

# MARITIME SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE VIEW FROM TANG-SONG CHINA



Stylized image of a Song Dynasty Chinese junk from a 13th century painting.  
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# Maritime Southeast Asia: The View from Tang-Song China<sup>1</sup>

Geoffrey Goble

## INTRODUCTION

The following are annotated, critical translations of monographs from the *Older* and *Newer Tang Histories* concerning the foreign peoples and kingdoms of Maritime Southeast Asia.<sup>2</sup> Both compiled from materials produced at the cusp of Śrivijaya's ascendancy in the region, these Chinese texts are two of the most important sources for our understanding of the early peoples and polities of Maritime Southeast Asia. These passages have provided the basis of much that has been written concerning these early kingdoms, but they are here presented for the first time in their entirety.<sup>3</sup> These translations should prove valuable to researchers of Maritime Southeast Asia who do not work in Chinese language materials. With this audience in mind I will refrain from interpreting the information concerning local economies, cultural practice, and the like that these sources provide and instead address the nature of the sources themselves.<sup>4</sup>

The materials translated here are drawn from the *Older Tang History* (*Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書) and the *Newer Tang History* (*Xin Tangshu* 新唐書). These works are from a genre of Chinese text commonly referred to today as 'Standard Histories' (*zhengshi* 正史). Although varying widely in style, content, and manner of production, the Standard Histories typically serve as the official history of a given dynasty produced under the auspices of its successor. Although not true universally of Standard Histories, such is the case here. Both the *Older* and *Newer Tang History* are largely based on documents produced during the Tang Dynasty (618–907), the main genre of which were contemporary national histories

1 I would like to extend my gratitude to Andrea Acri, whose solicitation provided the impetus for this work and whose careful reading and considered editorial suggestions were invaluable in improving the overall quality of this work.

2 'Maritime Asia' herein refers to the geographical area of the Indo-Pacific region and including island Southeast Asia, the Malay Peninsula, and the South China Sea littorals of mainland Southeast Asia.

3 That is, the entirety of the contents that pertain to Maritime Southeast Asia. Material concerning non-Han persons from the interior of the Asian continent is not included here. Also not included are the accounts of the Indic region, with the exception of Zhanbo in contemporary Bihar and the region of contemporary Burma. This decision is primarily based on the fact that these regions are generally treated differently by the compilers of the Standard Histories.

4 I have provided equivalencies and local names for the regions described in these. Many of these remain speculative. George Coedès's (1968) *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* is still the standard references source for much of the information concerning locations and local place names, and I rely on it here.

(*guoshi* 國史) and veritable records (*shilu* 實錄).<sup>5</sup> The veritable records were themselves products of functionaries in the imperial Chinese government who composed them on the basis of an assortment of texts—court diaries (*qijuzhi* 起居注), confidential government records (*shizhengji* 時政記), daily calendars (*rili* 日曆), and so forth. Largely based on Tang Dynasty national histories and veritable records, both the *Older* and *Newer Tang History* were produced by scholar-officials working within the governments of successor states to the Tang, the former from the Later Jin 後晉 Dynasty (936–947) and the latter from the Song 宋 Dynasty (960–1279). Consequently, the *Older* and *Newer Tang History* are best understood as products of compositional and editorial processes spanning centuries.

The importance of these sources to scholars of Maritime Southeast Asia rests in the fact that the Chinese documents are often the only written sources available to us—in several cases, the only sources at all—for the peoples, cultures, and polities of the region at the time. As such, they are often relied upon in order to gain an understanding of Maritime Southeast Asia in the first millennium of the Common Era. But, however valuable the Chinese sources may be in this regard, they cannot be treated uncritically. We must remain mindful of the fact that they were produced through elaborate processes of transcription, editing, compilation, and redaction. In order to better understand what these sources can tell us about the peoples of Maritime Southeast Asia, we must first recognize the cultural and epistemic forces that shape their representation in the Chinese texts.

When one considers the nature of these sources, the particular epistemic and ideological conditions under which they were produced and which they reflect become more significant. In short, the excerpts of the Tang Standard Histories translated here do not tell us (only) about the peoples and polities of Maritime Southeast Asia. They are also sources for Chinese perceptions of those people and places. Still, we must bear in mind that there was no monolithic Chinese view of the world beyond the borders of the Sinitic Imperium. As an ethnically and culturally diverse kingdom, perceptions of foreign polities, peoples, customs, and goods were certainly as various in the Tang and Song Dynasties as they are in any contemporary society. What is presented here are merely snapshots, periscopes if you will, revealing certain perspectives on Maritime Southeast Asia as contained in particular textual resources.

The excerpts from the monographs translated below contain not only historical data concerning the kingdoms and peoples of Maritime Southeast Asia, but also represent the ideological commitments of the scholarly elite, to whom we might apply the label ‘Confucian’. Yet even this class of elite Chinese society was not an homogenous group. There are two Standard Histories for the Tang Dynasty: the *Older Tang History* and the *Newer Tang History*. Although both were produced by Confucian educated literati, the former work represents a somewhat more liberal position among the educated elite while the latter may be characterized as more conservative. The first of the Tang Standard Histories, now referred to as the *Older Tang History*, was produced in the first half of the 10th

5 Only contemporary national histories up to 745 and veritable records up to 840 were available to the compilers of the Tang Standard Histories. Owing to the reliance on and uneven availability of these sources by the Song Dynasty compilers, the Tang Standard Histories are uneven in their treatment of the Tang, with the first two centuries of the dynasty more fully represented than the final 100 years of the Tang Dynasty.

century after the collapse of the Tang Empire in 906. The *Newer Tang History*, produced in the early 11th century under the editorial direction of Ou Yangxiu 歐陽修 (1007–72), was intended to supersede the earlier work. The *Newer Tang History* is the more conservative of the two, written in a more archaic style and often evincing a more chauvinistic tone than the *Older Tang History*. Both are part anomaly account (*zhiguai* 志怪),<sup>6</sup> part intelligence brief, part diplomatic dossier, and part history. Both also serve to implicitly and explicitly reaffirm Han cultural and political superiority vis-à-vis the non-Han peoples of Southeast Asia. Indeed, if there is a single overarching theme or character to these documents, it is that of Chinese normativity and superiority. The excerpts translated here are from treatises included toward the end of the Standard Histories (and thus reflecting their perceived relative insignificance) concerning the ‘southern man barbarians’ (*nanman* 南蠻). This designation is a catch-all category for non-Han peoples inhabiting the regions generally south of the Han ancestral homeland in the Central Plains and connotes a certain animalistic aspect to these people, specifically that of insects or worms (*chong* 虫). This touches on what might be considered as the ethnic characteristics of these peoples, but also on the issue of culture.

Given to odd dress and manners, foreign peoples are typically represented as curiosities in the Standard Histories. The question as to why these people differ, sometimes to a great extent, from Sinitic norms is a question that is not directly raised, but one that is implicit in the Standard Histories’ accounts. In conceiving of and representing the foreign peoples of Maritime Southeast Asia the authors of the Standard History accounts seem to be aware of what we might conceive as ‘cultural diversity’. But in the Standard Histories, local cultures tend to be addressed in reference to the concept of *su* 俗. This term may be translated as ‘convention’ or ‘custom’, which has the virtue of capturing the term’s connotation of practices and behaviors that have taken shape and become established within a given society. In many respects, this notion of *su* draws near to certain contemporary conceptions of ‘culture’ as local and provisional human productions and lifeways. However, this fails to fully capture the negative evaluations implicit in the term. In Chinese letters, *su* tends to be seen as contingent, popular, and base. Based on this aspect, the term was appropriated by Chinese Buddhist translators to refer to ‘worldly’ or ‘secular’ people, those driven by desire (*yu* 欲).<sup>7</sup> In this appropriation Chinese Buddhists were tapping into an established Sinitic construction of *su* as an inferior, contrastive concept to *li* 禮, the ‘rites’. In the *Rites of Zhou* 周禮, ‘rites and customs’ are a means by which the people are governed.<sup>8</sup> But *li* and *su* are not equivalent in nature or in function. In the *Liji* 禮記 this relationship is captured in the following aphorism: ‘Rites accord with what is appropriate, affairs accord with what is customary’.<sup>9</sup> The ‘rites’ (*li*) are understood

<sup>6</sup> Here I follow Robert Campany’s translation of the term as ‘anomaly account’. This refers to a classical genre of Chinese literature centered on accounts of phenomena considered ‘strange’. See Campany 1996.

<sup>7</sup> The terms *su* ‘custom’ and *yu* ‘desire’ are also, tellingly, orthographically cognate.

<sup>8</sup> *Zhouli* 周禮. ‘The Minister of State’ 天官冢宰. 58.

<sup>9</sup> *Li ji* 禮記. Quli 曲禮 1. 5: 禮從宜, 使從俗 This aphorism is rooted in a contrastive relation between the concepts of *li* 禮 ‘rites’ and *shi* 使, which I have translated as ‘affairs’. The term *shi* here indicates activities pursued or engaged in for some instrumental purpose or to effect some gain or profit.

to be rooted in the constant;<sup>10</sup> they are an enactment of the universal order by which humans are differentiated from beasts. ‘Customs’ or ‘conventions’ (*su*), however, are contingent, expedient, and low. Therefore, when we see our sources refer to the customs and conventions of the peoples and kingdoms of Maritime Southeast Asia, we must not take this to be a recognition of cultural contingency or enlightened multiculturalism. The peoples of Maritime Southeast Asia clearly have their ‘customs’, but by the same turn they just as clearly do not possess the humanizing rites. They are not, according to the conceptions informing our sources, truly civilized. By referring to the practices of these people with exclusive reference to the concept of *su*, the authors of the Standard Histories are overtly dismissing these peoples as sub-human barbarians who possess nothing of what we might conceive of as ‘culture’ or ‘civilization’ in any meaningful way.

With these caveats and guideposts in place, it is my hope that scholars of Maritime Southeast Asia may successfully mine these sources in order to reclaim the humanity of their subjects.

#### TRANSLATION

##### I. From the *Older Tang History* 舊唐書 197.5269–5273

###### Linyi Kingdom 林邑國 [Campā]

The kingdom of Linyi,<sup>11</sup> the territory of the Han [Dynasty’s] Rinan 日南 [and] Xianglin 象林, is more than 1,000 *li* south of Jiaozhou 交州.<sup>12</sup> This kingdom stretches continuously for over 1,000 *li* from its northern border with Huanzhou 驩州.<sup>13</sup> The local climate is warm in the winter, ice and snow are unknown and there is ordinarily much mist and rain.

The residential city of its king has wooden pilings as palisades. The king wears lustrous white *gubei* 古貝<sup>14</sup> wrapped obliquely around his shoulders and wrapped around his waist.<sup>15</sup> On the upper part [of his body] are added chains of pearls and gold as an

<sup>10</sup> Here I intended the traditional Chinese conception of singularity and persistence that runs through and lies behind phenomenal multiplicity and variability. This concept is articulated in a number of ways across Chinese letters, ranging from the classical articulation of *chang* 常 or *tianchang* 天常 (‘the constant’ and ‘the Heavenly constant’, respectively), to the Daoist articulation of the Way (*dao* 道) as ultimate metaphysical reality, to the Neo-Confucian vision of Principle (*li* 理).

<sup>11</sup> Vietnamese: Lâm Ấp.

<sup>12</sup> Jiaozhou 交州 was located in the Tang protectorate of Annan 安南 in the Red River Delta Region in the Hà Nội-Bắc Ninh area of contemporary Vietnam.

<sup>13</sup> Huanzhou 驩州 functionally corresponds to Vinh City in Nghệ An Province. This essentially establishes the northern border of Linyi as the Cả River (a.k.a. Lam River).

<sup>14</sup> *Gubei* 古貝: a variety of cotton, perhaps a silk cotton derived from the cotton tree (*Bombax ceiba*), a tropical tree that produces pods filled with cotton-like fiber and native to South Asia. See Schafer 1963:204–6.

<sup>15</sup> This description seems similar to classical Thai or Indian style of clothing with the body clad in a single piece of cloth wrapped to cover the torso, waste, and upper legs.

*yingluo* 瓔珞 necklace<sup>16</sup> and [his] curly hair is crowned with flowers. His consorts dress in short skirts of gubei the color of rosy dawn,<sup>17</sup> their heads are crowned with golden flowers, and they adorn their bodies with gold chains and pearl necklaces.

The Imperial Guard of the king consists of 5,000 soldiers who are able to use crossbow and sword (鞬). They use rattan for armor and bamboo for bows and they ride elephants in battle. If the king goes out [on military campaign], then [he is accompanied by] an array of 1,000 elephants and 400 horses divided into van and rear.

Its people have curly, black hair and their custom is always to go barefoot. They take musk to apply to their bodies and in the course of a day they repeatedly wash and reapply it. When they offer courtesies they join their palms and bow their heads.<sup>18</sup> The standard in marriage is that they must adopt the same surname. They have script according to their custom.<sup>19</sup> They especially believe the doctrine of the Buddha and many people leave home [to become monastics]. When their mother and father die, the children will pull out their hair and weep. They place the corpse in a coffin, pile up firewood and burn the encoffined corpse. They gather the ashes, store them in a golden vase, and send them off in water.

Their custom is to take the second month as the beginning of the year and there are two harvests during the growing season (*dusui* 稻歲). As it is in the south, the grasses and trees are luxuriant during the winter and the four seasons all produce vegetables. They make alcohol by soaking betel nut. There are *jielao* birds that are able to understand human speech.

In the sixth year of *Wude* 武德 (623/4) their king Fan Fanzhi 范梵志 (Viet. Phạm Phạn Chi)<sup>20</sup> sent envoys to court. In the eighth year (625/6) he also sent envoys to present local products and Gaozu 高祖 established the music of the Nine Regions<sup>21</sup> in order to entertain them and he presented their king with brocade cloth. At the beginning of *Zhengguan* 貞觀 (ca. 627), [Fan Fanzhi] sent envoys offering a tame rhinoceros as tribute. In the fourth year (630/1) their king Fan Tuoli 范頭黎 (Viet. Phạm Đầu Lê)<sup>22</sup> sent envoys

16 The text indicates a specific style of necklace, referred to here and below in the description of courtesan dress as a *yingluo* 瓔珞. Typically constructed of pearls and jade strung together, this adornment is also referred to in Chinese sources as *huaman* 華鬘 and was introduced to the Sinitic world as an adornment on Indic images of the Buddha. The Sanskrit term for this necklace is *keyūra*.

17 *Zhaoxia* 朝霞: this typically refers to cotton dyed a rosy peach color. See Schafer 1968:206.

18 *Dunsang*頓頽: indicating the bending of one's knee and the lower of one's head, this imagery is also perhaps consciously chosen by the *Newer Tang History* editors. It carries the same connotation as the English phrase 'to bend one's knee' in the sense of capitulating or surrendering, but also tends to express submission for punishment. The imagery may intend fierce, animalistic peoples who are (prescriptively) submissive, repentant criminals. Here it may be worthwhile to note that warfare is consistently conceived in terms of legal action (e.g. punishment of crime) in Imperial Chinese sources.

19 *Su you wenzi* 俗有文字: a somewhat loose translation, the indication here is that the people have Linyi have a script that is different from Chinese script.

20 Phạm Phạn Chi (r. 572–629), whose Sanskrit title was Śambhuvarman, among other things, rebuilt the Śiva (a.k.a. Bhadreśvara) temple at Mý Sơn in brick. See de Casparis and Mabbett 1992:289.

21 *Jiubule* 九部樂: the music of the Nine Regions was a particularly grand display put on at the founding of the Sui and Tang Dynasties. It consisted of nine distinct musical styles. According to the Sui History , the nine regions/musical styles are those of Qingye 清樂, Xiliang 西涼, Guizi 龜茲, India (Tianzhu 天竺), Samarqand (Kangguo 康國), Shule 疏勒, Anguo 安國, Gaoli 高麗, and Libi 禮畢

22 Skt. Kandarpadharma (r. 629–640).

to offer a fire orb<sup>23</sup> as big as a chicken egg. It was perfectly white and bright and clear,<sup>24</sup> with a luster of several *chi* 尺 and an appearance like crystal. If it was turned toward the sun at noon and carried in mugwort, it would ignite [the mugwort].<sup>25</sup> In the fifth year (631/2) they also presented a pentachromatic parrot. Taizong considered it to be strange and commanded that it be bestowed upon Li Baiyue 李百藥, the Left Mentor of the Heir Apparent. They also offered a white parrot of refined intelligence and eloquence that was good at providing responses. Taizong pitied it and he returned it to the envoys, commanding that it be set free to return to its woodland haunt. After this the presentation of tribute did not end.<sup>26</sup> Tuoli died and the era of his son Fan Zhenlong 范鎮龍 (Viet. Phạm Trần Long) was established. Taizong passed away and there was an edict that an image of Tuoli be carved in his mausoleum and placed in front of Mysterious Palace.<sup>27</sup> In the nineteenth year (645/6) Zhenlong was killed by his Minister Mahamanduka (?) 摩訶漫多伽 acting alone. His clansmen were also massacred, and the Fan clan was completely severed. His countrymen therefore established Touli's son-in-law, Brahman 婆羅門,<sup>28</sup> as king. [But] afterward the great ministers and countrymen missed the former king, so they abolished Brahman and established Touli's daughter<sup>29</sup> as king.

South from Linyi, all [people] have curly hair and black bodies and the [region] is generally called 'Kunlun'崑崙.<sup>30</sup>

### Boli guo 婆利國 [Bali? Borneo?]

The kingdom of Boli 婆利 is to the southeast of Linyi 林邑 on an island (洲) in the middle of the ocean. It is several thousand *li* in extent and is across the sea south of Jiaozhou 交州. One traverses the kingdoms of Linyi, Funan 扶南, Chishi 赤土 and Dandan 丹丹 to arrive there. Its people are all black. They pierce their ears and wear earrings. The surname of its king is Shaliyejia 刹利耶伽. His given name is Huluneipo 護路那婆. He holds the position

<sup>23</sup> *Houzhu* 火珠: probably indicating a roughly spherical gemstone rather than a variety of pearl, though the precise referent here is unknown. In his *Great Tang Record of the Western Regions* Xuanzang reports that fire pearls, along with other precious minerals, were to be found in the Kingdom of Quluduo 屈露多國 (Skt. Jallandha; Kullu in modern Himachal Pradesh, India). The name 'fire orb' appears intended to connote the unusual ability of the gemstone to focus sunlight to the point of causing ignition of certain materials. See Schafer 1963:237–8.

<sup>24</sup> *Jiaojie* 皎潔: this binome is typically used to describe moonlight.

<sup>25</sup> Schafer (*ibid.*) reads this following the original typography in which *zheng* 蒸 (reading as 'a small bit of firewood, a punk') is given in place of *cheng* 承 ('to bear, hold, carry'). I follow the latter reading, though the meaning of the line is little changed: the fire orb could be used to focus sunlight and cause the ignition of vegetal matter.

<sup>26</sup> I.e. the Linyi king was not offended by Taizong returning the parrot and diplomatic relations (or continued recognition of Tang superiority) persisted.

<sup>27</sup> *Xuanque* 玄闕: typically referring to the north side of the Imperial Palace or as a general reference to the abode of Emperors and deities. Here it seems that the image of Đầu Lê was to be placed either *outside* the imperial mausoleum or *within* the mausoleum and located to the north.

<sup>28</sup> Viet. Bà La Môn; a.k.a. Bhadreśvaravarman (?–663).

<sup>29</sup> *Dinu* 嫡女: indicating the daughter of one's true wife, as opposed to a secondary wife or concubine.

<sup>30</sup> This, following the description given in the *Older Tang History*, is the kingdom of Zhenla 真臘國 [Viet: Chân Lạp], corresponding to contemporary southern Vietnam and Cambodia.

for a generation.<sup>31</sup> The king wears a crown of flowers like a *pibian* 皮弁 hat,<sup>32</sup> is adorned with a pearl *yingluo* 瓔珞 necklace, and personally sits on a golden bed. His serving women have adornments of golden flowers and strands of jewels and they hold white whisks and peacock fans. If he travels then it is by elephant carriage and blowing of metal [horns], beating of drums, and the playing of *li* 蠶<sup>33</sup> serves as music. The men all have curly hair and wear quilted *gubei* cloth wound horizontally around their waists. The climate is hot. It is always like mid-summer in the Central Kingdom (i.e. China). Grain ripens twice in a single year. They have *gubei* grasses, into which they sew decorations to make cloth. The coarse [material] is called *gubei* and the fine [material] is called white jadeite (*baiying* 白瑩). In the fourth year of Zhenguan 貞觀 (630/1) its king sent envoys, following Linyi's envoys in offering products.

### Panpan guo 盤盤國 [Southern Thailand? Kra Isthmus?]

The Panpan Kingdom curves through the sea southwest of Linyi.<sup>34</sup> It is separated from Linyin to the north by a small sea.<sup>35</sup> It is a forty-day voyage by boat from Jiaozhou. The kingdom neighbors Langyaxiu Kingdom 狼牙修國.<sup>36</sup> Its people all study the Brahman books and they considerably respect Buddhism. In the ninth year of *Zhenguan* 貞觀 (635/6) they sent envoys to court and offered local products as tribute.

### Zhenla guo 真臘國 [Viet: Chân Lạp; Cambodia/Southern Vietnam]

The Zhenla Kingdom 真臘國<sup>37</sup> is northwest of Linyi. It was originally a vassal state of Funan 扶南 and a kind of 'Kunlun' 崑崙. It is 20,700 *li* south to the south of the Metropolitan Area. It is 60 days travel north to Aizhou 愛州.<sup>38</sup> Its king's surname is Zhunli 准利. There are over thirty large cities. The royal capital is Yishena City 伊奢那城. Its customary clothing are the same as in Linyi. The land is thick with poisonous miasma. There are great fish that sometimes come halfway out from the sea and it is like looking at a mountain. During every fifth and sixth month, if the poisonous *qi* is prevalent, then they sacrifice ox and pigs. If they do not, then the five grains will not grow. Their custom is to have doors open to the east because the east serves as the superior (上). They have 5,000 war elephants and those that are especially good are raised on meals of flesh. If they engage in battle with neighboring kingdoms, then the line of elephants is in the van and

<sup>31</sup> I.e. there is no formal succession within a family line as in China. See Munoz 2006:73.

<sup>32</sup> A *pibian* was a hat made of white deer skin described as having a broad band connected to a button in the center strands of beads.

<sup>33</sup> *Li* 蠶: indicating a wood-boring insect. The meaning here is not entirely clear. The term appears in the Mencius in reference to Zhou-era bell handles (*zhui* 追) that would be bored through by insects (*li* 蠶). On this basis it might serve here as a sort of synecdoche for bells. However, the *Newer Tang History* indicates that *li* are blown rather than rung or struck. Perhaps the indication here is flutes constructed of hollowed pieces of wood as if having been bored into by *li* insects.

<sup>34</sup> This suggests that Panpan consisted of the whole or some part of the Kra Isthmus or the Malaya Peninsula.

<sup>35</sup> The Gulf of Thailand.

<sup>36</sup> Langkasukha, appears to have consisted essentially of the Malay Peninsula See Chihara 1996:83–4, and Quaritch Wales 1976, *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> Viet: Chân Lạp; modern Cambodia and southern Vietnam.

<sup>38</sup> Modern Thanh Hóa, Vietnam.

on their backs there are towers made of wood with four men on them who all grasp bow and arrows. The kingdom esteems the Buddha, the Dao, and gods. The gods serve as the greatest with the Buddha and the Dao next.

In the sixth year of *Wude* 武德 (623/4) they sent envoys presenting local products as tribute. In the second year of *Zhenguan* 貞觀 (628/9) they came to court to present tribute along with [the envoys of] Linyi. Taizong 太宗 commended the abundant products of their land and toil and granted them generous bestowals. The people in the south call Zhenla Kingdom ‘Jimie Kingdom’ 吉蔑國. From after *Shenlong* 神龍 (705–707) Zhenla was divided into two: the half in the south near the sea has many reservoirs and pools and is called Water Zhenla 水真臘. The northern half has many mountains and hills and is called Continental Zhenla 陸真臘 and is also called Wendan Kingdom 文單國. They sent envoys to offer tribute during the reigns of Gaozong 高宗, Zetian 則天, and Xuanzong 玄宗.

The territory of Water Zhenla Kingdom is approximately 800 *li*. To the east it reaches Bentuolang zhou 奔陀浪州, to the west it reaches Tuoluochudi Kingdom 墮羅多底國, to the south it reaches a small sea, and to the north it is near Continental Zhenla. The residential city of the kin is called Poluotiba 婆羅提拔. On the northern border of the kingdom there is a small city that everyone refers to as the kingdom. The kingdom has many elephants. In the 8th year of Yuanhe 元和 (813/4) they sent Li Mona 李摩那 and others to come to court.

### **Tuhuan guo 陀洹國 [Located on the Malay Peninsula?]**

The kingdom of Tuohan 陀洹國 is southwest of Linyi in the middle of the sea and is bordered by Duohuoluo 墮和羅 to the southeast. It is three months and several days journey from Jiaozhi 交趾.<sup>39</sup> [Tuohan] is subservient to Duohuoluo. Its king's surname is Chashili 察失利 and his given name is Pomopona 婆末婆那. The land is without silkworm and mulberry. They make clothes of lustrous white and rosy dawn colored cloth. Their custom is that everyone live in elevated buildings (樓) called ‘dry pavilions’ (*ganlan* 干欄). In the eighteenth year of *Zhenguan* (644/5) they sent envoys to come to court. In the 21st year (647/8) they also sent envoys that presented a white parrot and *baros* ointment,<sup>40</sup> yet they requested horses and copper bells. There was an edict granting them both.

### **Heling guo 訶陵國 [Java?]<sup>41</sup>**

Heling kingdom 訶陵國 is situated on an island in the middle of the southwestern sea. It borders Boli 婆利 to the east, Duopodeng 墮婆登 to the west, and Zhenla 真臘 to the north. To the south it overlooks a great ocean. Wooden posts are used to make city walls. They make great houses with multiple pavilions and use palm leaves to cover them. The king sits among them and all use elephant tusks for beds. When eating they do not use spoons or chopsticks, but use their hands to scoop up food. They also have script and are considerably knowledgeable of astronomy. Their custom is to use coconut flowers to make alcohol, their trees produce flowers more than three feet in length, as big as a man's arm. They cut them to get the sap and use it to make alcohol. It is sweet and drinking it is also intoxicating. In the fourteenth year of *Zhenguan* 貞觀 (640/1) they sent envoys

39 *Jiaozhi* 交趾 indicates the Bắc Ninh-Hà Nội region of contemporary Vietnam.

40 *Polu gao* 婆律膏: camphor. See Schafer 1963:166–8.

41 On the toponym He-ling or Ho-ling as attested in Chinese sources, see Damais 1964.

to court. They sent envoys to present tribute in both the third and the fourth years of Dali 大曆 (766/7 and 767/8). In the tenth year of Yuanhe 元和 (815/6) they sent envoys to offer five Zangi (僧祇) youths, parrots, [kala]viñka birds,<sup>42</sup> and they presented strange kinds of renowned jewels. Because of these envoys, Li Henei developed a firm resolve and requested that he return [with them to Heling] and be received as his [the king of Heling's] younger brother. There was an edict commanding him and approving it. In the thirteenth year (818/9), they sent envoys presenting two Zangi girls, parrots, sea turtles, and a live rhinoceros.

### **Duohelou 墮和羅國 [Located on the Malay Peninsula?]**

The kingdom of Duohelou 墮和羅國 is south of Panpan, north of Jialuohefo 遺羅舍佛, to the east it borders Zhenla, and to the west it is adjacent a great sea. It is five months travel from Guangzhou 廣州. In the twelfth year of Zhenguan (638/9) their king sent envoys to offer tribute of local products. In the twenty-third year (649/50) he also sent envoys to present elephant tusk and a fire orb. They requested that they be granted good horses and there was an edict approving it.

### **Duopodeng 墮婆登國 [Sumatra?]**

The kingdom of Duopodeng 墮婆登國 is south of Linyi, two months travel by sea. Heling is to its east, on its west is the Miliche 迷黎車 border, and to the north it is bounded by a great sea. Its customs are more-or-less the same as Heling's. Their kingdom cultivates rice and it ripens every month. They also have script and they write it on *patra* (*beiduo* 貝多) leafs. The dead have gold [placed] in their mouths and also have golden bracelets strung on their four limbs. Thereafter, they are additionally [anointed with] aromatics of *baros* ointment and dragon brains.<sup>43</sup> Firewood is piled up in order to burn [the body]. In the twenty-first year of Zhenguan (647/8) their king sent envoys to offer tribute of *gubei*, elephant tusk, and white sandalwood. Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) reciprocated with an imperial document as well as by bestowing various things.

## II. From the *Newer Tang History* 新唐書 222c.6297–6306

### **Huanwang/Linyi Kingdom 林邑國 [Campā]**

Huanwang 環王, originally Linyi 林邑, is called Zhanbulao 占不勞 (Campā Lao/*dvīpa*) and also Zhanpo 占婆 (Campā). It is situated 3,000 *li* by sea south of Fuzhou. Its land area east to west is more than 300 *li* and 100 *li* north to south. It is bounded (距) to the west by Mount Wuwen 霧溫山 of Zhenla 真腊 and is bordered (抵) on the south by Benlangtouzhou 奔浪陀州. As established by Ma Yuan 馬援 of Han,<sup>44</sup> in its south is Dapu

<sup>42</sup> *Pinjia niao* 頻伽鳥: Skt. *kalaviñka*; *kalaviñka* birds are mythical birds found in Sanskrit literature. They are renowned for their marvelous song. See Schafer 1963:103.

<sup>43</sup> *Baros* ointment (*Polu gao* 婆律膏) and dragon brains (*longnao* 龍腦) both refer to camphor. Camphor is a naturally flammable substance that is often used in Hindu *pūjā*. See Schafer 1963:166–8.

<sup>44</sup> Ma Yuan 馬援 (ca. 14–49 CE), styled Wenyuan 文淵, was a famous military strategist of the Eastern Han. Ma Yuan (Viet: Mā Viên) was the Han general who put down the revolt of the Trưng Sisters ca. 40 CE.

大浦,<sup>45</sup> there are five copper pillars,<sup>46</sup> and mountains that appear to [reach] the inclining canopy.<sup>47</sup> In the west are continuous cliffs and the east is shoreline. Also to its east are Tu barbarians<sup>48</sup> because when [Ma] Yuan returned there were ten households that did not go back. By the end of the Sui Dynasty (581–618 CE) these had multiplied to 300 and all of them [went by] the surname Ma 馬. By custom they were called ‘the remaining men of Ma’ (*Maliu ren* 馬留人) and Linyi is separated by the southern border of Tang.<sup>49</sup>

The land is damp in the winter and there is much mist and rain. It produces amber, orangutans, and *jielao* 結遼 birds. The second month is taken to be the beginning of the year and the rice ripens twice in a year. They take betel nut and soak it to make alcohol and use coconut palms for mats. Their customs are fierce and tough, resulting in combat. They smear their bodies with musk and daily smear it and wash it off. When they pay their respects they clasp their hands<sup>50</sup> and bow their heads. They have script and delight in the Way of the Buddha (*futu dao* 浮屠道),<sup>51</sup> casting silver and gold into images that are large and bulky.

They refer to the king as Yangpubu 陽蒲逋, the queen is Tuoyang'xiang 陀陽阿熊, the Crown Prince is E'zhangbu 阿長逋, the Ministers are Pomandi 婆漫地. The place where the king resides is called Zhan City 占城 (Campadeśa or Campapura) and other residences are called Qi Kindgom 齊國 or Pengpishi 蓬皮勢. The king wears white cotton and *gubei* obliquely wrapped around his shoulders, is adorned with tasseled gold necklaces, has curly hair, and wears a crown of golden flowers like a *zhangfu* 章甫 hat. His wife's clothes are short skirts of *gubei* the color of rosy dawn. They wear tassels like the king. The king has 5,000 guard soldiers, they ride elephants in battle, their armor is made of rattan, bow and arrows are made of bamboo. He leads 1,000 elephants and 400 horses divided as van and rear. They do not employ legal punishment. Those who are guilty

45 *Dapu* 大浦: literally the ‘great river bank’, *Dapu* is here used as a proper name for the Mekong Delta.

46 Copper pillars (*tongzhu* 銅柱) are traditional Sinitic boundary markers.

47 *Yigai* 倚蓋: this binome is a metaphor for the appearance of the sky predicated on the ancient Sinitic conception of the sky as a dome or semi-spherical canopy inclined to the northwest, no doubt predicated on the declination of the celestial pole as viewed from the Central Plains.

48 *Tuyi* 屠夷: *Yi* is a standard designation dating to the Han dynasty for non-Han peoples to the inhabiting lands to the east of the Han imperium. Here the editors for the *Newer Tang History* are employing a standard, directionally determined designation for a group of non-Han peoples with the added designation of *Tu* (lit. ‘slaughter, massacre, butcher’), which is sometimes employed as a Sinitic surname, but it seems here designation clearly evokes a fearsome image of bloody foreigners.

49 The political borders of Tang were reckoned to extend to what is now central Vietnam.

50 *Hezhua* 合爪: This is a variation from the *Older Tang History*. Literally ‘join claws’, the imagery here connotes not only a comparison with the non-human, but also aggression, violence, and conflict. This binome, which is a stand in for the more conventional *hezhang* 合掌, is not used exclusively in reference to non-Han peoples. It is also employed, for example, in the *Newer Tang History*’s account of the debate between Fu Yi 傅奕 and Xiao Yu 蕭瑀 concerning Fu Yi’s proposed abolition (or severe regulation) of Buddhists in the early Tang when Xiao Yu is said to have ‘joined his hands (*hezhua* 合爪) and said ‘the hells are established for just such a person [as Fu Yi]’ (*Xin Tangshu* 107.4061). It is, however, hard not to see this phrasing as the result of a conscious decision by the *Newer Tang History* editors as intending to depict Xiao Yu with a rather sinister aspect, the conservative *New Tang History* editors being no friends to the Chinese Buddhist establishment.

51 Mahāyāna Buddhism was evidently introduced/patronized from the 9th century: see Trần 2004:6. Emphasis on Buddhism in this passage may reflect the Song provenance of the final text or the inability to (or disinterest in) distinguish between Buddhism and Hinduism.

are made to be trampled by elephants or they are sent to Bulaoshan 不勞山<sup>52</sup> to consign themselves to death.<sup>53</sup>

During the Sui era of Renshou 仁壽 (601–605) General Liu Fang was sent to attack Linyi and its king, Fan Fanzhi, retreated. His territory was made into three districts (郡) and Prefects and Magistrates were to be set up, [but] the roads were blocked and impassable. Fanzhi collected his scattered followers and established another kingdom. During Wude 武德 (618–627) [Fan Fanzhi] again sent envoys to present local products and established the music of the Nine Regions to entertain them. At the time of Zhenguan 貞觀 (627–650) king Touli 頭黎 presented a tame elephant, a pure gold necklace, a pentachromatic belt, and a fire orb. They all came along with the envoys of the two kingdoms of Boli 婆利 and Luocha 羅刹.<sup>54</sup> The words of the Linyi [envoys] were disrespectful and the crowd of officials requested that they be denounced, [but] Taizong 太宗 said, ‘In the past, Fu Jian 芳堅 wished to take possession of Jin 晉, but with an assemblage of millions he was defeated in a single battle. Sui sought Gaoli 高麗<sup>55</sup> and levied troops yearly. The people became resentful and adept at killing ordinary people. How could I dare to absurdly discuss sending troops?’ [Linyi] was pardoned.

[Linyi] also presented a pentachromatic parrot and a white parrot, [but] they frequently complained of the cold and were sent back.

Touli died and his son, Zhenlong 鎮龍, was installed. He presented an exceedingly great rhinoceros and various jewels. In the nineteenth year, Mahamanduka (?) 摩訶慢多伽, acting alone, killed Zhenlong and exterminated his lineage—the Fan surname was severed. The people of the kingdom installed Touli’s son-in-law, Brahman 婆羅門, as king, but the great ministers all abandoned him and replaced him by installing Touli’s daughter as king.

Zhuge Di 諸葛地 was the son of Touli’s aunt. His father committed a crime and was banished to Zhenla 真臘. The daughter of the king was unable to stay in the kingdom and the great ministers all received Zhuge Di as king and his wife as queen. From Yonghui to Tianbao (650–756) there were altogether three tribute missions. After Zhide 至德 (756–758) the name [of Linyi] was changed to Huanwang 環王. At the beginning of Yonghe 元和 (806–821) there were no tribute missions and the Protector of Annan, Zhang Dan 張丹, managed the illegitimate Huan. The Aizhou 愛州<sup>56</sup> Campaign Commander decapitated 30,000 heads, took prisoner fifty-nine princes, and captured battle elephants, skiffs (舠), and armor.

### Boli 婆利 [Bali? Borneo?]

As for Boli 婆利, it is directly southeast of Huanwang. From Jiaozhou one sails the sea and passes through the Chishi 赤土 and Dandan 丹丹 kingdoms to reach it. Its territory

<sup>52</sup> Bulaoshan 不勞山 is a Sinitic transliteration of Cù lao Chàm, the Cham Islands, a group of eight islands of the coast of Hội An, modern Quảng Nam Province.

<sup>53</sup> The observation that they do not observe a penal code but that they have a few punishments seems to suggest that there is not a developed legal code with a variety of punishments intended to suit particular crimes. Rather, there are only two severe punishments for any crime committed.

<sup>54</sup> Skt. *Rākṣa*; possibly indicating Sri Lanka.

<sup>55</sup> The Korean kingdom of Koryo.

<sup>56</sup> Contemporary Thanh Hóa, Vietnam.

is a great island with many horses. It is also called Mali 馬禮 ('Horse Rites'). It is over 1,000 *li* in length. There are many fire orbs. The big ones are like chicken eggs, spherical, white, and with a luster of several feet. At midday, with mugwort and by means of the orb, fire is then produced. They produce sea turtles and *wenluo* 文螺 snails. [They have] stone earthenware that when it is first obtain is soft and malleable. It is engraved and then [becomes] hard. There are Śārikā birds that understand human speech. Customarily [the people] have black bodies and red, curly hair. With eagle talons and the teeth of beasts they pierce their ears and thread them with earrings. They wrap a single *gubei* cloth around their waists. With *gubei* and grasses they decorate cloth. The coarse [cloth] is called *bei* 貝 and the fine [cloth] is called *die* 疊.<sup>57</sup> Their custom is to have markets at night and to cover their faces. The king's surname is Sheliyajia 剎利耶伽 (Śariyaka?) and his given name is Hulunapo 護路那婆. He occupies the position for an era. His adornments are made by wrapping a sort of silk embellished with pearls. He sits on a golden couch and his left and right [attendants] hold white whisks and peacock fans. When he goes out he drives an elephant carriage with a feather canopy and pearl curtains. Sounding horns, beating drums, and blowing *li* 蠶 serve as music.

To its east is Luocha 羅剎. Their customs are the same as Boli. Sui 隋 Yangdi 炫帝 (r. 604–617) sent Changjun 常駿 as an envoy to Chishi and opened communications with the Middle Kingdom.

Entering the sea southeast of Chishi one reaches Poluo 婆羅. In the second year of Zongzhang 總章 (669/70) the envoys sent by their king Zhandabo 旃達鉢, together with the envoys of Huanwang, [came to] court.

South of Huanwang is Shunai 殊柰. It is a three-month sea voyage sailing from Jiaozhi and their customs are the same as in Poluo. In the second year of Zhenguan (629/30) its envoys offered local products. In the ninth year (635/6) the commissioner of Gantang 甘棠<sup>58</sup> entered court. The kingdom is situated on Hainan 海南. In the 13th year (639/40) The envoys of four kingdoms of Senggao 僧高, Wuling 武令, Jiazha 迹乍, and Jiumi 鳩密 presented tribute. Senggao is directly northwest of Water Zhenla and their customs are the same as Huanwang. After that, the Jiumi king Shilijumo 尸利鳩摩 and the king of Funa, Shilitipobamo 尸利提婆跋摩 sent envoys to come to court and offer tribute. After Yonghui 永徽 (650–656), Senggao and these other kingdoms were incorporated into Zhenla.

### Panpan guo 盤盤國 [Southern Thailand? Kra Isthmus?]

Panpan bends through the southern sea, is separated from Huangwang to the north, is bounded by a small sea, and borders Langyaxiu 狼牙脩. From Jiaozhou 交州 it is a forty-day sea voyage to reach there. The king is called Yangsuwu 楊粟污. Its people reside on the seashore, they use<sup>59</sup> wood for palisades and stone for arrowheads. The king sits on a large, gold dragon couch. All the people view the king and they cup their hands at their shoulders in obeisance (跽). His ministers are called Bolangsulan 勃郎索濫, Kunlundi 昆侖帝, Kunlunbohe 昆侖勃和, Kunlunbodisuogan 昆侖勃諱索甘, and also Gulong 古龍. As for Gulong, it sounds similar to 'Kunlun'. Abroad, it is called 'Nayan' 那延, like the Middle Kingdom prefecture. There are Buddhist and Daoist temples. The Buddhist monks

<sup>57</sup> *Die* 疊 is a variety of soft cloth made of fine cotton filaments.

<sup>58</sup> *Gantang* 甘棠 corresponds to Yên Bái Province in the north of contemporary Vietnam.

<sup>59</sup> Reading *bi* 比 as *yi* 以.

eat meat, but do not drink alcohol. The Daoists are said to be corrupt and do not eat meat or [drink] alcohol. During *Zhengguan* [Panpan] repeatedly sent envoys to court.

To its southeast is Geluo 哥羅, also called Geluo 個羅 and Geluofushaluo 哥羅富沙羅. Their king's surname is Shiliboluo 矢利波羅 and his given name is Mishiboluo 米失鉢羅. [They use] piled up stone to make city walls and watchtowers, pavilions, and palace halls are thatched with grasses. There are 24 prefectures. Their weapons are bow and arrow and bamboo spears. They adorn their banners with peacock feathers. Whenever they battle, 100 elephants make up a single company, and a single elephant [is like] 100 men. Their saddles are like balustrades with four men wielding bow and lances within them. Army commandants are given two *zhu* 銖 of silver. There is no silk or ramie, only *gubei*. They raise many oxen and few horses. None who are officials do not bind their hair. It is common in marriage that the rites consist of offering betel, as much as 200 platters. After a woman is married she takes her husband's surname. Music consists of *pipa* 琵琶, transverse flutes (*hengdi* 橫笛), copper cymbals, iron drums, and *li* 蠶. The dead are cremated. The ashes are gathered into a golden jar and put in the sea.

To the southwest is Juloumi 拘蘿蜜, a one month sea voyage away. It is separate from Boli to the south, a ten day trip away. It is separate from Bushu 不述 to the east, a five day trip away. To the northwest is separated from Wendan 文單, a six-day trip away. Its customs are the same as Chishi and Duoheluo. During *Yonghui* 永徽 (650-656) they presented pentachromatic parrots.

### Funan 扶南 [Cambodia?]

Funan is 7,000 *li* south of Rinan 日南. Their territory is low-lying and their customs are the same as those of Huanwang. They have walled cities and palaces. The king's surname is Gulong 古龍. Their residences are of reduplicated towers, palisades and walls, and are thatched with grasses. The king goes out riding an elephant. Their people are black, have curly hair, go about naked, and by custom they do not behave as bandits. Their fields are cultivated and [produce] three years of harvests in a single year. The kingdom produces diamonds that are similar to amethyst.<sup>60</sup> They grow atop stones at the bottom of water. Men dive into the water to obtain them and they are able to carve jade. If struck with a black ram's horn they will then melt. The people like fighting cocks and swine. They are taxed in gold, pearls, and aromatics. The government seat is Tumu City 特牧城, presently incorporated into Zhenla, so it was beneficial to move it south to Nafuna City 那弗那城. At the time of *Wude* and *Zhengguan* (618–650; the founding eras of the Tang) they repeatedly entered court and also presented two White Head people.

As for the White Heads, they are directly west of Funan. The people all have white hair and the grain of their skin (*fuli*膚理) is like tallow. They reside on mountain caves cut off by steep and lofty [peaks] on four sides. None is able to reach them. They border the Canban Kingdom 參半國.

### Zhenla 真臘 [Cambodia/Southern Vietnam?]

Zhenlan, also called Jimie 吉蔑, was originally a vassal state of Funan. It is 20,700 *li* from the Metropolitan area. It is set apart on the east by Dongqu 車渠 and to the west it is sub-

<sup>60</sup> *Zishiying* 紫石英.

ordinate to Piao 騃. Its southern border is the sea and is contiguous with Daoming 道明 to the north and Huanzhou 驩州<sup>61</sup> to the northeast. At the beginning of *Zhenguan* (ca. 627/8), their king Shaliyijinna 剎利伊金那 incorporated Funan as their territory. Households are all turned toward the east and their seats face east. When a guest arrives he is received with bits of betel, camphor, and fragrant clam (香蛤). They do not drink alcohol, considering it to be licentious. They conceal their wives within the house and they shun their seniors. They have 5,000 war elephants and those that are good are raised on meat. They have had friendly relations with Canpan and Piao for generations. Huanwang, Qiantuohuan, [and Zhenla] frequently attacked each other. From *Wude* to *Shengli* they came to court four times. After *Shennong* they were divided into two halves. The north has many mountain peaks and is called the Land Zhenla 陸真臘 half. The south is bounded by the sea and has abundant lakes and pools. It is called Water Zhenla 水真臘 half. Water Zhenla's territory is 800 *li*. Their king resides in Poluotiba City 婆羅提拔城. Land Zhenla is also called Wendan 文單 and Poluo 婆鏤. Its territory is 700 *li*. Their king is called Juqu [竹\*且]屈. At the time of *Kaiyuan* and *Tianbao* the princeling<sup>62</sup> lead his subordinates to court 26 times, and was appointed Vice-Commandant of the Assault-resisting Garrison.<sup>63</sup> During *Dali* the secondary king Pomi and his wife came to court and presented eleven tame elephants. [The Emperor] promoted Pomi to Director of the Palace Administration<sup>64</sup> and granted him the name 'Binhan' 賓漢 ('Guest of the Han'). At that time, Dezong had just been established [as Emperor], and rare birds and strange beasts were all set free, the tame elephants that had been offered by the *man* and *yi* barbarians were raised in a courtyard. Those that were originally gathered and filled the courtyard numbered 32. All were released on the sunny side of Mount Jing 荊山. Then, during *Yuanhe* Water Zhenla also sent envoys to enter and pay tribute.

Wendan 文單 is a vassal state [of Zhenla] to the northwest called Canban 參半. In the 8<sup>th</sup> year of *Wude* (625/6) envoys came.

As for Daoming, it is also a vassal state [of Zhenla]. They are without clothing and those who see clothing laugh at it. They have no salt or iron. They use bamboo bows to shoot birds and beasts to support themselves.

### Heling 詞陵 [Java?]

Heling, also called Shepo 社婆 and Dupo 閻婆, is in the middle of the South Sea. To the east it is set off from Boli 婆利, to the west by Duopudeng 墮婆登, its southern border

61 The municipality of Vinh in Nghệ An Province of contemporary Vietnam.

62 *Wangzi* 王子: ordinarily this term would be translated as 'prince' (lit. 'son of the king'), but here I take this term to indicate the diminished status of this leader by virtue of the fact that the Zhenla Kingdom is divided into two and he exercises control only over one portion of it, thus making him a sort of 'princeling'. This term evidently refers to the king of Water Zhenla, but I have translated it as 'princeling' in order to maintain what I take to be the intended connotation of the author.

63 *Guoyi duwei* 果毅都尉: this title was established during the Tang in 636 as a title for the Vice Commandants of the Assault-resisting Garrison, a special military unit outside of the then-standard Garrison militia structure of the Tang military (Hucker 1985:298). The indication here is that the prince of Land Zhenla was actively involved in providing military support to the Tang Dynasty at this time.

64 *Dianzhongjian* 殿中監: the holder of this position was responsible for the administration of the central government agency tasked with provisioning and administering the palace. Here it is likely a purely honorific title (Hucker 1985:502).

is the sea and to the north is Zhenla 真臘. Their cities are made of wood. Even the great houses are covered with palm. Their beds, like mats, are made of ivory. Producing sea turtles, yellow and white gold, rhinoceros, elephant, the kingdom is most prosperous. There are caves from which salt gushes. They make alcohol from willow flowers and coconut. They drink it to the point of drunkenness and quickly turn to wickedness. There is script and they are knowledgeable of calendaring. They eat without spoons or chopsticks. There are poison women (*dunu* 毒女) and if one comes into contact with them, then one [breaks out in] painful ulcers, [but] their corpses do not putrefy.

Their king resides in Dupo City 閣婆城. His ancestor Jiyan 吉延 moved it east from Poluojiasi City 婆露伽斯城. They are bordered by 28 small kingdoms and there is none that does not submit. His palace has 32 Grand Masters and the highest ranking is his cross-legged sitting courageous elder brother.<sup>65</sup> Atop a mountain there is Lanbeiy Island 邶卑野州 and the king often climbs it in order to gaze on the sea. On the summer solstice he sets up an 8 foot gnomon<sup>66</sup> and the shadow on the south of the gnomon is 2 feet, 4.8 inches.<sup>67</sup>

During *Zhenguan* 貞觀 (627–650) the envoys they sent along with Duohelou and Duopudeng entered to pay tribute and Taizong reciprocated with a sealed imperial edict. Duohelou begged<sup>68</sup> for good horses and the Emperor granted it. Coming to the time of *Shangyuan* 上元 (674–676) the kingdom's people put forward a woman to act as king, called Ximo悉莫. She issued decrees and punishments and the way was not completely lost. Hearing this, the lord of the Arabs (大食) feared it and did not dare to send troops. During *Dali* (766–780) envoys of Heling arrived three times. In the 8<sup>th</sup> year of *Yuanhe* (813/14) they presented four Zangi僧只 slaves, a pentachromatic parrot, and a [*kala*] *vinaka* bird. Xianzong 憲宗 acknowledged the unorthodox (左), firm resolution of the [Minister of the] Prefectures of the Interior Four Gates. The envoys had invited him as their brother the Emperor commended it as satisfactory and sponsored it. At the end of *Dahe* (ca. 836) they again paid tribute. During *Xiantong* 咸通 (860–874) they sent envoys to present female musicians.

### Duohelou 墮和羅 [Located on the Malaya Peninsula?]

Duohelou, also called Duhelou 獨和羅, is bordered on the south by Panpan, on the north by Jialoushefu 迦羅舍弗, to the west is a sort of sea, and to the east is Zhenla. From

<sup>65</sup> The meaning of the phrase here, *dazuo gan xiong* 大坐敢兄, is unclear.

<sup>66</sup> *Biao* 表, here used in its archaic sense to refer to a sundial gnomon, a pillar or rod employed to cast a shadow onto a dial plate in order to determine the time.

<sup>67</sup> Assuming that this measurement is taken at noon on the Chinese (i.e. Northern Hemisphere) Summer Solstice, this measurement was taken at approximately 17° N latitude. It is quite probable that the measurements indicated are not, in fact accurate, given the variation in this regard between the accounts in the *Older* and *Newer Tang History*. Further, the indicated location is difficult to reconcile with the hypothesis that Heling refers to Java. However, as noted by Damais (1964), there was much confusion in Chinese sources regarding the specific location of Heling and Heling might have indicated for some a part of Southern/central Sumatra. Rather than assume these measurements to be correct and, therefore, providing firm indication of the specific location of Heling, I take it instead that these measurements are provided instead to indicate the extremity of Heling's southern location in relation to China, where such measurements would naturally be quite different.

<sup>68</sup> Here the editors of the *Newer Tang History* use a more diminutive verb (*gai* 歎: 'to beg') than those of the *Older Tang History* who represent this scene as a 'request to be granted...' (*qing ci* 請賜).

Guangzhou 廣州 it is a five month journey to reach it. The kingdom has many fine rhinoceroses. The world speaks of Duohelou rhinos. It has two vassal kingdoms, called Tanling 曇陵 and Tuohuan 離洹.

Tanling is on an island in the middle of the sea. Tuohuan, another name is Nou-tuohuan 輯洹, is in the sea southwest of Huanwang and is contiguous with Duohelou. From Jiaozhou it is a 90 day journey to reach it. The king's surname is Chashili 察失利. His given name is Pona 婆那, styled Pomo 婆末. They have no silkworms and mulberry trees. They have rice paddies, barley, hemp, and legumes. They raise white elephants, cows, sheep, and swine. By custom they are fond of multistoried residences called 'dry balustrades' (*ganlan* 千欄). They make clothing with white, fine cotton and rosy dawn cloth. When their relatives die they do not eat in their room. After cremating the corpse they pick out the cremains<sup>69</sup> and wash them in a pool. Thereafter, they will eat. At the time of *Zhenguan* 貞觀 (627–650) they dispatched envoys who repeatedly entered court. They also presented *baros* ointment (i.e. camphor) and a white parrot, whose head had ten red feathers that were the same as its wings. Because of this, they begged for horses and copper bells. The Emperor granted it.

### Duopudeng 墮婆登 [Sumatra?]

Duopudeng is south of Huanwang. Traveling for two months one reaches it. To its east is Heling, west is Miliju 迷黎車, and north is a sort of sea. Their customs are the same as Heling. They grow rice and there is one harvest in a month. They have script and use *pattra* leaf to write it. Those who die have true gold [placed] in their mouths, their bodies are strung with bracelets, various fragrances—*baros* cream and dragon brains—and firewood are piled up and burned.

### Tuohe 投和 [Sumatra? Java?]

Tuohe is south of Zhenla. It is a 100 day voyage southwest of Guangzhou to reach it. The king's surname is Tuohelou 投和羅, his given name is Puyaqiyao 脩邪迄遙. His government has a General of Court Audiences (朝請將軍), a Ministry of Personnel, Recorders, Assistants, and District Vice-Presidents who separately manage the kingdom's affairs. [The kingdom] is divided into Prefectures, Commanderies, and Counties. The Prefectures have Adjutants,<sup>70</sup> Commanderies have Generals of Golden Might (金威將軍), and Counties have walled cities, offices, and Chiefs with staffs selected to assist them. The people reside in simple (率) pavilions with painted walls. The king's lodging is defended by hundreds of men. They wear clothing of rosy dawn, gold hoops in their ears, golden wire covering their necks, and leather shoes decorated with jewels. Thieves are killed. Next [as a lesser punishment], they pierce their ears and cheeks and cut off their hair. Counterfeitors have their hands cut off. There are no taxes. The people more-or-less support themselves by the land and the king by agriculture and commerce. Cash is made of silver and is similar to an elm seed pods. The people ride elephants and horses. There are no saddles and bridles. Ropes

<sup>69</sup> Reading *fa* 髮 in the sense of 'that which is sent out, that which issues forth' rather than in the sense of 'hair', given that hair will burn long before flesh in a funeral pyre and it is thus unlikely that hair would remain.

<sup>70</sup> *Canjun* 參軍: a regularized title of aides to regional military authorities in China.

are crossed over their cheeks to drive them. For the funerals of relatives, they cut off their hair out of filial piety. They burn the corpse and collect the ashes in a jar and submerge it in water. During *Zhenguan* they sent envoys with a memorial inside a golden yellow case and also presented local products.

### **Zhanbo 瞻博 [Indian Campā, in contemporary Bihar]**

Zhanbo,<sup>71</sup> or called Zhanpo 瞻婆, is separated to the north by the Ganges River 綢伽河. Many wild elephants travel in herds. During *Xianqing* 顯慶 (656–661) the envoys they sent along with the four kingdoms of Po'an 婆岸, Qianzhifu 千支弗, Shebaruo 舍跋若, and Moxi 磨臘 entered court.

### **Qianzhi 千支 [The Andaman and Nicobar Islands?]**

Qianzhi is in the southwest sea. It was originally a vassal state of Southern India. It is also called Banzhiba 半支跋, like the Tang word *wushan* 五山. To the north it is set off from Duomochang 多摩萇.

### **Geloushefen 哥羅舍分, Xiuluofen 倏羅分, and Ganbi 甘畢 [Pulau and Pulau Nias?]**

There are also the three kingdoms of Geloushefen, Xiuluofen, and Ganbi that paid tribute of local products. Ganbi is on the South Sea, set off from Huanwang to the east. Its king's name is Zhantuoyuemo 旃陀越摩. They have 5,000 elite troops. As for Geloushefen, it is in the sea to the north, set off from Zhenla to the east. Their customs are roughly the same. They have lords and elders and all of them [live] in fenced suburbs. The two kingdoms [have] 20,000 elite troops. Ganbi just has 5,000.

### **Duomochang 多摩萇 [Southern Sumatra?]**

There is also Duomochang. It is set off from Pofeng to the east, to the west is Duolong, south is Qianzhifu, and north is Heling. Its territory is a one month voyage east-west and a 25 day trip north-south. Its king's given name is Guli 骨利. A weird [account] says that he got a great egg, cut it open, and obtained a girl [from inside the egg]. She was beautiful and he took her as a wife. The custom is to not have surnames, [so] when they marry they do not distinguish between shared surnames. The king sits always facing east. He has 20,000 elite troops who have bows, knives, armor, and spears. They have no horses. For fruit they have jackfruit,<sup>72</sup> *zhaihuzhe'anmo* 宅護遮庵摩,<sup>73</sup> and pomegranate (*shiliu* 石榴).

71 Indian Campā, in contemporary Bihar.

72 *Bonapo* 波那婆: the fruit of a tree described in the *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (found in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記): 'The *bonapo* tree is from Foli Kingdom. It is [also] called *Asaduo*. The tree's height is five or six *zhang* (approx. 50-60 feet), its bark (lit. skin, *pi* 皮) is dark green. Its foliage is extremely lustrous and in winter or summer it does not wither. It has no fruit-bearing flowers. In fact, [the fruit] comes out from the tree's stem and is big, like winter melon and has a skin covering it. Its outer shell has thorns. The meat is most pleasantly sweet and edible. Its pit is large, like a jujube and each fruit has many of these. In the center of the pit is a kernel like yellow millet. It is very good sautéed' (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 410.3327).

73 I have left this term untranslated as I have been unable to uncover its referent. The name here is likely a transliteration of a non-Chinese word.

Their kingdom has dealings with (經) the kingdoms of Salu, Duhelu, Junnalu, and Linyi, and they even reach Jiaozhou. During *Xianqing* they offered tribute of local products.

### **Shilifoshi 室利佛逝 [Śrīvijaya]**

Shilifoshi is also called Shilifoshi 尸利佛誓. It is 2,000 *li* from Juntunongshan 軍徒弄山. Its territory is distant, 1,000 *li* east-west and 4,000 *li* north-south. There are 14 cities by means of which two kingdoms are divided and administered. The western [kingdom] is called Langpolusi 郎婆露斯. It has much gold, cinnabar, and camphor. At the summer solstice an erected 8 foot gnomon casts a shadow to the south of the gnomon 2 and half feet long. The kingdom has many males. They have a camel (橐它) with markings like a leopard and a rhinoceros horn that they use for [drawing] chariots and ploughs. It is called *taniubao* (橐它牛豹). They also have a kind of wild elephant with horns like a mountain goat. It is called a *yu* 雲. Its meat has a fine flavor and is used in dishes. Their king is called Hemiduo 蜀蜜多. From *Xianheng* to *Kaiyuan* (ca. 670–742) the envoys he sent were frequently in court memorializing that his frontier officials were being infringed upon and plundered. There was a command that Guangzhou comfort them.<sup>74</sup> They also offered pygmies and two *zangi* girls to sing and dance. The governmental envoys acted as Assault-resisters (折衝) and their king served as General-in-Chief of the Left Awesome Guard and was bestowed a purple robe and gold ribbon. Later, he sent his son to enter and offer tribute. There was a command that he be entertained at Qujiang 曲江.<sup>75</sup> The Prime Ministers assembled and he was conferred the title 'Dutiful Guest King' (*Binyi wang* 賓義王), was vested with the title General-in-Chief of the Right Imperial Insignia Guard, and went back.

### **Mingmie 名蔑 [Located on southeastern Java?]**

Mingmie is bordered on the east by Zhentuohuan, to the west is Danyou, to the south is a sort of sea, and north is Boli. Its territory is a one-month trip. There are 30 Prefectures. They take the 12<sup>th</sup> month to be the beginning of the year. The king wears rosy dawn and fine cotton. Tax is 5%.<sup>76</sup> For trade, all use standardized (準直) gold. Their people are short. Brothers marry one women in common. Wives gather their hair into a horn shapes, differentiated according to the number of their husbands. The king is called Siduoti 斯多題. At the beginning of *Longshuo* (ca. 661) envoys came and offered tribute.

### **Dandan 單單 [Terengganu Malaysia?]**

Dandan is southeast of Zhenzhou 振州<sup>77</sup> and west of Duoluomo 多羅磨. It also has Prefectures and Counties. Their timber is abundant with white sandalwood. The king's surname is Shali 剎利 and his given name is Shilingjia 尸陵伽. He attends to affairs daily. There are also eight great ministers, called the Eight Seats. The king daubs his body with fragrance

<sup>74</sup> I.e. that the local military administration of the Guangzhou military suppress forces encroaching on Shilifoshi territory.

<sup>75</sup> A Circuit in southern Tang, functionally equivalent to contemporary Guangdong.

<sup>76</sup> Literally one is taken for twenty (二十取一).

<sup>77</sup> Contemporary Hainan 海南.

and is crowned with a necklace of various jewels. When near [the palace and capital] he travels riding in a chariot and when distant [from the palace and capital] he rides an elephant. In battle they certainly blow horns and beat drums. Thieves, with consideration of degree, are all killed. At the time of *Qianfeng* (666–668) and *Zongzhang* (668–670) they presented local products.

### Loucheng 羅越 [Batam?]

As for Loucheng, it is set off by 5,000 *li* of sea to the north and to the southwest is Geguluo 哥谷羅. Argosies<sup>78</sup> gather together there. Its customs are the same as Duoluobodi 墮羅鉢底. Yearly they travel by boat to Guangzhou and the prefectures certainly know of them.

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78 Literally ‘merchants who come and go’ 商賈往來