui, passes the river, and goes five days south-east, he finds cities and castles, where there is abundance of all things, woods, birds, and beasts, with the tree which bears camphor. The people are all idolaters, under the great khan and the jurisdiction of Fu-gui. At the end of the five days he finds a city called Zai-tun,\* which is a noble port, where all the ships of India arrive, and for one laden with pepper which comes from Alexandria to be sold throughout Christendom, there go to that city a hundred. It is one of the two best ports in the world, and the most frequented by merchants and merchandise. Know, too,

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work to insert it, not aware that he was placing it 500 miles from its real position. I cannot but wonder that Mr Marsden should attempt any defence of such a reading. He urges that Canton was unknown for 200 years after the narrative was written ; but it was well known at least 50 years before Ramusio's edition, which alone contains this reading. The description here given of Fou-tcheou-fou, the capital of Fo-kien, appears perfectly correct.

We agree with Mr Marsden in thinking Zai-tun to be the celebrated port of Amoy, still one of the most considerable in the empire.



that the khan draws thence a large revenue, because all the ships from India pay upon their several kinds of goods, stones, and pearls, ten per cent., that is one in ten. The ships take for their freight, on small merchandise, thirty per cent. ; on pepper, forty-four ; on lignum, aloes, sandalwood, and other bulky articles, forty ; so that merchants, between the freight and the duty, pay a full half of all commodities brought into that port. Those of this country are all idolaters, and have great abundance of every thing necessary for the human body. In that province is a city, named Ti-min-gui,\* where they make the most beautiful cups in the world ; they are of porcelain, and are manufactured in no other part of the earth besides that city ; for a Venetian grosso you may purchase three cups of this most elegant ware. The people of Fu-gui have a language of their own. Now, I have told you of this kingdom, which is one of the nine, and the great khan draws from it as much duty and revenue as from that of Kin-sai. We have not told you of the nine kingdoms of Manji, but only of three, Manji, Kin-sai, and Fu-gui, and of these you have heard fully ; but the others I cannot now describe, because it would be too tedious, and our book has not yet treated of other things which I wish to write about ; for I have to tell you of the Indians, who are well worthy of being known. Their country contains many wonderful things found in none of the other parts of the world, which it will be good and profitable to write. And, I assure you, Marco remained so long in

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\* Mr Marsden and Count Boni consider this to be Ting-tcheou, a large city in the upper part of Fo-kien, though it is known that the manufacture, in a fine shape, is now wholly confined to King-te-tching, in Kiang-see. The former imagines that it may have been transferred from the one place to the other, through the exhaustion of materials. To myself there appears no doubt that the place alluded to is no other than King-te-tching itself. The names greatly resemble ; and though not in Fo-kien, it is on the immediate border. The traveller, writing from hearsay, could not be expected to be rigidly accurate as to such a point ; nor is it even certain if the limits of the provinces were then exactly what they now are.

India, and saw so much of its produce, customs, and merchandise, that no man could better tell the truth. Therefore I will put them in writing, precisely as Messer Marco truly said them to me.\*

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\* This second introduction of himself by Rusticians exists only in the French edition. Even the Crusca condenses the whole into one sentence, beginning, "I, Marco Polo," &c. Ramusio somewhat expands it, but still showing only the traveller himself in the third person. I have inserted it, however, being inclined to consider it genuine. Ramusio speaks of a sea-chart of the coasts of India, of which no mention occurs in any other edition. This account of India will form the third part of the present volume.